



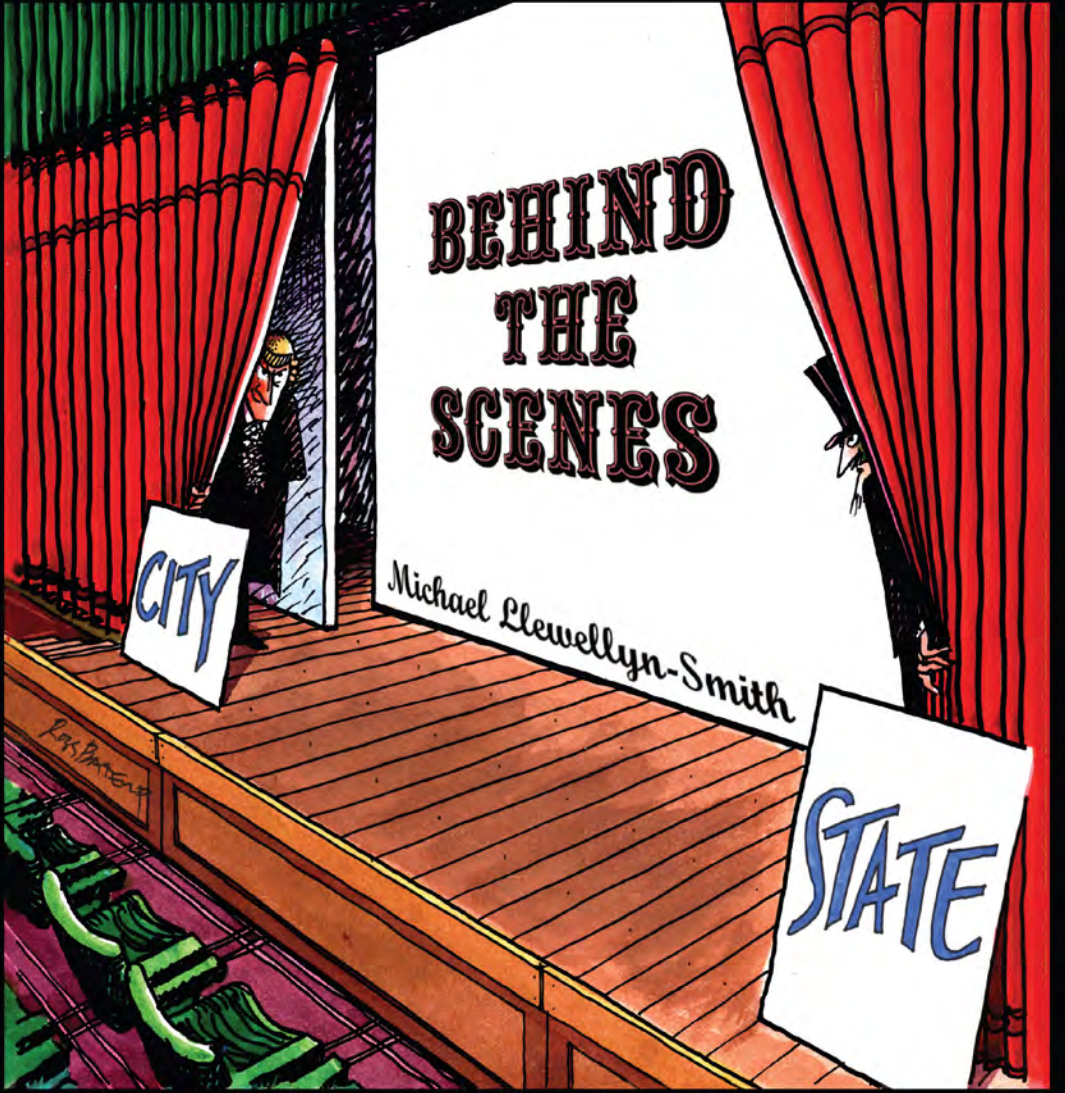
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The politics of planning Adelaide



Cartoon by Ross Bateup

Behind The Scenes

Michael Llewellyn-Smith

Behind the Scenes examines planning in the City of Adelaide from 1972 until 1993 within the historical framework of City/State relations from 1836 when the Province of South Australia was founded.

During this 21-year period, the City had its own planning and development control legislation separate from the rest of the State. Dr Llewellyn-Smith examines why this situation came about, why it continued for this particular period and why it ceased in 1993 when the separate legislation was repealed and the City became part of the State system under the new *Development Act 1993*.

Behind the Scenes includes original interviews with many of the key individuals in the City and State who played influential roles during this period. Dr Llewellyn-Smith himself was the City Planner from 1974 until 1981 and then the Town Clerk/Chief Executive Officer of the Adelaide City Council from 1982 until 1993: this book, then, is both a work of scholarship and an insider's account.

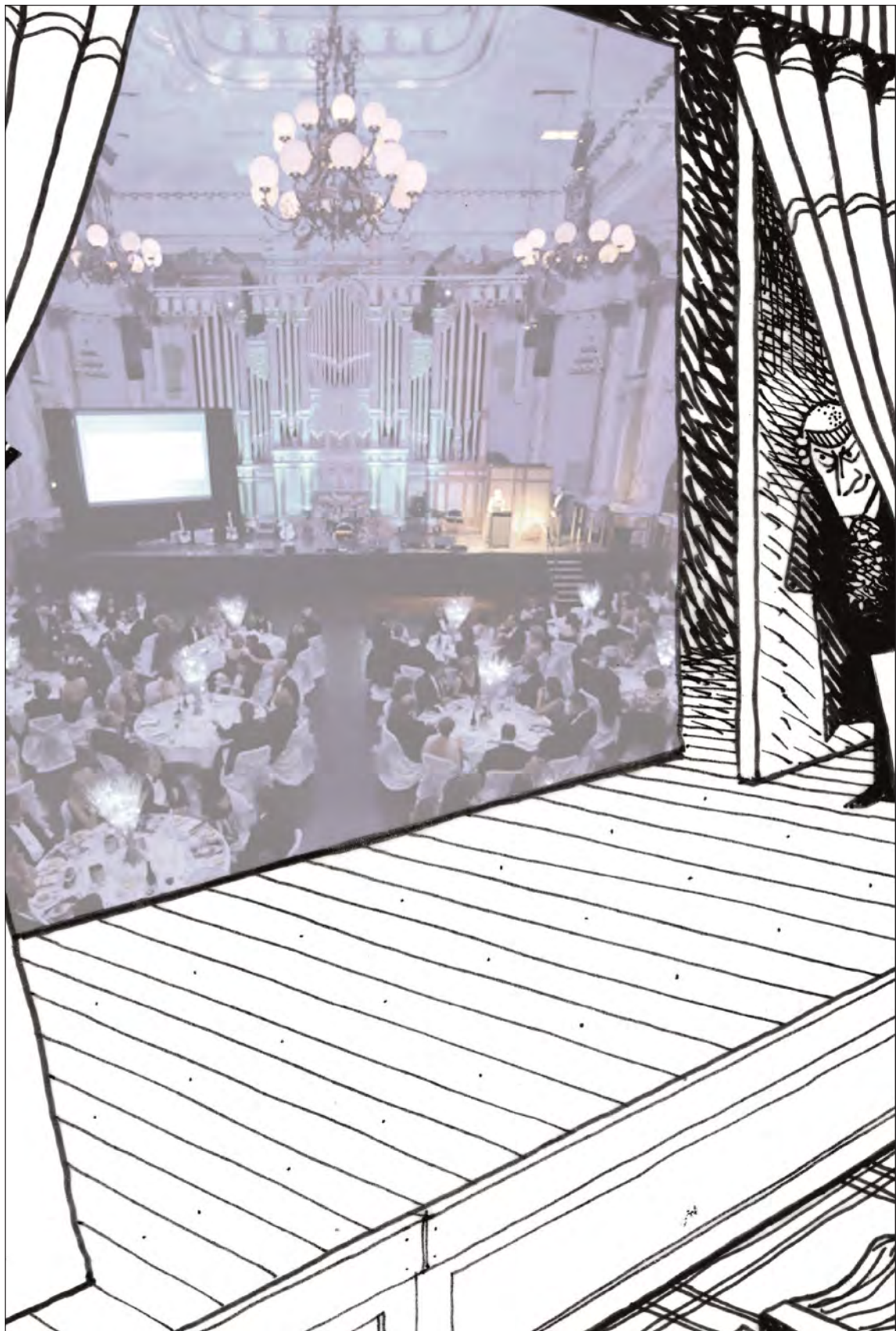
With a joint foreword by The Hon. Jay Weatherill MP, Premier of South Australia, and The Rt Hon. the Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Mr Stephen Yarwood.

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Michael Llewellyn-Smith

Dr Michael Llewellyn-Smith was born and brought up in Wales and then educated at Alleyn's School, Dulwich. He won a Rhodes Travel Scholarship to Canada before reading Architecture at Cambridge University under Professor Sir Leslie Martin. Michael worked as an architect in the private sector in London and Melbourne before teaching architecture at Sydney University where he also completed a Master's Degree in city planning. After working as a consultant on the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* he became the Chief Planning Officer and subsequently the Deputy City Planner of Sydney. In 1974 Michael was appointed as the City Planner of Adelaide and from 1977 until 1981 he was also a Commissioner of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission. Michael served as the Town Clerk/Chief Executive Officer of the City of Adelaide from 1982 until 1994 when he became the Managing Director of Llewellyns International, an urban management consulting company. He worked in Poland, Sri Lanka and South Africa and throughout Australia, particularly for the City of Prospect. The State Government appointed Michael as the Presiding Member of the Development Assessment Commission in 1999 and he served in this position until 2007 when he became a full-time candidate for a PhD in the School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Adelaide. The degree was awarded in December 2010. Michael was elected as an Area Councillor of the City of Adelaide in November 2010 for a four-year term. He is a member of the joint City/State Capital City Committee and the Chair of Council's City Planning and Development Committee. Dr Llewellyn-Smith is a Life Member of Local Government Managers Australia and a Life Fellow of both the Australian Institute of Architects and the Planning Institute Australia. He is a Visiting Research Fellow in the School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Adelaide.

BEHIND THE SCENES

The politics of planning Adelaide

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Landscape Architecture and Urban Design,
the University of Adelaide*

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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACC	Adelaide City Council
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AESC	Adelaide Electric Supply Company
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ASER	Adelaide Railway Station and Environs Redevelopment
BLF	Building Labourers' Federation
BOMA	Building Owners and Managers' Association
CADC	City of Adelaide Development Committee
CAPC	City of Adelaide Planning Commission
CBD	Central Business District
CCoA	Corporation of the Council of the City of Adelaide*
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CE&P	City Engineer and Planner
City	City of Adelaide
COAHAC	City of Adelaide Heritage Advisory Committee
CPO	Chief Planning Officer
CRA	Civic Reform Association
CSO	Crown Solicitor's Office
DAC	Development Assessment Commission

DE&P	Department of Environment and Planning
DFC	Desired Future Character Statement
DMS	Donovan, Marsden & Stark
DPAC	Development Policy Advisory Committee
DURD	Department of Urban and Regional Development
ETSA	Electricity Trust of South Australia
HOBAC	Height of Buildings Advisory Committee
IDC	Interim Development Control
IDO	Interim Development Order
LCL	Liberal and Country League
LOMHAC	Lord Mayor's Heritage Advisory Committee
MATS	Metropolitan Adelaide Transport Study
MDP	Metropolitan Development Plan
NSW	New South Wales
RAIA (SA)	Royal Australian Institute of Architects (South Australia)
RAIA (NSW)	Royal Australian Institute of Architects (New South Wales)
RAPI	Royal Australian Planning Institute
SAHC	South Australian Heritage Committee
SAHT	South Australian Housing Trust
SCC	Sydney City Council
SDP	Supplementary Development Plan
SGIC	State Government Insurance Commission
south Adelaide	The area of the City south of the River Torrens bounded by the four Terraces (North, East, South and West)
SPA	State Planning Authority

SPO	State Planning Office
State	The Provincial and subsequent Colonial and State Governments of South Australia
State (NSW)	The Colonial and subsequent State Governments of New South Wales
TFA	Transferrable Floor Area
USA	United States of America
USC	Urban Systems Corporation
WRAG	Woolloomooloo Residents Action Group

*The Corporation of the Council of the City of Adelaide' is the legal entity that comprises the Council of elected members and the City administration

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My wife, Ida, acknowledged my assistance in the preparation of her doctoral thesis at the University of Sydney nearly 40 years ago. I thank Ida for her sustained encouragement and practical technical support at this time in my life, without which I would not have completed the PhD or written this book.

Foreword

The main focus of this Book is the period from 1972 until 1993 when the City of Adelaide had its own system of planning and development control. The author, Michael Llewellyn-Smith, is in a unique position to provide insights into this time in the City's history as he was the City Planner from September 1974 until December 1981; a Commissioner of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission from March 1977 until December 1981, and the Town Clerk (Chief Executive Officer) of Adelaide from January 1982 until December 1993 when the separate system ceased.


Oral history interviews by the author with key people who influenced the development of the City provided valuable information about why the separate system came into effect in 1972, why it continued for twenty one years and why the relevant legislation, the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, was repealed in 1993.

The Book reviews the relationship between the Adelaide City Council and the Provincial (later State) Government from the settlement of the Colony in 1836 and the importance of Colonel William Light's plan for the City.

It is significant that the Parliament established a joint Capital City Committee under the *City of Adelaide Act 1998*. This Committee continues an intergovernmental partnership between the Council and the State to develop the capital city through a unified strategic direction.

We see the Book as an important contribution to the history of City of Adelaide and as a record of an innovative and different system of planning and development control.

Michael has recently returned to the City of Adelaide. This time as an elected member and a member of the Capital City Committee, where his wealth of experience has proved to be invaluable.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jay Weatherill". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent 'J' and 'W'.

The Hon. Jay Weatherill MP
Premier of South Australia

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Stephen Yarwood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent 'S' and 'Y'.

The Rt Hon. the Lord Mayor
Mr Stephen Yarwood

Introduction

THE CITY OF ADELAIDE AND THE STATE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

In Scene I of Act III of William Shakespeare's play *Coriolanus*, Sicinius asks:

'What is the City but the people?'

and the citizens reply:

'True, the people are the City.'¹

I come from a long line of Welsh Methodist Ministers, which meant going to Chapel in the valleys twice every Sunday for services. At the beginning of his sermon my father would provide a text for the congregation to focus on while he was preaching. But before starting his sermon he would repeat the text for emphasis. Thus, 'What is the City but the people?' 'True, the people are the City.'

In this book I argue that there was a particular relationship and balance of power between the Council of the City of Adelaide (ACC) and the State government

¹ It is believed that *Coriolanus* was first performed in 1607 but the play was not available in print until 1623 when John Hemminges and Henry Condell published the First Folio of Shakespeare's work in London.

of South Australia (State), mainly because of the influence of key individuals. I focus on the interplay between personalities and the politics behind the scenes of strategic and statutory planning in the City during the 21-year period from October 1972 until December 1993. During this time the City had its own planning and development control system separate from the rest of the State. But I ground my analysis of this period in an historical perspective of the founding of the City of Adelaide and the Province of South Australia in 1836 and their development until 1972.

Little has been written about this 21-year period in the City's history and the relationship between the City and the State, particularly in terms of the people who were influential and what decisions they made. I have no firsthand knowledge of the period October 1972 until August 1974 but the ACC employed me as the City Planner from September 1974 until December 1981 and then as the Town Clerk (Chief Executive Officer) from January 1982 until June 1994.

As this book's author I perceive that I have considerable personal knowledge of the people who were influential and the events that were important for 19 of the 21 years that are the central focus here. However, I recognise that a bias may exist in this perception and so cast my scholarly research and oral history interviews to delimit any perceived bias. At the same time, I believe the tension between participant and historian is productive and creative.

As a professional planning practitioner and former local government CEO, I have always held the view that urban planning is primarily a political, not a technical, process. The traditional view of urban planning was to analyse, develop alternatives and evaluate the consequences of each alternative, but this needed to change to take into account the political climate in which urban planning functioned.² That is, urban planning choices had regard to the politics of the decision-making environment. It is a myth that planners advise and politicians then make the key decisions, as urban planning is essentially a political activity rife with value judgments.³ It involves a transaction of policy formulations in the community nicely balanced between the many competing interests of groups and individuals.⁴ The issue is not whether the

² Bolan, 1975, pp.499–513.

³ Allmendinger, 2009, p.171; Freestone, 2010, p.3.

⁴ Fagence, 1975.

planning process is political, but *how* politics manifests itself within the process.⁵

I provide background to the founding of Adelaide and South Australia in 1836 in Chapter 1. From the earliest days of the settlement of the Province of South Australia, as it was first expressed, there was controversy between the City, as represented by its surveyor and founder Colonel William Light, and the State, as represented by the first resident Governor, Captain John Hindmarsh RN. The issue was the site of the new city. Light had the ultimate responsibility for the decision as vested in him by the Colonisation Commissioners but he had to take into account Hindmarsh's views. Light chose a site geographically situated in the middle of *Mikawomma*, later known as the Adelaide plain, inhabited by the indigenous Kurna people.⁶ He placed the northern and southern parts of the city either side of a river.⁷ The Province had been proclaimed on 28 December 1836 and Light started laying out the city, including its design of six squares and surrounded by a continuous belt of Park Lands, in February 1837.⁸

In terms of relevant legislation for the City and the State, the *South Australia Colonisation Act 1834* (UK),⁹ assented to on 15 August 1834 and enacted on 19 February 1836, established the Province of South Australia. The *Municipal Act 1840* (UK) established the City of Adelaide and provided for an elected Council, which made Adelaide the second oldest municipality (after Toronto in Canada) in the British Commonwealth outside of Britain itself. The first Parliament of South Australia, after direct rule by the Governor, came into existence in 1857 and so democracy in the City preceded democracy in the colony, initially founded as a 'Province', by 13 years.

The heritage of the City arising from Light's original plan in 1836 with a clearly defined boundary made Adelaide different from the other capital cities in Australia. Figure 1 shows a map of the present City of Adelaide indicating North Adelaide and south Adelaide¹⁰ encircled by the Park Lands and the suburbs outside.

⁵ Versteeg & Hajer, 2010, p.160.

⁶ Linn, 2011, p.1.

⁷ Dutton, 1960; Elder, 1984; Cheesman, 1986.

⁸ Dutton, 1960; Elder 1984; Cheesman, 1986; Hutchings & Bunker, 1986.

⁹ Throughout this book, all legislation is South Australian unless otherwise noted.

¹⁰ Throughout this book, 'south Adelaide' refers to the area of the City south of the River Torrens bounded by the four Terraces (North, East, South and West).

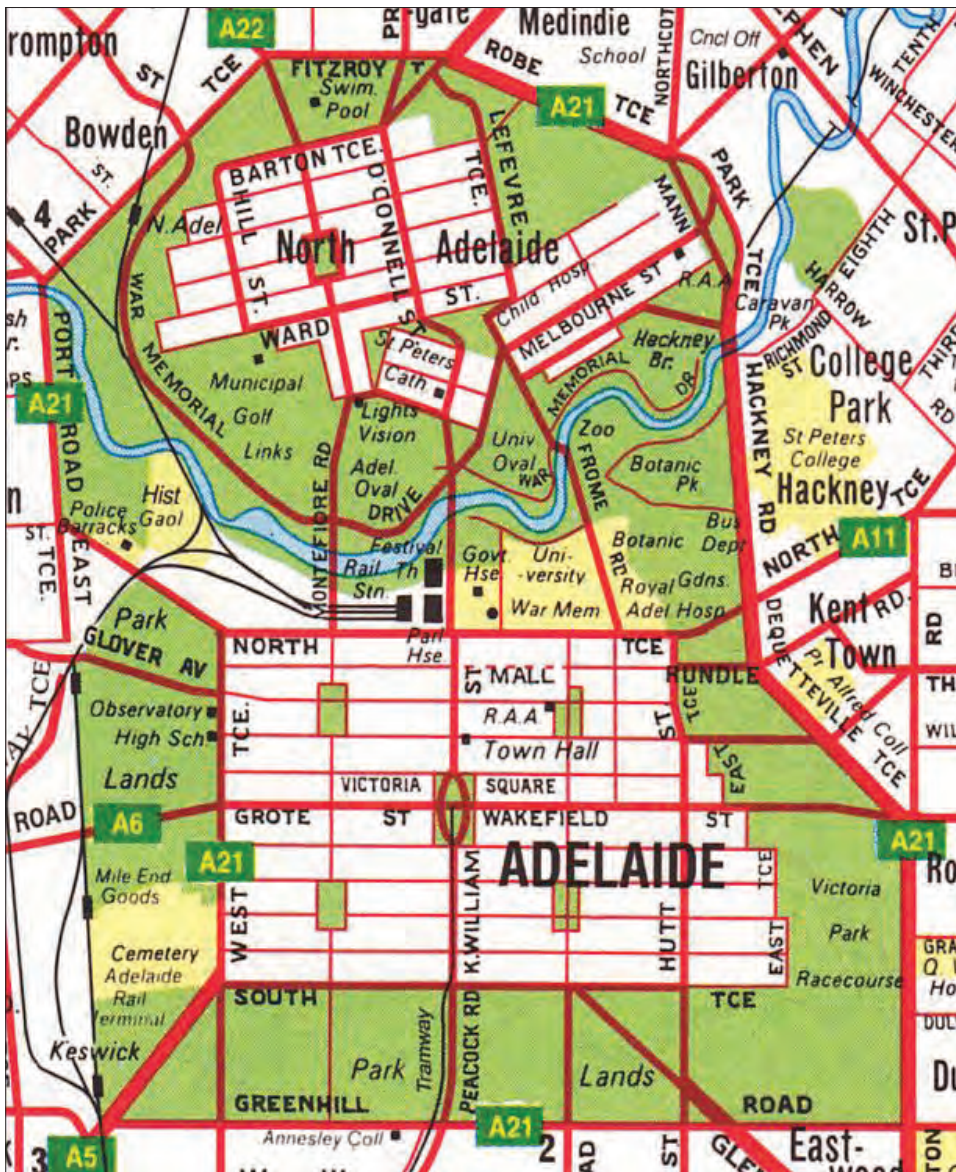


Figure 1: Map of the present City of Adelaide

In Chapter 2 I describe the development of the City and the State from 1840 until 1950 and the City/State relationship during this period. The Adelaide Club was established in 1868 by businessmen and pastoralists who had profited from the early years of rapid growth.¹¹ From the early nineteenth century there were interlocking directorships of company boards and gentlemen of ‘establishment’ families, such as Angas, Barr Smith, Bonython, Elder, Morphett, Seppelt and Rymill, were members of the Club.¹² The Club had enormous political influence.¹³ Members of the Club were often elected to the ACC as well as to the Upper House of the Parliament of South Australia, the Legislative Council.

The ACC was able to exercise considerable influence on colonial and then State matters *because* some of its members were also members of the Legislative Council during the late nineteenth century. This situation continued through to the 1980s. There are numerous examples where the ACC was able to have itself excluded from legislation that applied to the rest of the colony (later the State) or, in other cases, benefitted from the insertion of clauses in State legislation that only applied to the City.¹⁴

Property ownership became a key factor in the development of the City and the Province because it determined who was eligible to vote. Adelaide was effectively a city-state and a small group of people controlled the money and made all the important decisions.¹⁵ Indeed, more decisions affecting the development of South Australia were made in the Club than in Parliament.¹⁶

In Chapter 3 I discuss the changing attitudes to planning the City and State from 1950 until 1972. Premier Tom Playford and Town Clerk Bill Veale were individuals who exerted considerable influence on the growth and development of the City and State after World War Two until they both retired from their respective positions in 1965.

¹¹ Fischer & Seamark, 2005.

¹² Morgan, 1971.

¹³ Stretton, 1970; Dunstan, 1981.

¹⁴ See, for example, the *Town Planning Act 1920*, the *Local Government Act 1934* and the *Highways Act 1956*.

¹⁵ Sandercock, 1975a; Linn, 2006.

¹⁶ Fischer & Seamark, 2005.

The policies of the ACC in the 1960s and the statutory provisions of the State Government's Metropolitan Development Plan contributed to a considerable loss of residential population in the City.¹⁷ The decline of central area population was a worldwide trend justified by economic competition from more viable uses.¹⁸ In Adelaide these issues provided reasons for major reform in 1972, when the State introduced an innovative system of Interim Development Control (IDC).

I describe the establishment of the City of Adelaide Development Committee (CADC) and the introduction of IDC in Chapter 4. After agreement between the ACC and the State, the State introduced a legislative approach to city planning that was new for an Australian capital city. This legislation provided for a joint City/State planning authority for Adelaide that made critical political decisions. These decisions resulted in the re-establishment of an inner city residential population but also maintained the City's role and function as the centre of the metropolitan area.

In the City of Adelaide there was widespread public reaction to the technocratic *Metropolitan Area Transportation Study* (MATS), which proposed some 130 kilometres of new freeways and the upgrading of the arterial road network.¹⁹ There was also considerable public opposition to a comprehensive redevelopment scheme proposed for the inner suburb of Hackney.²⁰ Within the City itself, the ACC pursued a policy of new car parking station construction with a new north-south main road proposal (on the Frome Street alignment) in the eastern side of the City. To implement this, the ACC was actively buying properties in North Adelaide and in the south-east of the city to join Main North Road in the north-east to Glen Osmond Road in the south-east. This resulted in Hugh Stretton, an academic at the University of Adelaide and a resident of North Adelaide, becoming very interested in urban issues.²¹ In particular,

¹⁷ The population of the City at the end of World War Two was in excess of 40,000 but by 1972 it had declined to 11,896 (Source: Adelaide City Council, 1974).

¹⁸ Alexander, 1974, p.159.

¹⁹ Government of South Australia, 1962a.

²⁰ Pugh, 1973; Warburton, 1986.

²¹ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 9–16, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007; Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 32–37, Dulwich, 24 April 2007. Note: all interview citations include the interview number followed by the transcript lines, as in Hugh Stretton, oral history interview no. 1 / transcript lines 9–16.

the publication of his book *Ideas for Australian Cities* had a significant influence upon the then State Labor Premier Don Dunstan, Member of Parliament for Norwood, an electorate experiencing gentrification, and the then Lord Mayor Bill Hayes.²²

Dunstan became very concerned about a city administration dominated by an engineering approach to transportation policies and about what was happening socially in the City, particularly the loss of residential population.²³ The transportation policies of the ACC were unpopular and led directly to the formation of Residents' Societies.²⁴ The statutory planning scheme imposed by the State Government, which zoned the whole of south Adelaide for commercial uses, had directly contributed to the loss of the City's residential population.

The formal imposition of the IDC began in October 1972 through an amendment to the *Planning and Development Act 1968*. However, discussions between Premier Dunstan and the reformist Lord Mayor Hayes had commenced in late 1971.²⁵ A joint City/State body — the City of Adelaide Development Committee (CADC) — administered this specially enacted legislation. IDC enabled the ACC to carry out a major planning study.

I discuss the relevance to Adelaide of planning in Sydney and the work of George Clarke in Chapter 5. The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed considerable public concern in North America, the UK and Australia with the outcomes of end-state statutory planning (Master Plans) without any public participation, the building of freeways, issues arising from the significant growth in the use of the motor car, the removal of 'slums' and their replacement with high-rise development, and the demolition of heritage buildings.²⁶ In the City of Sydney there was significant public reaction to high-rise redevelopment schemes proposed for the areas of The Rocks and

²² Stretton, 1970.

²³ Peter Ward, personal communication, 7 July 2007.

²⁴ The North Adelaide Society Incorporated and the Adelaide Residents' Association were formed as a direct result of these unpopular ACC policies.

²⁵ Peter Ward, personal communication, 7 July 2007; Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 68–70, St Peters, 16 April 2007; John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 21–23, North Adelaide 17 April 2007.

²⁶ Goodman, 1972; Friedmann, 1981; Marmot, 1982; Dakin, 1993; Altshuler, 1996; Gold, 1997; Ward, 2004.

Woolloomooloo, and the Builders Labourers' Federation (BLF) of New South Wales imposed 'Green Bans' on development.²⁷

In the early 1970s the Civic Reform Association came to power on the Sydney City Council (SCC) with a platform of preparing a new plan for the City of Sydney. The SCC engaged George Clarke and his Urban Systems Corporation Pty Ltd, and adopted the first strategic plan in Australia, the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971*.²⁸ The Plan involved a performance-based approach to managing the City with objectives and policies designed to address the gaps left by the traditional statutory planning scheme.²⁹

In Adelaide the ACC resolved to carry out a planning study of the City. I describe the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* in Chapter 6. The ACC called for expressions of interest on an international basis. The administration recommended seven firms for interview from the 25 submissions received, and the ACC interviewed four. In 1973 the ACC appointed the consulting firm Urban Systems Corporation Pty Ltd (USC) to carry out the planning study, with George Clarke as the Project Director, primarily based on their experience in Sydney.

There was a considerable amount of public participation involved in the planning process and the ACC received the consultant's recommendations in June 1974. Rather than building on the statutory scheme as had been the case in the City of Sydney, a whole new approach was taken with a proposal for a separate Act just for the City of Adelaide.

In Chapter 7 I discuss the conversion of the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* into a City Plan. After further public consultation and intense negotiations between the ACC and the State, the State introduced separate legislation for a system of development control. But the 'planning' of the City did not need legislation and would continue as it always had — by the decisions of governments, semi-government and private organizations and individuals.³⁰ The IDC powers ceased on 28 February 1977 and the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* came into effect on 1 March 1977. In parallel, the ACC adopted the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* as its

²⁷ Munday, 1981; Briger, 1988; Ward, 1988; M & V Bergmann, 1998.

²⁸ Council of the City of Sydney, 1971.

²⁹ The statutory *Cumberland County Planning Scheme* applied to the City of Sydney.

³⁰ Mant & Llewellyn-Smith, 1978.

first strategic policy document. This provided a benchmark for Australia as there was a continuation of a joint City/State authority accompanied by a commitment to a process of review and the adoption of a new Plan on a five-yearly cycle within which strategic and statutory approaches to city planning were integrated.³¹

I describe the innovative and different nature of this new system of city planning in Chapter 8. An important element of the new legislation was the continuation of a joint City/State body and establishment of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC) comprised of four State and four ACC representatives. The legislation provided a reserve power for the State, and the CAPC was required to liaise with the Commonwealth Government and the ACC to formulate a comprehensive understanding of government policies and programs as they affected the City.

In Chapter 9 I describe the first heritage Study of the City of Adelaide, the leadership of Lord Mayor Jim Bowen, changes in the ACC and in the State, and the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*. In Chapter 10 I discuss the operation of the City's system of planning and development control from November 1982, when John Bannon became Labor Premier, until May 1987 when Steve Condous became Lord Mayor. The joint City/State system of cooperation and five-yearly City Plans (1981–86; 1986–91; and 1991–96) continued until 1993. I discuss the Condous Lord Mayoralty (1987–1993), the emergence of the pro-heritage and pro-development factions, and the decline in the importance of the CAPC in Chapter 11.

After a State Planning Review established by Premier Bannon in 1992, the Labor State Government under Premier Lynn Arnold decided in 1993 to abolish the separate system for political and technical reasons and to reintegrate the City into the overall State system. The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* was repealed and the new *Development Act 1993* came into force. The new State planning system incorporated parts of the innovative approach taken in the City into contemporary South Australian planning legislation. I describe this in Chapter 12.

In the Conclusion, I reflect on the nature and role of the City of Adelaide within the context of the State, which has dominated the political debate between the two spheres of government since Light's decision to site the City where he did rather than where Hindmarsh wanted it. Political considerations determined the

³¹ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1977.

growth of metropolitan Adelaide and the development of the City.³² The years 1972 to 1993 were unique in the history of the City of Adelaide in that the City had its own planning and development control legislation separate from the rest of the State. The joint City/State bodies — the City of Adelaide Development Committee and then the City of Adelaide Planning Commission, the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*, the separate legislation for the City in 1976 (the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*) and then the successive five-yearly City Plans with an integration of strategic and statutory planning approaches — were all quite different from planning occurring elsewhere in Australia at the time and were innovative in their own right.

³² Bunker, 1971, 1983; Hutchings & Garnaut, 2009.

1

The background to the founding of Adelaide and South Australia in 1836

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

The judicial thinking in eighteenth century Britain was that harsh punishments were needed to deter potential criminals. The existence of a 'criminal class' was one of the prime sociological beliefs.¹ The Industrial Revolution had seen a dramatic rise in the population of cities and petty crime had become a major problem. Crimes against property attracted severe penalties and stealing was a serious offence. Summary offences included vagrancy, poaching, petty theft and drunkenness.² Jails became overcrowded and the British Government started to use transportation of convicted criminals to the colonies as an alternative. Britain was forced to look at other locations for its convicts when it lost its American colonies after the War of Independence. Lord Sydney, Home and Colonial Secretary in 1783, needed to solve the problem of overcrowded criminal confinement. During his voyage to the South Pacific in 1770 Captain James Cook had made landfall on a new land and claimed the new land for

¹ Hughes, 1987, p.1.

² Hall, 1998, p.658.

Britain.³ The *Transportation Act 1784* (UK) authorised transportation to places other than America and in 1786 the Pitt Cabinet made a decision that Botany Bay would be such a place. Captain Arthur Philip was chosen to lead a colonisation expedition to the eastern coast of this recently claimed land and govern the new colony to be called New South Wales.⁴

The First Fleet of eleven ships under Governor Arthur Philip, carrying 736 convicts, arrived in Botany Bay in the new colony on 26 January 1788. All the convicts had been convicted of quite minor crimes against property.⁵ New South Wales served as an official penal colony until 1823. Van Diemen's Land was established as a penal colony in 1803 by an expedition from Sydney and became a colony in its own right in 1825. It was officially known as Tasmania from 1856. Another expedition from Sydney in 1823 founded the Moreton Bay penal settlement in what is now Queensland. Convicts were sent to Victoria, which was then known as the Port Philip District, between 1844 and 1849. Western Australia was proclaimed a British penal colony in 1849 and the first convicts arrived on Rottnest Island off the coast of Perth in 1850. The last convicts were sent from Britain to Australia in 1868.⁶

Therefore, South Australia was the only colony not to have had a penal settlement. Free settlement in South Australia became an important aspect of the State's 'sense of difference'.⁷

EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD AND THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN LAND COMPANY

The founding of the Colony of South Australia within the Australian context and the choice of a site for the City of Adelaide in 1836 marked the beginning of the influence of individuals over the City's development and of the heritage of the City arising from Colonel William Light's original plan, particularly the Park Lands. It was also the start of the tenuous power relationship between the City and the State for the governance of the City.

³ Hughes, 1987, p.62.

⁴ Hughes, 1987, p.67.

⁵ Hughes, 1987, p.72.

⁶ Australian Department of Culture and Recreation, 2009.

⁷ Pike, 1957; Whitelock, 1977.

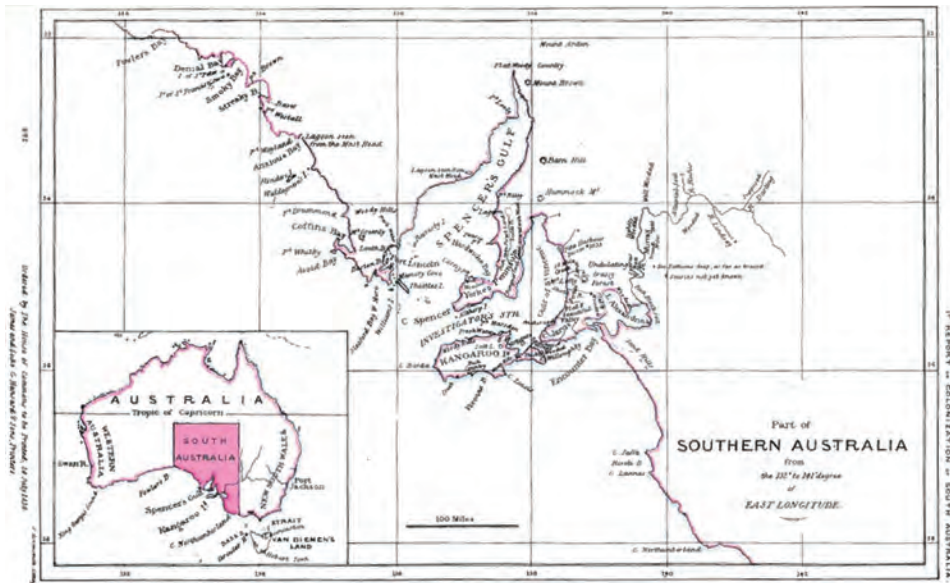


Figure 2: South Australia in context of Australia

The foundation of the Colony of South Australia was primarily based on the systematic colonisation theory of Edward Gibbon Wakefield that land should be sold at a sufficient price to make the new colony self-supporting.⁸ Wakefield saw the new community as a utopian settlement where land, capital and labour would be balanced.⁹ The irony in South Australia's history was that the germ of the high-minded principles of its foundation came from the brain of a convict in Newgate prison in London.¹⁰ Wakefield had been jailed for three years for abducting a schoolgirl heiress and spent his time in jail reading everything that he could on Australia.¹¹ After much lobbying by Wakefield and his supporters, the Province of South Australia was established by the *South Australia Colonisation Act 1834* by the Parliament of the UK.¹² Figure 2 shows it in the context of Australia.

The events leading to the settlement of the Province of South Australia have

⁸ Wakefield, 1831, 1832.

⁹ Hutchings, 2007.

¹⁰ Dutton, 1960, p.147.

¹¹ Dutton, 1960, p.147.

¹² The Act was assented to on 15 August 1834 and enacted on 19 February 1836.

**Act empowering His Majesty to erect South
Australia into a Province. Anno Quarto and
Quinto Gulicmi IV. Regis. Cap. XCV**

...**"NOW KNOW YE** that with the advice of Our Privy Council and in pursuance and exercise of the powers in us in that behalf vested by the said recited Act of Parliament **WE do hereby erect and establish one Province to be called the Province of SOUTH AUSTRALIA**—And we do hereby fix the Boundaries of the said Province in manner following (that is to say) On the North the twenty-sixth degree of South Latitude—On the South the Southern Ocean—On the West the one hundred and thirty-second degree of East Longitude—And on the East the one hundred and forty-first degree of East Longitude including therein all and every the Bays and Gulfs thereof together with the Island called **Kangaroo Island** and all and every the Islands adjacent to the said last mentioned Island or to that part of the main Land of the said Province **PROVIDED ALWAYS** that nothing in these our Letters Patent contained shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any **Aboriginal Natives** of the said Province to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons or in the persons of their descendants of any lands therein now actually occupied or enjoyed by such Natives **IN WITNESS** whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent **WITNESS** Ourself at Westminster the Nineteenth day of February in the Sixth Year of our Reign.

**"BY WRIT OF PRIVY SEAL
'EDMUNDS'**

Figure 3: Preamble to the *South Australian Colonisation Act 1834* (UK)

been well documented.¹³ Wakefield provided much of the intellectual force behind the scheme.¹⁴ He realised that for his vision of free settlement to be successful, there needed to be opportunities for capitalist enterprise.¹⁵

¹³ Cheesman, 1986, p.82; Grenfell Price, 1924; Pike, 1957; Eddy, 1969.

¹⁴ Hamilton, 2010, p.130.

¹⁵ Whitelock, 1977, p.23.

Wakefield and his brother drafted the bill for the Act.¹⁶ William Whitmore MP introduced it into the House of Commons and the Duke of Wellington supported it in the House of Lords. Figure 3 shows the preamble to the *South Australia Colonisation Act 1834* (UK).

The Act provided for a Board of Commissioners to be appointed with responsibility for Land Sales and Emigration.¹⁷ The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, appointed Colonel Torrens, an Anglo-Irish MP, as the Chair, with Angas, Barnard, Hill, Hutt, Shaw-Lefevre, Mackinnon, Mills, Montefiore, Palmer and Wright as Commissioners.¹⁸ The Act also specified that £20,000 surety had to be created with £35,000 raised from the sale of land at a minimum of 12 shillings an acre before any settlement could occur. This was achieved mainly through George Fife Angas, who was the most prominent of the businessmen and bankers on the Board.¹⁹ Angas retired from the Board and became the Chairman of the South Australian Company, which had a subscribed capital of £200,000 and plans for whaling, wool and banking in the new colony.

Angas was one of a number of Christian non-conformists who were a curious mixture of radicalism and conservatism, which set the very nature of South Australia.²⁰ Bunker described this mixture as ‘a tradition of conscious theoretical purpose’, which is what made South Australia different from the other States.²¹ On the one hand there was an advocacy of religious freedom and a willingness to experiment, while on the other hand there was a strong sense of the critical role of property and the need for respectability and propriety. Angas had urged Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and other Non-conformists and dissenters from the Church of England to immigrate to Adelaide — the ‘Paradise of Dissent’,²² as Pike called it in his book

¹⁶ Crilly, 2008.

¹⁷ Dutton, 1960, p.148.

¹⁸ These names were perpetuated in the River Torrens and street names in the City of Adelaide on 23 May 1837 by a Street Naming Committee that included Governor Hindmarsh and Colonel Light. Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk’s File ‘Street Naming Committee’, 1936.

¹⁹ Dutton, 1960, p.149.

²⁰ Hutchings, 2007, p.2.

²¹ Bunker in Hutchings, 2007.

²² Whitelock, 1977.

*Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829–1857.*²³

All these factors in the early history of South Australia were important in the development of the City and the State, particularly the emerging political relationship between the ACC and the Government and the roles and influence of key individuals as I discuss throughout the book.

COLONEL WILLIAM LIGHT AND GOVERNOR JOHN HINDMARSH

The most important office in the new colony was that of the Governor. Sir Charles Napier had been appointed Governor-designate because of his interest in the systematic colonisation of South Australia. However, he resigned when the government refused his requests for troops to act as a police force and the ability to draw on the British Treasury should the colony prove to be not self-supporting.²⁴ Captain Sir John Hindmarsh RN learned of Napier's resignation and, motivated by the salary and opportunity, lobbied for the post in London.²⁵ Hindmarsh was appointed and became the first Governor resident in South Australia. He suggested Colonel William Light be appointed as the Surveyor-General for the new colony. William Light was the son of Francis Light, the founder of Penang, and was born in Malacca in 1784.²⁶ He was brought up by guardians in England and was well-educated.²⁷ Light and Hindmarsh had known each other in Egypt some years before. Light became friendly with Mohammed Ali (the Pasha who was the founder of modern Egypt) in 1830. By 1834 Light was in command of the *Nile*, which he sailed from England to become part of the Pasha's navy. Light resigned from the Pasha's service in November 1835, and Hindmarsh followed Light as the Captain of the *Nile*.²⁸

Light was both a sailor and a soldier and had a distinguished military career in the Peninsular War under the Duke of Wellington, who was later to support the

²³ Pike, 1957.

²⁴ Dutton, 1960; Cheesman, 1986; Bunker in Hutchings, 2007.

²⁵ Grenfell Price, 1924; Pike, 1957.

²⁶ Steuart, 1901.

²⁷ Loyau, 1883, p.156.

²⁸ Dutton, 1960, p.144.

colonisation act in the House of Lords. Light distinguished himself at Vic Bigorre on 19 March 1814 where he feigned injury and rode close to the main lines of the French so that he was able to personally report their strength to Wellington.²⁹ Light's background with Wellington was also important in relation to the City of Adelaide:

An important aspect of the history of South Australia and relations between the City and the State was the influence of individuals. This went back to the earliest days of the Colony. William Light had been on staff of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula War and acted as a scout. With great bravery he would ride close to the lines of the French enemy, obtain information about their strength and precise location and return to the English lines in safety where he would provide the Duke with an accurate map. Many years later when the Duke had become the Prime Minister and the Bill to establish the Colony of South Australia had been passed, he recalled his junior officer William Light who was now a Colonel, and recommended that he be the Surveyor-General because of his mapping abilities.³⁰

Thus, Colonel Light became the Surveyor-General. The specific instructions for him from the Colonisation Commission established by the *South Australia Colonisation Act 1834* (UK) were that he was to examine 1500 miles (2414 kilometres) of coastline, select the best situation for the first settlement, survey the town site, and divide the country into sections. Specifically, the Commissioners advised Light in their Letter of Instructions that in his selection for the site for the first settlement he was to combine the following advantages:

- 1st A commodious harbour, safe and accessible at all times of the year
- 2nd A considerable tract of fertile land immediately adjoining
- 3rd An abundant supply of fresh water
- 4th Facilities for internal communication
- 5th Facilities for communication with other ports
- 6th Distance from the limits of the colony, as a means of avoiding interference from without
- 7th The neighbourhood of extensive sheepwalks
- 8th A supply of building materials, as timber, stone, or brick, earth and lime

²⁹ Dutton, 1960, p.72 citing Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, Vol. VI, p.7.

³⁰ Hugh Stretton, personal communication, 2 July 2008.



Figure 4: Kangaroo Island, Rapid Bay and Holdfast Bay

- 9th Facilities for drainage
- 10th Coal.³¹

An important additional instruction from the Commissioners was that Light had to look to any new town precedent in America and Canada. Light sailed from England on 1 May 1836 in the *Rapid* and arrived at Kangaroo Island on 20 August 1836. He was not impressed with the island because it had no surface water and little

³¹ See *Letter of Instructions* dated 9 March 1836 signed by Rowland Hill in Light, 1839; Gill, 1910.

arable land and he quickly relocated to Rapid Bay on the mainland and started to explore the eastern coast of Gulf Saint Vincent, as shown in Figure 4.

Settlers started arriving and camped at Holdfast Bay (now Glenelg) before Light had determined the site for the new city.³² On 22 November 1836 Light wrote to the Commissioners enclosing a rough plan with his opinions about the harbour and the plain, as shown in Figure 5. His indicative plan for the City showed two simple rectangles, one north and one south of the yet to be named River Torrens. Light commented that he proposed an area of land around the town to be reserved as 'Park Grounds'. Light also wrote that although his duty obliged him to look at other sites, he was convinced that the eastern coast of Gulf Saint Vincent was the most eligible and that the fine little harbour would be safe.³³

Governor Hindmarsh arrived at Holdfast Bay on the *Buffalo* and proclaimed the new colony of South Australia on 28 December 1836.³⁴ However, technically South Australia had come into being on 19 February 1836 when the British Government had created it as a political entity and defined its boundaries.³⁵ Hindmarsh declared that Aboriginal people had all the privileges of British subjects.³⁶ Britain intended settlement in South Australia to be consensual, requiring a treaty with the Aboriginals. But Hindmarsh ignored this and thus South Australian Aboriginal peoples may have legal avenues for redress dating back to 1836.³⁷ Light declined to attend the proclamation ceremony as he was evaluating the Adelaide plains (inhabited by the Kurna people) for the site of the City. Light was pleased with the supply of fresh water and the general appearance of the country between the hills and the sea. His made his decision for the site of the City on 29 December 1836.³⁸

On the following day, Governor Hindmarsh accompanied Light to the site that Light had selected. Hindmarsh immediately criticised it as being too far from the harbour. But Light stuck to his decision, relying on his Instructions from the

³² Thomas, 1925, 3rd edn, p.65; Crilly, 2008.

³³ Dutton, 1960, p.189; Whitelock, 1977, p.27.

³⁴ Dutton, 1960, p.196.

³⁵ Goldsworthy, 2011, p.43.

³⁶ Hamilton, 2010, p.139.

³⁷ Berg, 2010.

³⁸ Loyau, 1883, p.159; Gill, 1910, p.54; Dutton, 1960, p.197.

Commissioners that while he had to pay respect to the Governor's opinion, his own judgment was to be paramount in the selection of the site for the City. This rivalry between Hindmarsh and Light was the first illustration of the 'creative tension' between the City and the State that I discuss throughout the book.

Light moved from Holdfast Bay a few days later to start surveying the 1000 one-acre [0.41 ha.] blocks as required by the Commissioners.³⁹ However, Hindmarsh ordered a public meeting on 10 February 1837 to debate the issue of Light's preferred site of the City as Hindmarsh was still unhappy with Light's choice. At the meeting, a number of motions and amendments were put and Light recorded them in detail in his *Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*.⁴⁰ In summary, Light's site received 218 votes and Hindmarsh's proposed alternative site at the Harbour only received 137 votes — a clear majority of 81. Thus, Light continued with his survey and completed it on 10 March 1837.⁴¹ When the first migrants moved from their camp at Glenelg to the site of the new City they would have found a dense foliage of eucalyptus with bushes and grasses within a woodland environment that was home to kangaroos, bilbies and possums.⁴²

LIGHT'S PLAN FOR THE CITY OF ADELAIDE

There is much controversy about the origins of Light's plan for the City of Adelaide with its belt of continuous Park Lands and six public Squares, as shown in Figure 6.

The plan incorporated about 2,300 acres [931 ha.] of Park Lands enclosing and dividing 1042 Town Acres [421 ha.].⁴³ Light may have been aware of T. J. Maslen's *The Friend of Australia*. Maslen was the *nom de plume* of Allen Gardiner, who wrote:

All entrances to every town should be through a park, that is to say a belt of park of about a mile or two [1.6 to 3.2 km] in diameter, should entirely

³⁹ Dutton, 1960 p.198.

⁴⁰ Dutton, 1960 p.198.

⁴¹ Dutton, 1960, p.212.

⁴² Sumerling, 2011, Introduction p.x.

⁴³ Cheesman, 1986, p.109.



Figure 6: Light's Plan for the City of Adelaide

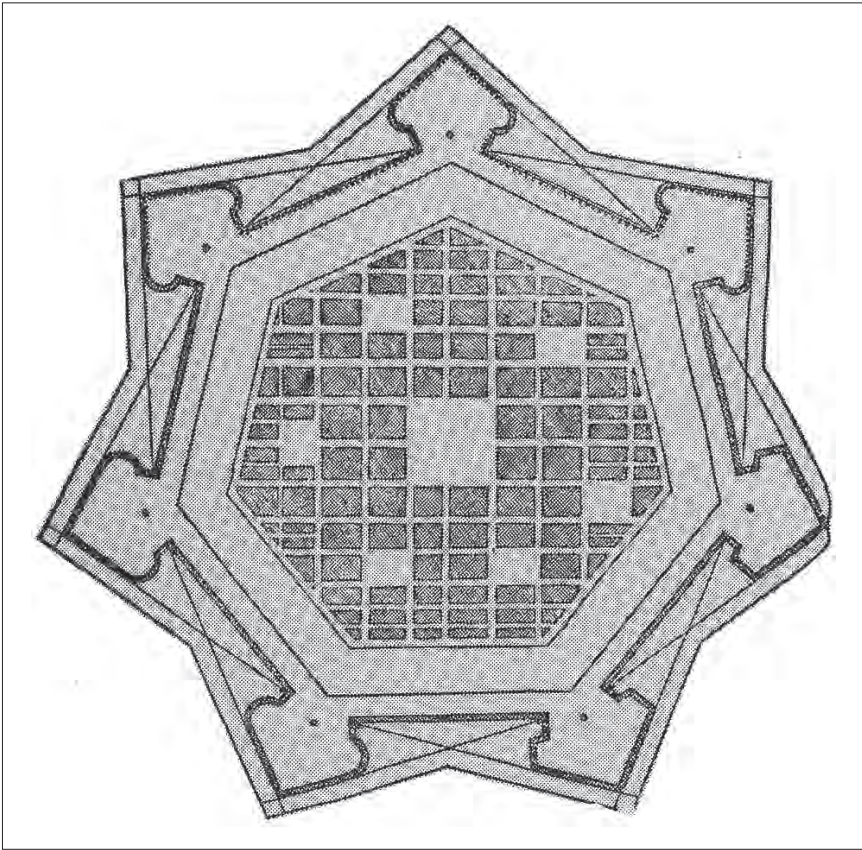


Figure 7: Pietro Cataneo's Plan for the ideal city with a central square and surrounding smaller squares

surround every town, save and excepting such sides as are washed by a river or lake.⁴⁴

Light might also have been influenced by the traditional plans of Roman camps.⁴⁵ The Greeks and Romans used the grid to simplify the laying out of new colonies.⁴⁶ Gothic Mann's plan for Toronto was eminently suitable for the new city in South Australia and could also have been an influence.⁴⁷ Light's plan also alluded

⁴⁴ Cheesman, 1986, citing Gardiner 1830, Chapter xiii.

⁴⁵ Dutton, 1960, pp.214–15.

⁴⁶ Johnson & Langmead, 1986, p.9.

⁴⁷ Cheesman, 1986, pp.103–04.

to the Baroque influences of later Renaissance Europe and the theories of new town design evolved for the settlement of the Americas by the English-, French- and Spanish-speaking peoples.⁴⁸

Light was familiar with the spatial consequences of colonial new towns and the need for concentration and enclosure as a means of controlling the supply and value of land. He would have been conscious of the Letter of Instructions from the Commissioners to him, which stated ‘Look to any new town precedent in America and Canada’.⁴⁹

Cataneo’s ideal plan for a new city in 1554 featuring a central square and surrounding smaller squares (see Figure 7) was a possible precedent for the layouts of Charleston in 1672, Philadelphia in 1683, and Savannah in 1733 in the British colonies in North America.⁵⁰

Light may have lived in Philadelphia and could have been familiar with William Penn’s 1683 plan.⁵¹ There is some similarity in Light’s layout of south Adelaide with Penn’s plan, as shown in Figure 8, in terms of the rectangular grid, five squares, the containment of the city (although in Philadelphia’s case with rivers on two sides), the width of streets and the overall scale. Light’s Town Acres compare with Penn’s one-acre or half-acre lots.

Square blocks, as planned by Light and Penn, provide the most flexible basis for accommodating a range of commercial and residential buildings and provide more options for internal division and treatment.⁵² Penn had much in common with the founders of Adelaide, namely liberal political attitudes, a belief in religious freedom, a desire to establish a new paternalistic landed gentry and an agrarian rather than an industrial society.⁵³

Light would have been aware of the layout of London squares before he left for South Australia.⁵⁴ The London square model was recognised as a suitable location

⁴⁸ Hutchings, 2007, p.2.

⁴⁹ Gill, 1910, p.113.

⁵⁰ Johnson & Langmead, 1986, p.14.

⁵¹ Darrel Conybear, oral history interview 16 / 91–93, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

⁵² Llewelyn-Davies, 2000, p.65.

⁵³ Johnson & Langmead, 1986, p.16.

⁵⁴ Whitfield, 2006.

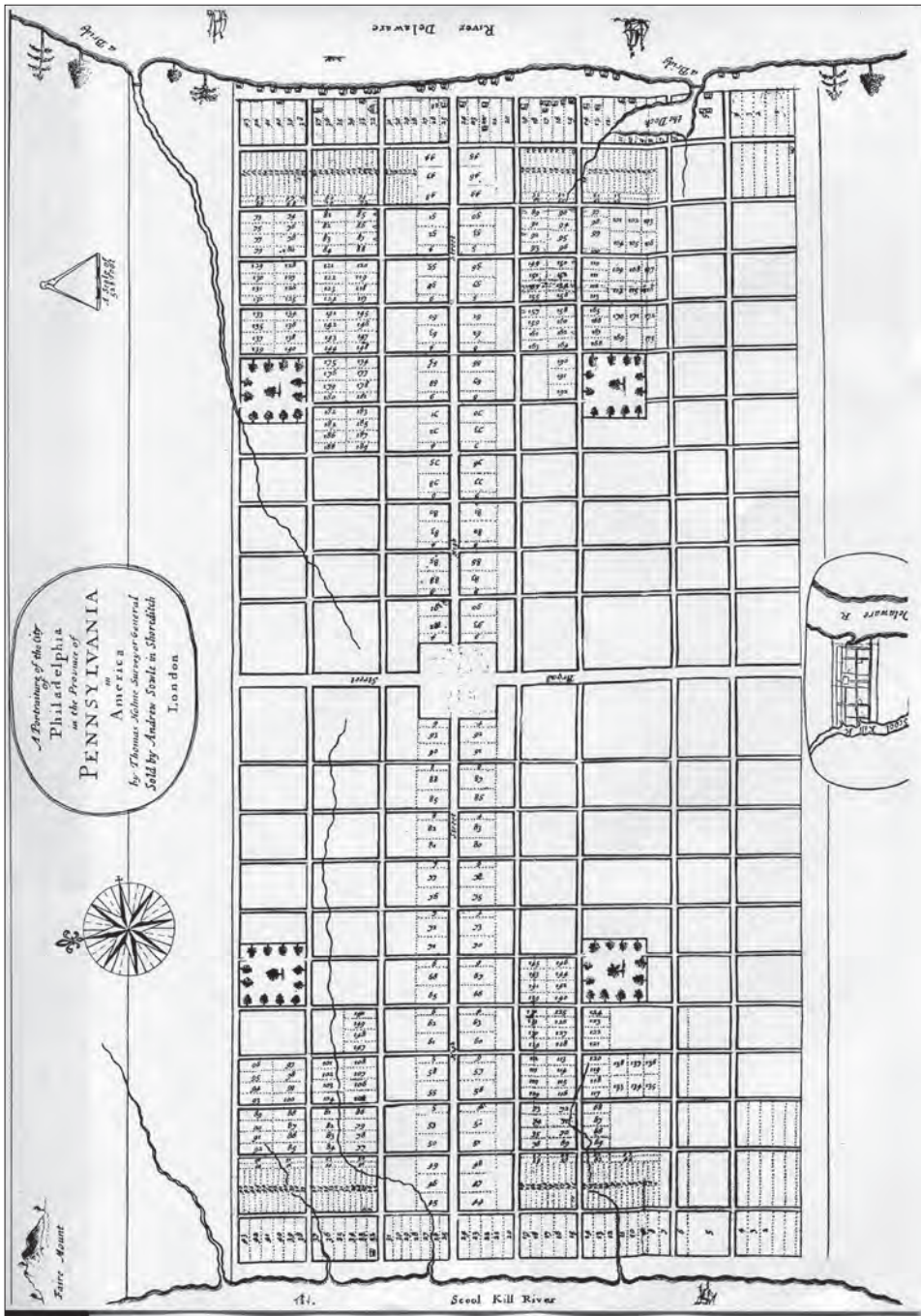


Figure 8: Penn's Plan of Philadelphia

for a town residence and a place where people of the same class had their houses. The squares form fine geometrical figures in the town plan and were London's contribution to city design in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century new parts of London were laid out on the same lines with houses integrated into the squares to create a distinct urban character.⁵⁵

Mary Thomas, one of the original settlers, wrote in her diary in 1837 that it was Colonel Light who had chosen and laid out the site for Adelaide.⁵⁶ However, Johnson and Langmead argue that there is no actual evidence that Light was responsible for the selection of the site and suggest it was really the work of George Kingston, Light's deputy.⁵⁷ They base this view on letters Kingston wrote in 1877, some 30 years after the event, wherein he claimed to have informed Light that he had identified an appropriate site and recommended it to Light.⁵⁸ Whatever role Kingston may actually have played, the ultimate *responsibility* for the choice of the site for the City of Adelaide was that of the Surveyor-General, Colonel William Light. Indeed, Kingston wrote a letter to *The Advertiser* on 12 November 1877:

I deny the right of the Government to interfere with or make use of any portion of the Park Lands not specifically reserved or set apart for Government purposes by Colonel Light and so described on his original plan for the City. I think I may be excused for claiming to speak as an authority on this subject, because my official position next to Colonel Light on the survey staff gave me the best opportunity of knowing every detail of his plans, as well as it being my duty to see that his instructions were properly carried out.

The original requirement was for 1000 Town Acres, each a one-acre (0.41 ha.) lot. Light actually provided 700 Town Acres in the almost rectangular south Adelaide, and a total of 342 Town Acres in the three components making up North Adelaide. Thirty-eight Town Acres had been used to create the six squares, and four had been reserved for Government buildings so that 42 were added to the 1000 available for sale.⁵⁹ In London, 437 Town Acres had been sold at a cost of 12 shillings an acre in accordance with the Act. On 23 March 1837 the remaining lots began to be sold by

⁵⁵ Rasmussen, 1961, pp.157–68.

⁵⁶ Thomas, 1925, 3rd edn, p.80.

⁵⁷ Johnson & Langmead, 1986.

⁵⁸ Johnson & Langmead, 1986, p.36.

⁵⁹ Cheesman, 1986, p.109

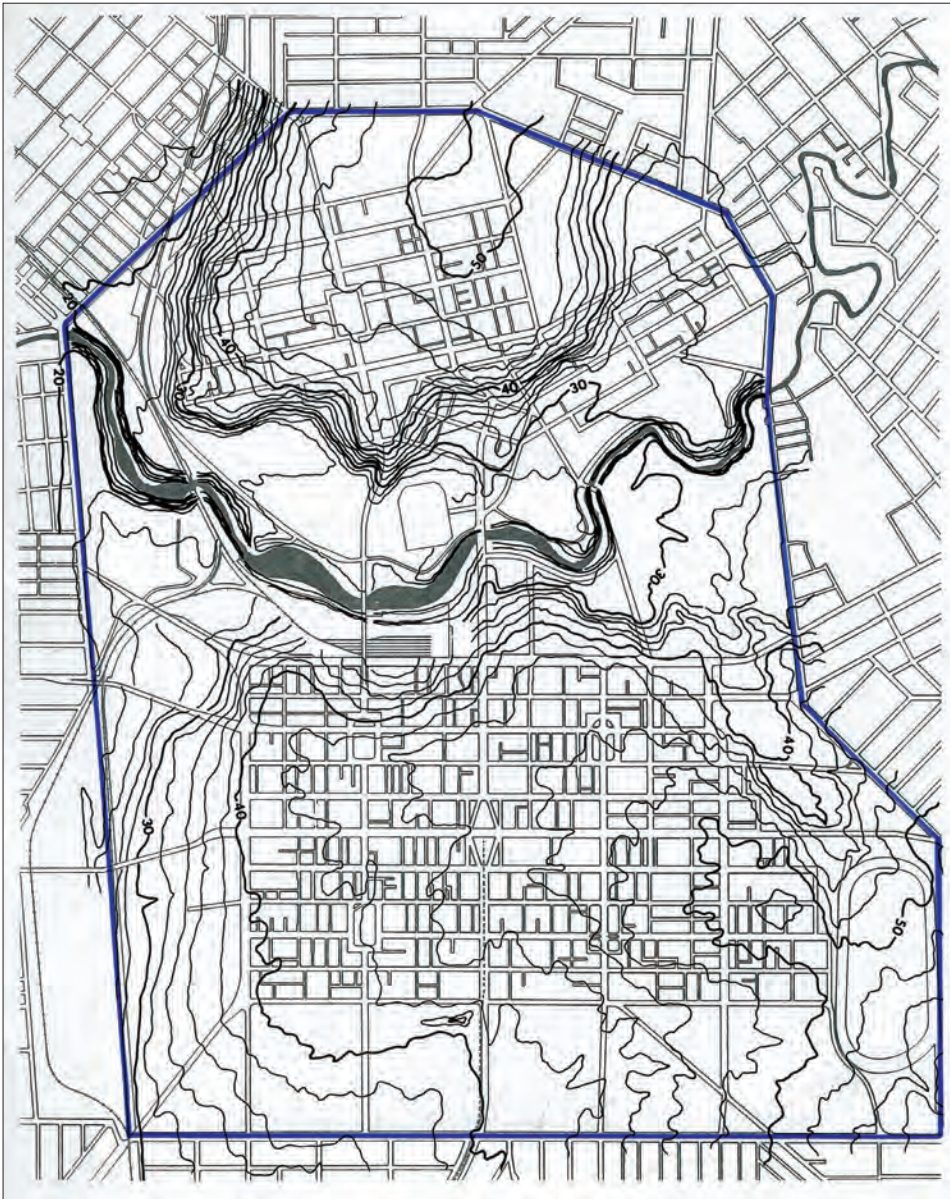


Figure 9: Light's respect for the topography

auction and they were all sold by 28 March 1837.⁶⁰ The South Australian Company bought a number of Town Acres while Governor Hindmarsh personally bought 19 Town Acres and Colonel Light bought 13 Town Acres.⁶¹

Whatever may have been Light's inspiration, his genius was to mould his original concept of two rectangles to the topography so that North Adelaide, and East Terrace in south Adelaide, in particular, follow the contours as shown in Figure 9. Jim Bowen considered that Light also paid respect to views and vistas, and planned his streets to provide a north-south orientation for buildings with protection from the extremes of climate, particularly the sun.⁶²

The task of putting Light's hand-drawn draft plan to paper was given to Robert Thomas, a sixteen-year-old draughtsman, who used watercolour and ink. He was the eldest son of Robert and Mary Thomas, who were amongst the original settlers and established the first newspaper in the colony, *The Register*, on 3 June 1837.⁶³ The Thomas map eventually came into the possession of the History Trust of South Australia, who engaged Artlab Australia to conserve and restore the plan. It is now held in the Migration Museum.⁶⁴

The only buildings that Light indicated in the Park Lands on his plan were the Government House and a (Military) Barracks off North Terrace, a Hospital off East Terrace, a Market off West Terrace, and a (Military) Store and (Aboriginal Mission) School off Strangways Terrace in North Adelaide. The plan also showed the location for a cemetery off West Terrace. Light showed great foresight in providing for the burial of the early colonists as only the colonial government had the resources to manage a cemetery. The West Terrace Cemetery is the only part of the Park Lands that has never been under the care and control of the ACC and has remained a State Government responsibility.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Bunker in Hutchings, 2007, p.13.

⁶¹ The original purchasers of the 1042 numbered Town Acres are shown on a map owned by The Adelaide Club.

⁶² Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 10–12, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁶³ Thomas, 1925, 3rd edn, p.vii.

⁶⁴ Information provided by Artlab Australia, 70 Kintore Avenue, Adelaide.

⁶⁵ Nicol, 1997, p.9.

Many attempts have been made to trace the sources of Light's inspiration for the plan for Adelaide but no direct connection has been made between any town that Light may have visited or served in.⁶⁶ Light's imaginative plan incorporated a range of influences, making it one of the most sophisticated town templates in the world.⁶⁷ But there is little profit in speculating on the origins of Light's plan as Light suffered a terrible blow on 22 January 1839 when his mud and reed hut burnt down and he lost many possessions.⁶⁸ However, some of his artefacts and paintings did survive and are exhibited in the Colonel Light Room in the Adelaide Town Hall. Others are in the State Library and the Art Gallery of South Australia. Light wrote in his diary that:

At 2pm while finishing our dinner a rumbling noise was heard and looking out we discovered Fisher's house to be on fire. At the same time, the breeze freshening up, the destruction to both houses became inevitable. In less than ten minutes both houses were burnt to the ground, mine catching fire at the roof by a lighted piece from Fisher's. We saved nothing of value. Of clothes I only saved what I had on.⁶⁹

According to Freeland, Light's plan for the City of Adelaide is widely highly regarded.⁷⁰ Freestone considers it was an inspiration to split the town and leave the river valley as Park Lands and this lifted the conception 'from being merely good to excellent'.⁷¹ According to the South Australian Department of Planning and Local Government, Adelaide is considered as one of the best urban plans in the world and is on Australia's National Heritage List.⁷² It is a tribute to Light that his plan of Adelaide with its continuous belt of Park Lands survives almost intact and continues to determine the character of the City.⁷³ Adelaide is one of the very few cities in the world whose boundaries have not been changed since their foundation. All the other capital cities in Australia have regularly had their boundaries changed by State

⁶⁶ Freeland, 1968, p.63.

⁶⁷ Freestone, 2010, p.49.

⁶⁸ Dutton, 1960, p.214.

⁶⁹ Light, 1839, p.144.

⁷⁰ Freeland, 1968, p.10.

⁷¹ Freestone 2010, p.92.

⁷² Government of South Australia, Department of Planning & Local Government 2009, p.2.

⁷³ Mann, 1986, p.194.

Governments for political reasons to do with the composition and nature of the capital city councils.⁷⁴ Peter Garrett, the then Minister Commonwealth Minister for Environment, Heritage and the Arts, commented that he had the privilege of adding the ‘Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout’ to the National Heritage List as one of Australia’s greatest examples of planning heritage.⁷⁵ I argue it is the Park Lands that provide Adelaide with a very clear boundary and create the sense of identity of the City. For all time the City will remain in Park Lands as the geographic centre of the metropolitan area of the Adelaide plain with all the advantages of accessibility that entails. The City is equidistant from the northern and southern extremities of the plain, which is bounded by the Adelaide Hills to the east and the Gulf St Vincent to the west.

LIGHT’S WORK AFTER HIS PLAN FOR THE CITY OF ADELAIDE

The ill-feeling between Light and Hindmarsh continued after the site for the City had been resolved. This time it was over the survey of the Country Sections, which Light was required to undertake as part of his position as Surveyor-General. Hindmarsh, as Governor of the whole Colony, was concerned that other land should be surveyed in the country so that it could be sold and settled. In London, the Colonisation Commissioners had promised choice land to potential purchasers and thus Hindmarsh urged Light to proceed with the task of surveying the Country Sections. While Light had been able to survey the City of Adelaide on foot he could not hope to survey the Country Sections outside the City without proper transport, so bullocks were brought from Van Diemen’s Land.⁷⁶ Initially, Light surveyed 515 Country Sections, some of which accommodated 134 acres [54.42 ha.] and the smaller ones 80 acres [32.37 ha.].⁷⁷ The Sections to the north-east from the City are aligned to the path of the River Torrens. To the northwest they radiate from ‘the proposed road and canal to the Harbour’, as annotated on the map.⁷⁸ Otherwise, the Sections follow a north-

⁷⁴ Llewellyn-Smith, *The Advertiser*, 28 April 1998.

⁷⁵ Freestone, 2010, Foreword, p.vii.

⁷⁶ Dutton, 1960, p.243.

⁷⁷ Whitelock, 1977, p.34.

⁷⁸ Bunker in Hutchings, 2007, p.16.

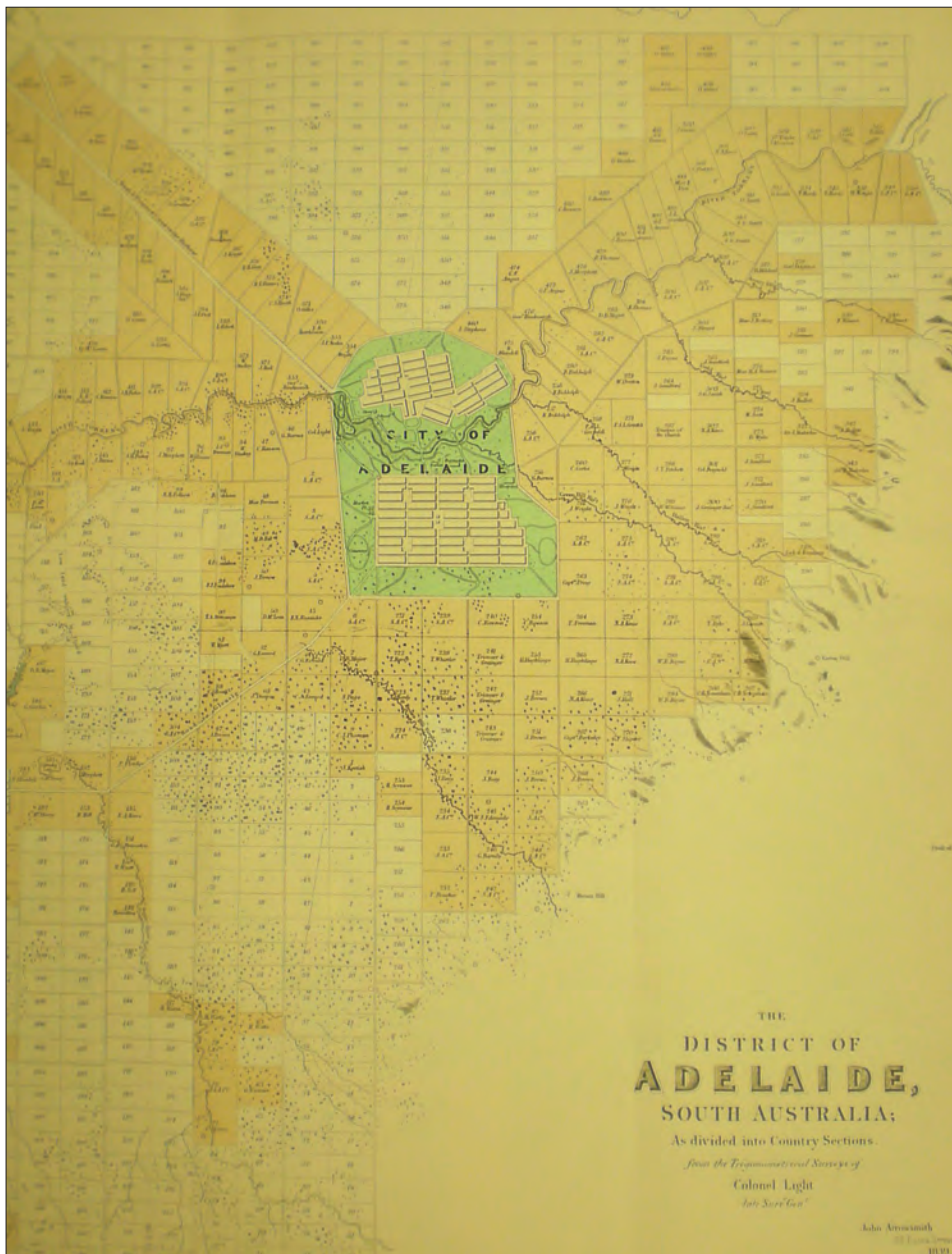


Figure 10: Light's layout of the Country Sections outside the City

south and east-west grid, as Figure 10 shows. As settlement proceeded, farming began and the colonists supplanted the hunting and gathering life of the Kuarna people.⁷⁹

By December 1837 Light and his staff had surveyed a total of 9,838 acres [4,097 ha.]. The future of the colony depended on primary production, which in turn depended on the availability and sale of properly surveyed land for settlement.⁸⁰ A total of 437 preliminary land-orders had been sold in London, which entitled the holders to purchase one Town Acre [0.41 ha.] and 80 acres [32.37 ha.] in the Country Sections.⁸¹

After a petition to the Governor from 116 of the holders of preliminary land-orders then in Adelaide, Hindmarsh finally agreed to hold a ballot on 17 March 1837.⁸² By a remarkable chance, Light's name was drawn first.⁸³ Light chose Country Section 1, which was land west of the Park Lands with a frontage to the River Torrens and which today is in Thebarton.⁸⁴

Light had sent his deputy, Kingston, back to London on the *Rapid* to seek more staff and resources to carry out the survey of the Country Sections. By June 1838, when Kingston returned, a total of 24,595 acres [10,249 ha.] had already been surveyed. But Kingston played Light false and instead of the additional resources requested, Kingston brought with him demands from the Commissioners that Light abandon his trigonometrical survey in favour of an allegedly quicker 'running survey'.⁸⁵ Light and most of his surveying staff resigned immediately. He then formed the firm of Light, Finniss and Co., and the firm subsequently surveyed the areas of Glenelg, Port Adelaide and Gawler. Robert Thomas, the young draughtsman who had been responsible for putting Light's plan down on paper, was a member of the firm.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Hamilton, 2010, p.141.

⁸⁰ Whitelock, 1977, p.34.

⁸¹ Crilly, 1999.

⁸² Prest, Round & Fort 2001, p.547.

⁸³ Dutton, 1960, p.244.

⁸⁴ Light, 1839, p.41.

⁸⁵ Whitelock, 1977, p.34.

⁸⁶ Elder in Light, 1839, revised edition 1984, p.43.

In June 1838 Hindmarsh received orders from the Colonial Commissioners and he was recalled as Governor. Hindmarsh departed South Australia on 14 July 1838 and thus Light outstayed his old foe in the colony.⁸⁷ Light's health declined and he retired to the cottage he had built for himself in Country Section No.1 and called Theberton — after Theberton in Suffolk, where his family had lived.⁸⁸ Light began preparing his *Brief Journal*, based on his diaries, for publication.⁸⁹ He commented in the Preface that his motivation was to justify the correctness of his decision on the choice for the site of the City of Adelaide because of 'the various attacks so insidiously made upon nearly every step I thought fit to take'. The Preface was dated 29 March and it was printed and published by Archibald MacDougall of Rundle Street, Adelaide, on 26 June 1839.⁹⁰ Due to a transcription error 'Theberton' became 'Thebarton' in Light's printed *Brief Journal* and it has remained so ever since.⁹¹

Light became weak and he died of consumption on 6 October 1839.⁹² A copper plate with an inscription describing Light as the founder of the City of Adelaide was placed inside his coffin.⁹³ The funeral procession went from Light's cottage in Thebarton to Trinity Church on North Terrace for the service and then to Light Square where he was buried on 10 October 1839. *The Register* of 12 October 1839 described the funeral as follows:

The procession left Thebarton Cottage a little before twelve and until its arrival at Trinity Church Minute Guns were fired. All business ceased and the flag

⁸⁷ Whitelock, 1977, p.39.

⁸⁸ Dutton, 1960, p.279; Whitelock, 1977, p.35.

⁸⁹ Light, 1839.

⁹⁰ The original work was in a pamphlet-like book and in 1911 it was reprinted as a supplement to the *Proceedings* of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch). A photographic facsimile was published by the State Library of South Australia in 1963 and in 1984 it reappeared as the first publication of the Wakefield Press with an Introduction and Notes by David Elder.

⁹¹ See Elder's footnote 31 on p.55 of his Introduction to the 1984 edition of Light's republished *Brief Journal*.

⁹² Dutton, 1960, p.287.

⁹³ Loyau, 1883, p.159.

at Government House flew at half mast. Four hundred and fifty gentlemen mourned at his graveside.⁹⁴

Colonel George Gawler had been appointed as the Governor to succeed Hindmarsh and he arrived in South Australia on 12 October 1838. He pointedly ignored Light for many months and when he finally invited Light for dinner at Government House, Light declined.⁹⁵ However, when Light died, Gawler immediately sanctioned the expenditure of £100 for a memorial.⁹⁶ It was an irony that the memorial to Light above his gravesite was designed by his former deputy, Kingston, with whom he had fallen out.⁹⁷

The sandstone memorial bore the following inscription:

Erected by
The Pioneers of South Australia
in memory of
COLONEL WILLIAM LIGHT
First Surveyor-General
and by whom
the site of Adelaide was fixed
on 29th December, 1836.
Died 5th October, 1839,
Aged 54 years.⁹⁸

However, the monument crumbled away within a few years and a new memorial, in the form of a theodolite, was erected in 1905 and it remains in Light Square today. The ACC also remembers Light as the founder of the City in an annual ceremony. In 1858 Colonel Light's old friend George Palmer sent a silver bowl to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Adelaide on behalf of himself, Jacob Montefiore, Raikes Currie and Alexander Elder, who had all been influential figures in the settlement of the colony. The bowl has the following inscription:

⁹⁴ Dutton, 1960, p.288; Whitelock, 1977, p.36.

⁹⁵ Dutton, 1960, p.279.

⁹⁶ Whitelock, 1977, p.36.

⁹⁷ Dutton, 1960, p.289.

⁹⁸ Loyau, 1883, p.159.

Presented to the Mayor and Corporation of Adelaide that they may thereout drink in Australian wine to the memory of Lieut. Col. Light, the first Surveyor-General of South Australia.⁹⁹

The ACC authorised the expenditure of funds on colonial wine and the annual tradition of a toast to Light began in 1859. When the Adelaide Town Hall was built in 1868, the ‘Colonel William Light Ceremonial’ took place in the Council Chamber and it became the custom for the Mayor (later Lord Mayor) to deliver an address at the first meeting of the ACC after the elections. Invited guests always included the Governor, Premier and Chief Justice. The various Lord Mayors gave very personal addresses referring to different aspects of Light’s life and work, but always concluded with these words: ‘I ask you to stand and drink, in silence, a toast to the memory of the founder of the City of Adelaide, Colonel William Light.’¹⁰⁰

Commentators on Light, his City Plan and the Park Lands have included Sir Samuel Way, the Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia, who stated in June 1905:

Where in the wide world will you find a city better planned than Adelaide? Adelaide with its broad streets and its squares and its Park Lands — 2,300 acres in extent — a grand inheritance of the citizens for all time. The choice and laying out of the site of the City of Adelaide was an effort of genius.¹⁰¹

Hugh Stretton observed that:

We live in a famously planned town. William Light designed it in one hot Christmas week of 1836; generations later his planning is still blessed, and used as he intended. From a city neighbourhood we step into his versatile Park Lands to play various sports and games, swim, fish, graze horses or bet on them racing, and enjoy the botanical gardens or the local pastime of confusing the university with the zoo. Ten minutes away, Boeings take off to connect it to the rest of the world.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Dutton, 1960, p.289; Whitelock, 1977, p.37.

¹⁰⁰ See Minutes of the first meeting of the new Council of the City of Adelaide after each Council election. I was personally involved in these ceremonies as the Town Clerk from 1982 to 1993.

¹⁰¹ Crilly, 2008.

¹⁰² Stretton, 1970, p.1.



Figure 11: 'Light's Vision'

The influential architect Robin Boyd stated that 'Colonel Light's plan made Adelaide the first city in Australia, if not the world, to provide for the health and recreation of all its citizens',¹⁰³ while Robert Freestone contended that 'Adelaide is the most memorable expression of the "grand model" of the Colonial planning tradition, distinguished by encircling Park Lands and internal public squares'.¹⁰⁴

However, it is Light's own often quoted words that encapsulate his enduring epitaph:

The reasons that led me to fix Adelaide where it is I do not expect to be generally understood or calmly judged of at the present. My enemies, however, by disputing their validity in every particular, have done me the good service of fixing the whole of the responsibility upon me. I am perfectly willing to bear it; and I leave it to posterity, and not to them, to decide whether I am entitled to praise or blame.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Boyd in Serle, 1995, p.119.

¹⁰⁴ Freestone, 2010, p.275.

¹⁰⁵ Light, 1839, Preface.

The ACC commissioned a fine bronze statue of Light to reflect the high regard in which he was held. It was designed by William Birnie-Rhind and erected in Victoria Square in 1906.¹⁰⁶ The statue was moved to its present position on Montefiore Hill, North Adelaide, in 1938, where Light's finger points to the City he founded, as Figure 11 shows. It is now known as 'Light's Vision'.

CONCLUSION

The history of William Light's plan for Adelaide, particularly its siting and the Park Lands, is a very important element in the growth of the City and the State and the 'creative tension' in the political relationship that developed between the ACC and State Government from 1840. I progress this argument in the next two chapters as the framework for the cooperation that emerged between the two bodies in 1972.

¹⁰⁶ Dutton, 1960, p.298; Whitelock 1977, p.67

2

The development of the City and State from 1840 until 1950 and the City/State relationship during this period

THE GROWTH OF THE CITY FROM 1840 UNTIL 1900

The *South Australia Colonisation Act 1834* (UK) provided for the operation of local government in the colony and the *Municipal Corporation Act 1840*, passed by Governor Gawler, made Adelaide the second oldest City in the British Commonwealth outside Britain itself. Only Toronto in Canada, established in 1834, is an older local government.

The first elections for the ACC were held in October 1840 and James Fisher was elected as Mayor. The economy became depressed and the ACC failed financially after little more than a year. The affairs of the City were transferred to a City Commission consisting of five persons nominated by the Governor. The Commission had the power to levy rates and was responsible for maintaining the streets and bridges as well as constructing sewers and establishing waterworks.¹

William Light's original plan had identified some uses to be located in the Park Lands, as described in Chapter 1. Schedule J to the *Municipal Corporation Act for the*

¹ Worsnop, 1878, p.91.

City of Adelaide 1849 clarified that the Park Lands were under the care, control and management of the ACC except for Government Reserves, which included West Terrace Cemetery.²

By the 1830s there were substantial railway lines in Britain and one criticism of Light's Plan for the City was that he made no provision for the inevitable impact of a railway. However, Mary Thomas has noted that Light considered a railway to the port would be required.³ The *Adelaide City and Port Railway Act 1850* allocated land for a railway to be built to Port Adelaide which would go through the Park Lands to the west of the City from a terminus on North Terrace. Construction started in 1852 and the railway was the first major alienation of the Park Lands.⁴

On 1 June 1852 the ACC was re-established by the Governor with four Aldermen and 12 Councillors and Fisher was again elected as the Mayor.⁵ The British Government encouraged the development of representative government in the Australian colonies through the *Australian Colonies Government Act 1850* (UK). South Australia had a Legislative Council consisting of four officials, four non-officials appointed by the Governor and 16 members elected by the people. The Legislative Council drafted its own Constitution, which provided for a parliament, and this constitution was adopted in 1856. This completely altered the Governor's position of influence as he could no longer act on his own authority but only on the advice of Ministers who were responsible to parliament. Only males over 21 years of age who owned property were entitled to vote in the elections for a representative South Australian colonial government. These elections were first held in March 1857, some 17 years after a representative ACC had been elected.⁶

The business functions of the agricultural sector and later the manufacturing sector were located in the City. Because of Light's foresight and the influence he had in siting the City, it remained as the geographic centre of the metropolitan area. It also became the hub of the transportation system and was supreme as the political,

² Daly, 1980, p.32.

³ Thomas, 1925 3rd edn, p.89.

⁴ Daly, 1980, p.132.

⁵ Worsnop, 1878, p.101.

⁶ Parliament of South Australia, 2008.

administrative, legal, academic and ecclesiastical centre of South Australia.⁷

Thomas Worsnop exercised considerable influence on the development of the City, serving as the ACC Town Clerk from 1869 until 1898. He died in office at the age of 79.⁸ He wrote a detailed history of the City that included the relationship between the ACC and the State in terms of legislation that impacted on the City.⁹ For example, in 1858 the colonial parliament enacted the *Real Property (Torrens Title) Act 1858*, which created a simplified, cheap and efficient system of land title registration. The Act was formulated by the then Premier, Sir Robert Torrens, and it introduced a land register where the registered proprietor of land has an indefeasible title to it. This was unique in South Australia and the other States later copied it.¹⁰

The State continued to alienate areas of Park Lands and excised them from the care, control and management of the ACC. In 1861, four acres [1.62 ha] of the western Park Lands were allocated for an observatory. Two years later, a further 20 acres [8.09 ha] in the north-western Park Lands were set aside for the Adelaide Gaol.¹¹

The *Adelaide University Act 1874* was passed to establish the University of Adelaide so that a gift of £20,000 from Walter Hughes to endow two professorships could be put into effect. Hughes had become wealthy from the copper discovered on his property in Wallaroo on Yorke Peninsula.¹² For the first time, five acres [2.02 ha] of prime Government Reserve in the Park Lands were allocated for an institutional use.¹³ This was not without some opposition and in the debate of the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly, James Fisher, a former Mayor, regretted the use of the Park Lands for an exclusive purpose as, in his view, they had been created for the glory of the colony and were now being alienated.¹⁴

The *Parliament Buildings Act 1877* authorised Park Lands on the northern side of North Terrace to be used for the Houses of Parliament. The *National Gallery*

⁷ Roche & Llewellyn-Smith, 1976, p.98; Morton, 1996, p.xii.

⁸ Morton, 1996.

⁹ Worsnop, 1878.

¹⁰ Whitelock, 1977, p.102.

¹¹ Daly, 1980, p.128.

¹² Whitelock, 1977, p.102.

¹³ Worsnop, 1878, p.371.

¹⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, South Australian House of Assembly, 29 October 1874.

of *South Australia Act 1881* alienated more Park Lands so that an Art Gallery could also be built on the northern side of North Terrace. The ACC was supportive of the university, parliament and art gallery and did not oppose the loss of Park Lands for these purposes.¹⁵ At this time in 1881, Mayor [Sir] Edwin Smith was responsible for damming the River Torrens to create the Torrens Lake, which Light's Plan did not envisage. Smith was one of many members of the ACC who also had successful careers in Parliament.¹⁶ Others besides James Fisher included Mayors William Townsend, Henry Fuller, John Colton, Henry Scott and Lewis Cohen.¹⁷

By the 1870s the City was suffering from an unpleasant atmosphere arising from defective drainage, foul-smelling water tables and an enormous accumulation of night soil. In 1878, work began on a sophisticated underground waterborne sewerage system.¹⁸ The installation of sewer mains and a sewerage farm at Islington in 1881 meant Adelaide was the first Australian city to have a complete and modern sewer system and this was another South Australian innovation.¹⁹ However, there was a small loss of some Park Lands for the system's valve house. Over the years, small pieces of the Park Lands, particularly those in Government reserves, have been alienated for various purposes simply by means of a proclamation in the *Government Gazette*.²⁰

The South Australian Parliament enfranchised women in 1894. This was another innovation and a constitutional first in Australia, largely achieved through the formation in 1888 of the Women's Suffrage League, which had a notable power base in Adelaide, particularly through the Methodist Church.²¹

CITY-STATES

A city-state is a defined geographical area comprising a central city with adjacent territories that together make up a single political entity. City-states first appeared

¹⁵ Worsnop, 1878, p.401.

¹⁶ Whitelock, 1977, p.112.

¹⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Mayors of Adelaide from 1840.

¹⁸ Whitelock, 1977, p.111.

¹⁹ Shannahan, Jones & Hughes, 2010.

²⁰ Daly, 1980, p.56.

²¹ Whitelock, 1977, p.218.

in Mesopotamia around 3200–3000 BC. One city was so superior in terms of population and power relative to any other cities in the urban hierarchy that it was indisputably paramount and the focal point of the state.²² City-states were distinctive as they exhibited the trappings of states, but supported a comparatively sophisticated urban culture.

The city-states of Greece, particularly Athens and Sparta, had a commercial role where manufactured goods were traded for agricultural imports. The city was the ‘central place’ and had a sphere of influence over the surrounding area, although Athens itself did not occupy a large amount of land.²³

In Italy, from the seventh century onwards, there were city-states in Milan, Venice, Genoa, Florence and Sienna. City-states emerged in northern Europe in the thirteenth century. The Renaissance in Europe fostered trade links in these city-states. Particular cities favoured by international trade also gained from the centralisation of political control and government functions. The dominant cities evolved as reasonably independent city-states with their own hinterlands, or as a loose-knit group of centres seeking mutual advantage from trade or cultural ties.²⁴

With the unification of the Italian and German city-states in the middle of the eighteenth century, the city-state model gradually disappeared and today city-state governance only survives in the Vatican, Singapore, Monaco and San Marino.²⁵ City-states have distinctive qualities in that a theoretical body of knowledge, together with a system of values, provides the intellectual framework that largely determines how problems and issues that arise in cities are perceived and how forms of action to respond to these are taken. A city is a complex amalgam of past, present and newly forming patterns that coexist in the urban landscape.²⁶

The way cities are organised spatially says a great deal about their governance and the economic, political and cultural systems of the societies in which they have evolved. The city is an arena for economic development, political action, social life and environmental stress. In Adelaide the population continued to grow and expand

²² Toynbee, 1979, p.44.

²³ Badcock, 2002, pp.20–41.

²⁴ Badcock, 2002, pp.42–49.

²⁵ Badcock, 2002, p.43.

²⁶ Badcock, 2002, pp.1–3.

beyond the Park Lands while the City retained its commercial and political dominance during the remainder of the nineteenth century. The City was totally dominant within the metropolitan area and therefore Adelaide had the nature of a city-state. In many respects, the history of Adelaide is the history of South Australia. A small group of people who controlled the money and made all the important decisions influenced the governance of Adelaide and South Australia.²⁷ Understanding governance and influence holds the key to how a city is created and modified over time.²⁸

THE ADELAIDE CLUB AND ITS INFLUENCE

In the City of Adelaide, the pinnacle influence existed in The Adelaide Club.²⁹ Old Adelaide families with names such as Barr Smith, Bonython, Elder, Morphett, Seppelt and Rymill appeared in Parliament and the ACC with common membership of The Adelaide Club.³⁰ It was established in 1868 by businessmen and pastoralists who had profited from the early years of rapid growth.³¹ The Club was built on North Terrace in 1863 (see Figure 12) as the home of the Adelaide male establishment. Members of the Club exercised influence through their membership of the ACC and through the property-based franchise of the Legislative Council. Indeed, as Fischer and Seamark suggest, more decisions affecting the development of South Australia were made in The Adelaide Club than in Parliament.³² The Adelaide oligarchy tended to marry each other's money, meet at the Club and 'preserve standards' in quaint Victorian ways. But they were honest, often puritanical and were used to cosy but lawful relations between business and government.³³

The ties between The Adelaide Club, the ACC and the Legislative Council through property ownership were remarkable. The City represented a powerful

²⁷ Sandercock, 1975a; Morton, 1996; Linn, 2006.

²⁸ Badcock, 2002, p.225.

²⁹ Whitelock, 1977 p.213.

³⁰ Morgan, 1971.

³¹ Fischer & Seamark, 2005.

³² Fischer & Seamark, 2005.

³³ Stretton, 1975, p.133.

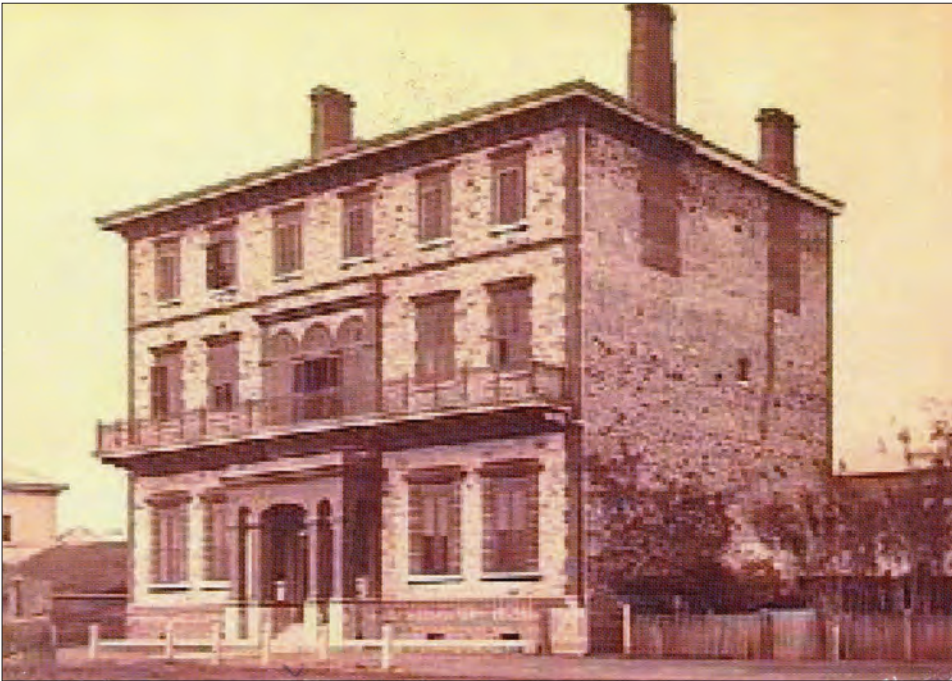


Figure 12: The Adelaide Club when constructed on North Terrace in 1863

pastoral-based economy that enabled a particular pattern of power and authority to evolve. Thus, it was not a surprise that the ACC exerted considerable influence in colonial and State affairs. There was an old joke that the ACC and the Legislative Council did not operate in a party political sense because they were just one party.³⁴

When Don Dunstan became Premier he soon came to the view that the ACC resented any interference by the State and could gather to itself a majority of reactionaries in the Legislative Council to resist any initiative by the Government. In fact, some of these reactionaries were, or had been formerly, members of the ACC and overwhelmingly represented the Adelaide establishment.³⁵ An example is the Town Planning Bill of 1916, which I discuss later in this chapter.

³⁴ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 57–61, Melbourne, 17 April 2008.

³⁵ Dunstan, 1981, p.184.

TOWN PLANNING AND THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT

There are considerable discourses on the historical growth of town planning and the garden city movement.³⁶ The development of town planning as a reform movement in Britain originated in the concern of some intellectuals and politicians about the social and economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution, which brought ugliness and squalor to the cities. The rise of town planning as an intellectual activity was in large measure the story of the rise of modern cities, urban culture and the associated skills of social science and urban administration.³⁷

Writers and philosophers condemned the life of industrial cities, but more practically-minded men and women sought to improve them by sanitary reform and by creating model industrial villages.³⁸ By the 1830s, industrialisation had created immense changes in the cities of Britain. They were being overwhelmed by crime, destitution and overcrowding. Disease, particularly cholera, resulted from foul sewerage and bad water.³⁹

A House of Commons Select Committee Report in 1840, *The Health of Towns*, made some radical findings. First, unhealthy conditions created an economic loss and reduced labour productivity. Second, towns fostered unrest and defiance of the law, which threatened social order. Property was a dominant theme and a major consideration of all reformers.⁴⁰ Indeed, David Eversley considered that the later emergence of town planning can be seen simply as an instrument of property protection.⁴¹

The *Public Health Act 1875* (UK) gave local authorities the power to control the standard of new dwellings, while the *Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890* (UK)

³⁶ Sharp, 1940; Ashworth, 1954; Brown & Sherrard, 1961; Wingo, 1963; Chapin, 1965; Johnson-Marshall, 1966; Brown, Sherrard & Shaw, 1969; Keeble, 1969; Bell, 1972; Cherry, 1972, 1974; Cullingworth, 1972; Wilson, 1975; Simpson, 1985; Hall, 1990, 1996; Hall in Freestone, 2000, and Freestone, 1982, 1989, 1997, 2000, 2007, 2010.

³⁷ Banovetz, 1971, p.297.

³⁸ Sandercock, 1975a, p.12.

³⁹ Hall, 1998, p.658.

⁴⁰ Sandercock, 1975a, p.12.

⁴¹ Eversley, 1973, p.15.

gave local authorities the power to deal with the closure and removal of unhealthy dwellings and the power to build new dwellings for the working classes from public funds.⁴² The issues of health, housing and planning were linked in the *Housing and Town Planning Act 1909* (UK), where the words ‘town planning’ were used for the first time.⁴³ John Burns MP, in speaking to the Bill in the House of Commons, said:

The Bill aims in broad outline at, and hopes to secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful the town pleasant, the city dignified and the suburbs salubrious.⁴⁴

There was a strong belief amongst the technical professions of architecture and engineering that legislation could provide a better life for communities as social improvement depended on environmental improvement.⁴⁵ According to Leonie Sandercock, low-density housing became the overriding principle of planning and the ideas of community and of social integration were assumed to be achievable by physical means.⁴⁶

As well as the campaigns for better public health standards with technical improvements because of the emergence of professional surveyors and engineers, there was a landscape movement with painters such as Wilson and Constable leading a change from the formal to the picturesque with parks, trees and open spaces and the idea of a garden suburb. Some enlightened factory owners provided better living conditions through private enterprise as a means of practical sociology. These included Titus Salt’s Saltaire in 1852, George Cadbury’s Bournville in 1879, the Lever Brothers’ Port Sunlight in 1888 and Joseph Rowntree’s New Earswick in 1904.⁴⁷ As early as 1799, Robert Owen had improved the physical environment for the workers at the mills he owned in New Lanark, Scotland, which had resulted in improved productivity and profits. In 1817 he put forward a plan to construct cooperative communities and while it came to nothing, its significance lay in its insistence on a

⁴² Bennett, 1976, p.13.

⁴³ Sandercock, 1975a, p.14.

⁴⁴ House of Commons (UK), *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 188, May 1908.

⁴⁵ Eversley, 1973, p.55.

⁴⁶ Sandercock, 1975a, p.15.

⁴⁷ Brown & Sherrard, 1959, p.275.

planned community with regard to social and economic aspects as well as its physical shape.⁴⁸

Particular people fostered the development of town planning as a profession in Britain and America.⁴⁹ The Royal Institute of British Architects held a Town Planning conference in London in 1910 attended by the leaders in the emerging profession, which included David Burnham and Charles Robinson from the USA, Eugene Henard from France, Josef Stubben from Germany, and Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes from Britain.⁵⁰ Geddes and Howard were active in founding The Royal Town Planning Institute in London in 1914.⁵¹ Geddes argued that town planners needed to realise the importance of both people and the environment. He considered that all relevant factors had to be taken into account in the planning process and that synergy could be achieved through the cooperative action of everyone involved.⁵²

The American City Planning Institute was incorporated in 1917 and can trace its roots back to 1909 when the first National Conference on City Planning was held in Washington, DC, and an organised planning movement emerged from subsequent conferences.⁵³ The terms 'city beautiful', 'city functional' and 'city social' were used in relation to the new science of town planning aimed at improving urban health, efficiency and beauty.⁵⁴ The 'city beautiful' movement assumed that an attractive city would become an economically vital, socially harmonious city and the movement saw ugliness itself as the root of most urban ills.⁵⁵

Howard published *Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform* in 1898 and it was republished in 1902 with its better-known title of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. A new edition with a preface by Frederick Osborn was published in 1945.⁵⁶ Howard argued that what was needed was a marriage of town and country; rustic health and sanity was to be balanced with urban activity and knowledge to provide a foundation for

⁴⁸ Brown & Sherrard, 1959, p.274.

⁴⁹ Tregenza, 2007, p.45.

⁵⁰ Freestone, 2007, p.19.

⁵¹ Hall, in Freestone 2000, p.21.

⁵² Geddes, 1915.

⁵³ American Planning Association, 2009.

⁵⁴ Freestone, 2008, p.72.

⁵⁵ Benovetz, 1970, p.305.

⁵⁶ Freestone, 1989, p.2.

effective community life.⁵⁷ Howard's 'garden city movement' promoted house-and-garden living while the 'city beautiful' ideas were associated with grand civic art and aesthetic reforms.⁵⁸ According to Osborne, the essence of Howard's thinking was:

- moderately sized industrial and trading towns in close contact with surrounding agricultural countryside;
- each one a healthy, well-equipped and coherent community;
- zoning of areas within each town for ready access between homes, workplaces, shops and cultural centres;
- gardens and recreation spaces;
- limitations of density to safeguard light;
- civic design aiming at harmony rather than standardisation;
- planned internal and external communications; and,
- unified site ownership coupled with leaseholds, reconciling public interest with freedom of choice.⁵⁹

Howard referred to Wakefield's proposals for South Australia for an organised migratory movement as a systematic plan of colonisation that could be used as a model for populating a new Garden City.⁶⁰ Howard was markedly influenced by Light's plan of Adelaide,⁶¹ asking his readers to:

Consider for a moment the case of a city in Australia which in some measure illustrates the principle for which I am contending. The City of Adelaide is surrounded by Park Lands. The city is built up. How does it grow? It grows by leaping over the Park Lands and establishing North Adelaide. And this is the principle which it is intended to follow, but improve upon in the Garden City.⁶²

The 'picture' portrays the Park Lands as constraining the growth of the central area with a new suburb of North Adelaide emerging to the north of the Park Lands. But Howard had failed to understand that both North Adelaide and south Adelaide were part of Light's original plan for the City and that North Adelaide did not develop later as a separate entity after 'leaping over the Park Lands'.

⁵⁷ Howard, 1945, p.29.

⁵⁸ Freestone, 2010, p.14.

⁵⁹ Osborn in Howard, 1945, Preface.

⁶⁰ Howard, 1945, p.29.

⁶¹ Cheesman, 1986, p.152.

⁶² Howard, 1898.

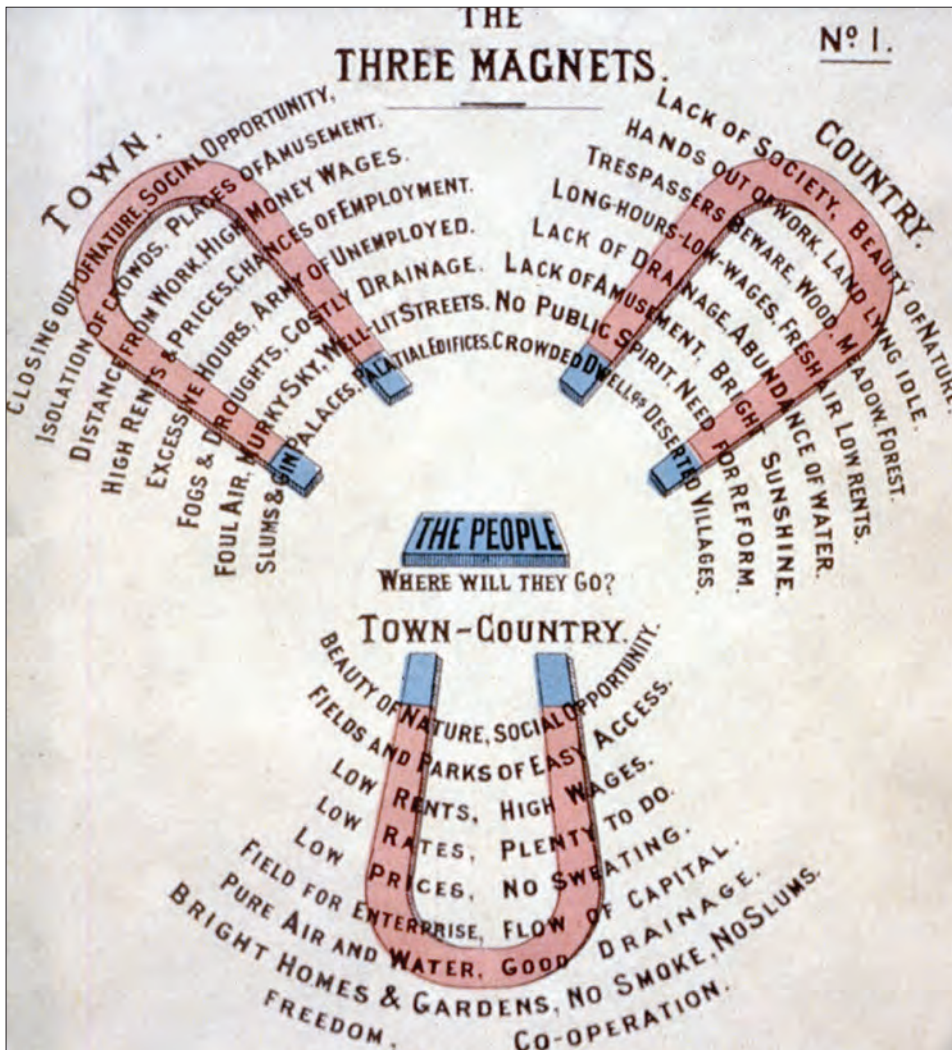


Figure 13: The three magnets of Howard

Howard saw the town-country magnet as drawing people towards it because a town of limited size would combine all the advantages of both the town and the country while having the disadvantages of neither.⁶³ The ‘Garden City’ was a distinctive approach to urban and regional planning that was later to help shape the residential environment of many Australians. Howard’s illustration of a magnet as

⁶³ Keeble, 1969, p.106.

shown in Figure 13 has been described as the most famous town planning diagram in the world.⁶⁴

THE INFLUENCE OF CHARLES READE IN ADELAIDE

Charles Reade was influential in promoting town planning in South Australia.⁶⁵ Reade was also the single most important figure in Australian garden city history because he was an active proponent and advocate of its ideals, although he was not involved in the original theory and diagrams.⁶⁶ Reade's ideas were essentially spatial and administrative concepts gleaned from others.⁶⁷

Reade was born in New Zealand in 1880 and spent his formative years in Sydney and Hobart. In 1906, when in London, he drafted a series of articles for Australian newspapers. These were published later as *The Revelation of Britain: a Book for Colonials*, which outlined his ideas for town planning reform.⁶⁸ In 1913 Reade was acting as Secretary of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and editing its magazine. He promoted the concept of a tour in Australasia and Mayor John Lavington Bonython of Adelaide supported the idea.⁶⁹ The outbreak of war in 1914 did not stop the tour and Reade used a controversial title to promote his lectures in Adelaide in October that year. This was 'Garden Cities v. Adelaide Slums and Suburbs' with lantern photographs of Adelaide's back yards and lanes compared with the garden suburbs of London. There was a predictable outcry from the ACC with the Acting Mayor, Alderman Lewis Cohen, declaring that there were no 'slums' in Adelaide and the City was the garden city of Australia because of the Park Lands.

However, articles in both *The Advertiser* and the *South Australian Register* suggested there was some truth in Reade's claims.⁷⁰ Indeed, there were groups of houses within walking distance of the Post Office that were scarcely fit for human

⁶⁴ Freestone, 1989, p.2.

⁶⁵ Tregenza, 2007, p.47.

⁶⁶ Freestone, 1989, p.76.

⁶⁷ Cheesman, 1986, p.173.

⁶⁸ Tregenza, 2007, p.45; Cheesman, 1986, p.173.

⁶⁹ Tregenza, 2007, p.48.

⁷⁰ *The Advertiser*, 7 October 1914, p.5; *South Australian Register*, 7 October 1914, p.6c.

habitation.⁷¹ The city fathers were in self-denial about the situation.⁷² Mayor Isaacs later acknowledged that there were a few areas in the City that were of poor quality with decrepit cottages, but he argued that they were not 'slums'. Victorian-era Adelaide contained many narrow lanes and alleys that had been cut into Light's original deep Town Acres. The Town Acres were often subdivided into 12 lots, but occasionally 26 lots, and this was the basis for overcrowding and the emergence of 'slums'.⁷³ Cottages were often erected right onto these lanes, which created the smaller lots and usually there were no backyards. Peter Morton considered that, as a matter of definition, these could fairly be classified as 'slums'.⁷⁴

Reade was hostile towards dense living in the City. His work could be summarised as 'one family, one home, one garden' and he exaggerated the case for decentralisation and the garden city ideal.⁷⁵ The density in the City in 1908 was 10.9 persons to the acre, the lowest of all the capital cities in Australia.⁷⁶

Reade offered to become an advisor to the South Australian government and in 1915 the newly elected Vaughan Labor Government appointed him as the Government Town Planner, the first such appointment in Australia. In 1916 Reade prepared a Town Planning and Housing Bill that reflected the earlier British legislation but it contained some substantial new elements based on North American legislation.⁷⁷ This was the first town planning legislation in Australia. A central Town Planning Commission was proposed that would subordinate the role of local government to the State in the preparation of town planning schemes.⁷⁸

The Municipal Tramways Trust (MTT) was established in 1907 when private tramways were taken over by the State, and the lines were electrified in 1914.⁷⁹ The MTT had the power to lay tracks without ACC approval. When they dissected the

⁷¹ Tregenza, 2007, p.50.

⁷² Freestone, 2010, p.214 citing Tregenza.

⁷³ McDougall & Vines, 1993, p.59.

⁷⁴ Morton 1996, p.196.

⁷⁵ Morton, 1996, p.202.

⁷⁶ Freestone, 1989, p.42.

⁷⁷ Hutchings, 2007, p.61.

⁷⁸ Freestone, 1989, p.200.

⁷⁹ McDougall & Vines, 1993, p.57.

Squares and Park Lands with new tracks, the ACC protested.⁸⁰ Town Clerk George Ellery said that the Act that had allowed this to happen was the most atrocious legislation ever passed by the South Australian Parliament. The ACC appeared not to appreciate the power proposed for the MTT when the Bill was before the Legislative Council. However, this added to the argument against the proposed town planning legislation that provided for a State instrumentality with power over the City. The ACC saw it as a challenge to its right to steer the destiny of the City.⁸¹ Thus, the ACC became the greatest opponent of the Town Planning Bill and sought to amend the legislation to give it the ability to carry out its own town planning scheme. When the State rejected this, the ACC used its influence in the Legislative Council and, after much debate, the Bill was defeated.

Stuart Hart observed the following in relation to State legislation excluding the City:

There is a long history of the City being treated separately which can be traced back to the arrival of Reade and his publicised view that there were slums in the City of Adelaide. This had provoked intense feeling by the City Council and when the Town Planning Bill of 1916 (which lapsed) finally became law in 1920, the City of Adelaide was excluded. There are numerous other examples of the City having its own legislation, or being excluded from the provisions of other Acts, notably the *Highways Act* which meant that the Commissioner of Highways had no jurisdiction in the City.⁸²

Reade was responsible for organising the First Australian Town Planning Conference in Adelaide in 1917 and managed to bring together some 250 delegates, including Mayor Isaacs of Adelaide.⁸³ In support of the conference, Reade prepared an exhibition that included an illustration of his ideas. Had his proposal for an outer belt of Park Lands come to fruition (see Figure 14), there would have been a substantial difference in the development of Adelaide's metropolitan area.

Reade's scheme for the metropolitan area was innovative and was the first Australian metropolitan strategy, linking broad ideas to functional land use proposals.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Morton, 1996, p.194.

⁸¹ Morton 1996, p.195.

⁸² Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 26–31, Springfield, 5 April 2007.

⁸³ Tregenza, 2007, p.53.

⁸⁴ Freestone, 2010, p.140.

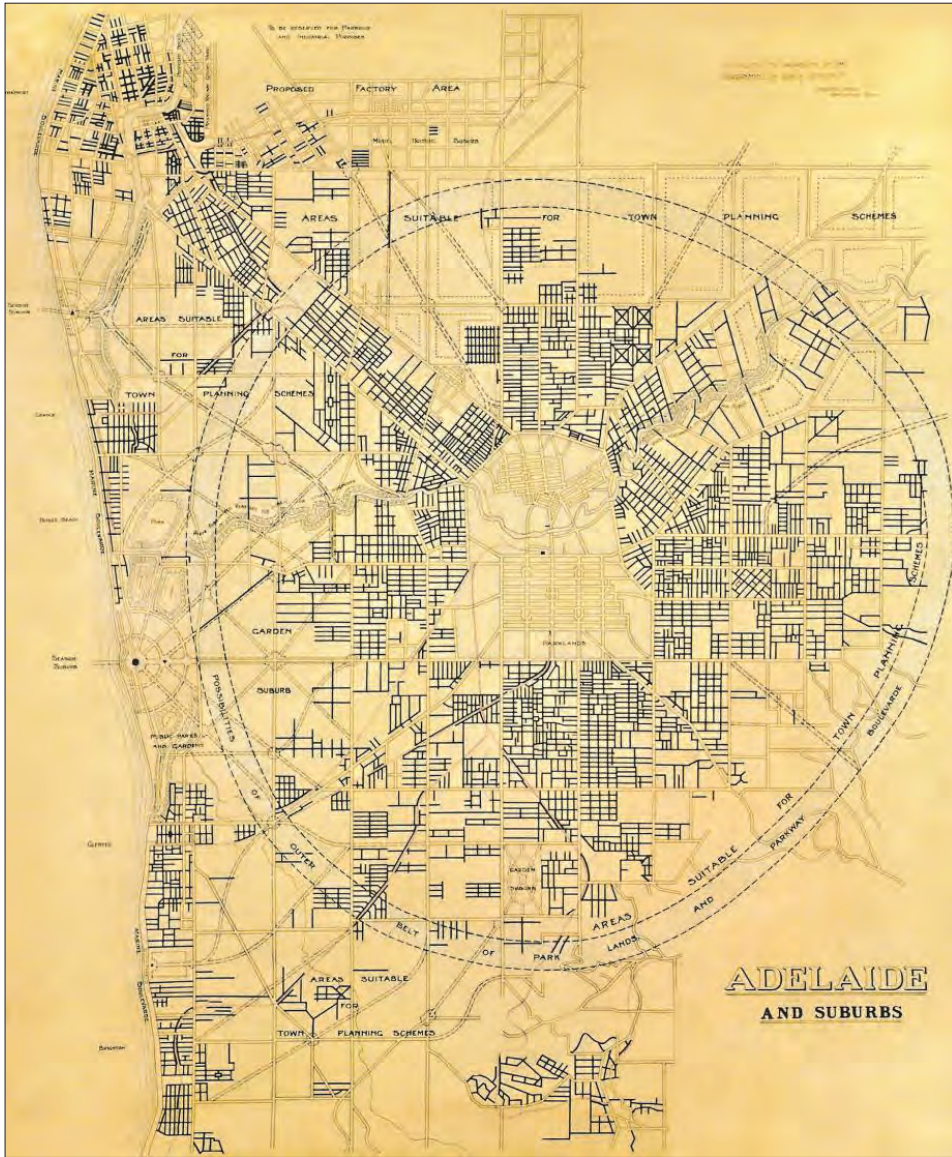


Figure 14: Reade's proposal for an outer belt of Park Lands

According to Whitelock, the rejection of Reade's proposal for a second ring of Park Lands, when there was still space and time for them to be reserved, partly explains the strong community feeling for the protection of Light's original Park Lands.⁸⁵ Whitelock argued that if a second belt of Park Lands had been established the original Park Lands would not have remained so important. There has been longstanding resistance in Adelaide by the community and ACC to any proposed incursions into the Park Lands by the State.⁸⁶

A more cautious Bill, introduced in 1919, allowed a local government to initiate its own town planning scheme that the State Government could not override. After much debate in the Legislative Council, the *Town Planning Act 1920* was passed but with the notable and predictable exception that the City of Adelaide was excluded from its provisions and the ability for the Government Town Planner to make town planning by-laws was deleted. At issue was governance — the power of the State, through the Government Town Planner, to exercise central control over local government. The ACC had sufficient influence to ensure this did not happen in Adelaide. However, the Act did provide for the statutory recognition for the position of Government Town Planner and his Department but there were no technical means to achieve the goals of the Act.⁸⁷

Reade's contribution to town planning in South Australia was adaptive spatial planning on the ground combined with enthusiastic proposals for reform but he was frustrated by property owners' hostile opposition to any form of development control.⁸⁸ Reade's work resulted in the *Building Act 1923*, which did improve physical living conditions but there were long-term implications of a minimum size building block in the City as the ACC tried to balance residential, commercial and industrial uses.⁸⁹

Reade's plan for the suburb of Colonel Light Gardens was a showcase for the principles of the garden city movement.⁹⁰ It was his most important and complete

⁸⁵ Whitelock, 1977, p.187.

⁸⁶ Freestone, 2010, p.243.

⁸⁷ Hutchings, 2007, p.68.

⁸⁸ Cheesman, 1986, p.181.

⁸⁹ Morton 1996, p.203.

⁹⁰ Freestone, 1989, p.170.

physical legacy in Australia.⁹¹ Reade left Adelaide in December 1920, a few days after the *Town Planning Act 1920* was passed, seeking new challenges in the Federated Malay States. While Reade raised the profile of town planning and achieved the support of the State, he could not change the influence of the ACC in the Legislative Council looking after the interests of City property owners.⁹² Reade's departure was a major cause of the decline of town planning in South Australia in the 1920s.⁹³

INFLUENCES IN ADELAIDE AFTER READE

After Reade, the Government Town Planners from 1915 until the Great Depression of the early 1930s were William Earle, Walter Scott Griffiths and Harold Day.⁹⁴ Earle was appointed to follow Reade but resigned in 1922 after a brief period in office. He was followed by Scott Griffiths, who attempted some improvements to the legislation, including a form of zoning. However, the ACC and the Legislative Council saw his Amendment Bill of 1925 as a duplication of the *Building Act 1923*. This Act provided the basis for dealing with new building materials and new technologies, particularly the complexities of reinforced concrete structures.⁹⁵ The Amendment Bill prohibited the erection or alteration of certain classes of buildings and as this implied a form of zoning, the ACC opposed it. Thus, the Bill lapsed in the Legislative Council. Hart commented that:

Reade was the first State Town Planner, followed by Earle, Scott Griffiths and Day. Reade's planning legislation of 1920 was repealed in 1930 and the function became one of only controlling the subdivision of land.⁹⁶

Scott Griffiths died in office and was followed by Day but when the *Town Planning Act 1920* was repealed in 1930, the Government Town Planner function was absorbed into the Registrar-General's Office. The Labor Government had supported

⁹¹ Freestone, 2010, p.179; Garnaut 1995, 1997, 2000, 2006; Hutchings & Garnaut 2009.

⁹² Tregenza, 2007, p.59.

⁹³ Sandercock, 1975a, p.47.

⁹⁴ Hutchings, 2007, pp.61–83.

⁹⁵ McDougall & Vines, 1993, p.60.

⁹⁶ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 13–15, Springfield, 5 April 2007.

town planning as a comprehensive process but it lost the 1927 election to the Butler Liberal and Country Party Alliance. Town planning post-1927 had become no more than a means of controlling the subdivision of land.⁹⁷ The forces of reaction in Adelaide had been mounting and they blamed the Town Planning Department for hindering the development of the State.⁹⁸ The new conservative Government argued the familiar theme of town planning threatening the rights of people to profit from their property. Governments have traditionally viewed the protection of property as more important than the provision of services or amenities.⁹⁹

The ACC was not interested in the views of the Parliament or the public — it firmly believed that its view of what was right for the City was the only view that mattered.¹⁰⁰ In the 1920s the ACC took on the task of dealing with the impact of motor vehicles. Adelaide had the advantage of the heritage of Light's plan of regular street widths in excess of 31m (99 feet), which allowed for both moving lanes and parking bays. Few additional streets or radical changes were needed because of the grid but War Memorial Drive was constructed in 1919–25, mainly through a grant from the Commonwealth Government to employ returned soldiers. Thus, the efforts in the City went mainly into upgrading, sealing, resurfacing and draining roads and this established a strong engineering tradition within the ACC.¹⁰¹

Sir John Lavington Bonython was a Methodist and typified the establishment families and the connections between the ACC and business in the City in the 1920s. Bonython personally contributed £100,000 to complete the building of Parliament House as the State was short of funds.¹⁰² As well as being Mayor, he was the Editor of *The Advertiser* and served on many Boards, including being President of the Chamber of Commerce. Bonython was responsible for the appointment of William (Bill) Veale as the Adelaide City Engineer in 1929. This was an important choice as Veale's personality and influence would shape the City over a long period.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Hutchings, 2007, p.71.

⁹⁸ Sanderock, 1975a, p.51.

⁹⁹ Robson, 1939, p.50.

¹⁰⁰ Linn, 2006, p.16.

¹⁰¹ Morton, 1996, p.207.

¹⁰² Linn, 2006, p.10.

¹⁰³ Linn, 2006, p.17.

As South Australia emerged from the Great Depression, the Government realised its overdependence on primary industry and set about the encouragement of manufacturing.¹⁰⁴ The industrial programme launched in 1934 influenced and reshaped the metropolitan area in the absence of any conscious town planning. Adelaide's success was attributable to the influence of a handful of educated men who were in charge of the State's key public services in the 1930s.¹⁰⁵

Leslie Hunkin, the Public Service Commissioner, and John Wainwright, the Auditor-General, made a point of knowing gifted university students and arranging positions for them in the public service. In 1936, Hunkin and Wainwright, in another innovation, persuaded the Government to establish the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) to provide public housing before any other State established a similar entity.¹⁰⁶ Alexander (Alex) Ramsay was one of the identified talents, educated at the University of Adelaide in Arts and Economics. In 1948, at the age of 34, he was appointed as the General Manager of the SAHT. The SAHT was to play an influential role in the industrial growth of metropolitan Adelaide.¹⁰⁷ The old Adelaide establishment was actually an open oligarchy and willing to recruit talent to its ranks.¹⁰⁸ It was therefore not surprising that Ramsay was elected a member of The Adelaide Club in 1961.¹⁰⁹

As described earlier, there was often an overlap between the membership of the ACC, particularly Mayors, and the Parliament, and this continued into the early twentieth century. For example, Councillors Bert Edwards and Robert Dale served in the House of Assembly and Alderman George Prosser served in the Legislative Council while continuing as members of the ACC.¹¹⁰ Alderman Charles Tucker, who was also an MP, used his influence to be the architect of the *Motor Traffic Regulation Act 1904*. This allowed the State to control motor traffic throughout the State. Nevertheless,

¹⁰⁴ Sandercock, 1975a, p.52.

¹⁰⁵ Stretton, 1975, pp.132–33.

¹⁰⁶ Sandercock, 1975a, p.53; Stretton, 1975, p.137.

¹⁰⁷ Marsden, 1986.

¹⁰⁸ Stretton, 1975, p.133.

¹⁰⁹ Morgan, 1971, p.121.

¹¹⁰ Linn, 2006, p.67.

the ACC tried to balance the competing needs of motorists, pedestrians and cyclists with signs and road markings and by creating zones for taxicabs, buses and trams.¹¹¹

THE INFLUENCE OF PREMIER TOM PLAYFORD

The Thomas (Tom) Playford era in South Australian politics has been well documented.¹¹² Stewart Cockburn described Playford as a 'benevolent despot'.¹¹³ Playford was from an old political family and grew up on the family farm in Norton Summit in the Adelaide Hills. After serving in the army in World War One, he became interested in politics and won the seat of Murray in 1933 as part of the Liberal and Country League (LCL). South Australia had had an electoral bias in favour of rural areas since the passing of the *Constitution Act 1857*. This bias became more pronounced in 1936 when legislation entrenched a gerrymander with a 2:1 ratio for electoral districts in favour of the country. Thirty-nine seats were established for the House of Assembly with 13 in the metropolitan area (15,605 voters each) and 26 in the country (only 5,718 voters each). John Stuart Mill had argued that limitations should be imposed on democracy and had recommended that some electorates should have more votes than others so that 'the wise and talented would have more influence than the ignorant and less able'.¹¹⁴ Such a view would not have been in Playford's mind — he was simply interested in maintaining his electoral advantage.

Playford won the seat of Gumeracha in March 1938 and he was subsequently appointed to the Butler Cabinet. In November 1938, Playford followed Butler as Premier. Playford served until March 1965, which established the longest continuous political leadership of 27 years in the British Commonwealth.¹¹⁵ Nobody over-awed Playford and while the Premier respected property, wealth only impressed him if it was in the form of productive investment.¹¹⁶ Although invited, Playford never

¹¹¹ Morton, 1996, p.230.

¹¹² Crocker, 1983; Jaensch, 1986; Howell 1996.

¹¹³ Cockburn, 1991.

¹¹⁴ Giddens, 2002, p.69.

¹¹⁵ Parliament of South Australia, 2009.

¹¹⁶ Stretton, 1975, p.142.

joined The Adelaide Club but would occasionally have lunch there with the LCL establishment.¹¹⁷ At the time of Playford's election as Premier, the LCL primarily comprised conservative pastoralists such as the Hawker, McLachlan and Angas families and old money such as the Rymill and Morphett families. They had been educated at Prince Alfred College (Methodist) or St Peter's College (Church of England) and then at the University of Adelaide, often with a further qualification from Oxford or Cambridge. Playford would have been uncomfortable in this company as he had no formal education, but these people recognised him as an election winner who had no rival within the LCL parliamentary wing.¹¹⁸

Adelaide was still a large country town in 1928. It was quiet and thinly populated and the rural sector still underpinned the State's economy.¹¹⁹ Playford converted this predominately rural-based economy into an industrial state with the pragmatic use of government resources. Under Playford, the SAHT was the *de facto* planning authority for metropolitan Adelaide and was crucial to the Premier's determination to transform a big country town into a metropolitan city through migration and industrial development.¹²⁰

World War Two stimulated rapid industrial development and Playford was keen to see power and water schemes expanded to cope with the growth building on the development of the wartime munitions factories. He persuaded firms such as General Motors-Holden, ICI, Philips, Chrysler and British Tube Mills to begin or expand their operations and Adelaide became a centre of Australia's post-war industrial boom.¹²¹ However, the Adelaide Electric Supply Company (AESC) was a near-monopoly electricity supply company and insisted on using black coal from New South Wales rather than local brown coal from the Leigh Creek. Playford's response, ever the pragmatist, was to present a Bill to Parliament in 1945 to nationalise the AESC and create the Electricity Trust of South Australia (ETSA).

Initially the Bill failed to pass the Legislative Council, where Playford had been unable to persuade a sufficient number of his LCL colleagues to support it as

¹¹⁷ Cockburn, 1991, p.215.

¹¹⁸ Cockburn, 1991, p.213.

¹¹⁹ Morton, 1996, p.248.

¹²⁰ Marsden, 1986.

¹²¹ Forster & McCaskill in Hutchings, 2007, p.85.

they considered it was undue interference in the economy. Playford continued to campaign on the issue, as he saw it as critical for the development of the State, even if it was ideologically at odds with free enterprise.¹²² By 1946 Playford had persuaded sufficient LCL members, with the support of four Labor Party members, for the Legislative Council to pass the Bill and create ETSA, which played a crucial role in the post-war development of the State.¹²³

Concerns about the condition of housing in the City, particularly in the southwest, continued over the next few years until the outbreak of World War Two, when the Government commissioned an inquiry. The report of the inquiry was entitled 'Substandard Housing Conditions in the Metropolitan Area'.¹²⁴ The inquiry found that 39 per cent of the 7,716 houses in Adelaide were substandard and unfit for human habitation.¹²⁵ The *Building Act 1940* was enacted, giving local government greater powers over new structures. Before the war ended, the State recognised the need for a substantial amount of new housing. As a result of the Commonwealth/State Housing Agreement, the SAHT received £100,000 to demolish slums and build new houses within the Adelaide metropolitan area.¹²⁶

The use of the Park Lands was an ongoing issue but an amendment to the *Municipal Corporations Act 1925* allowed the ACC to designate areas of the Park Lands for the temporary parking of motor vehicles in support of activities such as the Royal Show.¹²⁷ In the 1930s, the use of the Park Lands for sport on Sundays caused controversy. The strong Protestant ethic, particularly of Methodists, came to the fore with their strict view of observance of the Sabbath and strong opposition to gambling and the consumption of alcohol. Indeed, Methodists had urged for decades the importance of electing to the ACC and the Parliament those who favoured these strict views.¹²⁸ A deputation from the Council of Churches, without the Catholics who were less strict about such matters, met with the Lord Mayor to argue their case

¹²² Cockburn, 1991, p.117.

¹²³ Linn, 1996.

¹²⁴ *South Australian Parliamentary Paper No.32 1940*, p.94.

¹²⁵ McDougall & Vines, 1993, p.61.

¹²⁶ *The Advertiser*, 18 March 1936, p.14.

¹²⁷ Morton, 1996, p.246.

¹²⁸ Linn, 2006, p.112.

about the use of the Park Lands. The issue, from the churches' perspective, was what was defined as organised sport compared to recreational use of the Park Lands.¹²⁹ In September 1939, the ACC emphasised its governance over the Park Lands and adopted a Regulation that controlled sport in the Park Lands and banned any organised games being played on a Sunday.¹³⁰

THE INFLUENCE OF TOWN CLERK BILL VEALE

William (Bill) Veale returned from World War Two as a Brigadier and resumed his position as City Engineer. In 1947 he was appointed as the Town Clerk. Veale was a strict disciplinarian and a stubborn character. He operated a military style of command so that only he, in deference to the Council, spoke to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. Veale was used to getting his way and did not hesitate to argue with the elected members if they disagreed with him.¹³¹

Veale, as the Town Clerk of the City, came to exert considerable individual influence over the planning and evolution of post-war Adelaide. Veale was elected a member of The Adelaide Club in 1951. He was then able to mix informally with the leaders of the business community in a social setting as well as in the more formal setting of the Town Hall.¹³² The key issue for Veale was the implementation of the State's report on housing. Controls were exercised under the *Health Act 1898*, the *Local Government Act 1933* and the *Building Act 1940*, as there was no planning legislation.¹³³ Veale's solution to the housing problem was to pressure the ACC to use a by-law to rezone south Adelaide from residential to industrial. Thus, the slums would be cleared away and land made available for commercial and industrial buildings.¹³⁴

Not all members of the ACC, notably Councillor Edwards, agreed with Veale's view about rezoning. Still, Veale had the majority of elected members onside and by 1949 the City Building Surveyor had drawn up a by-law for the rezoning proposal of

¹²⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 292A.

¹³⁰ Linn, 2006, p.113.

¹³¹ Linn, 2006, p.131.

¹³² Morgan, 1971, p.117.

¹³³ McDougall & Vines, 1993, p.63.

¹³⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's Special File 229B — Zoning and Housing.

south Adelaide to a 'Factory Area'. Edwards well understood that the proposal would ensure that all residents in south Adelaide would eventually leave and his electorate would change substantially. But Veale was adamant that the City had to be cleaned up and that the Zoning by-law would not only remove the poverty-stricken slums but provide new employment opportunities. The ACC was making a clear policy statement that the residents had to be relocated and that the land in south Adelaide was far more valuable as industrial and commercial property.

Playford was developing the new satellite town of Elizabeth to the north of the City to accommodate the workers for the industrial firms he had attracted to the State. Veale argued that the SAHT was also providing public housing for low-income earners in Elizabeth and therefore alternative residential accommodation to the City was available. However, Veale warned the ACC that the Premier was ensuring that all available building material, which was in short supply, was going to Elizabeth and thus there was a limitation on any construction in south Adelaide.¹³⁵

Besides his concerns for the removal of slums, Veale, with his engineering background, was also convinced that Adelaide needed well-designed roads as the principal corridors of communication. The State was expressing the view that the ACC needed to take action to alleviate the worsening traffic congestion in the City, particularly the main north-south thoroughfare of King William Street. Veale's solution, in March 1947, soon after he became the Town Clerk, was to propose to the ACC that a new north-south road should be constructed.¹³⁶ This would eventually link Main North Road in the north-east with Glen Osmond Road in the south-east with an extension of Frome Road from North Terrace to South Terrace, as Figure 15 shows.

Veale's bold plan entailed the purchase of large amounts of real estate and the widening of some existing sections of the route. The ACC adopted it as a project and implementation of the new Frome Street was achieved over time. This was to have a major physical and social impact in both North Adelaide and the south-east of the City in the late 1960s and early 1970s as its implementation proceeded.

Former Lord Mayor Jim Bowen considered that Veale was a major influence in the City:

¹³⁵ Linn, 2006, p.143.

¹³⁶ Linn, 2006, pp.152–54.

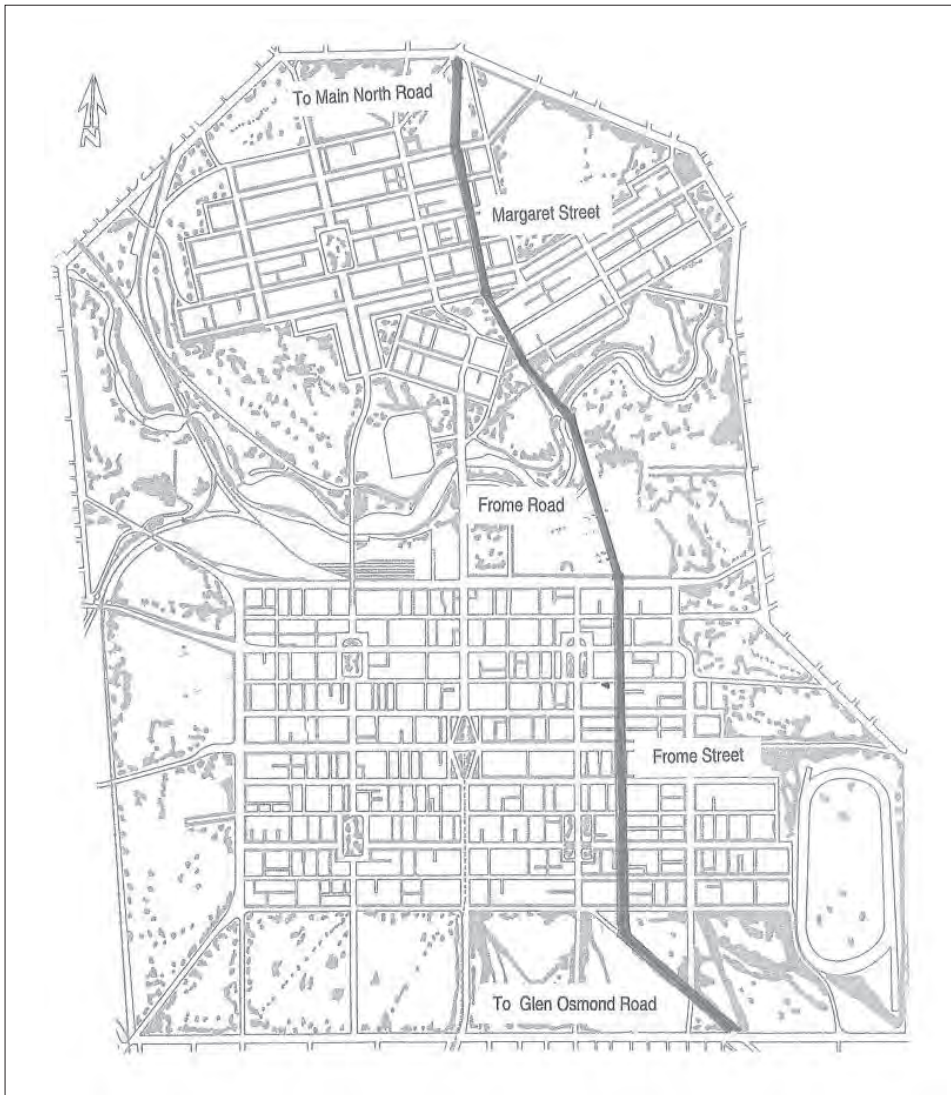


Figure 15: Veale's plan for a new north-south road on the eastern side of the City

It was important to recognise the influence of Town Clerk Bill Veale. He had been the City Engineer before becoming Town Clerk. He was critical of Colonel Light's plan for the City because the major streets ran east-west whereas the geographic constraints of the sea and the hills clearly provided for a north south linear metropolitan city. Veale was convinced of the need for another north-south road through the City, partly to relieve the pressure of growing traffic on

King William Street in the centre of the City. Buying properties to provide such a new road became a key Council policy.¹³⁷

The worldwide trend of the move from public transport to private motor vehicles reached Adelaide in the late 1940s. In 1947 the Government appointed a Royal Commission to report on State transport services as the number of motor vehicles in Adelaide had doubled and the use of public transport had halved. The ACC appointed a Special Committee to give evidence to the Royal Commission. The members of this Special Committee met with the Municipal Tramways Trust, the Railways, the Highways Department and the Royal Automobile Association before giving evidence to the Royal Commission. The ACC's position was that it was to have the governance of all transport matters within the City, even if this required additional powers from the Government.¹³⁸ I discuss the State's transport plans and the ACC's response in Chapter 3.

CONCLUSION

The year 1950 was a critical year for planning in Adelaide and South Australia. Lloyd Dumas, the editor of *The Advertiser*, invited Professor Denis Winston, the recently appointed Chair of the new Department of Town and Country Planning at Sydney University, to come to Adelaide and provide some advice on the future planning of the City.¹³⁹ Winston's report emphasised the need for control over development and was a major impetus for a new approach to the planning and development of the City within a metropolitan context over the next two decades, which I discuss in the following chapters.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 8–15, College Park, 16 April 2007.

¹³⁸ Linn, 2006, p.155.

¹³⁹ *The Advertiser*, 15 July 1950, p.5.

¹⁴⁰ Linn, 2006, p.145.

3

Changing attitudes to planning the City and State from 1950 until 1972

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

The Modern Movement, described as a rational, functional approach to urban design, was embraced in the 1930s in France, Germany, The Netherlands and Sweden. The Modern Movement's principal aim was to find physical forms appropriate to an industrial society. But it was not until after World War Two, when there was a need for substantial rebuilding in Britain and Europe, that architects and planners saw the future in terms of the ideas of the Modern Movement's leaders, Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius.¹

Le Corbusier had come to the conclusion that the existing city had become functionally obsolete due to increasing size and congestion at the centre; congestion could be cured by creating even higher densities using taller buildings with increased open space around them; the pressure on inner cities could be eliminated by creating a series of high density nodes separated by open space; and the new physical urban

¹ Ward, 2004, pp.58–62.

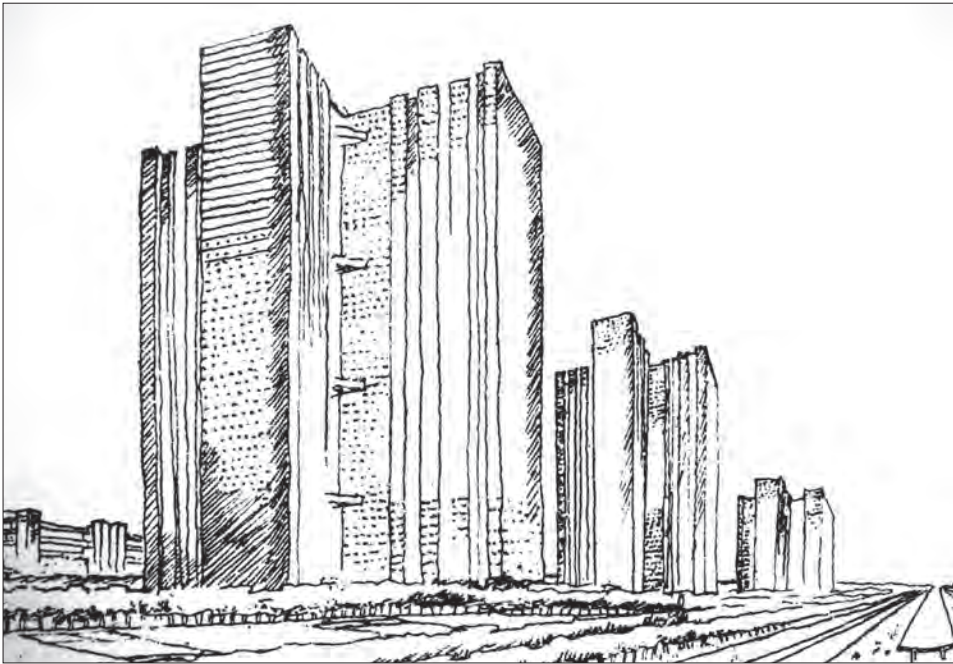


Figure 16: Le Corbusier's City of Towers

form could accommodate new and highly efficient forms of transport, both public and private.²

Le Corbusier's proposal for a city of towers was a design for 60-storey buildings set in clean air amidst trees and grass, as Figure 16 shows. The buildings would be removed from all the existing dust, smells and noise. Residents and office workers would enjoy views of gardens and playing fields. It was a new system of town planning with motorways allowing the easy and rapid circulation of traffic and with flats, opening to light and air, replacing slums on the ground.³

Le Corbusier had argued that the world had been transformed by the elevated highway, which enabled housing to be concentrated in residential towers with nature touching the base of every building. Order was created with skyscraper towers in a checkerboard grid.⁴ However, Le Corbusier had a disastrous effect on the architectural

² Le Corbusier, 1923, 1927, 1929.

³ Le Corbusier, 1923, pp.54–59.

⁴ Boyer, 1994, pp.45–51.



Figure 17: Tower blocks and motorways in Cumbernauld New Town

profession as the design of buildings could be treated separately from their context.⁵ The result has been buildings designed independent of their environment, and society has paid a great price for this separation because the total environment has suffered. A whole generation of architects and planners were imbued with the philosophies of Le Corbusier and his contemporaries without doing any social or economic research. Consequently, the physical results became discredited.⁶

After World War Two, the urgent need to rebuild devastated cities provided the opportunity to put the urban renewal theories of the Modern Movement into practice. In a world seeking a new order, there was little resistance to radical innovation. The practical work of town planning and reconstruction after World War Two in Britain drew heavily on sources such as Le Corbusier and Gropius.⁷ There was a genuine belief that the physical form and technological achievement provided a

⁵ Bacon, 1968, p.217.

⁶ Stretton, 1978, p.164.

⁷ Peel, 1995, p.21.

response to the economic, social and physical ills of existing cities and the tower block solution became the norm.

The *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* (UK) resulted in a new interest in physical and economic planning. The arguments for comprehensive development were supported by the dramatic post-war growth in the use of the private motor vehicle but this put pressure on inner city movement corridors. The creation of efficient transport networks became an imperative within an integrated approach to wholesale urban renewal. Part of Cumbernauld New Town in Scotland, as Figure 17 shows, is a typical example of the realisation of Le Corbusier's original ideas.

Growing affluence and the private use of the car was creating a public problem, as the capacity of towns to absorb traffic was not infinite. Colin Buchanan, in his report, *Traffic in Towns*, provided the impetus for thinking about land use and transport together.⁸ The UK government gave strong support to central area redevelopment. In Britain between 1955 and 1974, 1.1 million dwellings were demolished and 3.1 million people were rehoused.⁹ The *Parker Morris Report*, published in 1961, suggested higher space standards for dwellings, which added to the pressures for high rise solutions to minimise the impact on green belts. Local government invariably developed the inner city residential schemes, meaning that the architectural visions and use of industrial building materials resulted in prefabricated high rise blocks that reflected modern thinking and technology as well as growing the materials and energy industry businesses.¹⁰

While Le Corbusier foresaw the scale of development for moving vehicles and housing people, he failed to appreciate the extent of the private use of the motor car and the impact this would have. Jim Antoniou examined the impact of freeways (motorways) in a number of case studies in the USA, Britain and Europe and reviewed the amount of space being devoted to vehicles in cities compared to the physical environment for pedestrians.¹¹ He analysed the actions taken in cities, which he termed 'environmental management', to provide pedestrian facilities that were safe and easy to use. He reviewed three examples where different approaches were

⁸ Buchanan, 1963.

⁹ Ward, 2004, p.140.

¹⁰ Ward, 2004, p.142.

¹¹ Antoniou, 1971.

used to address Le Corbusier's principle of separating pedestrians from traffic and asserted that the real issue was the precedence given to the movement of cars rather than pedestrians.

In the City of London a pedestrian network was progressively put in place at the first floor level as sites were developed after World War Two, when a considerable amount of reconstruction was needed.¹² In comparison, the pedestrian network in Society Hill in the centre of the City of Philadelphia is provided at grade through the middle of street blocks. Thus, the driver has to leave the car and become a pedestrian to appreciate the historic area. In the City of Montreal, because of the fierce weather, a pedestrian network is provided underground that links hotels, theatres, shops and subway stations. On an overseas study tour, Hugh Bubb, who was appointed the City Engineer and Surveyor of Adelaide in 1965, was impressed with this solution in Montreal and an underground pedestrian network became an element of his plans for Adelaide, which this chapter will later discuss.

The redevelopment of cities provided centres of innovation that were physically attractive and ensured services for the citizens.¹³ The pre-eminence of central areas reflected their optimum accessibility within a city based on public transport. However, redevelopment in the central areas saw the loss of corner shops, pubs and small business as residents moved into high-rise towers. At the same time, the development of outer suburbs was predominantly by private sector developers, assisted by mortgage lenders and the private use of the car. Patterns of urban change were essentially shaped by powerful economic, social and political processes beyond the control of town planners.

Le Corbusier believed a new dignity would be brought to the city if a geometrical configuration was imposed upon it. However, the straight line and right angle of the grid ruthlessly separated functional areas.¹⁴ Michael Young and Peter Willmott in Britain¹⁵ and Jane Jacobs in the USA¹⁶ have written extensively about the profound

¹² The author worked for Antoniou in the City of London, designing the city's pedestrian network.

¹³ Ward, 2004, pp.261–87.

¹⁴ Boyer, 1994, p.122.

¹⁵ Young & Willmott, 1957.

¹⁶ Jacobs, 1961.

impacts of dispersing communities resulting from comprehensive redevelopment schemes. Jacobs was particularly critical of Le Corbusier's theories in her seminal work *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, but it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that architects and planners generally began to question the philosophies of the Modern Movement and seek alternative development solutions. Leslie Martin founded the Centre for Land Use and Built Form Studies at Cambridge University in 1967. The centre carried out significant research into different forms of urban systems using the rapidly increasing power of computers.¹⁷ Martin and his protégé Sandy Wilson¹⁸ had lost faith in the Modern Movement and played significant roles in the collapse of technocratic solutions.¹⁹ According to Martin and Wilson, the spatial relationship between housing, transport and employment had to be addressed in a more consultative way with the public involved in the planning process.²⁰

THE ADELAIDE METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Leonie Sandercock's *Cities for sale: property, politics and urban planning in Australia* provided insights into the politics of planning in Australia, including Adelaide, during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.²¹ She contended that by the early 1950s Premier Playford had diversified the old power elite that had centred around the former Adelaide establishment families in Adelaide whose wealth derived from land, commerce and banking.²² However, Playford was at one with the establishment to retain a conservative political structure and he used the establishment's money to finance his economic objectives for the State. In this context, in 1955, a somewhat reluctant Playford introduced an amendment to the *Town Planning Act 1929* that provided

¹⁷ Professor Sir Leslie Martin held the Chair of Architecture at the University of Cambridge from 1956 to 1972.

¹⁸ Colin St John (Sandy) Wilson succeeded Martin as Professor of Architecture at Cambridge from 1976.

¹⁹ Haigh, 2007, p.141.

²⁰ The author read Architecture at Cambridge University under Professor Martin; Wilson was then a Lecturer.

²¹ Sandercock, 1975a.

²² Sandercock, 1975a, pp.110–12.

for a Town Planning Committee to be appointed with responsibility for preparing a development plan for the metropolitan area.²³ There was the usual opposition in the Legislative Council to the legislation based on the familiar theme of interference with property rights but there was also a concern that land for subdivision had to be capable of being economically supplied with water and sewerage.²⁴

Playford had been persuaded to introduce the legislation by a personal friend, Sir Lloyd Dumas. A few influential people in South Australia, especially Dumas, were aware of a new approach in the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947* (UK) and had become concerned about the lack of a plan to guide the growth of Adelaide. Dumas was the Chairman of the Board of *The Advertiser* and financed a visit to Adelaide by Denis Winston, as discussed in Chapter 2. Winston wrote a series of articles in *The Advertiser* explaining the problems of haphazard growth and the need for a plan. The Town Planning Institute of SA had been formed in 1948 and Town Clerk Bill Veale was elected as its first President. The Institute had also called for a plan for the development of metropolitan Adelaide.²⁵

The State Government decided to build a British-style new town in South Australia.²⁶ Within the metropolitan area north of Adelaide, the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) bought farmland in 1949 for the new town of Elizabeth, which was meant to be self-contained with its own centre. Playford had created the SAHT in 1936 to provide the housing arm of the State's low wages and low cost industrialisation policy. A major impetus for the SAHT in the 1950s was controlling the costs of suburban expansion, especially in terms of public services such as electricity, water and transport. The SAHT was responsible for providing 30 per cent of dwellings in the metropolitan area and they were inexpensive to rent. Thus, living costs and wages would be lower in Adelaide than in Sydney or Melbourne. Elizabeth was designed under Henry Smith and based on the British new town concept of comprehensively planned neighbourhoods.²⁷ The original plan for Elizabeth envisaged five neighbourhoods of about 5,000 persons, each with their own primary schools

²³ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.87.

²⁴ Sandercock, 1975a, p.115.

²⁵ Sandercock, 1975a, p.113.

²⁶ Peel, 1995, pp.33–36.

²⁷ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, pp.86–87.

and shopping centres.²⁸ Smith was influenced by the work of Ebenezer Howard and the layouts of the British new towns of Letchworth and Welwyn.²⁹ Australia's town planners looked to their Anglo-North American counterparts for ideas about urban form and the British concept of town design became cemented in Australian planning ideology and practice. The design of Elizabeth, the only new town in Australia that came close to British new towns, was based on the principles of the ideal community being in neighbourhoods and private interests contributing to rational development rather than working against it. Companies expanded in Elizabeth, which resulted in the need for more labour and which in turn attracted more migration and the demand for further housing.³⁰

Stuart Hart was working as the Deputy Planning Officer in Fife, Scotland, when he saw an advertisement inviting applications to prepare a plan for metropolitan Adelaide. Hart, who had previously worked with Bristol County Borough and Warwickshire County Council, was appointed as the Director of Planning in South Australia in 1957.³¹ Hart recalled how he came to Adelaide:

I saw a small advertisement in *The Daily Telegraph* for a position which involved the preparation of a plan for metropolitan Adelaide. I applied and was eventually interviewed in London by a panel which included Lord Holford. I was offered the job of Director of Planning and I arrived in Adelaide with my family in January 1957.³²

The Town Planning Committee consisted of Hart who, as the new Director of Planning, was Chairman; Bill Veale, the Adelaide Town Clerk who was also the President of the Planning Institute and the former City Engineer; Jack Cheesman, an architect; James Murrell, an engineer with the Engineering and Water Supply Department; and Harold Tyler, the Town Clerk of Enfield. Veale and Cheesman were both members of The Adelaide Club.³³ This Committee of five, which included two engineers and an architect, was heavily orientated towards planning as being

²⁸ Freestone, 2010, p.152.

²⁹ Peel, 1995 pp.31–44.

³⁰ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.85.

³¹ Cheesman, 1986, p 223.

³² Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 9–11, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

³³ Morgan, 1971.

concerned with technical efficiency. The Committee was to assess the metropolitan area and provide for development to be in the best interests of the community. Specifically, it was to give advice on highways, open space and areas for industrial development.³⁴

Hart was assisted by a small technical team under Chief Planner Hans Westerman and by many volunteers who produced a wealth of information in the form of maps, photos, tables and text. The volunteers included geography students from the University of Adelaide, who prepared a comprehensive land use survey of all land and buildings in the metropolitan area.³⁵ As a result, the Town Planning Committee was able to produce a detailed 300-page report in 1962 entitled *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide*. This report envisaged the growth of a linear city from Gawler in the north to Sellicks Beach in the south. Besides the City there would be six district centres, one of which was Elizabeth. Private development on the western face of the Mount Lofty Ranges was to be controlled with tight restrictions on the area to be known as The Hills Face Zone. This was an important statutory planning provision for the metropolitan area.³⁶ The protection of The Hills Face Zone was important to the ACC as a backdrop to the City.³⁷ The *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* restated many of Reade's ideas for the metropolitan area (as discussed in Chapter 2) and also called for special attention to north-south freeways capable of carrying large volumes of traffic into the City.³⁸

The relationship between Hart and Veale is important regarding the preparation of the Metropolitan Development Plan in terms of the influence of individuals and the governance of the City. Hart revealed an interesting aspect of their relationship:

Soon after I arrived in Adelaide, Bill Veale invited me to a private luncheon in his office in the Town Hall every Tuesday where we had 'a sherry and sandwiches' until Veale retired. When Veale was in America on a trip in 1957 he sent back an enormous amount of information to me and asked me to summarise it for him. While this was quite a task, particularly as I was still finding my feet in

³⁴ Sandercock, 1975a, p.126.

³⁵ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.88.

³⁶ Buttrose, 1971.

³⁷ Linn, 2005, p.208.

³⁸ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.89.

my own job, I did find it very interesting and useful as I was able to compare American practice with my own planning background in the UK.³⁹

Hart's concept for the metropolitan area recognised the physical constraints of the north-south plain with the Adelaide Hills to the east and Gulf St Vincent to the west.⁴⁰ The spatial proposal of a series of districts connected in a linear arrangement on a rapid transit spine was innovative and unprecedented at the time. The plan was a signpost for the corridor city which was to become the dominant planning paradigm of the 1970s.⁴¹ When Westerman left Adelaide and joined the National Capital Development Commission in Canberra, he took Hart's concept with him and this resulted in the linear spatial plan for Canberra where the districts were nominated as new towns.⁴²

Hart was faced with an unsympathetic government, an apathetic public and various strong-willed property interests. He spent an enormous amount of time promoting the advantages of town planning. The *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* was cautious rather than visionary but it was realistic in view of the strong tradition of hostility by the Adelaide establishment towards the very notion of control over private development.⁴³ Hart received no encouragement from Playford, who warned Hart of the usual opposition from property interests, particularly the ACC.⁴⁴ Thus, the cautious recommendations need to be seen in the context of Playford's advice and the history of the demise of planning in the 1920s, as discussed in Chapter 2. Hart's own view was that a development plan must be acceptable and workable and to that end judgment must be based on what can or cannot be done within the prevailing economic, social and political situation.⁴⁵

The *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* projected a population of 1.3 million for the metropolitan area by 1991. The prevailing low-density housing would be continued but with a few areas of higher density, especially around the

³⁹ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 39–46, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

⁴⁰ Cheesman, 1986, p.224.

⁴¹ Freestone, 2010, p.153.

⁴² Cheesman, 1986, pp.225–26.

⁴³ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.89.

⁴⁴ Sandercock, 1975a, p.117.

⁴⁵ Hart 1972, pp.18–24.

outside of the Park Lands. The original population of Elizabeth was to be 25,000 but the General Manager of the SAHT, Ramsay, changed this to 50,000 as the Report confidently predicted jobs for 60,000 in the Elizabeth/Salisbury area and Elizabeth would grow as the population in the City declined.⁴⁶

An editorial in *The Advertiser* commented on the report and stated that the new outlook on town planning in the community was a personal tribute to the Government Town Planner (Hart). His belief in the ultimate power of reason had, the editorial went on, made enough sense to enough people to swing the tide his way.⁴⁷ The report incorporated the principles of the Development Plan system from Britain, the zoning system from the USA, and the appeal system from New Zealand.⁴⁸

The *Town Planning Act 1956* provided for the Metropolitan Development Plan to include all local government areas except Adelaide, which, as usual, had been excluded by the Legislative Council through the influence of the ACC. Thus, there was an internal contradiction in the legislation. In 1957 Hart arranged for an amendment to the Act so that the exemption for the City remained *except* for sections 26, 27 and 28 of the Act, which dealt with the preparation of a Metropolitan Development Plan.⁴⁹ This was to prove critical when Hart's plan was prepared in relation to the zoning for the City.

Playford was defeated in the 1965 election and the new Labor Government under Premier Frank Walsh put in place the legislation for the Metropolitan Development Plan. The then Attorney-General, Don Dunstan, introduced the Planning and Development Bill into the House of Assembly in February 1966. Murray Hill (a former member of the ACC) opposed the Bill in the Legislative Council as he considered that the proposed State Planning Authority (SPA) would receive too much power.⁵⁰ However, after considerable debate the Legislative Council passed the *Planning and Development Act 1967* and it came into effect on 1 July 1967. This legislation gave the Metropolitan Development Plan the status of authorised government policy and established the SPA with the Director of Planning as its

⁴⁶ Peel, 1995, p.139.

⁴⁷ *The Advertiser*, 24 November 1964, p.7.

⁴⁸ Hart, 1978, p.53.

⁴⁹ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 33–35, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

⁵⁰ Sandercock, 1975a, p.126; Dunstan, 1981 p.184.

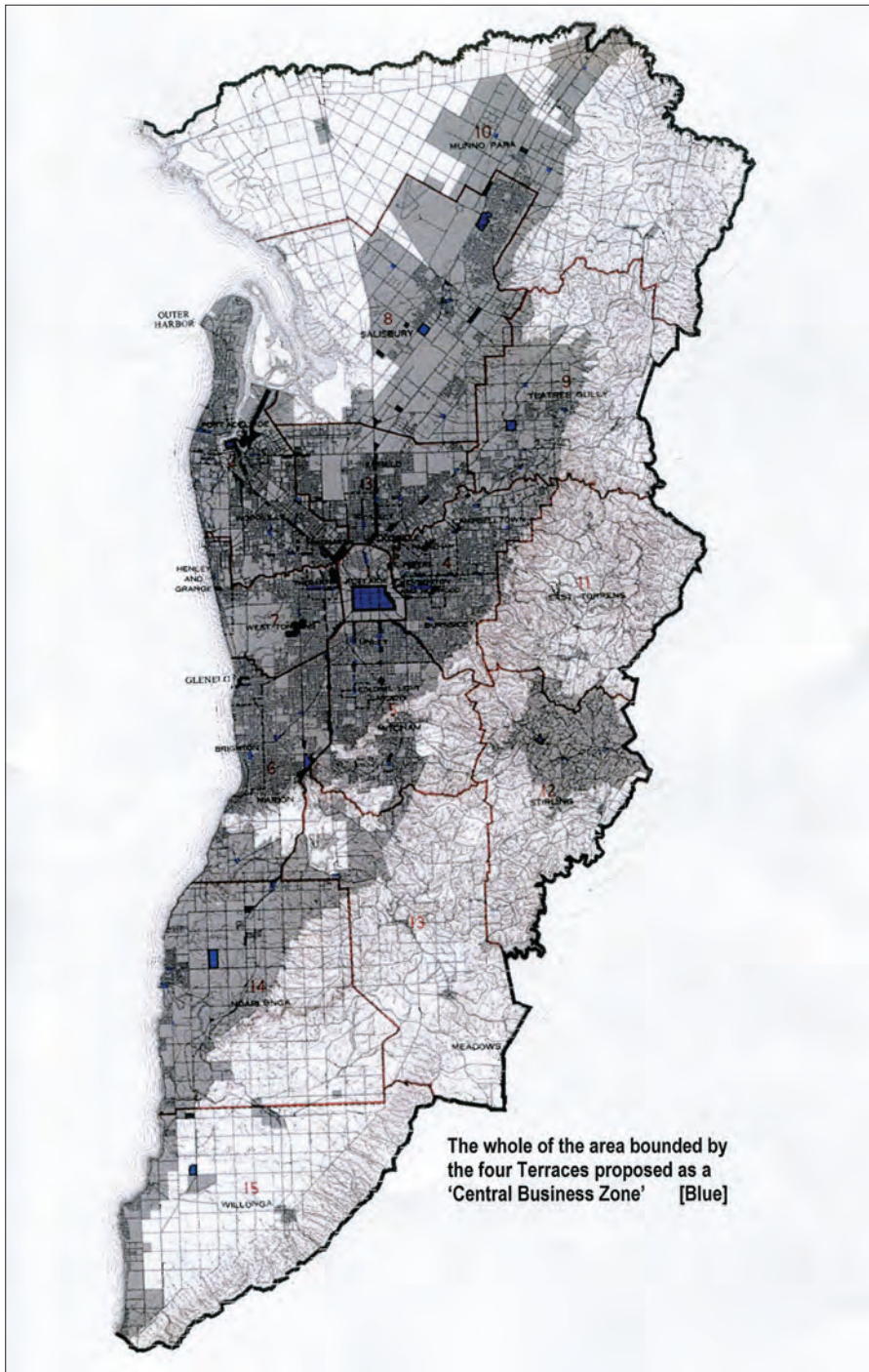


Figure 18: Zoning for the City with all of south Adelaide zoned commercial (blue)

Chairman.⁵¹ The ACC again used its influence in the Legislative Council to ensure that the Council was represented on the SPA even though the SPA had no power over the City. Hart appreciated the influence of the ACC and observed:

One seat on the 11 member State Planning Authority was reserved for a member of the Adelaide City Council and this was filled from 1967 to 1971 by John Roche, from 1971 to 1981 by John Chappel, and from 1981 to 1982 by Keith Shaw, even though the City had its own legislation from 1972.⁵²

The Act also established the planning powers and responsibilities of local government, except the City, as distinctly subordinate to those of the State. Councils had an obligation to produce regulations to control development in their areas and these regulations had to be consistent with the Metropolitan Development Plan. They also had to be uniform, which stifled any attempts at the local level to have variations appropriate to local conditions.⁵³

The *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* had significant implications for the City in terms of zoning and transportation. The report estimated that by 1991 some 81 per cent of south Adelaide would be required for central area functions and the whole area was zoned as a Central Business Zone, as Figure 18 shows. The report estimated that there would be an increase in the City's workforce from 80,000 in 1967 to 150,000 in 1991. Transportation was to be facilitated by a radial network of Metropolitan Freeways, which would converge on the City.⁵⁴

The ACC passed a zoning by-law in 1955 that substantially decreased the residential area in south Adelaide between the four Terraces. Veale had pursued the rezoning with determination and large portions of residential south Adelaide faced demolition. Norman Young was a notable businessman and a member of the ACC who was concerned that if a residential population remained in south Adelaide there would be conflict with the expanding needs of business and light industry.⁵⁵ According to Bowen, Young was a likely influence on Hart:

⁵¹ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.90.

⁵² Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 47–49, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

⁵³ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.88.

⁵⁴ Government of South Australia, 1962b.

⁵⁵ Linn, 2006, p.187.

I suspect that Norman Young, who was the Chairman of the Council's Finance Committee and sat on innumerable Boards around town, had been an influence on the young Stuart Hart's thinking about the City when preparing the Metropolitan Development Plan. Norman's only criteria for development were what the market place wanted to do, and the best thing was to bowl over the cottages, get the people out and bring the cars in.⁵⁶

Playford said in Parliament:

Many of the premises being demolished are sub-standard and occupying valuable land. For thousands of years the practice has been to pull down old buildings to make way for new structures. That is an advance we should not try to stop artificially.⁵⁷

Stewart Cockburn, writing in *The Advertiser*, warned of the loss of residential land and expressed concern at the number of small businesses and light industries being established in south Adelaide.⁵⁸ John Chappel later attributed another factor to the loss of residential population from south Adelaide:

Another factor in the decline of the residential population of the City was the lending policy of the Banks. While you could get a mortgage for a new house, it was impossible to get one on an old existing house, particularly in the City.⁵⁹

The staff of the ACC's City Engineer and Surveyor (Hugh Bubb) had commenced a Land Use Survey of the City in 1965 and prepared detailed projections of City employment and population needs. They reached the conclusion that some 500 acres (202 ha.) in south Adelaide would not be needed for commercial purposes as zoned in the Metropolitan Development Plan and that further consideration should be given to residential uses. A visiting UK planner expressed the same view, as Bob Bakewell recalled:

I had shown the distinguished UK planner Lord Llewelyn-Davies around Adelaide on one occasion and I remember he made the point that the area inside the Terraces zoned for CBD uses was far too large.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 47–54, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁵⁷ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 19 May 1955.

⁵⁸ *The Advertiser*, 10 July 1956, p.17.

⁵⁹ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 26–28, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

⁶⁰ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 33–35, Adelaide, 24 June 2007.

Bubb was the author of *Planning Report no. 4: The Guidance of Land Use Development* in February 1969 and he prepared a 'Functional Plan' for the members of the ACC in July 1969. He recommended the ACC should either enact Regulations to implement the provisions of the Metropolitan Development Plan or prepare a Supplementary Development Plan to amend the zoning. This was to have major implications for ACC policy, as this chapter will later discuss.

The Government released the *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* but did little except appoint another committee to consider the transport implications.⁶¹ This committee consisted of the Commissioner of Highways (Chairman), the Commissioner of Railways, the General Manager of the Tramways Trust and the Town Clerk.

METROPOLITAN ADELAIDE TRANSPORTATION STUDY

The use of traffic consultants from the USA was widespread in Australian capital cities in the 1960s. In Adelaide, the committee engaged a consortium from the USA of De Leuw Cather & Co., Rankine & Hill, and A M Vorhees & Associates to examine the freeway proposals in the Metropolitan Development Plan and prepare the Metropolitan Adelaide Transport Study (MATS).⁶²

While the Labor Government commissioned the MATS report, its results were not available until after the 1968 election when Labor was defeated and the Steele Hall Liberal Government came to power. In August 1968 the government released and enthusiastically supported the MATS report, especially the new Minister of Transport Murray Hill, who was a former member of the ACC and who, with other conservative landholders, had opposed the recent planning legislation in the Legislative Council.⁶³

The MATS Report recommended 156 kilometres of new freeways. As with similar reports at around the same time for other Australian capital cities, consultants based in the USA saw freeways as the prime technical solution to growing traffic

⁶¹ Town Planning Committee, 1963.

⁶² Davison, 2004.

⁶³ Peel, 1995, p.33.

volumes and problems. After World War Two, public transport became specialised for commuter trips as it was disadvantaged against the use of the private car for shopping, social and recreational trips. There was a convergence of public policy with economic and demographic development, which increased the attractiveness of suburban living and the private use of the motor car.⁶⁴ Planning for private cars came to dominate transportation policies for cities.⁶⁵

No attention was given to the use of freeways in relation to land use because freeway planning agencies were not given broad urban planning responsibilities.⁶⁶ Thus, there was no machinery for an integrated approach to land use/transportation planning. There was interference between land use functions because of the space taken up by the freeways themselves and no consideration was given to the importance of providing off-street parking to serve the central area to meet the increased demand arising from ease of access with the provision of a freeway system.⁶⁷

The MATS report stated that the principal objective of the study was to maintain the vitality of the City by providing convenient access to the central area. The recommended solution was to provide an adequate traffic service with minimum disturbance to the Park Lands.⁶⁸ The freeway system, complemented by an arterial road network, was to ensure easy access to the City from all directions. The system was designed to divert a substantial portion of through traffic away from the four Terraces of the City and the City streets. The freeway engineers' solution was to separate through traffic, defined as not stopping in the CBD, from traffic that was bound for the CBD by proposing freeways at the edge of the area with feeder roads into the CBD.⁶⁹

Within the City itself, the MATS report recommended the completion of the ACC's plan for Frome Road/Frome Street to improve arterial continuity and north-south capacity but with a minor amendment at the eastern end of North Adelaide: instead of using Margaret Street, as the ACC proposed, Le Fevre Terrace

⁶⁴ Meyer, Kain & Wohl, 1966, pp.361–62.

⁶⁵ Davison, 2004.

⁶⁶ Harwood & Boyce, 1959, p.116.

⁶⁷ Harwood & Boyce, 1959, pp.121–25.

⁶⁸ Government of South Australia, 1968, p.161.

⁶⁹ Meyer, Kain & Wohl, 1966, p.362.



Figure 19: MATS plan for the City of Adelaide

would be widened and extended. It would be realigned to link with Frome Road, which involved the removal of the historic Albert Bridge. Goodwood Road would be realigned through the Park Lands and Hutt Street expanded north to Botanic Road through the Park Lands, as Figure 19 shows. The MATS report estimated total costs of the City improvements to be \$3.5 million.⁷⁰

As well as the freeways and parking proposals, the MATS Report proposed an improvement to the public transport system. A new subway was proposed north-south along King William Street, with three stations in the City. One would be at the junction with Rundle Street, one in the vicinity of Victoria Square, and one immediately north of South Terrace, as also shown in Figure 19. The MATS report cited the Yonge Street subway in Toronto as an example of the advantages of passenger distribution along a subway line with an increase in land values and new commercial buildings being built, suggesting similar benefits could flow in Adelaide.⁷¹

The MATS report also confirmed the findings of the 1964 Wilbur Smith & Associates Report, which the ACC had commissioned, regarding parking in the city. The Wilbur Smith & Associates Report had estimated that 2,500 additional short-term parking spaces would be required by 1986, along with 15,300 long-term spaces. Five inner city sites had been identified for this extra parking, which were all considered to be vital for the recommended overall transportation system. The estimated total cost of this land and building programme was \$30 million.⁷²

The North American approach to traffic analysis and the design of freeways influenced Australian engineers and planners.⁷³ Rod Payze (who was to become Director of Transport and a member of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission) considered that the MATS report was a reflection of the consultants who were engaged to provide advice on the transport requirements for Adelaide from the early 1970s until the year 1986:

It was a study heavily orientated towards a supply side transport solution based on a network of freeways. There was also a mass transit provision for a City which at the time only had a population of 700,000. The relationship between

⁷⁰ Government of South Australia, 1968, p.165.

⁷¹ Government of South Australia, 1968, p.178.

⁷² Government of South Australia, 1968, p.167.

⁷³ Davison, 2004, pp.168–70.

the way in which the City grew and formed, and the provision for transport accessibility was a big issue and extensively debated.⁷⁴

The MATS report stressed the advantages of the private car providing a door-to-door service and not being tied to schedules or pre-selected routes while public transport was ideally suited for the mass movement of people to and from high density areas during peak hours. It estimated there would be a doubling of traffic by 1986, therefore requiring an extensive system of freeways and arterial roads. The freeway was a major innovation in highway design and had two functions in a metropolitan area. First, it separated through traffic from local traffic and could therefore move large volumes at high speeds. Second, it provided rapid and convenient accessibility between various parts of the metropolitan area. The MATS Report claimed that the recommended system would guide the objectives of the *Metropolitan Development Plan*. It would be a positive means of directing and shaping urban growth to provide desired economic and social benefits. Improved public transport would provide a supplementary service to the freeways, and, with improved accessibility, the CBD would continue as the commercial, retail and cultural centre of the metropolitan area.⁷⁵

The MATS report was released to the public on 12 August 1968.⁷⁶ It was a triumph of technocratic planning but had been prepared without any community consultation. The freeways had been planned in detail with great engineering precision but without concern for environmental or social consequences. While traffic may be analysed through a quantitative approach, this is an inadequate model because it cannot realistically take into account political and social factors.⁷⁷

Premier Raymond Steele Hall enthusiastically supported the MATS report and announced that many of the properties needed had already been purchased and that \$125 million was available for further purchases. Communities understood what the proposed freeways meant to them and there was a ferocious informed public debate. Hart, as Director of Planning, was supportive of the ideas underlying the proposals. Rolf Jensen, the Professor of Architecture at the University of Adelaide, became the

⁷⁴ Rob Payze, oral history interview 44 / 17–24, Hyde Park, 19 May 2008.

⁷⁵ Government of South Australia, 1968, p.178.

⁷⁶ Linn 2006, p.209.

⁷⁷ Quade, 1975, p.181.

leading opponent and argued that the freeways as proposed would be single biggest change in the 130-year history of the City and the enormous expenditure was not justified.⁷⁸ Hugh Stretton analysed the impact on houses, schools and Park Lands in detail and argued the amount of land required for the freeways would destroy cohesive communities.⁷⁹ Derek Whitelock contended that the freeways in the MATS report would have disemboweled much of the urban area.⁸⁰ However, an editorial in *The Advertiser* was supportive of the proposals, even though some 2,500 houses would be directly affected and a further 5,000 houses affected indirectly.⁸¹

The Steele Hall Government, pressed by the powerful motor vehicle and heavy construction industries, continued to defend the MATS proposals as rational. But public opposition grew in intensity and the debate became highly political. According to Sandercock, 'Few things annoy and stir people into action as an eight-lane freeway pointed in their direction'.⁸² According to Versteeg and Hajer, intense public participation occurs when people are threatened. They are often unwilling or unable to gather all relevant information and then make judgments based on a range of factors.⁸³

Premier Steele Hall honourably made an electoral distribution in 1969 that abolished the Playford weighting of the rural gerrymander but this was fatal for the conservative side of politics.⁸⁴ The Dunstan Labor government came to power in May 1970. As a key policy in the 1970 State election campaign, the Labor Party had promised to revise the MATS proposals and produce a scheme that was financially possible, integrated with public transport, and where property destruction would be reduced to a minimum. Dunstan had promised in the election campaign that he had comprehensive plans for change and that Adelaide would become the technological, design, social reform and artistic centre of Australia.⁸⁵ Dunstan's view of South

⁷⁸ Linn, 2006, p.212.

⁷⁹ Stretton, 1970, pp.167–72.

⁸⁰ Whitelock, 1977, p.299.

⁸¹ *The Advertiser*, 12 August 1968, p.14.

⁸² Sandercock, 1975a, p.130.

⁸³ Versteeg & Hajer, 2010, p.165.

⁸⁴ Whitelock, 1977, p.295.

⁸⁵ Whitelock, 1977, p.296.

Australia was that it was a tolerant urbane society, enjoying a blend of natural and built environments with sensitivity to heritage issues.⁸⁶ However, instead of revising the MATS proposals, a ten-year moratorium was imposed on freeway construction by the new State Government. While freeways were built in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and Canberra they were not in Adelaide and thus the City again stood out as being different from the other capital cities.

POLICIES OF THE ADELAIDE CITY COUNCIL

In 1957, Town Clerk Veale took an extensive overseas trip to Canada, the USA, the UK and Europe. On his return he wrote very detailed reports, accompanied by numerous slides, on such topics as taxis, car parking, traffic, street lighting, parks and gardens. However, Veale did not acknowledge Hart's contributions to these reports, referred to earlier in this chapter. Veale took a personal interest in the heritage of Light's Park Lands and Veale influenced the ACC to fund an ambitious programme of improvements. Sir Arthur Rymill, a former Lord Mayor, said in Parliament:

There are some exciting ideas with regard to the Park Lands that the Town Clerk has brought back with him from overseas. It might be premature to give details of them at this stage but I think we will see some excellent developments of the Park Lands for the benefit of the people.⁸⁷

Eight schemes of beautification were proposed by Veale, including a Par 3 golf course and restaurant, Rymill Park and Bonython Park. A rose garden and restaurant in the southern Park Lands was subsequently named Veale Gardens. The cow paddocks of Adelaide, through the inspiration and influence of Veale and the financial support of the ACC, were transformed into creative gardens.⁸⁸ The Park Lands were being beautified to ensure the City remained an attractive place and maintained its dominance as decentralisation was starting to occur, with new suburban shopping centres opening at Marion and Kilkenny. In 1965 Veale retired from his position of Town Clerk and Playford was no longer Premier, having lost the election. When these

⁸⁶ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.93.

⁸⁷ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Council, 13 July 1958 cited in Linn 2006, p.214.

⁸⁸ Linn, 2006, p.217.

two influential individuals left their respective positions in the City and the State, a change in community thinking about the nature of the City began to occur.⁸⁹

The ACC policies in the 1960s about traffic and parking were engineering-dominated under the considerable influence of Veale and Bubb. Gilbert Currie, who worked for Bubb, commented on Bubb's influence:

Hugh Bubb, the City Engineer, played a very important role in the planning of the city. He had a very strong personality and did not get on at all well with a number of elected members of the Council. Hugh had an overseas study trip and came back with lots of ideas about the City. He got himself designated as the City Engineer and Planner. I thought that Hugh was a really good engineer, but his views about planning were engineering-dominated.⁹⁰

By 1962, two narrow streets, Ackland Street and Tavistock Street, had been widened and joined across seven city blocks to form Frome Street, the first new major street imposed into Light's Plan in the history of the City.⁹¹ Veale had first raised with the ACC in 1947 the need for Frome Road (which then stopped at North Terrace) to be extended as a new road to South Terrace.⁹² From 1880, King William Street had run north-south through Victoria Square but in 1966 Bubb recommended to the ACC that it should be closed and replaced by a one-way diamond. It was a spatial engineering assault on the rectangular form and integrity of the heritage of Light's layout. The ACC was divided and the scheme was only passed on the casting vote of the Lord Mayor, James Irwin, who had been persuaded to vote in favour because of the extent of technical information provided by Bubb about traffic flows.⁹³

Bubb advised the ACC, which saw itself as a separate and unique entity with the Park Lands acting like a moat, that the MATS proposal would impact on the City.⁹⁴ The ACC was in favour of the proposals because the freeways were aimed at maintaining and enhancing the commercial CBD even though there was no thought for the residents who would be affected. The ACC's own proposed new north-south road (see Figure 15, p.64) was not actually part of the MATS Plan (see Figure 19, p.83)

⁸⁹ Linn, 2006, p.178.

⁹⁰ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 18–21, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

⁹¹ Shelton, 1986, p.208.

⁹² Linn, 2006, p.152.

⁹³ Shelton, 1986, p.208.

⁹⁴ Linn, 2006, p.209.

but it was endorsed in the MATS report with a minor variation at the eastern end of North Adelaide (Le Fevre Terrace would be used instead of Margaret Street). The plan was to take the new road from Main North Road through the Park Lands, down a widened Margaret Street with an overpass across Melbourne Street, straightening it to align with the existing Frome Road to North Terrace, which would then go all the way to South Terrace and link up with Glen Osmond Road. In July 1956, Veale had written to all the owners in Margaret Street, North Adelaide, advising them that the ACC had resolved to realign Margaret Street so that it could be widened.⁹⁵ The new road made sense from a traffic point of view as it would keep through traffic out of the CBD and allow traffic with a destination in the centre to filter into the west off the new road. The ACC continued purchasing properties for Frome Road and this became a contentious issue, particularly when Hugh Stretton became involved.

Currie recalled Stretton going to see Bubb:

Hugh Stretton came to the Department and had a meeting with Hugh Bubb. I gather they had a fundamental disagreement because they could be heard well away from Bubb's office. In particular, Stretton was very concerned about the loss of small, old houses which housed the City's lower paid workers. I really think that this meeting between Hugh Stretton and Hugh Bubb was a critical turning point in the planning of the City.⁹⁶

Stretton stated that the reason he went to see Bubb was because the ACC had begun acquiring residential properties in and around Margaret Street very near to Stretton's backyard and he wanted to find out why:

I went to see Mr Bubb and during the meeting Mr Bubb had held his forearm over a plan on his desk and used phrases such as 'big things were underway' and 'drastic measures were needed'. When I was leaving Mr Bubb got up and I saw the plan and realised that as well as in North Adelaide, properties all the way along Frome Road were to be acquired. These properties were mainly small, working class cottages and this made me very angry.⁹⁷

This meeting was very important because Stretton then became concerned about the ACC's policies and Bubb's influence in the City. Some elected members of the Council, particularly Hayes, Bowen, Roche and Chappel, also started questioning

⁹⁵ Adelaide City Archives. Town Clerk's File No.391A.

⁹⁶ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 26–40, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

⁹⁷ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 10–17, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

Bubb's engineering approach to planning the City, especially his justification for the new Frome Road. Bowen held the view that:

Mr Bubb had no aesthetic sense, no concern for the environment and was completely unsympathetic to the heritage of Colonel Light's Plan for the City. In my view the City did not need an alternative to King William Street, there should be a ring route outside the Park Lands and the Terraces fulfilled the role of an inner ring route.⁹⁸

Chappel was also critical of Bubb's approach:

Hugh Bubb was a conventional engineer and more concerned about cars and roads than anything else. The Council had sent him on an overseas tour (mainly to Scandinavia and North America) and he had come back convinced of the need for the new north-south road and organised the compulsory acquisition of properties to complete Frome Road.⁹⁹

Architect Newell Platten, who was to become a State member of the City of Adelaide Development Committee, expressed a view from outside the ACC about Bubb's plans:

Hugh Bubb, the City Engineer, seemed to favour the 'Russian' model of long straight roads with cars going everywhere and high-rise apartment buildings being slotted between the roads. He clearly did not mind if the old houses disappeared.¹⁰⁰

While Bubb came back from his overseas trip convinced of the need for freeways and car parks to support the economic base of the City, he was also concerned at the decay of central city areas. He considered that large scale residential developments within the City were not only desirable but essential in order to maintain the economic viability of the central area and to prevent the growth of an extensive amount of land being under used. Frank Madigan was an engineer in Bubb's Department who was studying part-time for a Master's Degree in Town Planning at the University of Adelaide. Madigan's thesis concluded that the future requirement for land in south Adelaide for a 'Central Business Zone' was excessive and should be reduced.¹⁰¹ He argued that a considerable amount of land could be put to more effective use as

⁹⁸ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 58–68, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁹⁹ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 26–28, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

¹⁰⁰ Newell Platten, oral history interview 7 / 13–15, Adelaide, 7 April 2007.

¹⁰¹ Madigan, 1972, p.45.

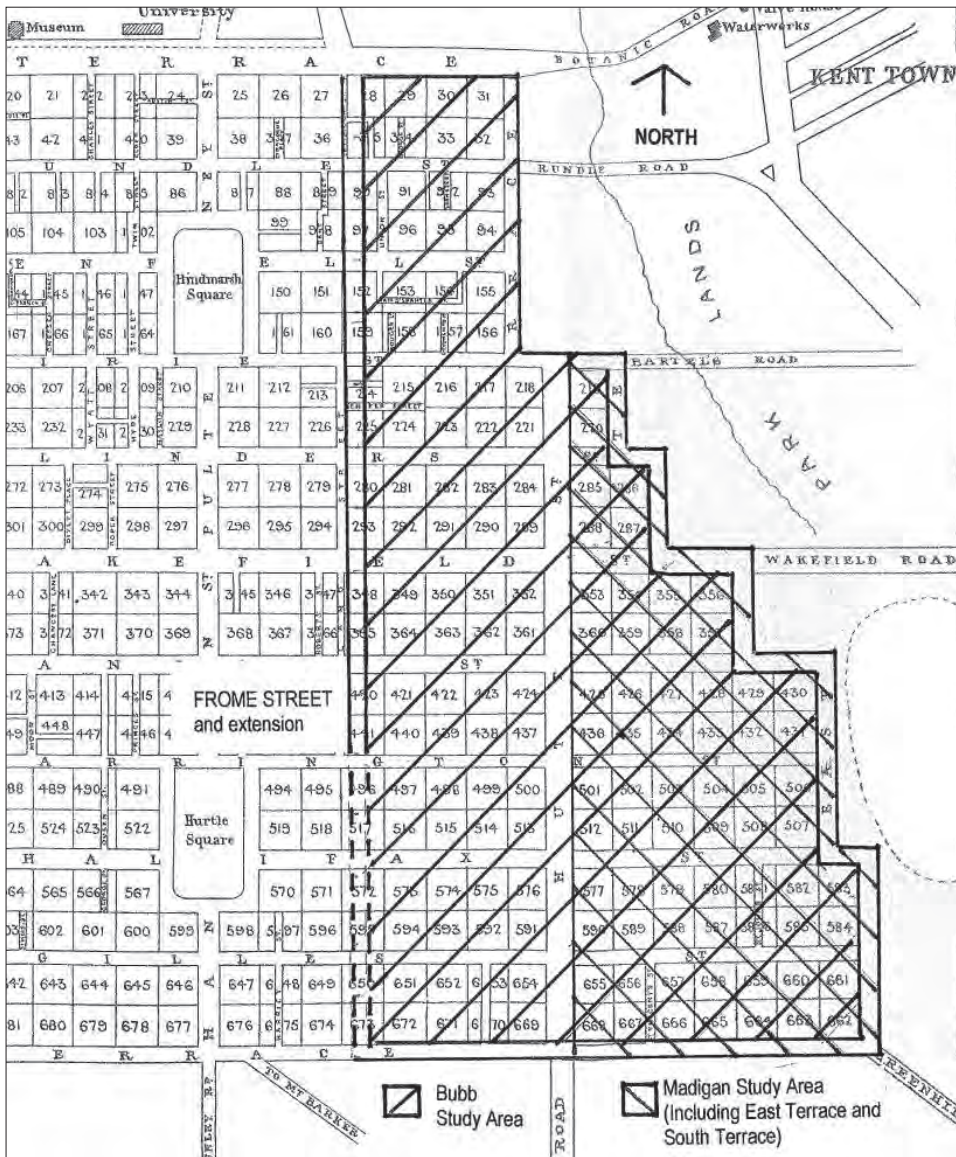


Figure 20: Madigan's study area and Bubb's area for high rise housing

higher density living but there were barriers such as high council rates, high water and sewer rates, high land tax and low rents. Madigan chose a study area of Hutt Street/Halifax Street/East Terrace/South Terrace, as Figure 20 shows, for a comprehensive redevelopment scheme that would, in his opinion, make more effective use of the area.¹⁰²

Such a scheme could have provided a solution to the problem presented by the large numbers of substandard houses on small allotments, as rebuilding was not permitted. The *Building Act 1923* had introduced a minimum size residential lot size of 3960 square feet (368 square metres). The large houses in the area had been converted from residential use to consulting rooms and institutional purposes. Madigan was also of the view that the secondary street system was wasteful of land. This had resulted from modifications to Light's grid street pattern because Light's spacing was too great for allotments of convenient back-to-back size.

Madigan argued that East Terrace and South Terrace could be closed within the study area and that a comprehensive redevelopment plan of high-density living could be achieved. This would have the advantages of convenience to work, the amenity of the Park Lands, and a more effective use of government services.¹⁰³ Bubb, who had seen massive redevelopments in city centres in Europe, drew heavily on Madigan's work and set about preparing a comprehensive residential redevelopment plan for the whole of the south-east area of the City.¹⁰⁴ Bubb chose the new Frome Street as the western boundary and the scheme went all the way to East Terrace, as also shown in Figure 20.

The proposed redevelopment would provide for a population of 18,000. The physical form of a vertical garden city with eleven tower blocks surrounded by parks epitomised the comprehensive schemes of Le Corbusier with the minor roads eliminated.¹⁰⁵ East Terrace would be closed and reverted to Park Lands as it was only essential for internal traffic. The ACC would provide the car parking in multi-storey garages and would own and maintain the open space between the high-rise buildings. The plans and a model were prepared administratively for an exhibition but were

¹⁰² Madigan, 1972, p.64.

¹⁰³ Madigan, 1972, p.92.

¹⁰⁴ Horner, 1978.

¹⁰⁵ Benko & Lloyd, 1949, pp.21–23.

never given to ACC members.¹⁰⁶ Currie had a critical view of Bubb's scheme:

Another of Hugh Bubb's grandiose ideas was to have high-rise residential development to the east of Frome Street covering the whole of the south-east corner. Three officers in the City Engineer's Department worked on this — Brian Turner, who was a valuer, and Barry Matthews and Robin Hodgkinson, who were both architects. This was really a crazy scheme with no chance of getting through the Council. Hugh Bubb eventually ordered that all copies of the drawings and printed report be destroyed.¹⁰⁷

There was a change in character of the ACC in the late 1960s and the establishment lost its influence to a new group of hard-headed, often self-made, businessmen, including Bill Hayes. There was an acrimonious Lord Mayoral election in 1970 when Hayes ran against the establishment candidate Robert Porter and lost. Bob Clampett later recalled his relationship with Hayes:

I had been very good friends with Bill Hayes and we were Gawler Ward Councillors together. In those days membership of the Liberal Party was important and you had to win pre-selection to run as a Councillor. However, when Bill Hayes decided to run against Porter for the Lord Mayoralty in 1970, I told Bill I could not support him as I was already committed to Porter. But if Bill ran again in the following year then I would support him. It turned out that Bill lost to Porter by only 28 votes, and the following year Bill was elected unopposed to the position of Lord Mayor.¹⁰⁸

When Hayes became Lord Mayor in 1971, a reformist Council took control of the Town Hall. Bubb placed the plans for high-rise residential development under lock-and-key and ultimately he destroyed them when Hayes became Lord Mayor.¹⁰⁹ There is no record of these residential plans in the Adelaide City Archives. Thirteen of the 19 members of ACC were from the Adelaide establishment in 1966. After the 1971 election this was reduced to seven members out of the 19 and Bubb recognised the change in the political make up of the ACC and that he was unlikely to be able to exercise the degree of influence he had previously enjoyed.

In *Planning Report No.10* of July 1969, Bubb had proposed a scheme to the

¹⁰⁶ Horner, 1978, p.126.

¹⁰⁷ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 26–40, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 22–27, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

¹⁰⁹ Horner, 1978, p.126.

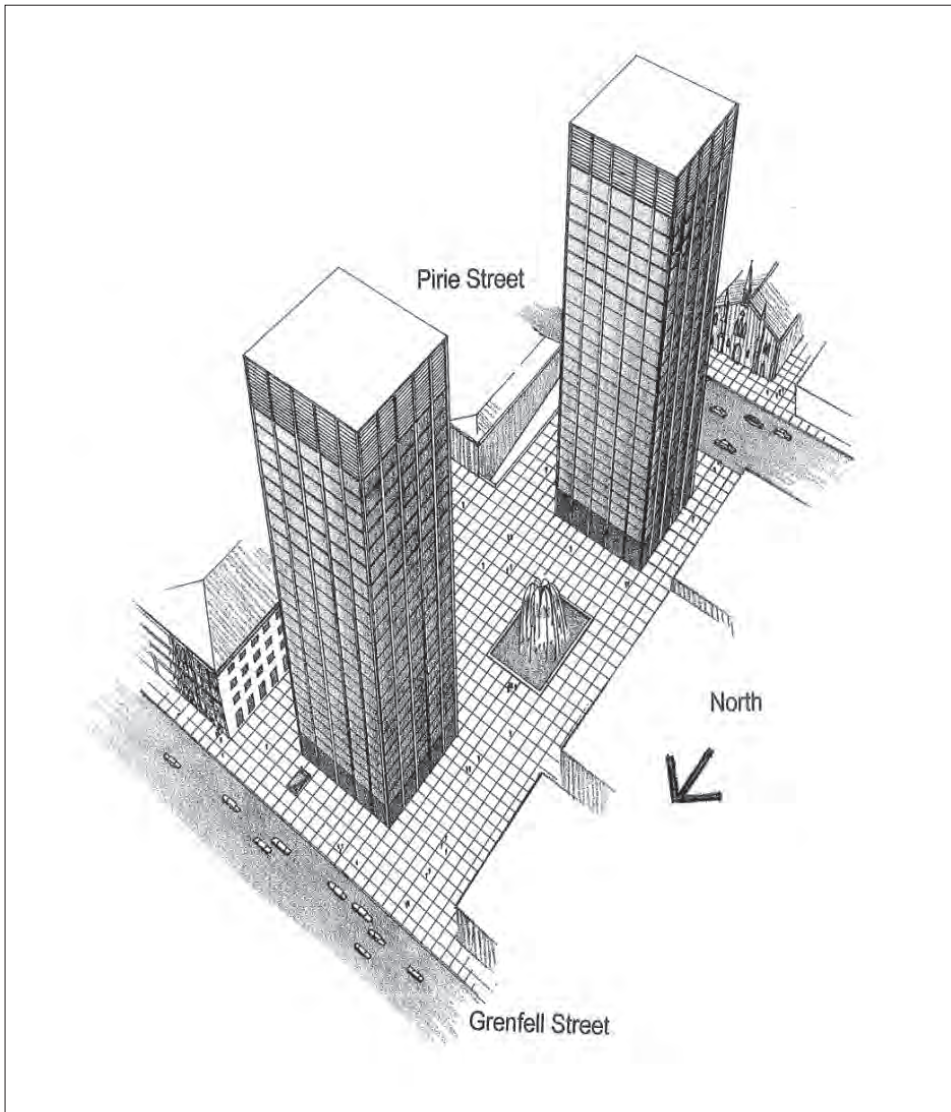


Figure 21: Proposed Stock Exchange Plaza

ACC for the redevelopment of the central area to be known as Stock Exchange Plaza. The scheme involved the clearance of two acres (0.81 hectares) between Pirie and Grenfell Streets and the construction of an open plaza at street level for the free circulation of pedestrians, as Figure 21 shows.

Rising out of the plaza would be two prestige office towers to house existing

uses, including a replacement for the historic Stock Exchange, and with some capacity for expansion. Bubb proposed an underground pedestrian system with shopping (as he had seen in Montreal) from the Central Market to Rundle Street (which was to become a Mall). As the first stage of comprehensive redevelopment of the central area, the Stock Exchange Plaza would provide a crucial link for this underground pedestrian scheme. Peter Ward, Premier Dunstan's Chief of Staff from May 1970, in particular was very opposed to the plans for the Stock Exchange Plaza and the departure from the City's existing fabric of buildings to the street alignment.¹¹⁰ Sybella Blencowe (née Daunt) was Bob Bakewell's advisor. She later described the State's concerns about the influence Bubb was having on the heritage and the urban design of the City:

Hugh Bubb was another factor in the Government's concern about the City. He was known as 'The Montreal Man' because of his plan to provide an underground pedestrian network from the Central Market through the Stock Exchange Plaza to Rundle Street and build a freeway along the eastern side of the City.¹¹¹

Within the ACC administration, this proposed pedestrian link was known as 'Bubb's rabbit warren'.¹¹² Currie also described this scheme:

One scheme of Bubb's was to create a plaza between Grenfell and Pirie Streets with two new office towers and an underground link to Rundle Street and the Central Market. Bubb had been very impressed with the underground pedestrian network in Montreal but failed to appreciate the influence of the weather and it was never going to work in Adelaide. Indeed, 55 Grenfell Street ('The Black Stump') with its sunken forecourt was the only part of the scheme ever built.¹¹³

Bubb's proposals were based on the Modern Movement's principles of space and form but they were in significant conflict with the heritage of Adelaide's spatial structure. The buildings were to stand in open landscaped space and rendered the major streets of Light's Plan irrelevant. The smaller streets were to be either widened

¹¹⁰ Peter Ward, personal communication, 7 July 2007.

¹¹¹ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 34–37, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

¹¹² Dick Whittington, personal communication, 25 May 2007. Whittington was the ACC's Commercial Manager during the 1970s.

¹¹³ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 22–26, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

or eliminated.¹¹⁴ The two identical perfectly square free-standing towers of the Stock Exchange Plaza were designed to promote the centre in its own right but in isolation from the patterns around it. The scheme was only partially realised when the first tower was completed in 1974. It dominated the City skyline and established its own ground level with a sunken basement. The historic French Gothic Stock Exchange was saved and so the second tower was never built. It is noteworthy that in 2008 the ACC approved a partial filling-in of the basement and two new low-rise buildings in Grenfell Street in front of the tower. These re-established the building alignment to the street to be consistent with Light's heritage of City allotments instead of there being an open plaza.

While the ACC was pursuing its transport, commercial and residential schemes, it was also working cooperatively with the State to provide a Festival Hall in the City. The first Adelaide Festival of the Arts took place in 1960.¹¹⁵ Some of Adelaide's conservative but far-sighted citizens instigated the idea of a Festival Hall. John Bishop, the Professor of Music at the University of Adelaide, and Lloyd Dumas, the editor of *The Advertiser*, had an interest in the Arts. They became allies and friends in the search for a Festival Hall, which they saw as pivotal in the evolution and maturation of the arts in the City. James Irwin, who was an architect and a Councillor, looked at facilities for the arts on an overseas trip to London, Istanbul, Paris, Rome and Milan. Lord Mayor Lawrence Hargrave organised a meeting of influential individuals from The Adelaide Club to support a proposal to the State.¹¹⁶ Playford was not noted for his artistic inclinations and initially rejected the request but the Adelaide establishment wore him down and eventually he promised funds of £800,000 if the ACC provided £100,000 and a further £100,000 was raised by public subscription.¹¹⁷

The *Festival Hall (City of Adelaide) Act 1964* provided for the building and financing of the project. By this time the ACC had decided on a site in North Adelaide and purchased properties at Montefiore Hill, including 'Carclew' owned

¹¹⁴ Shelton, 1986.

¹¹⁵ Linn, 2006, p.195.

¹¹⁶ Linn, 2006, p.193.

¹¹⁷ Campbell, 1998, p.8.

by the Bonython family. Irwin had become Lord Mayor and he briefed the new Labor Premier Frank Walsh after the 1965 election. The architects of the Festival Hall were the Adelaide firm of Hassell, McConnell and Partners. Site works began in North Adelaide and some large homes, but not 'Carclew', were demolished. The appropriateness of the site, particularly in terms of traffic, started to become a political issue and demolition was halted. The ACC started considering other options and when Steele Hall became Premier in April 1968 he formed a committee consisting of Lord Mayor Irwin, the Director of Planning (Hart), and the Director of Public Buildings (Ray Dunn) to investigate the whole project. The committee came to the view the best site would be Elder Park to the north of Parliament House, and Hall then persuaded the ACC and the Government of its merits. Dunstan, then Leader of the Opposition, while very supportive of the Arts, was opposed to the site. However, when Dunstan became Premier in 1970 it was too late to change the site and he expanded the idea of a Hall into a Festival Centre with subsidiary venues. Dunstan established an Adelaide Festival Centre Trust to run the Centre rather than the ACC but, given the ACC's influence, it had two (out of eight) Trustees.¹¹⁸

The story of the Festival Centre is a good example of City/State governance in Adelaide. Lord Mayor Hargrave, with support from The Adelaide Club, and then Lord Mayor Irwin influenced both sides of politics at the State level to achieve a project in the interests of the City, the Government and the people of South Australia.¹¹⁹

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING PROCESS AND THE PISE OF RESIDENTS ACTION GROUPS

As mentioned earlier, Young and Willmott in Britain and Jacobs in the USA wrote about growing community concerns with government schemes for urban improvement, including freeways, the removal of decayed houses and their replacement with new housing in the form of high-rise towers.¹²⁰ David Eversley contended that these improvement schemes could be described as 'Master Plans' or 'end-state plans' and

¹¹⁸ Campbell, 1998, p.21; Linn, 2006, pp.196–206.

¹¹⁹ Campbell, 1998, p.11.

¹²⁰ Young & Willmott, 1957; Jacobs, 1961.

that they were defined as finished articles based on the needs of an earlier time and pursued through programmes of considerable effort and investment.¹²¹

Public protests arose about the nature of the planning processes and the lack of any involvement by the people who would be affected by planning decisions taken in a political context.¹²² The *Skeffington Report* published in Britain in 1969 endorsed the principle of public participation and reinforced calls for the dispersal of power within society so that decision-making would be more democratic.¹²³

In the design of cities through physical planning schemes alone, little thought was given in the outcomes to the economic and social effects on the community.¹²⁴ The lack of public participation in the planning process had implications during the 1960s and 1970s in terms of power structures. The planners needed to empower citizens to create the possibility of genuinely democratic decisions.¹²⁵ Stephen Ward saw planners as part of the problem as they had become an institutionalised bureaucracy dominated by architects and engineers.¹²⁶ Indeed, the role of planners in the making of plans often led to citizen conflict.¹²⁷ Public attention focused on the destruction that lay behind the words 'planning' and 'redevelopment'. Planning can be seen as the exercise of power.¹²⁸ Planning is always conducted in the face of power, and planners take opportunities and seize the moment, working within and around structures of decision-making they do not control.¹²⁹ According to Friedman, 'in the face of power, justice and equality are hopes, and solidarity is a source of strength'.¹³⁰

¹²¹ Eversley, 1971, p.281.

¹²² Wingfield, 1963; Davidoff, 1965; Altshuler, 1966; Chermayeff & Alexander, 1966; Arnstein, 1969.

¹²³ Ward, 2004, p.123.

¹²⁴ Stretton, 1978, p.203.

¹²⁵ Davidoff, 1965; Altshuler, 1966; Chermayeff & Alexander, 1966; Arnstein, 1969; Friend & Jessop, 1969; Colman, 1971; Gans, 1972; Goodman, 1972; Pugh, 1973; Rowland, 1973; Simmie, 1974; Pahl, 1975; Forester, 1981; Clavel, 1986; Lemon, 1993; Douglass & Friedmann, 1998.

¹²⁶ Ward, 2004, p.140.

¹²⁷ Gans, 1972; Goodman, 1972; Rowland, 1973; Friedmann & Barclay, 1974; Simmie, 1974.

¹²⁸ Flyvberg, 1998.

¹²⁹ Peel, 1995, p.15.

¹³⁰ Friedman, 1981, p.162.

The relationship between power and knowledge subsequently shaped political action at the local level.¹³¹

Huge campaigns were mounted against freeways in London. The Royal Institute of British Architects unearthed a prophetic plea that had been published in 1869: ‘any means which could be devised to diminish vehicular traffic in the city would be more successful than endeavours to accommodate it’.¹³² The systems approach to planning of the 1970s provided the illusion of a rational analysis of complex problems but failed to appreciate the inherent political or social values.¹³³ But then there was an improvement in research intelligence and analysis so that spatial patterns of land use were strategically integrated with transport and development and there was a clear break from the tradition of ‘master plans’.¹³⁴ Planners lost their attraction to freeways in central areas as residents mobilised against the destruction caused.¹³⁵

This chapter earlier discussed the situation in metropolitan Adelaide in relation to the proposals for freeways. There was also an adverse reaction to proposals for high-rise housing and comprehensive redevelopment schemes. The public had become sceptical and was critical of the social impact, particularly on families with children. In the eastern suburb of Hackney, the State Planning Authority and St Peters Council proposed a comprehensive redevelopment scheme with the compulsory acquisition of 14 acres (11 ha.) of nineteenth century cottages, town houses and a caravan park housing some 250 people. A Redevelopment Committee for the area engaged Rolf Jensen, Professor of Architecture at the University of Adelaide, to prepare a redevelopment plan. Jensen had opposed MATS as described earlier but he was an advocate of high-rise residential development.¹³⁶ He proposed clearance of the whole site and a comprehensive development of tower blocks, partly by the SAHT and partly by the private sector. Some 1000 people would be housed by replacing the existing residents’ homes.¹³⁷

¹³¹ Foucault, 1980.

¹³² Whitfield, 2006, pp.184–99.

¹³³ Gleeson & Low, 2000, p.21.

¹³⁴ Ward, 2004, p.126.

¹³⁵ Diefendorf, 2000, p.191.

¹³⁶ Jensen, 1966.

¹³⁷ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.95.

Social action occurred and the new St Peters Residents' Association questioned the physical orientation of the planners, arguing there was no social validity for the proposed high-rise scheme.¹³⁸ This brought into the open the benefits of gradual rehabilitation rather than comprehensive redevelopment. Premier Dunstan had originally supported the proposals but the public outcry was in his own seat, which threatened his re-election. By 1972, Dunstan had changed his mind and so made a political decision to abandon the scheme. However, the SAHT bought some properties for renovation as a result of the community action. In an address to the Royal Australian Planning Institute congress in Brisbane that year, Dunstan placed an emphasis on communication and participation. Dunstan indicated that inner city redevelopment did not mean the wholesale tearing down of existing communities to simply replace them with an asphalt desert and high rise blocks of flats.¹³⁹

Planners claimed the right to seize the making of urban space and turn it to rational and humane ends, to control the location of industry and commerce, and to assert public ownership and control against what they considered to be the chaos of private decisions.¹⁴⁰ In North Adelaide, Bubb proposed to clear a large part of the historic centre and replace it with a suburban-style shopping centre and open lot car parking. North Adelaide was the home of some of the establishment with wealthy, educated and articulate residents who had considerable influence. Faced with the threat of the MATS freeways and the ACC's proposal for Frome Street/Frome Road and a shopping complex in North Adelaide, the North Adelaide Society Inc. was formed in 1970. The Society became very powerful and resourceful and commissioned a study entitled *North Adelaide: survival of a heritage*, which was to become the basis for future planning decisions in North Adelaide.¹⁴¹ The Society started choosing candidates for the two Wards (Robe and MacDonnell) in North Adelaide for election to the ACC. In 1972, John Watson was the first such Councillor elected. Subsequently he became Lord Mayor and Chairman of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission from 1981 to 1983. The Society began to exert considerable

¹³⁸ Pugh, 1973, p.110.

¹³⁹ Personal recollections of the author who was present at the conference and heard Dunstan speak.

¹⁴⁰ Peel, 1995, p.28.

¹⁴¹ Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 1971.

influence within the ACC to maintain the character of North Adelaide and the heritage of the City.¹⁴²

In south Adelaide, a group of highly educated young professionals formed the Adelaide Residents' Association in 1972. The Society was not as successful with candidates for ACC elections as the North Adelaide Society, primarily because of the extensive commercial vote in south Adelaide. However, they were able to make strong representations to Council members about the need to change the ACC's traffic and parking policies and the demolition of houses. The community was questioning the ACC's 'development at all costs' mentality. The construction of tall buildings such as *The Advertiser* building in King William Street, the Napier building at the University of Adelaide and high-rise apartments in North Adelaide were making impacts on the skyline not anticipated in the low-rise City. According to Rob Linn, much of Adelaide's charm lay in its old buildings and there was a need to value the past or the heritage of the City's built form would disappear forever.¹⁴³

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIVIDUALS

The changes in the City and State from 1950 until 1972 occurred within the international context of freeway proposals and comprehensive redevelopment schemes to replace 'slums' with high-rise residential developments. In Adelaide things were different and such proposals were decisively rejected by the community. The individual influence of Hugh Stretton in these issues was substantial. Soon after the MATS report had been released in 1970, Stretton published his *Ideas for Australian Cities*, which was a readable blend of polemic and treatise, emphasising the political nature of planning decisions and the social effects of their impacts.¹⁴⁴ It was a timely counter to the technical planning solutions then being proposed. Stretton examined cities in terms of personalities, ideologies and the politics that framed them, rather than in technical terms. It was a powerful and persuasive book with a consistent theme of the impact of urban decision-making on the actual needs of the people affected — particularly the poor, the disadvantaged and the inarticulate.

¹⁴² Linn, 2006, p.246.

¹⁴³ Linn, 2006, p.189.

¹⁴⁴ Sandercock, 1975a, p.143.

Adelaide was receptive to change because of the imaginative and respectable leadership of Stretton, who was not only an academic and author but an activist in terms of being a founding member of the North Adelaide Society Inc., a member of the City of Adelaide Development Committee and Deputy Chairman of the South Australian Housing Trust. Stretton was a most influential person because both Premier Dunstan and Lord Mayor Hayes trusted him.¹⁴⁵ Soon after the election of the Dunstan Government in 1970, there was a radical shift in direction and emphasis in urban planning in South Australia — particularly in the City where there was an election of a reformist Lord Mayor and Council in 1971.

The Dunstan Government was sensitive to cultural matters, urban renewal and social reform.¹⁴⁶ There was a feeling in the ACC and the State that unless something was done to stop the growing tide of demolition and ad hoc development, the City would be carved up, old buildings destroyed and residential areas in south Adelaide vacated. The City has always had its dominating personalities who have exercised strong influence upon its development.¹⁴⁷ I argue that much of what is good about planning in Adelaide is the result of a few individuals being in positions of power and influence.

CONCLUSION

After World War Two, new attitudes arose about the nature of city planning. In South Australia the State's statutory *Metropolitan Development Plan* and the *Metropolitan Adelaide Transport Study* had far-reaching implications for the City. The ACC's transportation and development policies were unpopular with the residential communities, as this chapter has outlined. In 1972 there was an unusual degree of cooperation between the City and the State, through the Lord Mayor and the Premier, about the future governance of the City. Through their influence, an innovative and different system of planning and development control was introduced for the City, which later chapters examine.

¹⁴⁵ Linn, 2006, p.246.

¹⁴⁶ Parkin & Patience, 1981.

¹⁴⁷ Sandercock, 1975a, p.144.

4

The establishment of the City of Adelaide Development Committee and the introduction of Interim Development Control

THE INFLUENCE OF PREMIER DUNSTAN AND LORD MAYOR HAYES

This chapter discusses the establishment of a joint City/State body, the City of Adelaide Development Committee (CADC) and the introduction of Interim Development Control (IDC) in October 1972 through an unusual degree of cooperation between the Adelaide City Council (ACC) and the State Government of South Australia (the State). The CADC set a new direction for the City of Adelaide (City) through the introduction of an innovative form of IDC. The reformist Premier Don Dunstan and the reformist Lord Mayor Bill Hayes were individuals of influence who together brought about an innovative form of governance for planning the City through a joint City/State body. As described in Chapter 3, the ACC policies of traffic planning, car parking and urban design and development were of concern to Dunstan and the State. The City presented a particular problem for a reformist State government.¹ The ACC, a venerable institution comprising representatives of both the old establishment and the newer commercial elite, presided over a City losing residents

¹ Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.94.

Don Dunstan+	Premier of South Australia
Hugh Stretton	Author, academic, North Adelaide resident, member of the CADC
Bob Bakewell	Director of the Premier's Department, member of CADC
Newell Platten	Chief Architect and Planner of the SAHT, member of the CADC
John Brine	University Reader in Town Planning, deputy member of CADC
Peter Ward	Premier Dunstan's Chief of Staff
Bill Hayes+	Lord Mayor 1971-73, Chairman of the CADC
Bob Clampett	Lord Mayor 1973-75, Chairman of the CADC (deceased August 2010)
Jim Bowen	Councillor, member of the CADC
John Roche	Councillor, member of the CADC, Lord Mayor 1975-1977 (deceased April 2010)
John Chappel	Councillor, member of the CADC
George Clarke+	Project Director, City of Adelaide Planning Study
Peter Hignett	Initial Project Manager, Planning Study
Stephen Hains	Project Coordinator, Planning Study
Gavin Lloyd-Jones	Member of the Planning Study Team
Gilbert Currie	Council liaison officer for the Planning Study, subsequently Deputy City Planner
David Hornert+	Member of the Planning Study Team seconded from Council
Hugh Hudson+	Minister for Planning
John Mant	Ministerial Advisor to Hudson
Sybella Daunt	Advisor to Bakewell and Secretary of the Interdepartmental Review Committee
Russell Arland+	Town Clerk, City of Adelaide
Hugh Bubb+	City Engineer, City of Adelaide
Geoff Wagner,	Principal Planning Officer, City of Adelaide
Michael Llewellyn-Smith	City Planner, City of Adelaide (author)
* Signifies deceased	

Table 1: Individuals of influence 1972–1977

as commerce expanded. Residences in south Adelaide were condemned, razed, and the sites bituminised for car parks or new roadways. This was not Dunstan's view of Adelaide as a social-democratic urbane city with cultural facilities, pedestrian areas, high-density mixed land uses, lively street life and outdoor cafes.²

The statutory zoning of the whole of south Adelaide as Central Business Zone in the State's *Metropolitan Development Plan* (1962), which was contributing to the loss of residents from the City, and the transportation proposals in the MATS report, worried Hayes and the ACC. Besides Dunstan and Hayes, there were a number of other individuals who exerted influence, to varying degrees, in the planning of the City through the period of IDC which commenced in October 1972. Table 1 shows these individuals and their positions.

² Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.95.

When Hayes became Lord Mayor he was convinced that the administration, mainly the City Engineer, Hugh Bubb, and to a lesser extent the Town Clerk, Russell Arland, had far too much influence and this had led to ill-considered and undesirable decisions by the ACC about the development of the City.³ Hayes made it clear to Arland that he viewed the ACC as a Board of Directors with himself as Chairman. It would be the elected members, not the administration, who would take the initiative in the future and set the agenda. Councillors Jim Bowen, John Roche and John Chappel supported Hayes in this view, and their recollections are pertinent about Hayes' influence and his role with Dunstan.

Bowen, who was a real estate agent, commented that:

With the election of Bill Hayes as Lord Mayor there was a 'changing of the guard' on the Council and supported by John Roche (with his development experience), John Chappel (an architect) and me, Hayes set about changing the direction of the city, particularly the traffic and parking policies of Bubb.⁴

Roche, who was a prominent developer, expressed the view:

Don Dunstan had a personal interest in the City and Lord Mayor Hayes started discussions with the Premier about the City and where it was headed.⁵

Architect Chappel explained his own involvement:

I was not happy with the direction the City was taking in the late 1960s and so I ran as a Councillor and got elected when Bill Hayes became Lord Mayor. I like to think I was one of the players who brought about a change.⁶

Bob Clampett, who was a wine merchant, followed Hayes as Lord Mayor. He provided further insight about Hayes and Dunstan:

Bill Hayes was a very able businessman but he developed an extraordinary relationship with the Labor Premier Don Dunstan. I considered that Bill only ever had one thought on his mind and that was, what was in the best interests of the City of Adelaide. If this course of action happened to upset Town Clerk Arland or City Engineer Bubb, that was not Bill's problem.⁷

³ Linn, 2006, p.246.

⁴ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 44–47, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁵ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 18–19, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

⁶ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 9–10, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

⁷ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 27–31, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

Bob Bakewell was the Commissioner of the Public Service Board before becoming head of the Premier's Department. Bakewell considered Hayes was extremely concerned about what changes a radical Labor Government under Dunstan might make. There was a real fear, particularly by former Lord Mayors who were members of The Adelaide Club, that the institution of the ACC, which had been in place since 1840, was at risk. Hayes realised Dunstan was probably going to be in power for some time and that this made the ACC vulnerable.⁸ Newell Platten, who was the Chief Architect and Planner of the SAHT, agreed Dunstan was concerned about the ACC and what was happening in the City.⁹

Hugh Stretton recalled meeting Hayes:

I met Bill Hayes at residents' meetings in North Adelaide which were being organised to protest about the City's plans and acquisition of residential properties for the Frome Street widening. There was a concern for the way the City was heading and there was a need for a new approach.¹⁰

Bubb recognised there needed to be a different approach to planning the City and he decided late in 1971 that the ACC should prepare a Supplementary Development Plan under the provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 1966*. Bubb began to assemble an internal team of people with different skills to undertake this planning study. At that stage he only had Gilbert Currie and Frank Madigan, who were both engineers, and he was looking for planning and urban design skills. Geoff Wagner, a planner, and David Horner, an architect, were appointed to the two positions.¹¹ Wagner recalled:

Events started to change quickly soon after David Horner and I were employed and Lord Mayor Hayes was manoeuvring behind the scenes to take a quite different approach.¹²

In September 1971, Hayes approached Professor Denis Winston, professor of city and regional planning at Sydney University, and planner and landscape architect Peter Harrison of Canberra, to act as advisors to the ACC on the steps to be taken in

⁸ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 16–18, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

⁹ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 52–53, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

¹⁰ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 26–31, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

¹¹ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC 29 November 1971, p.276.

¹² Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 16–18, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

the preparation of a Supplementary Development Plan (SDP) for the City.¹³ It was indicative of Hayes' view of the administration that he did not seek their advice on this matter.

Under instructions from Lord Mayor Hayes, Town Clerk Arland wrote to Harrison and Winston on 7 October 1971 confirming their appointment as advisors to the ACC.¹⁴ Harrison produced the first draft of a Discussion Paper entitled 'Planning for the City of Adelaide'. He suggested the primary objective of the study would be the preparation of policies for the ACC to promote change and direction with the widest possible community support. Harrison proposed that independent consultants undertake the study, drawing on the available information from the ACC and State agencies. He commented that there were few modern precedents for the kind of study proposed but he quoted the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan* (1971) as a very useful model. However, Harrison saw the study as providing clear guidelines for a Supplementary Development Plan and Regulations as the statutory basis for land use. Harrison considered there were advantages in an Adelaide-based firm having the central responsibilities as part of a consortium. He suggested the firm of Pak-Poy and Associates (Adelaide) with Llewelyn-Davies, Walter Bor and Associates (London), and the international firm Jones Lang Wotton (to provide advice on property economics) as an appropriate consortium. Harrison estimated the cost of the study would be \$150,000.¹⁵

Winston and Harrison met in Sydney on 27 October and in Canberra on 11 December 1971. When Winston worked on Harrison's draft some subtle changes were made, particularly in relation to recommending a particular consortium. Instead, invitations to undertake the work were to be sent to organisations which had the majority of the necessary expertise themselves and would be prepared to staff an office in Adelaide. The *Winston-Harrison Report*, dated 30 December 1971, concluded that the success of the undertaking would depend on the personnel involved rather than the detailed direction of their work.

Hayes informed Dunstan in November that Winston and Harrison had been engaged to advise the ACC on an appropriate form of IDC and the steps to take in

¹³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 671/A.

¹⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/B.

¹⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/C.

the preparation of a SDP. He also observed that City Engineer Bubb had been the recipient of criticism both within and outside the Council. Accordingly, the structure of Bubb's department was going to be reviewed by the ACC. Hayes acknowledged the concerns Dunstan had raised about the large number of private and public open lot car parks but observed they were serving a useful short-term purpose and would be readily available for more appropriate development at a later date.¹⁶

The ACC's senior committee considered the *Winston-Harrison Report*, and a covering report from Arland, in late January 1972, and on 2 February 1972 the ACC decided:

- i. Consultants be sought to prepare the City of Adelaide Planning Study as a prerequisite to the Supplementary Development Plan (at an estimated cost of \$150,000).
- ii. The consultants be selected generally in accordance with the method outlined in the Winston-Harrison Report.
- iii. The Council authorise action to seek registration of interested consultants in accordance with a prepared invitation.
- iv. The method of seeking registration be defined by the Lord Mayor and Chairman of the Building and Town Planning Committee (Councillor Roche).
- v. The necessary details relating to the preparation of the Supplementary Development Plan be defined after discussion with the selected consultants, but before a contract is entered into with the appointed consortium.¹⁷

It was also decided an advertisement would be placed in all daily newspapers circulating in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide on 5, 9 and 12 February 1972 with registrations closing at noon on 6 March. The ACC established a Select Committee specifically to choose a consultant, consisting of Lord Mayor Hayes and Councillors Bowen, Roche and Chappel.

The need for residential renewal and an awareness of the City's heritage had become major issues for Hayes and Dunstan; they agreed that something had to be done or Adelaide would have a dead heart.¹⁸ The proposed destruction of the ANZ

¹⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 671/B.

¹⁷ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC 9 February 1972, p.378(b).

¹⁸ Linn, 2006, pp.243-54.

Bank in King William Street and its replacement with a high-rise office building (by the Mainline Corporation) became a turning point in the City for the ACC and the State. The building was one of the better nineteenth century architectural designs by Edmund Wright and the National Trust was leading community action to save the building from demolition.

Currie recalled Dunstan's influence on heritage issues:

An important issue was the proposed demolition of Edmund Wright House and the public protests that followed. Dunstan took a personal interest in this and the State stepped in to prevent the demolition, picking up on the general disquiet in the community about development proposals.¹⁹

Dunstan's government bought the Bank to prevent demolition and secure its future. It was renamed Edmund Wright House and became the Register for Births, Deaths and Marriages with the Arts Development Branch on the top floor. Dunstan often intervened directly in developments in the City. For example, he persuaded Cabinet to return Ayers House to the National Trust rather than develop it as a chest clinic.²⁰

Through its influence in the Legislative Council, as described earlier, the City was not covered by the *Planning and Development Act 1967* and this left the ACC without development control powers. Early in 1972, the ACC had sought IDC powers from the State.²¹ Hayes advised the ACC in June 1972 that he had carefully examined and discussed with Dunstan control of development in the City during the preparation of a SDP.²² Special legislation would be enacted as a comprehensive new direction was needed. Thus, the issue was one of governance between the ACC and State to bring this about. Chappel contended:

The City was always different from the rest of the State, and the Council was not prepared to be under the control of the State Planning Authority.²³

Stretton observed:

¹⁹ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 48–51, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

²⁰ Dunstan, 1981, pp.181–84.

²¹ Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.102.

²² See Minutes of the Meeting of the ACC 16 June 1972, p.661.

²³ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 12–14, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

I contributed to the idea of a joint City/State body — the State Government did not want the City running things allowing businesses to go unchecked, and the City did not want to hand over its powers to the State.²⁴

Hart acknowledged the lack of any involvement by the State Planning Authority:

Interim Development Control powers were well established by 1972. I was not aware of the discussions between Dunstan and Hayes which led to the separate legislation for the City but I was aware Hugh Stretton had the ear of Dunstan and that he was very influential. There was some criticism of the SPA by the Premier and he appeared to be losing faith in the Authority.²⁵

Bakewell provided some background to what actually happened:

I felt it would be better if the City Council itself came up with some ideas. Bill Hayes and John Roche were certainly involved in these discussions. However, the thinking was that the idea of a joint City/State body should appear as a Government initiative. This suited Premier Dunstan as he wanted to have the kudos.²⁶

Sybella Blencowe (née Daunt) considered that Hugh Stretton had been an influence on Dunstan, and Dunstan decided the City needed a higher strategic focus than the existing State system could deliver:

The decision to establish the CADC was primarily to take the decision-making role away from both the Council and the State Planning Authority. This was a radical and significant intervention. If Premier Dunstan, with the cooperation of key members of the Council, had not intervened personally, Adelaide would have been a very different place today.²⁷

Stephen Hains contended that although Bubb was intending to carry out the Planning Study, the reason it was carried out by consultants was a sign of the ACC's lack of faith in its own staff to do the job and the State's lack of faith in the SPA to do it either:

²⁴ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 35–36, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

²⁵ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 21–26, Springfield, 18 April, 2007.

²⁶ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 13–15, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

²⁷ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 29–33, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

The political leaders of both the Council and the State wanted something different because they saw the problems of the existing instruments of planning.²⁸

Even South Australian Liberals could feel a sense of pride in a Premier who was so eloquently proud of Adelaide. While Dunstan was ‘centre-right’ on economics and ‘centre-left’ on social reform, he was after all a scion of the establishment: St Peter’s College and the University of Adelaide.²⁹ Mike Rann (Premier of South Australia from 2002 until 2011 and formerly Dunstan’s Media Advisor) considered that Dunstan was the nation’s most reformist Premier. He had a visionary approach to the environment, the arts, social policy and law reform. Dunstan was, according to Rann, the most potent threat to the old citadels of privilege and justice but he led South Australia out of a dull conservatism. Under Dunstan, South Australia was the ideal test bed for new ideas because it was the place where the future happened first.³⁰ Dunstan was a charismatic and powerful person who could talk to all levels of people and get things done.³¹ The Dunstan government, and the personal involvement of the Premier himself was unmistakable, brought about urban policies that were imaginative, humane and innovative with the City acquiring an urbane sensitivity.³² The program of policy-making and informed public debate was unprecedented in Australian cities and the joint ACC/State approach to planning the City of Adelaide was different to anything else in Australia at the time.

LEGISLATION FOR THE CITY OF ADELAIDE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

In late 1971 Town Clerk Arland indicated to John Williams (Chief Clerk in the Town Clerk’s Department) that the Dunstan Labor Government was becoming very interested in what the ACC was doing. Dunstan had established a policy unit in his Department that considered various issues, problems and proposals and was expected

²⁸ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 25–29, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

²⁹ Whitelock, 1977, p.296.

³⁰ Mike Rann, personal communication, 6 February 2009.

³¹ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 55–56, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

³² Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.112.

to provide answers. Arland advised that the government was considering something similar for the City and it was likely that Williams would become involved in this. Williams provided this insight about his appointment as Secretary of the CADC:

I recall very clearly that on 25 July 1972 I was called into the Town Clerk's room. The Town Clerk advised me a new body was being formed — the City of Adelaide Development Committee — and that I was going to be seconded to be its Secretary. The first meeting was to be at 7.45am the next day, July 26 1972. Lord Mayor Hayes had requested the Town Clerk to provide a secretary to this new body and that it be me.³³

It appeared the Premier had advised the Lord Mayor a few weeks earlier that the CADC was to be appointed through an amendment to the *Planning and Development Act 1966* but Hayes had not advised Arland. The CADC was to consist of four State representatives and three ACC representatives with the Lord Mayor as Chairman. Neither Arland nor Bubb had been involved in formation of this 'policy' body for the City. The direct involvement of Dunstan was evident in forming the CADC.³⁴

In the House of Assembly on 17 August 1972 the Deputy Premier, Des Corcoran, in the second reading of a Bill for an Act to amend the *Planning and Development Act 1966* referred to the heritage of the City and the new committee. Corcoran said:

The purpose of this Bill is to establish a committee and invest it with powers to control development in the City of Adelaide. The visionary insight of Colonel Light, the excellence of his ideas, and the competence with which he brought them into execution established a sound basis for the future development of the City.³⁵

Corcoran went on to argue that the State could not afford to allow the City, which was excellent in its original conception and design, to become an aesthetic wasteland of discordant architecture in which the civilised values of design and beauty were stifled. He noted that the ACC had recognised the dangers inherent in the trends in the development of the City and it intended to engage consultants

³³ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 20–25, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

³⁴ Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.102.

³⁵ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 17 August 1972, pp.883–84.

to advise it on future development. However, there needed to be interim planning controls otherwise the efforts of the ACC would be frustrated.

The Bill proposed a committee of seven members. Of these, the State would nominate four and the Council three, including the Lord Mayor, for the time being, as the Chairman of the committee. The State considered this would provide adequate representation for the ACC. Corcoran explained the powers of the committee would be two-fold. First, the committee would be empowered to make planning directives to establish the broader principles within which development in the City would proceed. Second, the committee would be empowered to consider proposed building work within the City and could take into account the aesthetic and sociological impacts of the proposal. *All* building work would require the approval of the committee.

There was considerable debate on the second reading of the Bill. The Labor Member for Torrens (John Coumbe) supported the Bill because he considered it served a useful purpose. The committee would be innovative and different because it would consist of officers appointed by the State and members appointed by the ACC. Coumbe spoke on the heritage of Light's plan and the special governance arrangements between the State and the ACC:

The Bill is unique because it affects the capital city and Adelaide is the oldest municipality in Australia. Adelaide is the finest example of town planning in Australia and the greatest credit should go to Colonel Light for his vision in planning the City. He did his work in the face of severe criticism, especially by the first Governor of the State, Captain Hindmarsh. The proposal is probably one of the few occasions on which the Government and City Council have got together.³⁶

However, the Liberal Country League Members for Alexandra (George Brookman) and Mitcham (Robin Millhouse) opposed the Bill. Brookman expressed concern at the implications for the ACC:

I cannot understand how the City Council should be subjugated to a committee which has little or no relationship to its ratepayers and which can take over the affairs of the City Council in almost every significant way.³⁷

³⁶ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 17 August 1972, p.885.

³⁷ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 17 August 1972, p.886.

Millhouse reflected on the Premier's criticism of the SPA and stated:

The Premier said these measures are to make the City the most effective urban environment. He has criticised the State Planning Authority and said it has not worked as he intended it to work.³⁸

Dunstan gave the following address in reply to the Bill, which highlighted the key issues:

This matter has been under discussion for some time with members of the Adelaide City Council. The problem facing the Council has been the provisions of the 1962 Metropolitan Development Plan which specified the land use in South Adelaide to be wholly commercial and light industrial. The view of the Government and the Council is that there should be a substantial residential population in the square mile of the City, and of course in North Adelaide. This work should be subject to joint encouragement by the Government and the City Council, it is not something that can be placed on the Council's shoulders alone. The Government will have to be involved. It is clear that the development of the City of Adelaide needs better control procedures than are available to the Council at present. The reason for wanting to incorporate joint action with the Government is that some provisions of the total planning will be needed from the Government in relation to reduction of financial requirements by government on properties. It will be necessary for the Government to be appraised of the proposals of the consultant planners to the Adelaide City Council, who over the next two years are preparing a Supplementary Development Plan. Government departments will be affected vitally by the proposals and it will be absolutely necessary to incorporate the work of the State Planning Authority and of the various Government Departments concerned with the work of the Council. Therefore it was considered that a joint body be established as the Government is just as much involved in the decisions as the Adelaide City Council. While the Council was earlier given Interim Development Control powers under Section 41, this only operates in relation to the Metropolitan Development Plan. Unless we brought in much tighter Interim Development Control of the kind proposed here, we would not meet the needs of the City in relation to residential restoration or the ability to control height and space relationships that would be vital to

³⁸ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 17 August 1972, p.887.

satisfactory planning. These proposals were welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Council representatives and we have concluded this is the only sensible way to proceed. The development of the central area has long been advocated by planners. I well recall the late Robin Boyd's coming to South Australia and saying 'Look, at the rate things are going under the present lack of planning in the City of Adelaide you won't have a city and suburbs because you won't have any "urbs" to be "subbed".' This measure will provide a planning process which will give real teeth to a responsible authority to ensure we get the kind of City I believe the vast majority of the citizens of this State want to see.³⁹

The House of Assembly then met in Committee, the usual protocol, to consider the Bill in detail. Coumbe moved an amendment in the Committee that:

The Committee shall consist of the following members:-

- (a) the Lord Mayor for the time being of the Council who shall be Chairman of the Committee ex officio; and
- (b) six other members appointed by the Governor of whom three shall be persons nominated by the Council.

Dunstan accepted the amendment, which was then carried and the Bill with amendment was reported back to the House of Assembly where it was passed. Hayes had used his influence to change the composition of the Committee so that instead of the State having a 4:3 majority as originally proposed, in effect the ACC had a 4:3 majority (the Lord Mayor plus three members). This change, as it was supported by the ACC, ensured the passage of the Bill through the Legislative Council. The joint CADC could then be established under a new Part VA of the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972*. This was another example of the City having a separate status as this Part was quite different from the rest of the Act.⁴⁰ It provided for the CADC to administer IDC while a planning study was carried out and a Supplementary Development Plan prepared. Daunt observed the CADC's power to make Planning Directives under the Act to regulate a broad range of issues affecting development in the City resembled the British Town and Country Development Orders.⁴¹

Bakewell provided some insight into the composition of the CADC:

³⁹ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 22 August 1972, pp.928–29.

⁴⁰ Bennett, 1976, p.128.

⁴¹ Daunt, 1976, p.48.

Common sense dictated that the Committee of three Government and three Council members with the Lord Mayor of the day as Chairman, was a reasonable size. The Upper House (Legislative Council) was placated as technically the Council had the numbers four to three.⁴²

The following six appointments to the CADC were made pursuant to the provisions of the Act, the Lord Mayor being the *ex officio* Chairman:

Nominated by the Council:-	Other Members:-
Councillor James Vincent Seaton Bowen	Robert David Eavestaff Bakewell
Councillor John Singleton Chappel	Hugh Stretton
Councillor John Justin Roche	Newell James Platten ⁴³

Williams recalled that at the first formal meeting of the CADC it became clear that the Committee had already met three times informally in the Lord Mayor's Room. This explained why Bakewell, Stretton and Platten had been seen outside the Lord Mayor's Room in preceding weeks but there was no record of any such meetings in the daily engagement sheets of the Lord Mayor.

Hayes was quoted by journalist Garth Rawlins in the *News* as saying the CADC was going to arrest the decline in the City's population and bring about residential growth.⁴⁴ Maxwell Whiting wrote in *The Advertiser* the legislation had evolved after talks between the Premier and Lord Mayor about the shortcomings of the *Planning and Development Act 1966* as it applied to the City.⁴⁵ It was the view of the Premier and Lord Mayor that Adelaide should be a City where people could live as well as work.⁴⁶

THE INFLUENTIAL COUNCIL AND STATE MEMBERS OF THE CADC

Hayes was *ex officio* Chairman of the CADC from its formation in October 1972 until July 1973 when Bob Clampett, having become Lord Mayor, succeeded him. Clampett reflected on why Bowen, Roche and Chappel were appointed to the CADC:

⁴² Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 24–26, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

⁴³ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 19 October 1972, p.1929.

⁴⁴ *News*, 30 November 1972, p.8.

⁴⁵ *The Advertiser*, 9 December 1972, p.5.

⁴⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's Files (C.15) Accession No.352, File 671/A.

The Council was happy with Jim Bowen, John Roche and John Chappel being the members on the CADC because they were the only ones who knew anything about development. That was the Council's attitude at the time.⁴⁷

Williams (Secretary of the CADC) also provided advice about the ACC members appointed to the CADC:

The three powerful members of the Council were Councillors Bowen, Roche and Chappel. They really stood out from the other elected members and it was natural that they should represent the Council on the CADC.⁴⁸

These three Councillors remained as the ACC nominees on the CADC throughout the period of Interim Development Control administered by the Committee from October 1972 until February 1977. Their interests and expertise were in real estate,⁴⁹ development⁵⁰ and architecture⁵¹ and they exercised considerable influence on the planning and development of the City.

The three State members appointed to the CADC were Bakewell (then the Head of the Premier's Department), Stretton (academic, author and heritage activist in North Adelaide) and Platten (Chief architect and planner of the SAHT). Stretton was on leave overseas during 1973, and the State appointed John Brine (Reader in Town Planning at the University of Adelaide) as his deputy. They all had recollections about their membership of the CADC and what influences were brought to bear in their respective appointments. Bakewell remembered a discussion with Dunstan and Peter Ward (Dunstan's Chief of Staff). Dunstan wanted Stretton and Ward wanted Platten. Bakewell wanted to know what the expectations of the CADC were and what it was to achieve. He suggested Hart, or his deputy Doug Speechley, could be the third member but Dunstan strenuously opposed this. Hart was considered to be very capable but he had been appointed by the Opposition Party and was seen as Playford's man. Bakewell and Ward suggested other names but the Premier decided he wanted someone with some power. As Bakewell recalled:

⁴⁷ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 9–12, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

⁴⁸ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 43–45, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

⁴⁹ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 70–74, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁵⁰ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 8–12, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

⁵¹ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 54–56, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

Dunstan pointed the finger at me. I was very concerned about the time implications as I was effectively the coordinator of policy matters for the government. But the Premier insisted that the CADC was very important and so I agreed to do it for three months to see what was involved. I did get the Premier to agree that the prime purpose of the Committee was to provide a holding operation in the City while the Planning Study was carried out for the Council.⁵²

Bakewell made the important point that the CADC was in place to enable a planning study of the City to be carried out. Platten contended that Peter Ward was an influence on Dunstan's view of the City as a cultural artefact, that is, that from an architectural perspective, the quality, texture and scale of Adelaide was being lost and degradation was setting in. According to Platten:

Peter Ward, Premier Dunstan's Chief of Staff, was a supporter of my work with Robert Dickson before I joined the SA Housing Trust. Ward approached me to be a member of the State's new City of Adelaide Development Committee which was to prevent Adelaide becoming a city with a small core downtown, deserted after business hours, and surrounded by open lot car parks.⁵³

Stretton recalled that Dunstan personally invited him to be a member of the CADC.⁵⁴ John Brine, the deputy member to Stretton, remembered how he was appointed and observed that he was the only deputy member:

Hugh Stretton invited me out to lunch and Peter Ward, Dunstan's Chief of Staff, was present. I think my 'political correctness' was being checked out and I obviously passed the test as Hugh later invited me to be his Deputy on the CADC for the whole of 1973 while he was on study leave in London. I attended most the of CADC meetings from January to December 1973. Interestingly, the other two State members of the CADC (Bakewell and Platten) did not have deputies.⁵⁵

The three ACC elected members and the three State appointees (and one deputy), with the Lord Mayor of the day as the *ex officio* Chairman, were critical to the success of the CADC through the considerable influence they brought to bear,

⁵² Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 45–51, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

⁵³ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 7–11, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

⁵⁴ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 38–40, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

⁵⁵ John Brine, oral history interview 6 / 25–30, Adelaide, 19 April 2007.

individually and collectively, in setting a new direction for the City. The governance arrangement for planning the City of Adelaide with a mixture of elected and appointed individuals in a joint City/State body was innovative and different to any other system of governance in Australia.

OPERATION AND INFLUENCE OF THE CADC

The influence of the CADC on planning the City was considerable. Once the membership of the CADC had been formalised it began to meet regularly every Monday evening in the Colonel Light Room of the Town Hall. The working relationship between the ACC and State members developed over time. From the ACC perspective, Bowen expressed the view:

I felt that in the early meetings of the CADC the government representatives were quite wary of the Council members but over time there was an understanding that we were motivated by the good of the City and not self-interest or money.⁵⁶

Stretton observed from the State's perspective:

Initially there was some distrust and suspicion but it ultimately proved to be a very effective group of people with a good working relationship. There were regular Monday evening meetings.⁵⁷

Williams provided some insight into the relationship between the CADC and the ACC administration. Hayes and the three Councillors had deliberately kept Arland and Bubb out of any discussions and meetings. Arland was trying to find out what was going on in the CADC and he expected to be kept informed. According to Williams:

The Lord Mayor had emphasised at the first formal meeting of the CADC that everything was to be treated as confidential.⁵⁸

Williams sought the advice of the Assistant Crown Solicitor, Michael Bowering, who advised Williams his first loyalty was to the CADC not to the Town

⁵⁶ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 74–77, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁵⁷ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 42–44, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

⁵⁸ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 33–34, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

Clerk. Williams therefore only provided very general information to Arland and the confidential matters remained confidential.

The first task of the CADC was to issue a policy statement and adopt Planning Directives. The *First Statement of Policy* was both a strategic and statutory document.⁵⁹ Williams recalled:

For the first year of the CADC I was the only staff member present. During the first six months the CADC was concerned only with policy — it did not see any planning applications. The *First Statement of Policy* was prepared by Stretton and Platten. I had to have it produced in confidence by the Council's printer.⁶⁰

This document represented, for the first time in Australia, an integration of strategic and statutory approaches to planning the City. As Williams stated, it was prepared by Stretton and Platten but then endorsed by the other members and adopted on 26 October 1972, just one week after the CADC had been formally appointed.

Stretton stressed the importance of the policy document in relation to residential renewal in the City:

The *First Statement of Policy* was prepared by Newell and me and endorsed by the other members. This was critical as it restricted the demolition of residential properties and no change of use from an existing residential use was permitted. The CADC was also able to issue Directives and legal advice was provided by the Assistant Crown Solicitor Michael Bowering.⁶¹

Platten reflected on what the CADC was trying to achieve and how it operated:

I worked very closely with Hugh Stretton to write the *First Statement of Policy* for the CADC. Our approach was to fine grain, sympathetically scaled, restocking of Adelaide's run-down housing, including the restoration of existing houses. There were lots of little chats and informal meetings but all the other members of the CADC agreed on the general direction. After a few months of the CADC working together, there were never really any differences about where the City should be headed.⁶²

⁵⁹ City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1972.

⁶⁰ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 61–66, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

⁶¹ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 44–48, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

⁶² Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 39–45, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

Bakewell explained to the Committee he was not a planner, architect or developer and was on the Committee as an administrator to give some 'common sense' advice.⁶³

The *First Statement of Policy* was an important document for the development of the City; it defined the powers and functions of the CADC and dealt with the mechanics of lodging applications for planning approval and building work. Business and development would continue while a major planning study of the City was carried out. The three major functions of the CADC were stated as:

- to act at once to reverse the decline of residences and to prevent any other deterioration in the City's fabric.
- to attend to citizens' planning applications without delay.
- to make zoning modifications, where required, with such modifications open to full public debate, objection and revision.⁶⁴

The planning staff in the City Engineer's Department had to contend with an entirely new system of planning and development control in the City. Geoff Wagner (Principal Planning Officer) reflected on the initial difficulties:

The creation of the CADC caused complexity and confusion. The development industry had to come to terms with having to get an approval before anything could be done, and this was totally new and unheard of in the City. The joint City/State body was a political reality and there was complete control over land use and any building work, including demolition.⁶⁵

A strategic approach was inherent in the two most important policies adopted and the statutory approach was in the form of a table of categories of land use for eight zones in the City. Thus, there was integration of the two approaches in the *First Statement of Policy*. The two policies that were to have a considerable impact on planning the City related to residential land and demolition. These policies were:

RESIDENTIAL LAND

Land in residential use, or whose last use was residential, may not be made over to other uses, except at locations where no practical possibility exists of restoring a tolerable residential environment. This applies in all zones. Conversion from other uses to residential may be permitted in any zone where

⁶³ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 59–61, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

⁶⁴ City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1972.

⁶⁵ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 29–36, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

the local environment is suitable. Wherever the local environment is suitable for small scale, medium-density family housing which is traditional to the City, that character must be retained. It must not be spoiled by intrusions of walk-up flats. Flats will be permitted where they do not conflict with local character and scale, for example in areas of mixed use, especially where flats can provide residences in areas whose established scale or commercial uses would discourage new family housing.

DEMOLITION

Except for reasons of health or safety, demolition will normally only be permitted upon approval of replacement buildings or uses.⁶⁶

Wagner considered that the Adelaide development community initially perceived these first two policies in the *First Statement of Policy* as rather naïve but that the more it was applied the more it became accepted:

There was a fundamental change in land use policy, especially in the south-east and the south-west of the City. These areas had been written off, but the policy was to reclaim them as residential areas. The policy that land in residential use could not be converted into another use was a simple statement, but had a massive impact.⁶⁷

The policy brought about a significant change and if it had not been introduced, the residential redevelopment of the City would not have occurred. But at the time it was hard for most people to understand, as there had been no residential development in the City for many years and the number of residents was declining. Thus, the viability of any new residential development in south Adelaide was seriously questioned. However, the public, architects and developers came to realise there were new rules in place.

Michael Bowering, the Assistant Crown Solicitor at the time and legal advisor to the CADC, recalled there was some debate as to whether the Crown Solicitor's Office (CSO) should be involved with the CADC. In Bowering's view, the innovative CADC was really a bit of a 'quango' as it was a mixture of the ACC and the State. Ken Litchfield (principal legal advisor to the ACC) considered he should retain his role of advising the ACC and that the CADC should obtain its own legal advice. The Crown Solicitor (Toby Gordon) and Bowering did not support CSO involvement as

⁶⁶ City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1972, p.9.

⁶⁷ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 72-78, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

the CADC did not fit the Public Service protocols but Dunstan decided the CSO would be the CADC's legal advisor.

Planning Directive No. 1 to give effect to the residential policy was then prepared by Bowring and signed by Hayes as Chairman of the CADC. It was published in the *Gazette* on 14 December 1972.⁶⁸ Platten reflected on the role of the CADC in relation to residential development in the City:

I was surprised at the enormous amount of power that the CADC had. No one was able to challenge or appeal its decisions, it had complete control over what could and could not be built in the city. In terms of its policy role, the CADC took a very strong stand about the need to address the decline of the City's residential population.⁶⁹

The CADC had the power and influence to affect the design of development, which did not exist anywhere else in Australia in the early 1970s. Platten observed applications were often deferred to enable improvements in design to be made and the CADC 'nudged things in the right direction' to achieve better outcomes. Platten contended it was remarkable that although the CADC had this enormous power, no one had ever tried to bribe him or suggest that if he voted one way or another he could expect to receive a benefit:

This was unique in South Australia and in stark contrast to the way things were done in the other States where a 'brown paper bag' was an accepted part of the application process by the development industry.⁷⁰

Williams viewed the thrust of the residential proposals as primarily a direction from the State:

I found it somewhat ironic that the two Council members who were concerned with the more lucrative commercial development in their professional lives, Bowen and Roche, should be going along with the move back to residential in the City. But it was also evident that if the Council did not go along with the direction that was being set by the State, the CADC would remain the planning authority for the City and the Council would lose all its planning powers.⁷¹

⁶⁸ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 14 December 1972, p.2632.

⁶⁹ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 72–74, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

⁷⁰ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 86–88, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

⁷¹ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 73–78, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

At the time the CADC was established, the SAHT did not own property in the City as its primary role was to provide new housing in the developing metropolitan area. However, Stretton, as Deputy Chair of the SAHT, used his influence to amend the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement in 1973 to allow the SAHT to purchase and rehabilitate existing houses in established areas. It did this most notably in the City where the stock of rental housing was scattered, with some of it being located near the institutions and hospitals needed by some tenants.⁷²

Bowen contended that Dunstan had an ongoing personal interest in the City and that Bakewell had a very 'nice' way of conveying things to the CADC without it appearing that they were 'instructions' from the Premier. Bowen recalled the way the CADC operated in practice:

After Council meetings on a Monday afternoon, the CADC would have dinner in the basement restaurant of Quelltaller House (owned by Bill Hayes) and there was a lot of informal discussion on key issues. The formal CADC meeting would then be in the Colonel Light Room of the Town Hall at 8pm.⁷³

Bakewell was in a position of influence and aware of other things going on across all of government. He reflected on his own role:

I would have a meeting with the Premier on Tuesday mornings to go through Cabinet decisions. On these occasions the Premier was always very interested in what had gone on in the CADC meeting the night before. Ministers often sought information about what was going on in their areas but I always advised them the Committee proceedings were confidential and I was the Premier's representative.⁷⁴

When Clampett followed Hayes as Lord Mayor in 1973, he automatically became the Chairman of the CADC in terms of the legislation. Clampett observed:

We went to the restaurant in Quelltaller House for a meal on Monday evenings before the CADC meetings. A lot of informal discussions about the City and particular applications took place there before the formal meeting — that is how we did things.⁷⁵

⁷² Parkin & Pugh, 1981, p.107

⁷³ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 81–84, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁷⁴ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 75–84, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

⁷⁵ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 17–20, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

RUNDLE MALL

Dunstan was also influential in the creation of the City's Rundle Mall.⁷⁶ In November 1972 he wrote to the ACC requesting that the establishment of a mall in Rundle Street be investigated. The Dunstan Government was returned to office in 1973 on policies that included the transformation of Rundle Street into a mall. Dunstan made it clear through the CADC that the question of Rundle Street becoming a mall was not 'if' but 'when'. Progress was slow. According to Clampett, the government threatened to put 44-gallon drums at each end of the street unless the ACC acted.⁷⁷ Bowen advised that Lord Mayor Clampett had the task of persuading the ACC to agree to Rundle Mall despite considerable trader opposition.⁷⁸

A Rundle Mall Steering Committee was established, which consisted of two representatives appointed by the State, two appointed by the ACC and two from the Retail Traders Association of South Australia. The traders were concerned that if traffic was removed, the retail trade would decline and could disappear, and so progress was slow. The ACC took the pragmatic position that if the Mall was a *fait accompli* as a result of Dunstan's influence, then Rundle Street needed to be developed as the best mall in the world and a car park would need to be built to support the Mall. In June 1974 the steering committee endorsed preliminary plans, and the CADC also advised Dunstan a preliminary design of Rundle Mall had been reviewed and the concept was supported in principle.⁷⁹

As I will discuss later, the ACC appointed me as the City Planner and took up the position in September 1974. The CADC invited me, as the new City Planner, to attend meetings of the Committee to become familiar with its activities and to contribute to discussions on issues being considered.⁸⁰ At the first meeting I attended on 16 September 1974, a further report on Rundle Mall was discussed in detail and the major issue was the proposed car park. The ACC members advised that 14 sites had been evaluated and the preferred site was the former Foy & Gibson building at

⁷⁶ Linn, 2006, pp.238–43.

⁷⁷ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 17–19, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

⁷⁸ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 115–118, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁷⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Administrative Department File 317/M/2.

⁸⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Administrative Department File F.1/7.



Figure 22: The demountable Rundle Mall Car Park

the south-eastern corner of Pulteney Street and Rundle Street where 800 short-term spaces were proposed. In a rare instance of the CADC not having an unanimous view, Bakewell and Stretton voted against supporting this proposal on the basis that they considered the Mall could probably succeed without the need to provide additional short-term parking, notwithstanding that the traders' support was conditional on the new car park. The CADC also expressed the view that the Mall should be 'busy,

colourful and vibrant, with a great deal of variety in character and form', and that the Mall could be paved more cheaply than the granite finish proposed by the architects.⁸¹

Don Hopgood, a Minister in Dunstan's Cabinet and later Deputy Premier, recalled there was an issue in Cabinet over the car park proposed to serve Rundle Mall when Rundle Street was closed to traffic. The ACC was supporting the traders over the need for a new car park and although this was eventually approved, there had been a lot of opposition, especially from the Minister of Transport, Geoff Virgo. The Minister had set his face against any further high-rise car parks in the City.⁸²

In February 1975 the ACC appointed architect Ian Hannaford to prepare the detailed design for the Mall. On 20 May 1975 the CADC reviewed the detailed design of the Mall prepared by Hannaford and forwarded comments to the ACC. It also approved the ACC's application to use the former Foy & Gibson building as a car park to support the Mall. However, it was a condition of approval that retail uses be provided on the ground floor and that the car park be constructed so that it could be used for other purposes, such as offices, at some time in the future.⁸³ The Rundle Mall Car Park was built as a demountable structure, as Figure 22 shows. It was eventually opened by Lord Mayor Roche on 30 June 1977.⁸⁴

Adelaide's Rundle Mall was the first mall in Australia created by the conversion of a street into a pedestrian shopping area. Pedestrian malls have subsequently been established in other Australian capital cities. Rundle Mall was constructed with brick paving and officially opened by Dunstan on 1 September 1976 in the presence of thousands of people.

RUTHVEN MANSIONS AND HOUSING

Another project of importance for the CADC was Ruthven Mansions in Pulteney Street. Former Lord Mayor Hayes addressed the CADC on 9 December 1974 about the merits of retaining Ruthven Mansions. Even though new balconies and lifts

⁸¹ Adelaide City Archives, Administrative Department File F.1/7.

⁸² Don Hopgood, oral history interview 26 / 73–83, Morphett Vale, 8 February 2008.

⁸³ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the one hundred and seventh meeting of the CADC 20 May 1975, p.1217.

⁸⁴ Linn, 2006, p.242.

would be required, he considered it should be an economic proposition and would be an important policy statement by the State and the ACC about residential use in the City.⁸⁵ On 19 December 1974 Clampett wrote to Dunstan expressing concern that the State was considering the possibility of demolishing Ruthven Mansions, which had been built in 1911. Although the building was in a dilapidated state and had not been in residential use for many years, the CADC considered that restoration would be an economic proposition and would demonstrate a commitment to the residential regeneration of the City in accordance with the proposed City Plan.⁸⁶ Steve Condous (who was to become Lord Mayor in 1987) recalled that there had been a proposal by a developer to demolish Ruthven Mansions and replace them with a new arcade but Condous gave the credit to Hayes for their retention through his influence with Dunstan.⁸⁷

The ACC decided that it could demonstrate to the private sector the viability of inner city residential development by becoming a housing developer itself.⁸⁸ Horner designed a scheme of eleven two-storey town houses and the City Building Surveyor's Department prepared the working drawings. The scheme, approved by the CADC, was known as Angas Court, located in the south-east of the City. All the houses sold quickly and the ACC made a profit.⁸⁹ The amount of land the ACC had acquired for road widening became a valuable resource for SAHT development. The SAHT had argued that it could not afford city land prices, and did deals with the ACC. The trade-off for subsidised land was the quality of design of the development approved by the CADC. SAHT homes, while humble, became part of the urban fabric and never looked like public housing.⁹⁰ The CADC's position was that the desired increase in residential population should not adversely impact on the existing environmental character.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ninety-seventh meeting of the CADC 9 December 1974, p.1070.

⁸⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File DC 52/73.

⁸⁷ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 19–22, Norwood, 1 March 2007.

⁸⁸ Linn, 2006, p.249.

⁸⁹ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File 63/74.

⁹⁰ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 67–70, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

⁹¹ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File 66/74.

THE *SECOND STATEMENT OF POLICY*

Arland wrote to the CADC on 3 July 1975 and asked that the CADC in its future decision-making have regard to the City Plan that the ACC had adopted.⁹² I discuss this further in Chapter 6. The CADC requested the City Planner's Department to prepare a draft *Second Statement of Policy* for consideration. The City Planner's Department revised the *First Statement of Policy* having regard to the findings of the Planning Study, the City Plan as adopted by the ACC and the experience of IDC. The CADC adopted the *Second Statement of Policy* on 18 July 1975. The document stated that applicants had been invited to discuss proposals with officers of the City Planner's Department before submitting a formal application. All applications and the reports on them had been available to the members of public and press. Landowners likely to be affected by development proposals had been consulted. The *Second Statement* was seen as a guide for the remainder of the period of IDC until new statutory controls were introduced. It was stressed that proposals had to comply with general performance standards as there were no detailed requirements prescribed for bulk, plot ratio, site coverage or setbacks. Instead, the CADC wanted proposals to comply with the general statement of environmental objectives for the precincts.

This was an unfamiliar approach in Adelaide but the CADC expected developers to cooperate to make it work, as such an approach allowed a greater freedom of design and land use while at the same time it imposed neighbourly and environmental requirements which were difficult to codify. The *Second Statement* included 14 use groups from 'house' to 'offensive or hazardous industry' which were 'Deemed to be approved', 'For Consideration on Merit' or 'Deemed to be prohibited' in each zone of all the Precincts. Wagner commented that the *Second Statement of Policy* started the process of putting substance to the subtleties of planning controls based on the Planning Study.⁹³ In a sense, the proposed new controls were being trialed and because it was still a policy document and not legislated for, it was a useful means of gauging the likely effectiveness of the new system. It was not such

⁹² Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/T/3.

⁹³ City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1975.

a culture shock as the *First Statement of Policy* and helped to explain the underlying philosophies which the CADC had been set up to achieve.⁹⁴

Dunstan introduced legislation in the House of Assembly to extend the life of the CADC by six months from 30 June 1976 until 31 December 1976. Dunstan argued:

Until the Plan is settled it is impossible for the Government to present to Parliament settled proposals for the legislative framework within which the Plan will operate. While proper regard must be made to the unique circumstances of the City of Adelaide, the effect of planning for the City must be viewed in the context of the whole State.⁹⁵

Planning Directive No. 1 restricted the use of land to its existing use or lawful approved use. It was issued by the CADC and published in the *Government Gazette* on 14 December 1972. Planning Directive No. 2 granted an approval for a specified period of time. It was issued by the CADC and published in the *Government Gazette* on 24 October 1974. The legitimacy of Planning Directives 1 and 2 did not arise until there was an appeal against a decision made by the CADC. When the CADC refused an application for a minor development in North Adelaide, the applicant took the matter to the Planning Appeals Board where Bowering acted as Counsel for the CADC. Bowering argued strongly that there was no right of appeal against the decision made, the only right of appeal being against the Directive itself. The Planning Appeals Board agreed and the applicant then appealed the matter to Judge John Roder, who upheld the Board's decision.

The case got some publicity in the media and there was a lot of concern in the community about the CADC's use of the Directive No. 1. The tenacious litigant then appealed to the Land and Evaluation Court, where it came before Judge Wells. Judge Andrew Wells made some unflattering comments about Directive No. 2 but came to the conclusion that the Board was correct. The litigant then appealed the matter to the Full Court. The Court consisted of Judges Roma Mitchell, Howard Zelling and George Walters. Judge Zelling questioned Bowering closely about the validity of the directive itself. Judge Mitchell then said that she understood what the directive was trying to achieve but without expressing any view as to whether the

⁹⁴ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 84:97, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

⁹⁵ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 11 September 1975, p.709.

directive was valid or not, disqualified herself as she was a resident of the City. Judge Walters said nothing but as he was a resident of the City, he also disqualified himself. The Full Bench, with two new Judges joining Judge Zelling, reconvened the next day and Judge Zelling stated Planning Directive No. 1 'directed nobody and prevented nothing and was clearly not intended to apply to the whole City'. Bowering thought this was an illogical view of the directive but Judge Zelling held sway and judgment was handed down on 18 March 1976.⁹⁶ Planning Directive No. 1 was declared invalid. The CADC immediately set about the task of preparing new Directives to cover the points made by the Full Court and replacement Planning Directives Nos. 3 and 4 were published in the *Government Gazette* on 6 May 1976 and remained in force until 1 March 1977 when the new legislation for the City came into effect. The CADC's Final Report stated that the most satisfying achievement had been the increase in residential development since its *First Statement of Policy* was released; the success of the CADC's policies meant the objectives of Dunstan and Hayes for the City had been met.⁹⁷

CONCLUSION

A governance arrangement for the City was put in place in the form of an innovative joint ACC/State planning body because of the cooperation between a reformist Premier Dunstan and a reformist Lord Mayor Hayes. The role and influence of Stretton was important in developing this concept, which changed the direction of the City. The CADC adopted an integration of strategic and statutory approaches that arrested the decline of the residential population in the City, particularly in south Adelaide. IDC provided a holding operation while a planning study of the City could be carried out by consultants. The choice of George Clarke and Urban Systems Corporation to carry out the planning study, based on their work in Sydney, was critical, as Chapter 5 discusses.

⁹⁶ Michael Bowering, oral history interview 22 / 40–60, Brighton, 20 November 2007.

⁹⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 671/F, Accession no. 352.

5

Planning in Sydney and the work of George Clarke

TOWN PLANNING IN THE CITY OF SYDNEY

This chapter provides a brief history of town planning in the City of Sydney as background for the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* prepared by George Clarke and Urban Systems Corporation (USC). This work was important because it was a primary consideration in the choice of consultants for the City of Adelaide Planning Study. In this chapter, I also reflect on my own role in Sydney, particularly in relation to the Woolloomooloo Action Plan.

The history of the City of Sydney in terms of governance and the relationship between the Government of New South Wales (the State (NSW)) and the Council of the City of Sydney (SCC) is relevant to this book about Adelaide, and this chapter will later discuss the lessons learned. The State (NSW) created the city in November 1842 and established the structure of the SCC and its boundaries.¹ In 1853, the State (NSW) dismissed the elected SCC and placed the city under the control of unelected Commissioners because it was concerned that the SCC was

¹ Golder, 2004, p.vii.

not providing basic services.² Conflict and power have been the dominant themes in the planning of Sydney.³ The struggle for governance between the State (NSW) and the SCC demonstrates the connection between social and spatial outcomes and the city's political economy. A conservative State government dismissed the Labor-controlled SCC in 1927 and the reasons given were that the SCC was open to bribery and corruption and was administering the city badly.⁴ The three appointed Commissioners reduced expenditure and improved efficiency by reducing the workforce and simplifying the administrative structure. The State (NSW) passed the *Sydney Corporation (Amendment) Act 1929* (NSW), which gave the vote to non-resident property owners and changed the ward boundaries, which ensured the Labor party did not win the 1930 election.⁵

The *Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Act 1945* (NSW) established the Cumberland County Council, which had responsibility for preparing a planning scheme to apply to all local authorities within the County, including the City of Sydney. In terms of governance, the State (NSW) was not prepared to give the local governments within the County the power to determine their own destinies and controlled the statutory plan within which the councils had to operate.⁶ However, councils were obliged to produce local statutory land use zoning plans that would provide detail for the County master plan.⁷ The statutory *Cumberland County Planning Scheme* was prescribed in 1951 and remained in operation until 1971, primarily because the SCC failed to produce a detailed zoning scheme for the city and because there was ongoing conflict with the State (NSW) through its agency, the Cumberland County Council.⁸ But there were also limited resources in the SCC, with only a small town planning branch within the City Engineer's Department. The SCC adopted a draft scheme prepared by the City Engineer in 1952, which included

² Robson, 1957, p.577.

³ Ashton, 1993, p.10.

⁴ Golder, 2003, p.45.

⁵ Golder, 2003, p.96.

⁶ Robson & Regan, 1972, p.59.

⁷ Ashton, 1993, p.67.

⁸ Ashton, 1993, p.68.

five expressways converging on the central city with off-street parking stations tied a system of distributor roads.⁹

Concerns began to be expressed about the *laissez-faire* approach to development in the city in the 1950s, particularly by Denis Winston (Professor of Town Planning at the University of Sydney) in relation to the height and bulk of buildings.¹⁰ The State's (NSW) response was to create another authority, the Height of Buildings Advisory Committee (HOBAC), to which any development application for a building over 80 feet (23.4m) in height had to be submitted. The complex web of power relations in the *laissez-faire* approach ensured the State's (NSW) dominant governance over the control and development of the city.¹¹ In 1963 the government established the State Planning Authority of New South Wales (SPA) to replace the Cumberland County Council and one of its main tasks was to review draft schemes submitted by councils. The SCC submitted a further draft scheme in October 1964 but in December 1964 the Minister for Local Government and Planning, Pat Hills, on the advice of the SPA, released his own draft scheme for the city with very major amendments including provision for the expressways, street widening and changes to the areas zoned for residential use. The Minister took a political decision to have a statutory planning scheme for the city in place before the State elections in 1965.¹²

In November 1967, Commissioners were again appointed to run the city after the SCC was dismissed. But this time it was for purely political reasons with the newly elected conservative (Liberal-Country Party) State government removing an elected Labor SCC after the State (NSW) had directed the Boundaries Commission to determine new limits for a smaller city.¹³ The three Commissioners appointed were Vernon Trott (a former leader of the Liberal party and former chair of the Boundaries Commission), John Shaw (who had recently retired as the Commissioner of Main Roads) and Bill Pettingell (a prominent businessman and former President of the

⁹ Ashton, 1993, p.73.

¹⁰ Winston, 1956, p.4

¹¹ Ashton, 1993, p.73.

¹² Ashton, 1993, p.72.

¹³ Ashton, 1993, p.88; Golder, 2004, p.vii.



Figure 23: The boundaries of the City of Sydney in 1971

NSW Chamber of Manufacturers).¹⁴ Sydney was experiencing a property boom and the Commissioners, appointed by a 'development-at-all-costs' State, approved applications at an unprecedented rate.¹⁵

The governance of Sydney returned to a democratically elected SCC in September 1969 when the election was won by the Civic Reform Association (CRA)

¹⁴ Ashton, 1993, p.92; Golder, 2004, p.128.

¹⁵ Golder, 2004, pp 138–45.

based on the new boundaries for the smaller central city, as Figure 23 shows. The CRA had been formed in 1921 as a group of citizens and ratepayers concerned about the influence of the Labor party in City Hall.¹⁶ Architect Andrew Briger and engineer Leo Port were individuals who exerted influence within the CRA in the late 1960s and subsequently within the SCC in the 1970s.¹⁷ Briger and Port persuaded the CRA that an entirely new process for planning the City should be a major plank in their electoral platform for the 1969 elections.¹⁸ Briger and Port were critical in creating a new climate for design initiatives in Sydney.¹⁹

George Clarke had substantial individual influence in Sydney (and later in Adelaide, as Chapter 6 discusses). Clarke trained as an architect at Sydney University, and under the influence of Winston began an interest in urban affairs. He obtained a Diploma in Town Planning from London University and a Master's Degree in City Planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. During the early 1960s he studied and worked in Italy, France, England and the US. On his return to Sydney he became a principal of the firm Clarke, Gazzard and Partners.²⁰ On Clarke's death in 2005 the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Clover Moore, described him as a 'community activist and visionary'.²¹ A colleague, Jim Colman, described Clarke as having 'a towering ego, boundless energy, prodigious curiosity, ferocious intellect and a passion for urban planning'.²² Briger described him as 'a man of intense passion; dedicated, almost bordering on the fanatic; articulate and persuasive; and who understood the role politics played in planning'.²³

Clarke wrote to Briger to propose the concept of a strategic plan for the City after the CRA won the 1969 election.²⁴ Clarke then prepared a report for Briger in

¹⁶ Briger in Webber, 1988, p.35. In local government circles, City Hall is understood to mean the elected Council and the administration.

¹⁷ Ashton, 1993, p.91.

¹⁸ Golder, 2004, p.146.

¹⁹ Freestone, 2010, p.268.

²⁰ George Clarke Personal Papers, Box 14, 1970, Item 40.

²¹ See Lord Mayor's Minute to the Sydney City Council on 11 March 2005.

²² As expressed in a tribute to Clarke at a Lord Mayoral memorial dinner held in Adelaide on 6 September 2005.

²³ Briger in Webber, 1988, p.43.

²⁴ George Clarke Personal Papers, Box 13, 1969, Item 88.

October 1969 on the differences between statutory and strategic planning in support of his proposal. Clarke explained the differences as:

A Statutory Planning Scheme is a collection of broadly expressed and greatly simplified land use regulations and restrictions which are imposed by law on an area, through gazettal of an Ordinance, in an attempt to prevent the worst kind of development from being carried out.

A Strategic Plan is a policy document which expresses the highest objectives which can be attained for an area and describes the plans, performance standards and programmes which must be implemented to attain those objectives.²⁵

Briger used Clarke's advice and with the support of his colleagues Port and Sir Nicholas Shehadie, the SCC decided in December 1969 to commission a 'strategic master plan' for the city. Shehadie recalled the influence of Briger and Port in the planning and development of the city:

Because of what they wanted to do for Sydney, the rest of the Civic Reform Aldermen were convinced by Andrew and Leo that there was a need for a strategic master plan for the City. The Lord Mayor raised the issue in one of our party room meetings and it was decided that this should go ahead. A Strategic Planning Committee was appointed consisting of Andrew, Leo and me.²⁶

Briger and Port then sought the assistance of Clarke in the preparation of the Brief for a consultancy to prepare a strategic plan.²⁷ The editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 5 November 1969 when the CRA announced the preparation of a strategic plan CRA (but before there was a formal SCC decision) stated with some insight:

If the plan is to be effective then it will require the cooperation of many other bodies, from State Government departments and boards down to the State Planning Authority and the Height of Buildings Committee. This is the heart of the Council's problem — so many decisions are made by other authorities.

²⁵ George Clarke Personal Papers, Box 13, 1969, Item 89.

²⁶ Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 10–16, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

²⁷ Briger, 1988, p.49.

A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE CITY OF SYDNEY

The consultancy for the preparation of a strategic plan was advertised internationally in January 1970.²⁸ Clarke had learned informally from Briger and Port that a sum of \$100,000 had been allocated for the consultancy and Clarke put together a team with a proposal to do the work for \$99,967.²⁹ Clarke, with his partner Don Gazzard, formed a new entity, Urban Systems Corporation Pty Ltd, as the primary consultant. Clarke had an ability to pull together a group of people appropriate for the job and he also had good political acumen.

Darrel Conybeare offered some insight into the fee and the consortium: Planning commissions at the time were running at about \$10,000 so the amount of \$100,000 for the strategic plan was a lot of money. George managed to appoint McConnel Smith & Johnson (architects) and W D Scott (management consultants) as part of his team when he applied for the Sydney job.³⁰

The SCC received 21 submissions to undertake the study and selected five firms for interview. Briger was concerned at the political implications of Clarke having been involved in the preparation of the brief. He personally consulted with Winston, Nigel Ashton (Chairman of the SPA) and John Overall (Chairman of the NCDC). All three expressed the view that Clarke and his team were the best qualified to do the job.³¹ Shehadie also recalled Clarke's selection:

The Council advertised for consultants to assist Civic Reform with the preparation of the strategic master plan. George Clarke's name came up as he was well known to Andrew and Leo. After an interview process, George's team was selected. So that is how the strategic plan started.³²

The consortium of USC, McConnel, Smith & Johnson, and W D Scott & Co. Pty Ltd were selected as the consultants in May 1970 and the contract with the

²⁸ See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January 1970 and George Clarke Personal Papers, Box 14, 1970, Item 63.

²⁹ Ashton, 1992, p.38.

³⁰ Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16 / 11–15, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

³¹ Briger in Webber, 1988, p.50.

³² Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 18–21, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

SCC to prepare the 'Strategic Master Plan' for the City of Sydney was signed on 10 August 1970. The planning team then had regular meetings in the Town Hall with the CRA Strategic Planning Committee, consisting of Briger, Port and Shehadie, during the 11-month period of the planning study. Conybeare asserted there was a considerable amount of pressure working on the Sydney plan with Clarke:

George's office was so busy it was hard to keep on top of things. He had the ability to work until the last minute and then pull things together but this was an especially intense way of doing things. It was a constant battle to meet deadlines.³³

Shehadie recalled his own role and the nature of the working relationships:

I had to be the leveller in the team as while I was not a planner, I knew people. George, Andrew and Leo were all energetic, enthusiastic and influential individuals; the mixture was exciting at times, but at other times it was hard going.³⁴

Clarke had persuaded the CRA of the importance of involving the public in the planning process as well as having to have the professional expertise to undertake the technical studies. Clarke argued that planning was a social learning process that needed to involve the community in the constant review and revision of long term plans in the light of experience and action. Thus, contact was made with public and private organisations representing hundreds of thousands of individuals in an effort to gain maximum involvement in setting the basic objectives and policies for the City. Leonie Sandercock was critical of this type of process, arguing planners used it simply to ensure that the interest groups could feel they were involved in the determination of the objectives.³⁵ She asserted that planners then pointed to the participation process as a means of legitimising the plan.

The draft headings of 'Accessibility', 'Environment', 'Diversity' and 'Economics' were used to ascertain the demands, needs and ideas of the public.³⁶ Clarke subsequently described the work as initiating a new intra-governmental urban management process for continuous and integrated city planning and development

³³ Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16 / 51–53, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

³⁴ Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 22–25, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

³⁵ Sandercock, 1975b, p.199.

³⁶ Sydney City Council, 1971, p.13.

through objectives, policies and action priorities.³⁷

The whole consultant team developed draft objectives, policies and action priorities after much debate and many meetings. I was working for McConnell, Smith & Johnson and as a member of the consultant team I contributed to 'Policy 8 — Pedestrians' based on my Master's thesis 'The City Pedestrian Environment'. I experienced first-hand Clarke's ability to influence others and his approach to working. Clarke exerted his influence and finalised the draft objectives, policies and action priorities himself after meeting with the 12 CRA Aldermen.³⁸ The SCC then adopted and published the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* as agreed by the CRA and Clarke.³⁹ It was important because it recognised the SCC had a role to co-ordinate the multitude of public authorities and give direction to development and change.⁴⁰ But Briger recognised that the SCC, in terms of governance, was the least influential of the relevant bodies within the State (NSW).⁴¹

The politics of the planning process were evident during the preparation of the strategic plan with the timing of its adoption in July 1971 being critical so that it could be used as the major policy platform by the CRA in the elections to be held in September 1971. The three-year review cycle adopted as part of the plan was clearly tied to the three-yearly local government terms in NSW. Briger, while describing the review process as systematic, comprehensive, continuous, cooperative and open, is quite explicit that the timing of plan reviews was tied to the SCC electoral cycle.⁴² The adoption of the Floor Space Ratio Code and Parking Code which were to be the 'teeth' for the control of development under the plan, were deliberately delayed until after September 1971 election. Clarke, ever the political pragmatist, had agreed to the CRA's request for this to emphasise the 'positive' impacts of the plan and obtain maximum public support before the 'negative' aspects of development control were introduced.⁴³

³⁷ Ashton, 1992, p.38.

³⁸ Ashton 1992, p.39.

³⁹ See Minutes of the Sydney City Council meeting on 21 July 1971.

⁴⁰ Webber, 1988, p.25.

⁴¹ Briger, 1988, p.37.

⁴² Briger, 1988, p.36.

⁴³ Briger, 1988, p.51.



Figure 24: The Four Objectives of the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971*

The Lord Mayor advised the State Government about the imminent adoption of a strategic plan for the city by the SCC and this pushed the Minister of Local Government into action. After 24 years in the making, the Minister finally gazetted the statutory *City of Sydney Planning Scheme* on 16 July 1971.⁴⁴

In his foreword to the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971*, Lord Mayor Emmet McDermott wrote:

We have set down objectives and policies which should guide and govern the systematic reshaping the city. We are trying to evolve, through a systematic process of investigation and consultation with interested authorities and independent groups, a series of priorities for action to improve our City.⁴⁵

A four-page lift-out about the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 22 July 1971 and subsequent editorials in the major daily papers in Sydney and the *Bulletin* praised the SCC plan.⁴⁶ However, there was clearly no integration of the strategic approach by the SCC with the statutory plan of the State (NSW).

The four adopted objectives of the plan were Management (Economics in the draft headings), Accessibility, Diversity and Environment, as Figure 24 shows.

Clarke recommended that a separate City Planning Department with a new City Planner be established. But there was some politics between the CRA and the SCC's

⁴⁴ See New South Wales Government, *Gazette* no.78, 16 July 1971.

⁴⁵ Council of the City of Sydney, 1971, p.2.

⁴⁶ Briger, 1988, p.52.

administration about a new department. What emerged was the Building Surveying Department renamed as the new City Planning and Building Department, with the Building Surveyor (John Doran), who had a planning qualification, becoming the City Planner. Within this new department there was a new Strategic Planning Branch with the position of Chief Planning Officer (CPO) as its head to manage the planning and architecture functions. Shehadie stated that the CRA wanted an appropriately staffed and equipped City Planning Department to coordinate a program of action planning for the City:

The CRA did not want to create a huge new Department, but felt it was so important for the City, which had never really been planned, to have a strategic approach. A new Branch was formed in the reconstituted Department headed by a new position of Chief Planning Officer.⁴⁷

Conybeare expressed the following view about Clarke's role and influence in the appointment of the new CPO:

I remember George coming into my office and throwing all the curriculum vitae of the applicants across my desk. George said he had already made up his mind but what did I think? Clarke certainly had an influence with Briger and Port behind the scenes regarding this important appointment.⁴⁸

I was appointed as the CPO in December 1971 and took up the position in January 1972. With the political support of Briger, Port and Shehadie, I set about establishing the new Strategic Planning Branch. The City Planner (Doran) later commented that 'the new members of the Branch introduced what was considered a rather bohemian attitude but they had a lot of good ideas and produced some very good work; it was staffed by university graduates including some professional women'.⁴⁹ Briger claims that the Strategic Planning Branch soon became the most qualified, innovative and forward thinking local government planning body in New South Wales, if not Australia.⁵⁰ The first priority of the new Strategic Planning Branch was to implement the strategic plan through action plans that would indicate to observers and residents of the city that the SCC was doing something and that things

⁴⁷ Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13/ 32–37, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

⁴⁸ Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16/ 69–76, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

⁴⁹ Ashton, 1992, p.84, 101.

⁵⁰ Briger in Webber, 1988, p.37.

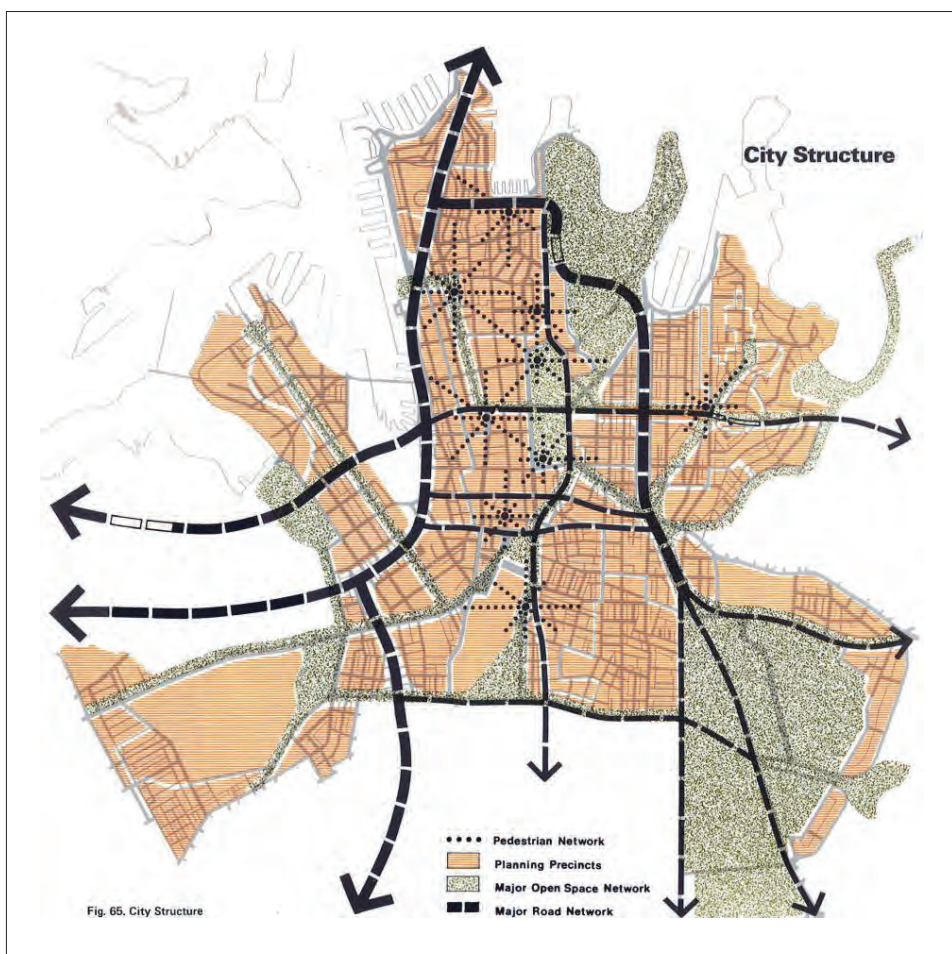


Figure 25: The City of Sydney Structure

were happening.⁵¹ The political message from the CRA to me was that the action planning programme needed to be in place to demonstrate the SCC was serious about implementing the strategic plan, despite the problem that it was *not* a statutory document and that in terms of governance the State (NSW) still had control of development in the city through the statutory *City of Sydney Planning Scheme* (1971), the SPA and HOBAC.

Under the strategic plan, the city was to be managed with a structure of five Districts and 32 Precincts, as Figure 25 shows. Each Precinct had a distinct role

⁵¹ Ashton, 1992, p.101.

to play in the functioning of the city and action plans would contribute to the implementation of the plan.

Briger, in his role as Chairman of the City Development Committee, liaised with me, and a budget of \$200,000 was voted for the action planning programme, twice the consultant's fee for the preparation of the original strategic plan. A total of 25 action plans were identified, all related to the relevant policies and action priorities adopted by the SCC. Briger used his influence to determine the spread of work between different consultants and the staff, and the amounts to be paid in fees. Clarke and USC had expected to get all of this ongoing work but other firms with appropriate expertise and experience were engaged for some of the action plans. From Briger's point of view, it was a political decision to use the action plans to bring about change and maximise a positive impact on the community before the next SCC election in 1974.

Conybeare contended in relation to change in the city and the influence of individuals:

While the Civic Reform Association was supposedly running the city none of the State bodies were going to give up their powers. But Briger, Port and Clarke were the right people, in the right place, at the right time. They were a team and firmly believed that through their influence they could bring about real change in the city.⁵²

WOOLLOOMOOLOO ACTION PLAN

Woolloomooloo was the most significant of the action plans to bring about change. In the *Cumberland Planning Scheme* (1951) the area had been zoned 'County Centre'. In the draft *City of Sydney Planning Scheme* (1968) Woolloomooloo was designated as an 'area for comprehensive redevelopment'.⁵³ The Minister of Local Government requested the SPA to prepare a comprehensive plan and liaise with the City Commissioners. With no public involvement, although there were about 4,700 people living in the area, the Commissioners made their position clear: the existing housing was of a predominately low standard and not worth keeping as

⁵² Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16 / 34–41 Sydney, 24 October 2007.

⁵³ New South Wales, *Parliamentary Debates*, 27 July 1951.

Woolloomooloo was not a good area for living.⁵⁴ The professional officers of the SPA prepared a plan that encouraged comprehensive redevelopment for commercial uses by giving generous floor space bonuses for site amalgamations. The Commissioners adopted the plan on 11 August 1969, just a few weeks before the SCC elections, and it was to become a difficult legacy for the CRA.⁵⁵

The remaining residents in Woolloomooloo, who until that time had had no say in the process, enlisted the help of the Builders Labourers' Federation of NSW (BLF) and its secretary Jack Munday. The Woolloomooloo Residents' Action Group (WRAG) was formed with the local parish priest as its secretary. After success in Kelly's Bush and The Rocks, the BLF imposed a 'Black Ban' in Woolloomooloo.

Shehadie recalled that Clarke had raised the planning issues of Woolloomooloo: George had identified the problems of Woolloomooloo in the strategic plan. A study of Woolloomooloo had been prepared by the State Planning Authority for the former City Commissioners but the relationship between the suggested Floor Space Ratios, potential workforce and transportation capacity in the basin had not been appreciated.⁵⁶

The specialist traffic consultant from Britain for the strategic plan (Alan Proudlove of Shankland Cox) also had early concerns about the statutory zoning of Woolloomooloo, particularly in relation to its convenience to, but isolation from, the CBD. Proudlove advised the consultant team that Woolloomooloo should have residential and service uses, not be an extension of the CBD.

The argument was made in action priorities 2B and 2E that the commercial redevelopment of Woolloomooloo would be at the expense of office growth in the southern part of the CBD where it could be serviced by public transport.⁵⁷ The SPA study had envisaged a workforce of 35,000 based on a Floor Space Ratio (FSR) of 3.5, but the large site amalgamations could attract approvals with a FSR of 12.0 and a consequent workforce of up to 130,000 with enormous transport implications. Clarke therefore recommended that Woolloomooloo be re-established as much as possible in predominantly residential uses but with some commercial use allowed

⁵⁴ Golder, 2004, p.134.

⁵⁵ Golder, 2004, p.152.

⁵⁶ Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 39–42, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

⁵⁷ Council of the City of Sydney, 1971, p.84, 89.

along the William Street Boulevard.

Private developers, such as Sidney Londish, had purchased a significant amount of land in Woolloomooloo as they were confident of State (NSW) and SCC support. Londish's \$400 million 'Gateway' development, with a FSR of 12.0, was lodged on 20 October 1971.⁵⁸ Liberal Premier Bob Askin had personally supported the 'Gateway' scheme and had arranged a line of credit with the Moscow Narodny Bank for Londish's companies.⁵⁹ The SCC adopted a new street system prepared by the City Engineer to facilitate site consolidation. Briger advised me the CRA believed it had a moral commitment, if not a legal one, to support the SPA plan as adopted by the Commissioners.

The story of Woolloomooloo is particularly interesting in terms of governance as local, state and national governments were all involved. The influence of political leaders as well as key individuals, such as Jack Munday, the leader of BLF, was also important. As indicated earlier, the BLF had imposed a 'Black Ban' over Woolloomooloo at the request of many of the remaining residents and the media began to take an increasing interest in what was happening. The Federal Labor Opposition Party spokesman on urban affairs, Tom Uren, pledged that a Federal Labor Government would intervene to ensure a more appropriate form of development than that proposed under the SPA plan.⁶⁰

The history of BLF 'Black Bans' (later known as 'Green Bans') is well documented in *Green Bans and beyond*,⁶¹ *The Design of Sydney*⁶² and *Green Bans, Red Union*.⁶³ The Whitlam Federal Labor Government was elected in December 1972 and Tom Uren became Minister for Urban and Regional Development. The 'Green Ban' and Uren's appointment changed the dynamics and politics of the situation in Woolloomooloo because of the election pledge of the federal Labor Party.

Clarke had stressed during the preparation of the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan* the integration of the statutory control of development (the 'negative' process) and a

⁵⁸ Ashton, 1993, p.106.

⁵⁹ *Financial Review*, 11 May 1972.

⁶⁰ Ashton, 1993, p.108.

⁶¹ Munday, 1981.

⁶² James, 1988.

⁶³ Bergmann, 1998.

strategic action planning programme (the 'positive' process), as both approaches were important in the implementation of a plan. Thus, my Strategic Planning Branch provided comments on major development applications being assessed by the other branches in the Department of Planning and Building. The 'Gateway' application for Woolloomooloo was of major concern to the planning team preparing the action plan as it had soon become obvious that the SPA plan had been prepared without any quantified research or any economic or transportation analysis. It appeared to be a simple urban design exercise for an area of some 90 acres (37.5 ha.) without any regard to the impact on the city outside the Woolloomooloo basin itself. Despite vigorous opposition from me, the City Planner (Doran) recommended approval of the scheme because in his view the application complied with the provisions of the State Planning Authority (SPA) plan as included in the statutory *City of Sydney Planning Scheme* (1971). The SCC then approved the application.⁶⁴

There was considerable adverse reaction from the public and in the media to the Council's approval of the 'Gateway' scheme.⁶⁵ The defective nature of the SPA plan was then discussed at a critical meeting between Briger, Port, Shehadie and me. I persuaded Briger and Shehadie that an entirely new direction was needed for Woolloomooloo along the lines suggested by Clarke in the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan*. But I failed to convince Port as he felt the SCC had a commitment to the developers who had invested in the area. However, when the Labor opposition Aldermen moved to rescind the 'Gateway' approval at the next Council meeting, the Civic Reform Association Aldermen did not oppose the motion. Briger and Shehadie had been able to exert sufficient influence in the party room over Port. The Council formally resolved in March 1972 that Council's own planning staff would prepare an action plan for the Woolloomooloo Precinct. As the CPO, I had overall responsibility for the SCC's planning team preparing the action plan.

Clarke and I influenced the President of the RAI (NSW Chapter), Bryce Mortlock, to write to the Lord Mayor in August 1972 in the following terms:

If the redevelopment proceeds as planned, there is at best serious doubt whether the transport system and road network serving Woolloomooloo will be able to cope with the demands made on them. The developers for the Gateway project

⁶⁴ See Minutes of the SCC held on 8 May 1972.

⁶⁵ Golder, 1993, p.108.

propose a modal split of 82% by rail (a higher proportion than London) and a car parking ratio of over 300 cars per site acre, which is double the number set down by the Police Department as a maximum in built up areas if traffic is to be adequately controlled. For these reasons the Chapter recommends that no office development be permitted and that the area should be developed as envisaged in the Strategic Plan.⁶⁶

The City Planner obtained an opinion from the City Solicitor and recommended to the SCC that all development applications in Woolloomooloo be deferred until the action plan had been completed. This decision caused consternation amongst the developers and with the State (NSW) but Londish was astute enough to realise that Sydney was beginning to face an over-supply of office space and that the SPA plan on which he had based his investment was unworkable. Londish met with me as he was keen to find an alternative solution. There is no written record of this meeting but I advised Londish to seek the support of the Premier (Bob Askin) and Minister for Planning and Environment (John Fuller) to change the State's (NSW) position.

Lord Mayor David Griffin wrote to Federal Minister Tom Uren on 16 July 1973 seeking the views of the Commonwealth on the situation in Woolloomooloo, particularly the intentions of the Commonwealth regarding the land it owned.⁶⁷ Uren replied on 3 August 1973, suggesting a meeting between the Lord Mayor, State Minister and himself to discuss the problems but before this occurred he requested a meeting between officers of the SCC, SPA and his Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) to propose, in broad principle, alternative courses of action for consideration by the three politicians.⁶⁸

To aid this proposal I arranged for the City Planner to write to Robert Lansdown (Secretary of DURD) and Ashton (Chairman of the SPA) on 31 August 1973 and included a draft report prepared by the action plan team. The City Planner received comments from the SPA on 29 October 1973 and from DURD on 14 November 1973.⁶⁹ By this time Shehadie had become Lord Mayor to succeed Griffin and he hosted a meeting at the Town Hall on 20 December 1973 between Uren,

⁶⁶ See SCC Town Clerk's File 430/1972/26.1.

⁶⁷ See SSC Town Clerk's file 430/1972/26.2972/43.1.

⁶⁸ See SCC Town Clerk's file 430/1972/43.1.

⁶⁹ See SCC Town Clerk's file 430/1972/43.22.

Fuller (State Minister for Planning and Environment) and himself. Two alternative courses of action were proposed in the report for Uren, Fuller and Shehadie to consider. The first was the implementation of the approved (and foreshadowed) development applications and the road pattern arising from the Woolloomooloo Redevelopment Study (however unlikely this was given the Green Ban). The second was a comprehensive review. After much discussion, Uren, Fuller and Shehadie agreed unanimously that a comprehensive review was justified and should commence as soon as possible. For the first time in the governance of Australia there was an agreement between the *three* spheres of government, the City represented by the Lord Mayor, the State (NSW) represented by the Minister of Planning and Environment, and the Federal Government represented by the Minister for Urban and Regional Development. Shehadie had a personal perspective on the meeting with Uren and Fuller and what Uren might have been expecting:

It was interesting that the three of us were from different political persuasions — Labor, Liberal and Civic Reform. I thought the planning team had done a marvelous job. As the last item on an agenda Uren had a habit of always asking for something else. I had a whisper that Uren wanted a particular plan to look at and the planning team stayed up all night to produce something. When Uren said he would like to see a plan I was able to say ‘Mr. Minister, here it is’ and this established the planning credibility of the Council.⁷⁰

Uren then provided the SCC with \$20,000 to assist with the costs of preparing the action plan and the planning team was responsible to a joint Woolloomooloo Steering Committee representing Local, State and Commonwealth governments.⁷¹

The City Planning and Building Department was restructured by the SCC under Shehadie’s influence and a new position of Deputy City Planner was created with responsibility to chair the joint Woolloomooloo Steering Committee. I was appointed as the Deputy City Planner and Chairman of the Committee representing the three spheres of government that monitored the progress of the action plan. The other members of the Steering Committee were Henry Wardlaw (DURD), John Waugh (SPA) and Paul Ford (NSW Housing Commission).

⁷⁰ Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 53–61, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

⁷¹ See SCC Town Clerk’s file 430/1973/19.29.

In accordance with the SCC's policy of citizen participation in the planning process, all residents, landowners and other interested parties were invited to participate in the preparation of a detailed plan. The SCC rented premises in the area (at 87 Forbes Street) as the first shop-front planning centre in Australia to facilitate meetings and provide an exhibition space. It was clear the BLF was going to play an important role in terms of supporting the residents and I made arrangements to meet informally with Munday away from the Town Hall. The Lord Mayor took personal responsibility within the SCC for Woolloomooloo even though Briger still had political responsibility for the action planning programme. I eventually persuaded Munday to meet with Shehadie, who recalled his relationship with Munday:

I thought that Jack Munday was very courageous and honest. After some initial meetings between you [the author] and Jack, I invited him in for a discussion about Woolloomooloo. He used to come into the Lord Mayor's Room for a coffee every week and we became firm friends.⁷²

Shehadie, Fuller and Uren met again on 8 March 1974 and reviewed progress. The design concept that emerged after extensive consultation with residents and landowners was a low-rise medium density housing scheme in the Woolloomooloo basin with restoration of existing buildings wherever possible and sensitive new infill residential development. Shehadie, Fuller and Uren held a further meeting on 29 April 1974 when they viewed the proposal and agreed it could be placed on public exhibition.⁷³

A public meeting was held on 13 May 1974 at the Forbes Street centre for a presentation by the planning team about proposals for Woolloomooloo, which would then be on public exhibition. Munday had heard that there might be some trouble at the meeting because feelings between residents and developers were running high. Munday advised me that he was going to provide some members of the BLF at the meeting to ensure the safety of the young planning team. While it was a rowdy meeting, the visible presence of the BLF ensured there was no trouble.

A brochure, signed jointly by Shehadie, Fuller and Uren, was distributed extensively with an invitation to attend the exhibition and participate in the planning process. Uren appointed Colin James as an advisor to WRAG and he worked closely

⁷² Nick Shehadie, oral history interview 13 / 45–48, Sydney, 30 November 2007.

⁷³ See SCC Town Clerk's file 430/1973/19.29.

with the planning team and me. James considered that the 'Loo (as Woolloomooloo was then affectionately known by the residents) provided the city with a handy workforce living close to the centre which was needed to ensure the provision of services. His view was that Woolloomooloo should be re-established in its historic role as a residential area within the city.⁷⁴

The Local, State and Commonwealth governments reached administrative agreement on the way forward by the end of August 1974. This was a significant achievement as it was the first example in Australia of a cooperative approach to urban planning between the *three* spheres of government. The State (NSW) would compulsorily acquire the necessary land and the Commonwealth would provide \$17 million to the NSW State Housing Commission. I was therefore able to leave Sydney in September 1974 to take up my new position of City Planner of Adelaide. Work continued to finalise the details of the agreement under the direction of the new Deputy City Planner in Sydney (Brian Wilson). The new direction set for Woolloomooloo was mainly public housing in a low rise, individually identifiable, traffic-free, landscaped environment with modern amenities and services close to the CBD.⁷⁵

The historic formal Agreement was signed on 27 June 1975 by Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, Liberal State Premier Tom Lewis and Lord Mayor Sir Nicholas Shehadie. An Interim Development Order to vary the statutory *City of Sydney Planning Scheme*, which provided for predominantly residential uses in Woolloomooloo, was gazetted on 8 August 1975. The State Housing Commission then compulsorily acquired the land with funds provided by the Commonwealth. This ensured Woolloomooloo was re-established in its role as primarily a residential area within the city.⁷⁶ However, while Woolloomooloo was saved for residential use, the SCC had to deal with claims of disaffected developers who had missed out on the profits promised under the SPA statutory plan.⁷⁷ Court cases continued for years but judgment finally went against the developers in the High Court in 1986.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ James, 1988, p.110.

⁷⁵ James, 1988, p.116.

⁷⁶ James, 1988, p.110.

⁷⁷ Golder, 2004, p.154.

⁷⁸ Ashton, 1993, p.108.

CONCLUSION

The SCC's *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* could not be implemented while the State (NSW), through its agencies the SPA and HOBAC, continued to have effective control of the city through the statutory plan. However, the Woolloomooloo Action Plan demonstrated what could be achieved through good governance arrangements and the influence of individuals. It brought about a solution to a substantial urban problem in Sydney through a strategic approach by the SCC that, with financial support from the Commonwealth, then changed the State's (NSW) statutory plan for the area. Clarke (and I) learned the lesson from Sydney in relation to Adelaide that there needed to be an integration of strategic and statutory approaches to planning the City.

6

The City of Adelaide Planning Study

CHOOSING A CONSULTANT FOR THE PLANNING STUDY

There is considerable political background to the choice of George Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation (USC) as the consultants to prepare the City of Adelaide Planning Study. For example, Clarke attended the RAPI Conference in Brisbane in September 1972 and met with Premier Don Dunstan when Dunstan was critical of the SPA and advised that he was considering a different planning approach for Adelaide.¹

Darrel Conybeare was working in the Sydney office of USC when the ACC was seeking consultants for the Adelaide Planning Study. Clarke gave Conybeare the job of going to Adelaide to talk to Hugh Stretton as Conybeare's father was a close friend of Professor George Duncan at the University of Adelaide's History Department where Stretton was based. Conybeare and Stretton had many discussions, and Conybeare gained some very useful insights in terms of pitching the response to

¹ At Clarke's request I was present at the meeting with Dunstan at this RAPI conference (in my then capacity as the Deputy City Planner of Sydney) when the planning consultancy for Adelaide was discussed.

the consultant brief. Stretton's influence is clear, as he advised Conybeare to address three issues.² First, the importance of housing, especially low cost housing as provided by the SAHT. Second, the importance of the Park Lands and how to minimise the inroads into them by eliminating unnecessary pathways and roads to create larger broad sweeps of open Park Lands. Third, there was a need to reinforce the heritage of Light's plan for Adelaide.

A total of 25 submissions were received by the due date in March 1972 registering the interests of consultants to carry out the planning study for the City, as Table 2 shows.³ Hugh Bubb, Gilbert Currie and Geoff Wagner administratively reviewed all the submissions. They recommended seven firms for short-listing to the Select Committee of the ACC and provided reasons for not recommending the other 18.⁴

While seven firms were recommended for interview as shown — three from Sydney, two from Melbourne and two from Adelaide — in early August 1972 the ACC determined a short list of four consultants for interview rather than the seven recommended. The administration had not recommended one of these four firms (D Wolbrink & Associates USA with Interplan from Melbourne) but John Chappel used his influence to have them included. He considered his colleague Peter McIntyre of Interplan would be the ideal consultant to work in Adelaide, but Chappel later observed that 'There was a view that Adelaide needed to get the best possible advice and applications were widely invited.'⁵

The Select Committee, with the three State members of the CADC, interviewed the four short-listed firms in the Town Hall on the evening of 25 September 1972. Town Clerk Russell Arland was also in attendance but not Hugh Bubb. All the consultants were asked how they would approach the task and what the ACC would actually get for the fees proposed. The respective fees in the four submissions were:

- UDPA/Hassell/Kinnaird Hill deRohan & Young — \$400,000
- Pak-Poy & Associates — \$235,000

² Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16 / 78–82, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

³ Adelaide City Archives, Box 0516/0001.1972.

⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Box 0516/0001.1972 Accession No. 517.

⁵ John Chappel, oral history interview 2 / 10–12, Kent Town, 13 April 2007.

	<u>Company</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Comment by Council Staff</u>	<u>Reason</u>
1	Quadrant	Sydney	Not recommended for Short List	No suitable planning experience
2	Pegus & Peddle Thorpe	Sydney	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate Australian experience
3	D. Wolbrink & Associates with Interplan	Hawaii and Melbourne	Not recommended for Short List	Strong collaborative group but lacking in Australian experience
4	Earle Shaw & Partners	Melbourne	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
5	UDPA/Hassell/ K,H,deR &Young	Adelaide	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
6	Bruer, Vogt & Bruer	Adelaide	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of experience and resources
7	Development Planning & Research	Sydney	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
8	Crooks, Michell Peacock & Stewart	Sydney	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
9	George Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation	Sydney	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
10	Perrott, Lyon, Timlock & Kesa	Melbourne	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
11	MSJ, Keys Young	Sydney	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
12	W S Atkins	Melbourne	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of Australian planning experience
13	Stephenson & Turner	Melbourne	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of suitable planning experience
14	P G Pak-Poy & Associates	Adelaide	Recommended for Short List	Appropriate for Study
15	Prof Rolf Jensen	Adelaide	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of adequate resources
16	Metra Consultants	London	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of Australian planning experience
17	Cheesman, Doly, Neighbour & Raffan	Adelaide	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of experienced planning staff for central areas
18	City Consultants	Perth	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
19	Gavan McDonnell & Associates	Sydney	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience

20	Taylor, McMullen, Cotterell & Bowsell	Perth	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
21	Keith Lange & Partners	Adelaide	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
22	John P Young & Associates	New York	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of planning staff and experience
23	Strategy Partners	Melbourne	Recommended for Short List	Consortium of Yuncken Freeman, Peat Marwick, Wilbur Smith and SOM
24	Fowell, Mansfield, Jarvis & Macluran	Sydney	Not recommended for Short List	Lack of appropriate planning experience
25	C Buchanan & Partners	London	Not recommended for Short List	Not selected in their own right, but noted as being in partnership with No.10

Table 2: City of Adelaide Planning Study: Registrations of Interest March 1972

- D Wolbrink & Associates with Interplan — \$228,000
- USC and George Clarke — \$165,000.⁶

While the ACC was paying for the planning study, Hayes had arranged that the State members of the CADC would be involved in making the decision about the consultant. Hayes gave a progress report to the October ACC meeting stating the Select Committee, with the assistance of the three State members of the City of Adelaide Development Committee, had interviewed four short-listed applicants. Hayes advised that one consultant was favoured but a final recommendation had yet to be made.⁷

The three State members (and deputy) of the CADC reflected on the choice of George Clarke & USC for the planning study. Stretton stated:

I had met George Clarke while I was preparing my book. George had seemed engaging, interesting, inventive and original in his thinking and I thought we should use him.⁸

Newell Platten was approached by Peter McIntyre of Melbourne to be the

⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 91/72.

⁷ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC, 16 October 1972, p.335.

⁸ Hugh Stretton, oral history interview 1 / 50–53, North Adelaide, 11 April 2007.

local representative and part of McIntyre's team while consultants were preparing submissions but this put Platten in a difficult position:

I was rather ambivalent about this and I was aware that the McIntyre consultancy from Melbourne was being supported by Chappel.⁹

Bob Bakewell recalled the influence of Dunstan:

I had sat in on a meeting between George Clarke and the Premier before George was awarded the Adelaide job. Dunstan had made it clear he thought George should get the job. I know Hugh Stretton was also strongly supportive of George.¹⁰

John Brine, Stretton's deputy, was on the CADC when the consultants were carrying out the planning study, and he later contended:

There had been a strong influence behind the scenes from Stretton and Dunstan was happy for George to be appointed as the consultant.¹¹

John Williams (Secretary of the CADC) also recalled the George Clarke and USC submission:

At one meeting Stretton commented that there was a chap in Sydney (George Clarke) who had just completed a remarkable Plan for that city. The registrations of interest for the consultancy were complex but the one from George Clarke and Urban Systems Corporation was really quite outstanding. It was therefore no surprise that he got the job.¹²

From the Council perspective, Jim Bowen and John Roche considered Clarke was the best consultant to undertake the planning study because of his experience with the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971* and because the other three firms did not have the necessary expertise or were ill-equipped to do the work expected. Bowen remembered:

Chappel was actively supporting the Interplan consortium which included Peter McIntyre and a local respected architect, Jack McConnell, and a great deal of lobbying went on.¹³

⁹ Newell Platten, oral history interview 10 / 46–51, Adelaide, 7 May 2007.

¹⁰ Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 88–91, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

¹¹ John Brine, oral history interview 6 / 35–40, Adelaide, 19 April 2007.

¹² John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 84–89, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

¹³ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 83–89, College Park, 16 April 2007.

However, Roche recalled a reservation about Clarke's appointment:

One of my concerns was how much work Clarke would do himself and the amount of time he would spend in Adelaide.¹⁴

It is of interest that none of the interviewees quoted above commented on the fact that the proposal by George Clarke and USC and Clarke was by far the lowest tender. All the emphasis for the selection of Clarke was his planning experience in Sydney. Clarke commented at his interview, 'If I could find people in Adelaide as good as my own staff, USC would be glad to use them'.¹⁵

The ACC decided in November 1972 that subject to a mutually acceptable agreement being negotiated and the consultant agreeing to specific points, USC be appointed as the primary consultant to undertake a planning study for the development of the City of Adelaide.¹⁶

Maxwell Whiting, Civic Reporter of *The Advertiser*, wrote that a Sydney firm of consultants, whose principal was George Clarke, had been chosen to prepare a master plan that would take the City of Adelaide into the next century.¹⁷ He quoted Hayes as saying the preparation and implementation of the new master plan would be the most important thing to happen to the City since Colonel Light laid it out in 1837. In the *News*, Urban Affairs Reporter Garth Rawlins reported that Clarke & USC had been appointed as the consultants to prepare a 'blueprint' for the City at a cost of \$150,000.¹⁸ There was a similar article in *The Australian*, where it was noted Clarke would commute from his Sydney office to Adelaide and Clarke's early view was that there was a considerable portion of land in south Adelaide that could become residential.¹⁹

The contract between the ACC and George Clarke and USC was signed on 20 December 1972. It provided *inter alia*, Clarke would act as the Project Director and personally spend 75 working days on the study, visiting Adelaide at least 30 times;

¹⁴ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 14–17, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

¹⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/Confidential record of Select Committee meeting, p.7.

¹⁶ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC, 27 November 1972, p.392.

¹⁷ *The Advertiser*, 23 November 1972, p.1.

¹⁸ *News*, 23 November 1972, p.11.

¹⁹ *The Australian*, 25 November 1972, p.13.

there would be four professional teams headed up by three senior planners from the Sydney office, and one from the Melbourne office of USC; Peter Hignett would manage the local office; the study would start on 1 February 1973 and run for 16 calendar months; and the Final Report would include the required Supplementary Development Plan. However, Clarke had sensibly inserted another clause that provided that in the light of investigations for the Planning Study an alternative to the Supplementary Development Plan could be recommended as a means of implementation.²⁰

In a further article in *The Advertiser*, Whiting wrote:

the man who hopes to wave a magic wand over the City arrived from Sydney yesterday. Clarke said the task was to transform an unattractive environment so that people would want to live, work and play in the City, and tourists would want to come. He will ask the ACC to establish a community planning headquarters for the City which will be open to the public every day and where the latest ideas and sketches of the planners would be on display.²¹

THE CITY OF ADELAIDE PLANNING STUDY

Clarke visited Adelaide in January 1973 and met with Arland and Bubb from the ACC, and with Bakewell and heads of relevant agencies from the State.²² Dunstan intended to influence the planning study through the innovative CADC and that one of his main objectives was the residential renewal of the City. At a reception to welcome Clarke to Adelaide in the Town Hall on 24 January 1973, Dunstan said:

The City of Adelaide Development Committee is a statutory body unique to Australian Government, joining as it does a State Government with its preeminent Local Government organisation. Adelaide is the heart of the metropolitan area, the property of all its people, the capital of the State, the centre of the region, and the home of 12,000 residents which I hope will become 40,000.²³

²⁰ George Clarke's personal papers, Box 20 (City of Adelaide) Item No.39.

²¹ *The Advertiser*, 29 December 1972, p.3.

²² Adelaide City Archives, CE&P Department File 56/73.

²³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/K/2.

Clarke was supposed to establish a team with senior planners for the planning study under the terms of the contract. In the USC submission, Conybeare was going to have a significant role but he resigned from USC shortly after the planning study commenced. Conybeare recalled being lectured by a taxi driver on a ride from Adelaide airport that Adelaide was a city-state: Adelaide *was* South Australia.²⁴ This impressed Conybeare and he considered the focus in the planning study should be to concentrate activities in the City. Conybeare reflected on the nature of Adelaide:

The first meeting of the proposed consultant group was at the Tea House in the Botanic Gardens. Devonshire Tea was served by waitresses in starched white aprons and hats. It was a wonderful moment and reflected the essential style of Adelaide. This was something that could never have happened in Sydney.

Clarke had appointed Peter Hignett as the initial Project Manager and he organised the USC office in Industry House (in Pirie Street opposite the Town Hall), which opened on 1 February 1973. David Horner was seconded to the team from the ACC and Currie was appointed to act as the liaison officer. Clarke employed a number of recent local graduates to do the work. Given Clarke's comments at the interview, as quoted, it appears he must have considered them to have been as good as the staff in his other offices. The Planning Team was:

- George Clarke (Project Director)
- Peter Casey (Sydney)
- Stephen Hains
- David Horner (seconded from the ACC)
- Gwyn Jarrott (Office Manager)
- Gavin Lloyd-Jones
- Geoffrey Walker
- Ian Alexander (Perth)
- Peter Hignett (only identified as an advisor although he had been the initial Project Manager)
- Gilbert Currie (liaison officer with the ACC).²⁵

Stephen Hains was working in Canberra and wrote to Clarke seeking employment in the Adelaide office. Clarke interviewed Hains and subsequently

²⁴ Darrel Conybeare, oral history interview 16 / 82–85, Sydney, 24 October 2007.

²⁵ Clark & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.85.

employed him to look at property, economic and social issues.²⁶ Lloyd-Jones was involved with architectural work in the City and Clarke employed him to have a role in urban design.²⁷ Clarke also brought Gwyn Jarrott to Adelaide from the Sydney office of USC in the role of Office Manager to manage the accounts and personnel matters.

The planning study commenced on 1 February 1973 and, without any real direction from Clarke, Hignett and the team set about preparing Phase 1 of the Study.²⁸ There were four phases of the Study of four months each, as follows:

- Phase 1: Identification and analysis of basic data and of major problems and opportunities.
- Phase 2: Evolution of planning concepts.
- Phase 3: Analysis, discussion and revision of planning concepts.
- Phase 4: Production of the City of Adelaide Plan, together with statutory instruments, action projects and administrative procedures to implement the Plan.²⁹

Commonwealth and State involvement was sought for the planning study. The Lord Mayor wrote to 13 Federal Ministers in May 1973 seeking Commonwealth cooperation to engage in the Study. The Premier wrote to 87 Government Ministers, heads of departments and agencies in June requesting their input to the Study. An Open Letter was also published in *The Australian*, *The Advertiser* and the *News* on 14 June 1973 seeking submissions to identify major problems confronting the City, and what the City Plan should include.³⁰

The first stage of the planning study was to undertake a baseline analysis of the issues and opportunities for the City. Clarke assumed this was simply a data gathering stage without the need for any innovative thoughts and when the first Progress Report was submitted at the end of May, Bubb wrote a covering report on it for the Select Committee.³¹ The Committee was expecting some ideas and direction but all Clarke had provided was a huge amount of data. Bubb considered the report had serious

²⁶ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 11–18, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

²⁷ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 18–23, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

²⁸ Peter Hignett, oral history interview 17 / 21–22, Adelaide, 5 November 2007.

²⁹ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.16.

³⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/M/1.

³¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/L.

shortcomings about the output, the range of investigations undertaken, the data that was still to be collected, and a lack of policy direction. He recommended that the Committee express its concerns and hold discussions with USC about them.³²

Despite the antagonism between Hayes and Arland, when the Select Committee considered the Progress Report they agreed it should be taken away and rewritten entirely. This was a stronger response than Bubb's recommendation. Clarke personally rewrote the Progress Report and then he presented it to the ACC on 25 June 1973.³³

According to Bowen, the ACC then directed Arland to lay down the law in terms of the contact and unless Clarke performed personally he would be dismissed from the project.³⁴ Lloyd-Jones contended Clarke realised that he had completely misread the politics in Adelaide and had almost been dismissed at the end of Phase 1.³⁵

Roche and Bowen became increasingly concerned at Clarke's lack of personal involvement. Roche considered Clarke was a very difficult person to control and he was not putting in the hours he had contracted for.³⁶ Clarke was not performing but his response was to bring in Professor Martyn Webb from Perth as a specialist advisor. According to Bowen, part of the problem was that Clarke was working in Sydney on the action plans arising out of the *Strategic Plan* there, and was also trying to get a job in Perth. Clarke used Webb to try to persuade the CADC that Clarke could really do the job. In Bowen's view, when Clarke did the work himself and was 'hands on' he was terrific.³⁷

Currie observed that Clarke was uncertain about Currie's role and thought he might be a 'spy' for Arland and Bubb, but this was resolved and they worked well together during the Study.³⁸ Lloyd-Jones considered that Currie and Horner from the

³² See Minutes of the ACC, 21 June 1973, confidential section, unpaginated.

³³ Linn, 2006, p.252.

³⁴ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 95–99, College Park, 16 April 2007.

³⁵ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 23–29, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

³⁶ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 32–35, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

³⁷ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 99–107, College Park, 16 April 2007.

³⁸ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 66–71, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

ACC were in a difficult position but they contributed a huge amount of background on a range of issues.³⁹

Clarke's method and style of working was unusual. He did not have a regular working day and was very easy-going with long relaxed lunches. However, when deadlines approached things became frantic and he would often be up until 3am with his red pen rewriting drafts the team had produced.⁴⁰ Williams also recalled that Clarke worked very long hours as the deadline approached for submission of the Progress Reports, which were due every four months. He seemed to have everything in his head and it was remarkable what he could produce under pressure.⁴¹

When Clarke was in Adelaide before a Progress Report was due he would draw up a work program with all his staff from 8am until 12.30am the next day, starting again at 8am with the printing and binding of the Report to be ready by 6pm that day to give to the ACC.⁴²

Hains observed:

Clarke was an amazing individual and totally unforgiving. He was extraordinary, unbelievable and magical but he could also be grossly offensive and ruthless. It was not unusual for Clarke to ring me at 2am when he had just thought of something. Clarke was quite unorthodox but a highly political animal.⁴³

Phase 2 commenced in June 1973 and was due for completion by the end of September. Bowen and Roche began to exert some influence and became actively involved with the team. Presentations often took place on Sundays. Clarke would introduce his team but let them do the presentation, as obviously Clarke had not done much work himself.⁴⁴ Roche used to drop in to the USC office most evenings to see what was going on and have discussions with Hains, Gavin Lloyd-Jones, Horner and Jarrott, as Clarke himself was not there very often.⁴⁵

³⁹ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 39–42, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

⁴⁰ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 71–76, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

⁴¹ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 90–93, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

⁴² Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 91/72.

⁴³ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 47–49, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁴⁴ Jim Bowen, oral history interview 3 / 90–95, College Park, 16 April 2007.

⁴⁵ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 29–35, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

During the second phase, Clarke made a lot of flying visits to Adelaide from Sydney but his approach was still to use the young team as the workhorses. However, he started to understand the politics and influences and thus spent time with Bowen and Roche to make sure he was on track from the ACC point of view, as well as with Dunstan and Stretton from the State's perspective. Hains made an interesting observation about the influence of Dunstan and Stretton:

Often on a Sunday morning George would have a discussion about the City with Don Dunstan and Hugh Stretton sitting on the swings at the Glover playground in North Adelaide.⁴⁶

Lloyd-Jones considered that while the team was pretty 'green', the individuals did have some expertise in their own areas, but there was not anyone who had the capacity and ability to understand the big picture. This was Clarke's strength — he could take the overall view and hit just the right targets.⁴⁷

As Phase 2 of the Study progressed, the relationship between Clarke and Hignett deteriorated. Hignett recalled:

I was feeling quite a lot of pressure as George was hardly in Adelaide and not providing any direction for the work. The team was falling over itself to get progress reports done but without help from George. I went to see Lord Mayor Clampett and said I was going to leave. Clampett tried to persuade me to stay on, but I wrote to George and my employment on the project ceased.⁴⁸

Currie recalled that Hignett did not get on with Clarke and was replaced after a few months by Stephen Hains as the Team Leader.⁴⁹ Hains remembered his appointment as the Project Coordinator for the remainder of the planning study:

I was asked by George to take over as the Project Coordinator. When I was appointed Gwyn [Jarrott] the office manager was not happy as he thought he should have got the job. George did not like conflict and he called me Project Coordinator rather than Project Manager.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 56–59, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁴⁷ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 30–38, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

⁴⁸ Peter Hignett, oral history interview 17 / 42–45, Adelaide, 5 November 2007.

⁴⁹ Gilbert Currie, oral history interview 8 / 66–71, Dulwich, 24 April 2007.

⁵⁰ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 11–18, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

Clarke arranged for Martyn Webb (from Perth) to give a critique of the progress of the planning study to a meeting of the Select Committee in September. Despite this briefing, the Select Committee decided it needed to have a greater degree of supervision over the planning study and a further meeting was held when Bakewell, Brine and Platten were invited to attend. The Select Committee advised Clarke that the Second Progress Report had to be submitted by 1 October 1973 and must include a complete statement detailing the output of the planning study. Arland was directed to ensure that Clarke understood he would be obliged to comply with these requirements.⁵¹

Even while Stretton was in London during the whole of 1973 on study leave, he exerted influence. Stretton wrote an important letter to Clarke in September about the governance of the City, separate legislation and a joint City/State Review Body. He stated:

I will be of use in seeing what you propose is accepted and implemented. Please do not forget that the political conditions for serious innovation, including legislation, are promising. I hope that you will propose permanent planning machinery to replace the CADC which perpetuates some comparable State share in the management of the City. Reach out to Dunstan and Bakewell to help you and advise you as to what to propose.⁵²

This advice and the influence of Stretton are clearly reflected in Clarke's thinking and the final recommendations of the planning study. The initial planning concepts that emerged from Phase 2 were presented to the ACC on 1 October 1973 as Clarke had been directed.⁵³ The Report contained possible 'Objectives', 'Policies' and 'Priorities for Action' for the City. Clarke also presented the Report to the CADC.⁵⁴ The draft Objectives covered work, learning, leisure, living, history, landscape, townscape, pollution control, pedestrians, public transport, vehicular traffic, parking, administration, finance, public enterprise and planning and development control.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/D/3.

⁵² George Clarke's personal papers, Box 20 (City of Adelaide) Item No.37.

⁵³ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC, 9 October 1973, p.322.

⁵⁴ John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 29–31, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

⁵⁵ George Clarke's personal papers, Box 20a (City of Adelaide) Item No.1.



Figure 26: City of Adelaide Planning Centre

The Report presented three alternatives for the City. Each assumed a core of intensive office development, an inner area of mixed commercial uses, and an outer area of residential and some commercial uses. The alternatives differed in intensity of development for generalised categories of land uses. A series of clear overlays showed how a picture of the City could be built up. Residential uses (orange), wholesaling (magenta) and offices (blue) could be combined to form the basis for statutory controls. The 16 draft objectives were supported by draft policies and priorities

for action. As well as the concepts for the future distribution of land use activities, there were alternative overall concepts for environmental design and transportation patterns. At this stage, it was still envisaged the outcome would be a statutory City Plan.⁵⁶

Phase 3 — analysis, discussion and revision of planning concepts — was due for completion at the end of January 1974. During Phase 3 the Select Committee continued to provide considerable political oversight and influence (meetings were held on 1, 9, 15 and 29 October, on 5, 12, and 19 November and on 10 December 1973). Currie, as Liaison Officer, was required to give a report on the work done by USC in the previous week. The new Project Coordinator, Hains, was required to give a report on the work that would be done in the next week.⁵⁷ Hains recalled that

George saw the importance of Town Clerk Arland and I provided Arland with the weekly report. The Town Clerk knew which way the political wind was blowing and he was surprisingly supportive. Bubb the City Engineer was completely sidelined.⁵⁸

The Select Committee decided the Planning Centre would be at 41 Pirie Street (near the Town Hall) for the exhibition of outputs from the Planning Study.⁵⁹ It was jointly opened on 24 October 1973 by Lord Mayor Clampett and Premier Dunstan. The Premier's personal involvement underlined the importance of the governance issue the State placed on the future direction of the City. The proposals were given the widest possible publicity and individual citizens, community groups and governmental agencies were encouraged to provide comments, criticism and suggestions to the planning team, who attended the centre. The Planning Centre was brightly painted and hard to miss, as Figure 26 shows. This was to encourage the widest possible participation in the planning process.

During November and December, numerous small meetings of interested groups took place at the Planning Centre.⁶⁰ Clarke, based on his work in Sydney, was seeking a City Plan that would have broad public support and consensus but there

⁵⁶ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.16.

⁵⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File No.656/M/2.

⁵⁸ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 19–25, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁵⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/D/2.

⁶⁰ George Clarke's personal papers, Box 20 (City of Adelaide) Item No.35.

would need to be some form of zoning technique implemented with 'performance standards' and these would be quite specific.⁶¹ Hains recalled that a large percentage of the consultant budget was spent on public participation, which was an innovation in South Australia.⁶² Public involvement through the Planning Centre was extensive, with input from resident groups, city workers and businesses.

An innovative and different approach to development control emerged during Phase 3. Rather than the traditional approach of lines on a map with permitted, consent and prohibited uses, the consultant team placed emphasis on a word picture called a 'Desired Future Character Statement' (DFC) of an area. This attempted to spell out what sort of place and amenity was to be created in each locality. Developers could see how land might be developed and what their development was expected to contribute. There were no longer black and white controls but a balance between the competing forces of the desire for certainty and the need for flexibility. A developer had to demonstrate that a proposal would contribute to, rather than detract from, the attainment of the DFC for the area. Hains provided some insight into the origins of the innovative DFCs:

The concept of Desired Future Character Statements for Precincts was primarily the work of David Horner, Gavin Lloyd-Jones, Geoff Wagner and me but George contributed.⁶³

During this period, the CADC continued its statutory functions of assessing development applications. Wagner attended the meetings and initially was assisted by Hignett and then by Hains.⁶⁴ Hains recalled that he was party to the informal as well as formal discussions in the CADC:

After Peter Hignett left, I sat in on the CADC meetings to give advice on individual planning applications. What was particularly interesting was the informal discussion over drinks in the Lord Mayor's Room after the CADC meetings and these revealed a lot about what the members of the CADC were really thinking.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Lawson, 1978, p.58.

⁶² Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 31–36, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁶³ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 53–57, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁶⁴ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 49–54, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

⁶⁵ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 71–76, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

Clarke presented the Third Progress Report to the ACC (and the CADC) at the end of January 1974.⁶⁶ As Stretton had suggested, it contained a different approach to planning and development control in the City through a separate Act. Partly as a result of this report, the ACC decided to split the Department of Engineering and Planning and have two separate positions of City Engineer and City Planner. It was the Lord Mayor's role to advise Bubb of this decision.

Clampett recalled meeting Bubb:

I called Hugh Bubb into the Lord Mayor's office and told him what the Council was going to do. I asked Bubb what would he rather be — the City Engineer or the City Planner? I told Bubb that I had already written down on a piece of paper what would be his response as I thought I knew what he would say. Bubb said he wanted to be the City Engineer and I gave him the piece of paper — I had judged correctly. We had a drink and I wished him the best.⁶⁷

The ACC then advertised nationally for the new position of City Planner of Adelaide.⁶⁸

The fourth Phase of the Study commenced on 1 February 1974. Dunstan influenced a letter Bakewell wrote to Clarke in late February. Bakewell supported the concept of precincts and the use of the innovative DFCs as the way to manage the City. He stressed the need for low cost housing and improved public transport. Bakewell also suggested the final Report should detail means of dealing with adverse effects of the car.⁶⁹

The Select Committee and the State members of the CADC concluded the City needed to have its own legislation, which would be very different from the zoning model of the SPA. The State members considered that if this new approach to planning could work in the City, it could eventually be extended to the rest of the metropolitan area. This was consistent with Dunstan's view of Adelaide setting the pace for the rest of Australia.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See Minutes of the ACC Meeting, 25 February 1974, p.771.

⁶⁷ Bob Clampett, oral history interview 9 / 33–38, Mount Barker, 30 April 2007.

⁶⁸ I was then the Deputy City Planner in Sydney and with Clarke's encouragement applied for this new position.

⁶⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/M/2.

⁷⁰ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 87–91, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

In April, the Select Committee, accompanied by Arland, met with Dunstan to discuss the progress of the Study. The Premier advised that he was happy with the way that Clarke and USC had brought forward the concepts. In terms of governance, he considered that City/State cooperation was essential and it was important this continued (especially given the extent of the State's ownership of buildings in the City). The State generally accepted Clarke's new approach to city planning and Dunstan agreed that a new Act was necessary as the existing legislation was not appropriate for the sort of system Clarke proposed.⁷¹

According to Roche, Clarke had realised the importance of integrating strategic and statutory planning approaches and did not want Adelaide to be in the same position as Sydney with its problems resulting from a lack of such an approach.⁷² Therefore, a new Act was needed. Lloyd-Jones was of the same opinion:

I felt that George had reached the conclusion, probably based on his experience in Sydney with statutory and strategic planning, that separate legislation for the City was the only way to go and that was what the Study finally recommended.⁷³

The elements for the final report came from many sources. While drafts had been prepared by the planning team, Clarke was influenced politically by Dunstan and by the members of the CADC, particularly Stretton, Bowen and Roche. However, according to Hains:

The end result was still largely the work of the team and not many things were changed by the politicians, indeed George fought strongly for the independence of the process.⁷⁴

Michael Bowering reflected on the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* and Stuart Hart's position:

I thought the Planning Study was well thought out and would address the problems of the zoning of the whole of the square mile as commercial under the provisions of the Metropolitan Development Plan. I would often talk informally with Stuart Hart on the train on the way to work. George had

⁷¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/I.

⁷² John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 37–38, North Adelaide, 17 April 2007.

⁷³ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 42–44, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

⁷⁴ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 66–71, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

recommended an entirely different approach from the SPA with separate legislation for the City and Stuart had not supported this at all.⁷⁵

The Final Report of the planning study contained an Explanatory Statement and three separate books. Book 1, the draft City Plan, contained Preliminaries; Objectives and Policies; Concept Diagrams; Desired Future Character Statements for Precincts; and an Implementation program. The City would be managed as a series of districts with different purposes and character. Within districts, precincts would comprise an area of community interest, clustering activities and/or environmental character. This approach was very innovative and quite different from the traditional development plan of just land use zoning.⁷⁶

The intensity and complexity of both existing and desired future development in the City necessitated the application of a deeper and more specialised range of performance criteria than was required in other council areas. The specialised needs of the City would not fit into the provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972*.⁷⁷ Thus, Book 2 contained ‘A Bill for the City of Adelaide Environment Act 1975 and Directives to be incorporated in the Second Schedule of the Act’. It was intended the new Act would authorise the whole Plan. Eight development control directives were proposed to give legal effect to specific planning policies. The eight directives were administration, use, density, height, usable landscaped space, parking, loading and traffic, townscape and amenity, and registered places.⁷⁸ This last directive about heritage later proved to be the most contentious in the community as it dealt with the protection, conservation, maintenance, and enhancement of places deemed to be of environmental, architectural, historic, scenic or scientific significance.

Book 3 contained an initial series of 26 Action Projects to implement the objectives and policies of the Plan. These Action Projects were:

AP1	Streetscape Improvements
AP2	City Squares
AP3	The Park Lands
AP4	Palmer and Brougham Gardens

⁷⁵ Michael Bowering, oral history interview 22 / 77–82, Brighton, 20 November 2007.

⁷⁶ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.18.

⁷⁷ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.163.

⁷⁸ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.165.

AP5	Pocket Parks
AP6	Upper Torrens — Zoo Frontage
AP7	Adelaide Rail Yards — Joie de Vivre
AP8	Adelaide Goal
AP9	The Railway Station
AP10	Historic Barracks
AP11	Street Furniture and Graphics
AP12	Government House
AP13	Low-Rent Boarding and Lodging Accommodation
AP14	Community Centres
AP15	Register of Places of Environmental Significance
AP16	Pollution Control
AP17	North Adelaide Village
AP18	Melbourne Street
AP19	Hindley Street
AP20	East End Markets/Fruit and Produce Exchange
AP21	Central Market
AP22	Wakefield-Angas Streets
AP23	Frome Street South
AP24	Pedestrian Network and Shelter
AP25	Public Transport in Hindley and Rundle Streets
AP26	Bikeways. ⁷⁹

The Objectives, Policies and Desired Future Character Statements could not be achieved by control over private development alone, which was seen as primarily a 'negative' process. The Action Projects were seen as 'positive' to achieve what otherwise might not occur as Clarke had used in Sydney.

Clarke recommended the ACC should be primarily responsible for administering the planning and development control processes in the City with a 'State Policy Review Authority' to coordinate State and ACC Policies. There would also be a new Local Government Court to deal with appeals, which would absorb the functions of the existing Planning Appeal Board. Clarke had been substantially influenced by Stretton's advice and proposed a joint City/State body that was identical to the CADC, which consisted of the Lord Mayor as Chairman with three State and three ACC members.

⁷⁹ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, pp.244–45.

The draft City Plan evolved from community demands and the discovery of needs. Clarke suggested the City was made up of three systems: activities, environment and movement. Each system had physical, economic and social aspects. The Activity System contained the economic base, leisure and learning, and living objectives. The Environmental System consisted of objectives for landscape and streetscape, built form and conservation, and environment protection. The Movement System consisted of objectives for pedestrians, public transport, vehicular traffic, and parking.

The ten objectives were all framed as imperatives (such as 'create' or 'strengthen'). After the objectives, there were six overall management policies giving broad descriptions of the core, frame, residential and Park Lands districts and how they were to be managed. The Economic Base Objective was supported by 17 policies and three concept diagrams relating to the district structure, the precinct structure and plot ratios. The Leisure and Learning Objective was supported by 12 policies (for example, promoting the City as the tourist centre for the State and as the location for the visual and performing arts). Eight policies supported the Living Objective (for example, encouraging the SAHT to have a program for the City and developing community centres in the residential precincts). In the Environmental System, the Landscape and Streetscape Objective was supported by 25 policies and four concept diagrams covering Park Lands planting, areas in the Park Lands for return to recreational use, street tree planting, and areas for 'High', 'Medium' or 'Low' landscaped space. The Built Form Objective was supported by 17 policies (for example, shaping the built form of the City and preparing detailed plans for areas considered to be of townscape significance) and three concept diagrams related to city squares, 'High', 'Medium' and 'Low' building heights, and 281 places of environmental significance. Under the Environmental Protection Objective there were 11 policies (for example, improvements to the River Torrens and for refuse management) and one concept diagram covering areas for 'High', 'Medium' and 'Low' noise controls.

There was one concept diagram and six policies (for example, the diversion of through traffic around the City) related to the Overall City Movement that were not part of any Objective. The Pedestrian Objective in the Movement System was supported by 18 policies (for example, giving priority to pedestrians within the core district) and one concept diagram for a pedestrian network. Eleven policies (for example, concentrating activities so that they could be efficiently served by public

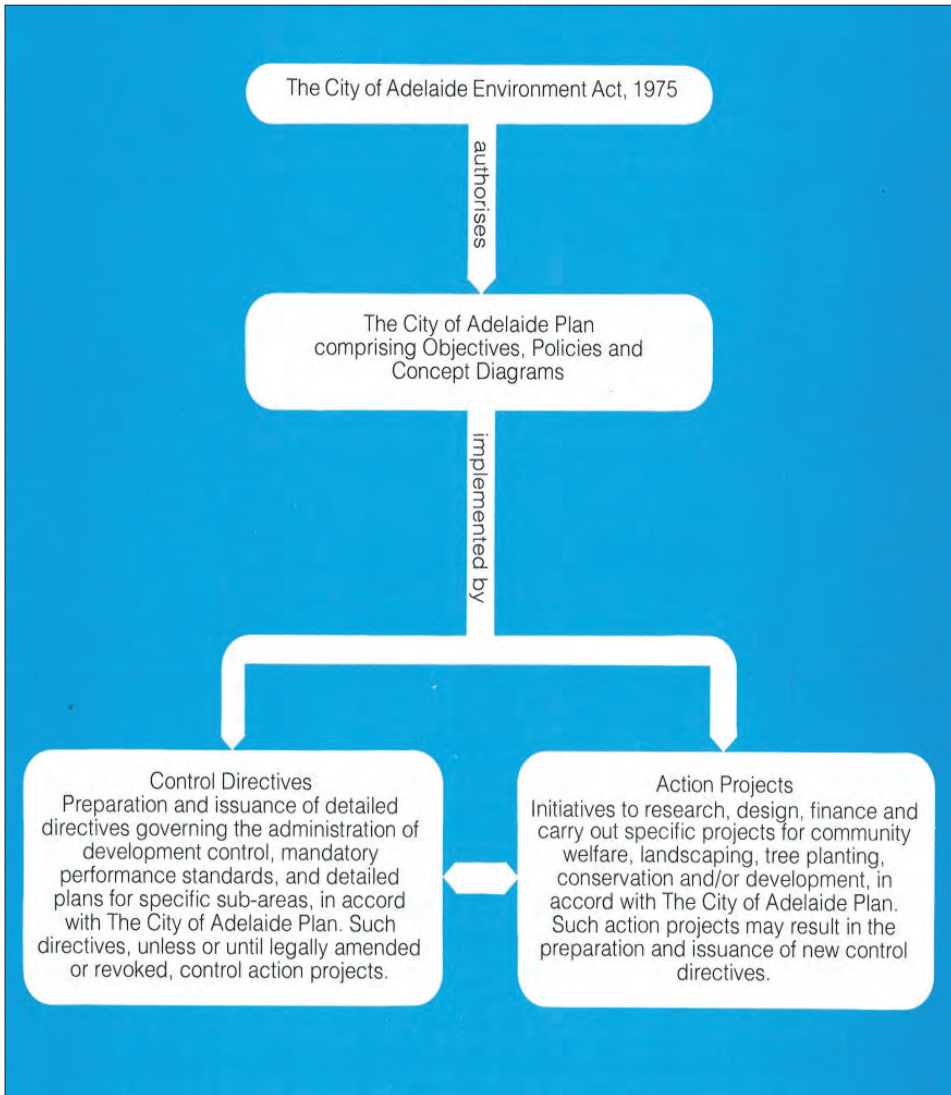


Figure 27: Implementation Program

transport) and one concept diagram for a public transport network were in support of the public transport objective. The Vehicular Traffic Objective was supported by a concept diagram for a vehicular traffic system and by 18 policies (for example, establishing a hierarchy of roads and narrowing some carriageways). Finally, the Parking Objective was supported by 18 policies and two concept diagrams covering



Figure 28: Cover of the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* ('The Red Book')

on-site parking with three zones (including one in the core where parking would be prohibited), and a public parking station system.

Three precincts were proposed for the core district, nine precincts for the frame district and nine precincts for the residential district. It was intended that all future planning, development and conservation would be in keeping with, or help to control, the desired future character of each precinct. A joint City/State body was proposed as it was recognised that about 75 per cent of the City was in public ownership, including the Park Lands, roads and buildings owned by the Commonwealth, State and Local Government and their agencies.⁸⁰ Concept Diagram 19 outlined the overall structure, as Figure 27 shows.

Clampett provided Dunstan with an advance copy of Clarke and USC's final report, which was the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*. He thanked the Premier for his personal support and interest in the study.⁸¹ The consultants recommended a

⁸⁰ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.148.

⁸¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/L.

communication program to commence as soon as the ACC received the planning study. This program included media releases, the continued use of the Planning Centre for an exhibition of the proposals, and the updating of the City Model (at a scale of 1:200) so that the impact of an individual development could be assessed as well as providing the public with an overall picture of the development of the City.⁸²

The *City of Adelaide Planning Study*, in the distinctive square format (280mm x 280mm) that Clarke had used for the *City of Sydney Strategic Plan*, was submitted to the Council on 24 June 1974. It was popularly known as 'The Red Book' because of its cover, as shown in Figure 28. Red is associated with strength and courage and was an apt choice by Clarke for an innovative and different approach to planning in Adelaide compared to the other capital cities in Australia in the 1970s.⁸³

In September, the ACC decided the planning study would be exhibited for a period of two months for public comment, beginning in October. The official opening of the exhibition was by Clampett on Wednesday 23 October 1974 in the Planning Centre. Arland advised Bakewell that Dunstan and his Ministers had not been invited to the opening of the exhibition because the ACC now saw the 'Plan' as its own and the State should not be seen as lending support to a 'City Plan' on which extensive public comment was going to be sought. This was despite the political influence on the planning study by the State through the joint City/State body.⁸⁴

Clarke had learned the lesson from Sydney and proposed an integration of a strategic approach of objectives and policies combined with a statutory approach, in the form of separate City legislation, to control development. A particular innovation was the use of DFCs to create images of types of activities and townscape qualities sought for each area of the City. In terms of governance, the continuation of a joint City/State body was proposed to coordinate ACC and State policies and priorities for action. Dunstan requested the existing joint body — the CADC — to report to him on the planning study by the end December 1974.⁸⁵

⁸² Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.247.

⁸³ Kohl, 1998.

⁸⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/M.

⁸⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ninetieth meeting of the CADC, 28 October 1974, p.1007.

TIME	CITY			JOINT	STATE				
	Lord Mayors	Town Clerks/CEOs	City Planners		Planning CEOs	Ministers of Planning	Premiers		
1971	Hayes*	Arland*	Llewellyn-Smith	City of Adelaide Development Committee (Lord Mayor, three Council + three State members)	Inglis*	Broomhill* (Labor)	Dunstan* (Labor)		
1972									
1973	Clampett*								
1974					Mant	Hudson* (Labor)			
1975	Roche*								
1976									
1977	Joseph*								
1978						Corcoran* (Labor)			
1979	Bowen					Phipps		Wotton (Liberal)	Tonkin* (Liberal)
1980	Measday*								
1981	Watson*	Llewellyn-Smith	Currie	City of Adelaide Planning Commission (four Council + four State members)	Hopgood (Labor)	Bannon (Labor)			
1982									
1983	Chapman								
1984					McPhail				
1985	Jarvis*						Bechervaise		
1986									
1987	Condous				Hodgson		Lenehan (Labor)		
1988									
1989									
1990					Lennon + State Planning Review		Crafter (Labor)	Arnold (Labor)	
1991									
1992									
1993	Ninio								

* Denotes deceased

Figure 29: The author's roles from 1974 until 1993

THE CITY PLANNER'S DEPARTMENT

When the ACC decided to take the planning responsibility away from Bubb, a new City Planner's Department was established on 1 July 1974.⁸⁶ Currie was appointed as the Acting City Planner. Horner (who had been seconded for the Planning Study), Madigan (an engineer), Wagner and some support staff formed the basis of the new City Planner's Department.⁸⁷ I was appointed to the position of Adelaide City Planner late in April 1974. After negotiations between Sydney Lord Mayor Shehadie and Adelaide Lord Mayor Clampett, it was agreed I would complete the Woolloomooloo Action Project, as discussed in Chapter 5, which enabled me to arrive in Adelaide in September 1974. I outline the roles I held from this time until 1993, in the context of City/State relations, in Figure 29.

I served with nine Lord Mayors and worked with five Premiers and six Ministers of Planning during this period. My immediate task as the new City Planner was to provide advice to the ACC on the planning study. Bowen, Roche and Chappel considered that the other ACC members should become familiar with the new direction proposed for the City in the planning study. Special briefings were held (in confidence) every Thursday from 19 September until 28 November 1974 for this purpose.

The new City Planner's Department was located in Queen's Chambers (which is a heritage building at the rear of the Town Hall). A substantial budget was provided for the new Department, which was structured to reflect an integration of strategic and statutory planning and the importance of implementation. There were three professional sections and supporting staff. Frank Madigan was appointed as the Principal Planner responsible for strategic planning and research, Geoff Wagner as the Principal Planner responsible for statutory planning and development control, and David Horner as the Principal Planner responsible for implementation through the Action Project programme. All of the staff in Horner's section were qualified architect/planners who were also able to provide advice on heritage, and offer urban design advice on development applications to the statutory section.

⁸⁶ John Williams, oral history interview 7 / 97-99, Leabrook, 20 April 2007.

⁸⁷ Madigan's work for Bubb was referred to in Chapter 3.

Michael Lennon, who was later to lead the State Planning Review (1992), considered that in the early 1970s the ACC had a higher level of planning expertise than the State.⁸⁸ The State saw the different approach to city planning through an integration of strategic and statutory planning in the City as a potential model for other councils. Ian McPhail asserted that the ACC employed the best professional planners and that the City's planning system was of high quality compared to the rest of the State.⁸⁹

There were no third party appeal rights but the North Adelaide Society and the Adelaide Residents' Association were invited to provide comments on development applications. Any comments received on applications were incorporated into the reports of the City Planner's Department. Thus, community views as well as professional advice were available to the CADC when development applications were assessed.

Applicants and their architects were strongly encouraged to discuss their proposed applications with staff in the City Planner's Department before lodging a formal application. This innovation in development control proved invaluable and there was confidence in the system. As the City Planner I was personally involved in any major application. In dealing with design issues, it was useful that I had qualifications and experience in architecture as well as city planning. Thus, I could exert influence in negotiations with architects to achieve outcomes that would comply with the discretionary statutory provisions.

RESPONSE TO THE STUDY BY THE ACC

Clampett sent over 10,000 open letters to residents, owners, occupiers and the media, inviting them to attend the public exhibition of the planning study. A notice was also published in the *Gazette* on 17 October 1974 about the exhibition. Clarke suggested specific meetings with particular groups, such as the North Adelaide Society and the Chamber of Commerce, and these were held during November 1974.⁹⁰ The exhibition of the planning study included a continuous programme of slides and

⁸⁸ Michael Lennon, oral history interview 35 / 107–09, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

⁸⁹ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 78–80, Melbourne, 17 April 2008.

⁹⁰ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File 66/74.

commentary as well as maps, photographs, graphics and text.⁹¹ A film was also made about the innovative 'Desired Future Character Statements of Precincts', which was shown continuously on a television screen in a special area of the exhibition centre.⁹² This visual description of planning policy proved a particularly comprehensible means of communication.

As a result of the briefings about the nature of the planning study, the legislation and likely overall timing, the ACC requested me to recommend which policies should be 'Governing' and which should be 'Guiding'. A Governing Policy would be one that was acceptable to the ACC in the implementation of the Plan, and a Guiding Policy would be desirable *but not binding* on the ACC.

The ACC held a weekend seminar on 7 and 8 December about the draft City Plan and legislation. Arland invited Bakewell, Stretton, Platten, Clarke and other members of the planning team to attend and assist in the discussions. The sessions were chaired by the individuals who had had the most influence in the planning study: Hayes, Bowen, Roche and Chapell. A particular concern that emerged was whether the concept diagrams, especially those related to traffic, were binding. As a result of these detailed discussions, the ACC requested that Clarke liaise with me and recommend appropriate amendments to address all the concerns expressed.⁹³

At the same time, the CADC was considering Clarke's proposals, as requested by Dunstan. The CADC considered the ongoing governance of the City was important and supported the concept of a joint review committee on the basis there was a need for a body that had ultimate responsibility for planning the City, but that this should not be the SPA. The CADC invited Michael Bowering (CSO) to address the question of whether the State should be bound by the new legislation. Bowering attended the regular meeting on 9 December and provided detailed advice on the use of regulations compared to the directives proposed under the new legislation. He also advised he basically agreed with the proposed Bill, and with appropriate 'polishing' believed it should work well and that the directives would be a useful tool. However,

⁹¹ Roche & Llewellyn-Smith, 1975, p.110.

⁹² Adams, 1972.

⁹³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/P/1.

Bowering considered that binding the State was a political not a legal decision.⁹⁴ Under influence from Stretton, the CADC considered the appropriate course of action would be to advise Dunstan that it favoured a separate Act for the City with a minimum number of regulations to implement the Plan.⁹⁵

Bakewell addressed the Chamber of Commerce at this time and stated that planning for the motor car and planning for a gracious urbane city for people were two quite different things. He advised that the Commonwealth and State Governments had assured the CADC of their cooperation in a planning study leading to the adoption of a City Plan, even though they would not be bound by its decisions. Bakewell argued the case of governance and that the success of the City Plan would be measured on how well the ACC and State worked together because to make the City a better place, there could not be unplanned and uncontrolled development.⁹⁶

In January 1975 the CADC reported to Dunstan on the planning study in the following terms:

- The Directives should be Regulations.
- The ACC should be the responsible planning authority for day to day planning.
- The Review Committee should be primarily concerned with policies and City/State governance and cooperation.
- As far as possible any appeals should be restricted to purely legal matters.
- All levels of Government should have the responsibility of contributing to the Action Projects to develop the City.⁹⁷

The CADC considered the SPA would not be able to give the central area the special attention it needed. The CADC supported the concept of 'management by exception' as well as the composition of a joint Committee with the Lord Mayor of the day as Chairman. The CADC report stressed that the three ACC nominees need not necessarily be elected members of the council, and the three government

⁹⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ninety-first meeting of the CADC 4 November 1974, pp.1013–14.

⁹⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ninety-fifth meeting of the CADC 2 December 1974, p.1060.

⁹⁶ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File P66A/74.

⁹⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ninety-sixth meeting of the CADC 9 December 1974, p.1075.

nominees need not necessarily be public servants. The nomination of women for the committee was encouraged.

While the CADC noted that the State would not be bound, it was proposed that any State projects should be discussed at an early stage with the new Review Committee. The report suggested there should be a City of Adelaide Appeals Tribunal made up of members of the existing Planning Appeals Board but restricted to the City, and not a new Local Government Court. The CADC opposed third party appeal rights provided the public had adequate opportunity to comment on development applications. Finally, the CADC endorsed Clarke's underlying philosophy, which was to make the City a better place to live, work and play.⁹⁸

Bakewell advised the CADC at its meeting on 11 August 1975 that the State had questioned whether a separate Act was needed for the City on the basis that it should be possible to incorporate the required provisions into the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972*. He also advised the CADC that the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*, as adopted by the ACC, would be on public display for a period of three months commencing on 14 August 1975 and that once representations had been analysed and reported upon, the legislation needed to be in place for a plan to be authorised. Given the State's legislative program, it was unlikely that new legislation for the City would be in place by 30 June 1976 when the existing interim development controls were due to expire. Based on this advice from Bakewell, the CADC requested the Chairman (who by this time was Lord Mayor Roche) to discuss this matter with Premier Dunstan as a matter of urgency.⁹⁹

Public interest in the planning study was generated through the media and the exhibition was extended until the end of February 1975. Three proposals caused particular concern. These were the heritage issue of the creation of a Register of Places of Environmental Significance, the closure of some streets and roads, and governance of the City in terms of the establishment of a State Review Committee.

After the public exhibition closed, the City Planner's Department, with Clarke's assistance, prepared discussion papers for each of the council's five technical committees on the objectives and policies of the draft City Plan. The five technical committees were called 'Planning & Building', 'Residential Development', 'Health,

⁹⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Accession No.4647, Item1.

⁹⁹ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File PF17A/74.

Welfare, Recreation & Park Lands', 'Commercial, Industrial & Civic', and 'Works, Traffic & Parking'. Each representation on the draft City Plan was given a number and contained the name, address and organisation (if any) of the representor and the property affected. Some examples of the representations were the National Trust (no. 199), which requested that all the buildings in the City on the National Trust's List be included on the Register of Places. A former Lord Mayor, James Irwin (no. 266), objected to his property being included — and this was typical of all owners of properties proposed to be listed. The RAA (no. 232) submitted that unless accessibility to the City was of a high standard, the Economic Base Objective could not be achieved. The Tonkin Automotive business near Whitmore Square (no. 272) wanted assurance about a right of expansion, as well as continued use rights. Wagner recalled that Brian Tonkin was one of the many people who were angry and difficult to deal with because of the interim CADC policy that protected residential property and was now proposed to become part of the permanent statutory controls.¹⁰⁰

In April 1975 Clarke recommended amendments to the exhibited draft City Plan. He provided detailed comments on all the policies and suggested deletion of Diagram 10 and the proposed Register of Places for Environmental Significance, because of the many objections. Bubb had exerted considerable influence on the Works, Traffic & Parking Committee. He was opposed to any reduction in traffic movement and he wanted Concept Diagram 12 (Overall Movement) to show short-term proposals, those proposals that should be monitored and were dependent upon the metropolitan transport system, and long-term proposals. Consequently the committee had raised concerns about the proposed road hierarchy and traffic movement. As a result, Clarke revised Concept Diagram 12 and placed an emphasis on support from the Commonwealth and State Governments to achieve the desired outcomes. He amended the policies in support of the Movement System to clarify those actions that were conditional upon other actions and proposed that roads should only be closed after consultation with those most directly affected. Clarke also suggested that a number of policies in the traffic area should become further investigations rather than commitments to action. However, after discussion with Keith Johninke, the Commissioner for Highways, Bubb was in favour of the Mann

¹⁰⁰ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 85–89, Burnside, 6 November 2007.

Terrace/Park Terrace one-way pair of roads,¹⁰¹ as had been proposed in the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*, on the basis it would be funded by the State and the Town of Walkerville as well as the ACC.¹⁰² The Health, Welfare Recreation & Park Lands Committee only had minor comments on the policies within its area of responsibility.

The administrative Finance & Budgets Committee went through all the policies and assigned them a value: positive and favourable, negative and unfavourable, or neutral. As a result, the committee concluded there could be an additional development expenditure of \$1.25 million in the first year of the operation of the Plan. Clarke and my Department considered all the representations in depth and, having regard to Clarke's recommendations, redrafted the City Plan to only contain the objectives, policies and desired future character statements. The definition of 'Objective' was amended by the addition of the words 'and to which the assistance and cooperation of the Commonwealth Government is sought'. Clarke and I agreed that all the policies would only be 'Guiding' and we deleted the Concept Diagrams. We added new diagrams only where they were needed to serve as graphic elaborations of the Policies. 'Policy' was redefined as:

specific courses or methods of action which have been selected to guide decisions relevant to the achievement of the Objectives of the City Plan. They are expressed in written form and, where necessary, illustrated in graphic form by diagrams.¹⁰³

There were some minor changes to the wording of the ten objectives but the titles remained unchanged. Clarke and I recommended to the ACC that the Explanatory Statement, the Bill and the Action Projects would no longer be part of the City Plan itself.

On 28 April 1975, the City Planning Committee considered the reports of the five technical committees (in one volume) and the new Plan (in a second volume) as redrafted by Clarke and me after taking all relevant matters into account, including all of the 862 representations received from the public. The committee considered all the original objectives and policies recommended by Clarke and USC, the recommendations of the technical committees on them, and my comments (as

¹⁰¹ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.132.

¹⁰² Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File No. 262/C/1.

¹⁰³ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1977, p.111.

City Planner). After considerable discussion, on 26 May 1975 the committee decided that if there was no objection from a technical committee or a Head of Department then the objective, policy or diagram would be adopted. Otherwise it endorsed the original wording, or endorsed the technical committee's recommendation for change, determined whether each policy should be 'governing' or not, which policies should become an Action Project and which should be deleted.¹⁰⁴

An ACC seminar took place on Sunday 8 June 1975 when the outstanding issues about the objectives, policies and diagrams were discussed. Arland again invited Bakewell, Stretton and Platten to attend to ensure the remaining issues of concern could be resolved and a final version of the ACC's Plan adopted.¹⁰⁵ Arising from these discussions, Clarke and I prepared a final version of the City Plan and Briefing Notes were provided to all the elected members.¹⁰⁶ Steve Condous, who was later to become Lord Mayor, recalled the ACC debate:

There was heated argument in the Council Chamber, bearing in mind that there were a few members who considered themselves 'experts', such as Bowen, Roche and Chappel, but the proposals from the City Planner and Clarke were eventually adopted by the Council at its meeting on 23 June 1975.¹⁰⁷

The adopted City Plan differed significantly from the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* in that it consisted of only a part of Book 1 of the consultant's recommendations. The amendments and omissions in the ACC's City Plan compared to the study reflected community and State attitudes as well as input from the ACC technical committees. The City Plan was more general and less committed to particular courses of action but it was, I argue, a better structured document with more realistic demands for action by other levels of government. The proposed Register of Places was not adopted and instead there was a policy to prepare and maintain such a register. In relation to Movement Systems, a new policy sought the cooperation of, and action by, both the State and Federal Governments. Policies about road closures became policies for investigation rather than a commitment to closure.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ See Minutes of the Meeting of the ACC 26 May 1975, p.1027.

¹⁰⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/T/2.

¹⁰⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/T/3.

¹⁰⁷ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 18–29, Norwood, 1 March 2008.

¹⁰⁸ Zacest, 1978, pp.90–94.

A formal notice was placed in the *Gazette* on 24 July 1975 advising the adopted City Plan would be on public exhibition from 14 August until 13 November 1975 in the Town Hall (the Planning Centre had been closed). All those who had made representations on the planning study were advised by letter and invited to make further comment. The adoption of the City Plan by the ACC concluded Clarke's work in Adelaide.¹⁰⁹ Lloyd-Jones recalled that Clarke closed the USC office on 30 June 1975 as there was no future for it in Adelaide.¹¹⁰

The issues raised during the public exhibition of the Council's City Plan, including concerns about heritage and governance, included:

- plot ratios, heights and expansion rights (Activity Systems)
- usable landscaped space requirements, and Registered Places (Environmental Systems)
- road closures (Movement Systems)
- function and costs of the Review Committee (Implementation).

On 18 December 1975 the ACC decided there would be a series of hearings that would be open to the public and the media to deal with all the representations. Of the 287 representations received, 49 representors had requested the opportunity to be heard in person and the ACC established a series of panels based on the ward system so that representors were primarily heard on a geographic basis by their local representatives.¹¹¹ Six panels of four each consisted of the Lord Mayor, one of the six Aldermen and the two respective Ward Councillors. A seventh panel, to hear State and Commonwealth Departments and Agencies, consisted of the Lord Mayor and the three ACC members of the CADC.

As a result of these panel hearings and the submissions made in support of the written representations, my Department prepared a 'Supplementary Report' for a special meeting of the City Planning Committee on 19 March 1976 that recommended further changes to the City Plan. These included adding the word 'Culture' to Objective V; completely rewriting the Policy about making Victoria Square and King William Street pedestrian dominant areas so that this would be dependent on the north-south bypass and the rapid transport system being completed;

¹⁰⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/T/2.

¹¹⁰ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 46–48, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

¹¹¹ Adelaide City Archives, Accession No.125, Boxes 1–5.

changing the Rundle Street Precinct to the Rundle Mall Precinct; and in relation to Action Projects ensuring that affected and interested parties would participate in their preparation.

When the ACC considered the report of the City Planning Committee on 27 March 1976, a further seven minor amendments were made, including one to give priority to the proposed parking station behind Government House, and then the City Plan was adopted.¹¹² The International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) saw the ACC's City Plan as being of such importance that it was studied at the IFHP Conference in The Hague in August 1975.¹¹³ Arland had advised the ACC of this at its April meeting and the ACC 'authorised the Lord Mayor and City Planner to attend the IFHP Conference and present a joint paper'.¹¹⁴

Roche and I concluded in our presentation to the conference that planning in the City was primarily a 'political' rather than a 'technical' process and that the plan proposed for the City was an innovative and different approach to city planning. It was probabilistic rather than deterministic, flexible rather than rigid and it was concerned with processes rather than long-term physical plans.

Roche wrote to Dunstan in April 1976 providing a brief history of the City Plan and enclosing:

- the City of Adelaide Plan (as adopted by Council on 23 June 1975)
- copies of the 287 written representations and the City Planner's comments on them
- a Supplementary Report (as adopted by Council on 27 March 1976).¹¹⁵

Roche commented that although the ACC had not followed the precise steps laid down in the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972* for a Supplementary Development Plan, the actions undertaken by the ACC had been in substantial compliance with the procedures of that Act. Roche requested that the State accept the City Plan as the authorised plan for the City and that special legislation be enacted for this purpose so that a new planning and development control system could come into

¹¹² See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC held on 27 March 1976, p.926.

¹¹³ Linn, 2006, p.252.

¹¹⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/T/12.

¹¹⁵ Roche & Llewellyn-Smith, 1975, p.113.

operation on 1 January 1977. The ACC would draft regulations on such essential items as land use. Roche offered to make himself and me (as City Planner) available to discuss any aspects of the Plan with the Premier or his Ministers, and requested the opportunity to comment on any proposed legislation or any State amendments to the Plan. Bakewell then established a high-level administrative committee to provide the State with advice on the ACC Plan.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL PLAN REVIEW COMMITTEE

The State's Interdepartmental Plan Review Committee was established with the following terms of reference:

- To clarify, elaborate and summarise the *City of Adelaide Plan* paying particular attention to financial considerations.
- To obtain responses to the Plan from relevant Government departments and statutory authorities.
- To recommend a course of action the Government should take in relation to the Plan.¹¹⁶

Bakewell (as Head of the Premier's Department and Chairman of the Committee) directed all State Departments and Agencies to make submissions on the City Plan. These submissions ranged from concerns with the proposed Movement System to the listing of individual buildings as follows:

- The Department of Transport emphasised the need for the Western Bypass, it supported the tram extension north and a compact core that public transport could serve. It also supported the closure of King William Street to traffic except public transport. However, it stated that the effect of road closures on bus routes needed further consideration.
- The Highways Department considered changes in the City's movement system could be to the detriment of the remainder of the metropolitan area and had to be viewed in the wider context, although it supported in principle the transport concepts: limiting

¹¹⁶ Oral account supplied by Bob Bakewell, oral history interview 11 / 21–23, Adelaide, 14 June 2007.

vehicular traffic, improving public transport and diverting through traffic. However, it considered phasing was critical and that the bypass had to be in place before any major road closures could be implemented.

- The Fire Brigade opposed the closure of any roads.
- The State Transport Authority objected to the Railway Station being on the list of Registered Places and to any land it controlled reverting to Park Lands.
- The Railways Department was in favour of an inner city circle, not just a north-south route, but it was completely opposed to AP7 (Joie de Vivre) on railway land.
- The Tramways Trust commented there were no funds for an extension of the tram or for the removal of the tram depot on Hackney Road.
- The Department of Tourism, Recreation and Sport supported AP30 (Bikeways) and the provision of Community Centres.
- The Adelaide Festival Centre Trust supported a new pedestrian bridge across the Torrens and the proposed car park for 2000 behind Government House.
- The University of Adelaide was opposed to any restrictions to developing its North Terrace site and to the listing of the Mitchell Building and Elder Hall on the list of Registered Places.
- The South Australian Institute of Technology did not want its plans to move to the East End to be frustrated, and particularly objected to the market facades having to be included and kept on the list of Registered Places.
- The Botanic Gardens Board objected to any restrictions on new buildings in Botanic Gardens.
- The Public Buildings Department opposed controls being exercised by the ACC, but indicated it would cooperate voluntarily with the proposed Review Committee.
- ETSA was concerned at the lack of references to services in the City Plan and opposed any restrictions on pruning trees.

- EWS Department saw no difficulties from increased demands, but considered early cooperation on all relevant Action Projects would be necessary.
- SAHT accepted that it had a role to play in the City but was concerned if this implied any subsidies. It stressed that the purchase and rehabilitation of existing houses was an option rather than just building new public housing.
- The Education Department recognised the need for the upgrading and growth of schools if the population targets were going to be met.
- The Valuer-General commented that valuations in the City would be easier because of greater certainty in the Plan.

The submission from the SPA was important because it argued it was illogical to plan for the City in isolation from the metropolitan area, as several policies in the City Plan itself underlined. It considered the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972* should be amended to overcome the criticisms expressed in the report, but the City Plan should still be a Supplementary Development Plan under the Act as amended. The SPA believed it should replace the Review Committee but, if there was to be a Review Committee, that the SPA should be represented on such a body. The view was also expressed that heritage should be dealt with as part of new and separate legislation and not as part of the City Plan.

Hart followed up the SPA submission by writing to Bakewell in May with comments on the procedure the ACC should follow in relation to the City Plan to become an authorised plan in terms of the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972*. Hart argued that the Act could accommodate the complex planning problems of the central city and recommended exhibiting the City Plan as a Supplementary Development Plan. The ACC could request the SPA for any desirable amendments to the Act. The SPA and ACC would need to prepare the necessary Regulations jointly. However, Hart conceded there may be some positive aspects in separate legislation for the City in that new and different ideas could be tested.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File P66A/74.

Hart summarised his opposition as follows:

- the State planning system was sufficiently adaptable to be able to provide for any special conditions that may be required in the city
- the State was trying to achieve some consistency and separate legislation would be confusing for professionals, developers and the general public
- there would be a separate body of case law which would not be applicable elsewhere in the State
- there would be additional administrative costs
- if there were any problems with the State planning system (even though it had only been operating for seven years) then it would be better to rectify these rather than have a piecemeal approach and introduce special legislation for the City
- the special interim controls established under the Act in 1972 had worked satisfactorily (CADC) and with modification could be given permanent status.¹¹⁸

Sybella Daunt, secretary of the Review Committee contended many of the policies in the City Plan could not be realised by the ACC itself as they called for modifications of trends outside the City and massive expenditure and commitments to particular courses of action by State and Federal Governments.¹¹⁹ Daunt argued the City Plan should not be given legal status and the ACC was more concerned with political rather than the technical considerations.¹²⁰ She recognised separate legislation to give effect to the whole City Plan would have implications on Departmental budgets at the State level. Blencowe (née Daunt) remembered attending an all-day ACC seminar where the likely cost of each policy in the City Plan was gone through in detail:

It was clear the City was not going to give up its aim of separate legislation (as was its tradition), but equally clear the State was not going to legislate to give effect to what was primarily a policy document. Hart could not understand why there could not be a simple amendment to the State's *Planning and Development Act 1967–1972*.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 46–64, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

¹¹⁹ Daunt, 1976, p.69.

¹²⁰ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 16–18, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

¹²¹ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 54–59, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

Bakewell requested the Lord Mayor to make me available to directly brief the Review Committee and Roche agreed. I subsequently briefed the Review Committee about the process and the nature of the City Plan and attended many meetings to participate in the discussions, promote the City's position and respond to any questions from the Review Committee. In October, Bakewell wrote to Arland and outlined the findings of Review Committee.¹²² The Committee had concluded, and the influence of Hart was clear, that there needed to be a reassessment of the base assumptions and projections; alternative realistic projects needed to be formulated; major projects needed to be identified; and there needed to be a different approach to the legislation as there was no reason the City Plan could not be implemented as a supplementary development plan with the directives as regulations.

The views of the Review Committee were not surprising given the individuals who comprised the Committee. Ray Bunker was the First Assistant Secretary of the Commonwealth DURD and Minister Tom Uren had strong views about the need for decentralisation and Commonwealth investment in areas other than the capital cities; Ted Carey was State Under-Treasurer and particularly concerned about the State's finances; Stuart Hart, the State Director of Planning, opposed the City not being part of the State's system, as discussed earlier; Keith Hockeridge was the Secretary of Local Government and had no reason to treat the ACC differently from any other Council; Grant Inglis was the Head of the State Department of Environment and Conservation and was opposed to separate legislation, particularly in relation to heritage; Derek Scrafton, as State Director of Transport, was supportive of improvements being made to public transport but aware of the total costs of what was being proposed; and Alex Ramsay was the General Manager of the SAHT and realised the costs of providing public housing in the City compared to new undeveloped areas.

Roche, Arland and I met with Dunstan and expressed concerns at the Review Committee's findings. In effect, the State bureaucrats were advising Dunstan that the City Plan should be scrapped and a new start made. This was unacceptable to the ACC. Roche argued that from the point of view of governance, the CADC, as a joint City/State body, had provided oversight of the Planning Study (particularly Stretton) and had been actively involved in its evolution into the City Plan. It was therefore reasonable for the ACC to assume the political direction was acceptable to the State

¹²² Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/P/1.

even though the State bureaucrats now seemed to have come to a different view. The implications were that IDC would have to continue and a great deal of ratepayers' money would have been wasted.¹²³

Dunstan's response was that the State had concerns about the ACC's capacity to achieve the objectives, about the financial implications for the State of some of the policies and about the implications for the rest of the metropolitan area if there was an over-commitment to the City. The State would have to construct the Hindmarsh Boulevard as part of the north-south traffic corridor, build a rapid transit line to the north-east, build the City underground, and generally improve public transport.¹²⁴ However, at the end of the meeting Dunstan advised Roche that Cabinet had delegated to Hugh Hudson, Minister of Planning, the task of negotiating with the Lord Mayor a governance arrangement and City Plan that would be acceptable to the State and the ACC.¹²⁵ The Government's political response enabled negotiations to proceed to achieve something unique in Adelaide.

CONCLUSION

The choice of George Clarke and USC to undertake a planning study of the City was an important one as it provided a new direction for the City. There was influence from Dunstan, and the members of the joint City/State body, particularly Stretton, which provided the policy framework for an approach to city planning that integrated strategic and statutory elements. This was innovative and different to the traditional statutory planning schemes that existed in the other capital cities in Australia. The ACC established a new City Planner's Department to support this new system of city planning and development control in Adelaide.

¹²³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/P/1.

¹²⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/P/2.

¹²⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/P/1.

7

Converting the City of Adelaide Planning Study into a City Plan

CITY/STATE NEGOTIATIONS

The Whitlam Federal Government was dismissed on 11 November 1975. At the time, John Mant was Whitlam's Principal Private Secretary, although technically Mant was an Assistant Secretary in the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC). Mant had got to know Hugh Hudson when Hudson was the South Australian Minister for Education and visited Canberra to see the Prime Minister and others about educational projects in South Australia. Mant resigned with the change of federal government, intending to return to Sydney and set up a law practice. But Hudson invited Mant to become an advisor in South Australia, as Hudson had become the Minister for Planning. Mant reflected:

I accepted the offer and moved to Adelaide where my principal task was to advise Hudson on how to deal with the City of Adelaide Plan which had been adopted by the Council and which the Council expected to become law.¹

¹ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 8–15, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

A period of intense negotiations to finalise the plan and legislation that would be acceptable to both the State and the ACC then began.² During this period of negotiation, the ACC decided to advance some of the action projects and programmes that George Clarke and USC had recommended. As the City Planner I invited the Town Clerk and all the Heads of Departments (the Executive Committee of the ACC) to participate in the action projects where they had an interest and to nominate a staff member for the relevant project team. The co-ordination of the action project programme was delegated to Gilbert Currie, the Deputy City Planner.

Each Brief prepared defined the intent and scope of the action project (AP), its background, relevant aspects of the City Plan, the need for the AP, a work programme, the cost (particularly if consultants were to be used), the Project Director, and the nominated ACC Committee that would have responsibility for the project.³

In May 1975 the ACC decided that APs would be carried out in the following order of priority: AP21 (North Adelaide Village Centre), AP15 (Street Furniture and Graphics), AP27 (Frome Street South), AP19 (Register of Places of Environmental Significance), AP34 (Transportation Planning), AP31 (Property Information Systems), AP1 (Streetscape Improvements), AP28 (Pedestrian Network and Shelter), and AP33 (Parking Programme).⁴

This selection of Action Projects reflected the ACC's view of where some early implementation of the City Plan could be achieved. Before commencing AP1 (Streetscape) my department held a meeting with Keith Johnke (Commissioner of Highways), Keith Lewis (Director and Engineer-in-Chief of E&WS), Brian Law (SA Gas), Bruce Dinham (ETSA) and Harold Davis (Telecom) to explain the intentions and seek the cooperation of the service departments and agencies. The ACC's administration recognised the importance of working collaboratively with the administrative levels of the State and Commonwealth Governments to achieve outcomes. However, from the community's perspective, the most important issue was heritage. The Brief for AP19 (Register of Places of Environmental Significance) was adopted on 29 September 1975 and the main task was the preparation of an updated and consolidated list of significant buildings and places.

² Llewellyn-Smith, 1982, p.72.

³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 656/S/1.

⁴ See Minutes of the meeting of the ACC, 26 May 1975, p.17.

John Roche and Hudson began regular meetings about the Plan for the City at the political level. I was authorised by the ACC to negotiate at the administrative level. Mant and I had weekly meetings to discuss how best to advance the State and ACC positions, recognising that a compromise would have to be reached at some stage if a plan acceptable to the State and the ACC was to be achieved. Don Hopgood, a Minister in the Dunstan Government and later Deputy Premier, considered that Roche and Hudson had a good working relationship. According to Hopgood, they did not always see eye to eye but they were able to do business together and both had sharp minds with an understanding of all the governance issues.⁵

Mant had written design and siting policies for detached houses when he had been at the NCDC that made it clear approval had to be obtained for *any* development. In Mant's view, development control in Canberra was different from *managing* the city. The planners in the NCDC designed subdivisions and provided blocks of land while building inspectors exercised development control through the 'tick a box' method of evaluation. Thus, Mant came out of a tradition of one group of people planning the city and another group exercising development control.⁶

I spent many hours with Mant working through the ACC and State positions. We made a critical decision to separate 'strategic policies' from 'statutory policies'. This was to have significant implications for the nature of the planning system in the City, and later in South Australia, for many years to come. Mant recalled:

I remember that we had spent one Sunday in your home and came to the conclusion that we just had to decide what in the Plan was about policy and what was about development control.⁷

The test of a statutory development control policy (which is still valid) was 'Does this affect either positively or negatively, the value of a property?' If the answer was 'yes' then it was a statutory policy; if the answer was 'no' then it was a strategic policy. All the policies in the City Plan were then worked through to determine the nature of each policy and we also made the important decision that the innovative 'Desired Future Character Statements' should be part of the statutory controls. Thus, there would be an integration of strategic and statutory approaches in the City Plan.

⁵ Don Hopgood, oral history interview 26 / 8–23, Morphett Vale, 8 February 2008.

⁶ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 19–28, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

⁷ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 31–32, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

This was then supported by the Interdepartmental Plan Review Committee and by Sybella Daunt, the secretary of the Review Committee, as it did not have any budgetary implications for State departments, which had been the major sticking point with legislating for the whole City Plan.⁸ Blencowe (née Daunt) recalled the compromise worked out to give legislative status to only the statutory components of the City Plan was still strenuously opposed in the Review Committee by Stuart Hart, but she remembered:

At one meeting of the committee Ramsay said ‘The dogs are barking in Adelaide — there is going to be a separate Act’ — and there was.⁹

Mant argued in 1982 (and still argued in 2012) that development control legislation should be limited to that purpose, it is a tool of planning — it is not planning. Landowners should have a reasonable certainty as to what they can and cannot do on their land in terms of the legislative controls. Setting the development control rules needs to be separate from the application of these rules to a particular development.¹⁰ Lloyd-Jones contended the separate legislation for the City was introduced ‘over Hart’s dead body’, but it did put in place a joint new body as the successor to the CADC.¹¹

Roche recalled that Hudson had made it clear the State was not going to legislate for the ACC’s whole City Plan. Mant used his influence to persuade Dunstan and Hudson there was a need for separate legislation but based on the important decision that he and I had made to separate out the ‘Principles of Development Control’ that would be statutory and control the private sector. ‘Planning’ the City would continue as a strategic *political* process.¹²

While State Cabinet had opposed legislation for the implementation of a City Plan that consisted of over a hundred policies, some of which imposed quite onerous financial and other obligations on the State, it was comfortable with the new course of action recommended by Hudson.¹³ State Cabinet decided to:

⁸ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 35–36, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

⁹ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 60–63, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

¹⁰ Mant, 1982, p.74.

¹¹ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 45–51, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

¹² John Roche, oral history interview 4 / 39–45, North Adelaide 17 April 2007.

¹³ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner’s Department, Accession No. 4361, File D 3429.

- instruct the Parliamentary Counsel to draft the necessary legislation
- recommend which provisions of the Plan dealing with development control would necessarily require legislation
- recommend the necessary action to be taken with regard to those provisions of the City Plan not requiring legislation
- ensure that the State Government would be able to conform to the Desired Future Character Statements of Precincts
- ensure the State Government's interests and policies would not be impeded
- draft the necessary Regulations.

It was Roche's task, as the Lord Mayor, to use his influence to persuade the other members of the ACC, particularly Bowen, Chappel and Hayes, that while there would be separate legislation for the City it would not authorise the whole City Plan (as the ACC wanted) but only the statutory components. However, the governance of the City would continue with a new joint City/State body, with the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC) to succeed the CADC.

THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE DEVELOPMENT CONTROL ACT 1976*

State legislation was only required to authorise the *Principles of Development Control* for the City.¹⁴ Geoff Wagner recalled that while Mant had provided the instructions for a Bill for a separate Act for the City, it was Bob Daugherty (the Parliamentary Counsel), Michael Bowering and Wagner himself who had done the detailed work.¹⁵ Daugherty's advice was that every piece of legislation needed to be written to be prescriptive and with the legislator's intent clear. But every time there was a prescription the circumstances under which it could be broken needed to be provided. This is the trade-off between certainty and flexibility; you cannot expect to get it right all the time and thus an escape clause is needed. Wagner observed:

¹⁴ Mant & Llewellyn-Smith, 1978, p.62.

¹⁵ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 105–10, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

Daugherty had been quite challenged to draft such an unconventional piece of legislation for something which was so innovative and had never been done before.¹⁶

Blencowe also had discussions with Daugherty and provided advice on the separate legislation as he had serious reservations about what could be legislated. Daugherty wanted precision, which was not what was intended with the new proposed approach of General Principles and Desired Future Character Statements. The existing planning legislation was quite straightforward and he foresaw challenges to a planning authority having to make discretionary judgments as to whether or not an application was consistent with a Desired Future Character Statement or affect the amenity of an area. But Mant and Daugherty finally agreed on a draft Bill that went to Parliament and, after some amendments, became the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*.¹⁷

Brian Hayes QC was briefed to draft the Regulations under the Act. As Hayes recalled, there had been a case over subdivision in the City of Marion that had gone all the way to the Privy Council in the UK. Hudson had made it clear to Hayes he did not want to have any matter in the City that could end up in the Privy Council. He was also opposed to any third party appeal rights in relation to development applications. The ACC did not want subdivision control in the City. Hayes understood why Hart was opposed to separate legislation for the City as Hart believed what was wanted could be accommodated within the *Planning and Development Act 1966–1972*. However, in Hayes' opinion this Act could be not amended to incorporate the special requirements of the City.¹⁸

The *Principles of Development Control* (previously the statutory policies) were adopted by the ACC on 18 October 1976 and signed jointly by the Lord Mayor, representing the ACC, and the Minister for Planning, representing the State, on 21 October 1976. On the same day, the State Government introduced a Bill for the City's innovative separate legislation into the House of Assembly where Dunstan ensured it passed.¹⁹

¹⁶ Geoff Wagner, oral history interview 19 / 111–12, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

¹⁷ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 51–73, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

¹⁸ Brian Hayes, oral history interview 46 / 9–31, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

¹⁹ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 21 October 1976, p.1754.

To ensure the passage of the Bill through the Legislative Council, Roche and I sat in the Speaker's Gallery during every debate and were available to brief the Legislative Councillors as and when required on each clause of the Bill. The ACC was still able to exercise its usual influence in this arena, particularly though Murray Hill MLC, who was a former City Councillor and long time friend of Roche. The Legislative Council was mainly concerned about the appeal provisions. The Bill provided that the Minister of Planning would have been the ultimate authority in determining appeals by aggrieved applicants. The Legislative Council amended this to establish a new City of Adelaide Appeals Tribunal, consisting of a single Judge of the existing Planning Appeals Board. The State accepted this amendment and the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, which was different to any other planning legislation in Australia, was assented to on 16 December 1976 and came into operation on 1 March 1977.

Don Hopgood contended the State was proud it had legislation that was unique in relation to capital cities which the other States did not have. He recalled going to Planning Ministers' conferences where he was often asked by the other Ministers how South Australia had managed to organise this. Hopgood always replied it was all about good governance.²⁰

The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* illustrates three very important points:

- Planning Principles are value judgments that should be seen to be made by Governments and not independent bodies or the judiciary.
- Planning Principles are generalisations that the community, through its governments, makes concerning the appropriate distribution of resources.
- Planning Principles should be expressed in qualitative terms rather than purely mathematical or one-dimensional terms, and, against this view of the future, individual development applications can be judged.²¹

The *Principles of Development Control* needed to be supported by more detailed regulations. Regulations covering definitions, fees, development zones and use groups were gazetted on 24 February 1977 and came into effect on the Appointed Day, 1

²⁰ Don Hopgood, oral history interview 26 / 10–13, Morphett Vale, 18 February 2008.

²¹ Mant & Llewellyn-Smith, 1978, p.63.

March 1977. A further regulation covering density, with basic and maximum plot ratios specified, was gazetted on 23 June 1977.

THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1976–81*

The *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* was published on 30 June 1977 in the same format as the Planning Study. The ACC quite deliberately chose blue as the colour for the cover. As well as providing convenient shorthand to assist the elected members ('The Red Book' has been superseded by 'The Blue Book'), the ACC had its own planning and development control system, and, according to Kohl, blue is the colour of power and authority.²² The *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* consisted of three components with the strategic and statutory elements integrated into the one document and actions to implement the Plan identified. The City Plan consisted of:

- Book 1: The City of Adelaide Plan comprising Objectives and Policies (the strategic elements) and the Principles (the statutory elements).
- Book 2: The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and regulations.
- Book 3: Action Projects to implement the City Plan.

Mark Hamilton, who was to become Deputy Lord Mayor, contended the first City Plan was a 'cutting edge' approach to city planning at the time and Adelaide then had the most progressive planning system in Australia. This represented a model for other capital cities and indeed for other Councils in the metropolitan area. Hamilton, as a lawyer, appreciated the innovation of 'Desired Future Character Statements', which were word pictures giving some certainty to land uses, being included in statutory controls. The important factor was that the strategic policies and statutory development controls were integrated into one document and this was to be the case in each of the five-yearly City Plans.²³

The City Plan sought to redefine in modern terms the heritage and urban design potential of Light's original plan, conserving the best of the historic built environment and enhancing the potential of the physical city to accommodate new activities.²⁴ The City would be managed as four districts comprising Core, Inner

²² Kohl, 1998.

²³ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41 / 19–28, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

²⁴ Forster & McCaskill, 2007, p.98.

Frame, Outer Frame and Residential within which there were 23 precincts. It was thus different from a conventional zoning map in that specific uses were not allocated to particular sites. Innovative written statements for each precinct expressed a desired future in terms of activity, use mixtures, building density, physical improvements and landscape character. The City Plan incorporated a set of regulations establishing performance standards for developments in each of the precincts, with the ACC retaining discretionary powers over all developments, whether permitted or not.

According to journalist Chris Bowe, the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* was the most innovative blueprint of its time for the growth and management of an Australian city, and possibly the world.²⁵ Under the City Plan, there was a new concept of ‘Desired Future Character Statements for Precincts’ and constructive development conditions. The City Plan was representative of the influence of Dunstan when innovation and intellect had its day in the sun and the governance benefits of two creative levels of government working well together were apparent.

The ACC understood that the strategic objectives and policies would not be achieved by the statutory controls alone and that positive action to implement the City Plan was also required. The ACC adopted the ‘Action Project Programme’ for 1976/77 in July 1976 and work began on the projects once the different planning system was in place in March 1977. The initial list of Action Projects that the Planning Study recommended was refined so that an ACC Action Project had to have identifiable recommendations and outcomes. Some Action Projects became Action Programmes because they were ongoing work tasks to elaborate and implement the strategic objectives and policies of the City Plan. Some Action Projects became Research Studies with a strategic focus to assist in the formulation and review of planning policy.

As part of the Streetscape Action Project, the ACC undertook improvement schemes in North Adelaide and in the south-east of south Adelaide. These were developed by joint teams from the City Engineer’s Department, the Department of Parks and Recreation and the City Planner’s Department under the direction of Currie (Deputy City Planner). These schemes helped to make living conditions more attractive while at the same time they stimulated residential investment. The North Adelaide Village Centre provided a long-needed community focus and improved

²⁵ *Adelaide Review*, June 2004, pp.1–5.

shopping facilities. An office and residential complex was developed on Wakefield Street on land bought by Hugh Bubb for the ACC for the Frome Street extension. The private sector developed commercial land on the northern Wakefield Street frontage. The ACC sold the southern land to the SAHT on a subsidised basis in return for high quality design of the public housing. This was negotiated by Platten, as the Chief Architect and Planner of SAHT, and me.

The Action Project for the proposed Register of Places of Environmental Significance was a contentious heritage issue in both the Planning Study and draft City Plan, as previously discussed. The State had excluded any heritage powers from the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* on the basis it intended to introduce state-wide legislation for preservation and conservation.²⁶

CONCLUSION

The innovative system of Interim Development Control, exercised through an influential joint City/State body (CADC) since October 1972, ceased on 1 March 1977 with the enactment of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. Through political and administrative negotiations between the ACC and the State a new system of planning and development control was encompassed within the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* when it also came into effect on the same day.

²⁶ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1977, p.97.

8

An innovative system of city planning from 1 March 1977

THE CITY OF ADELAIDE PLANNING COMMISSION

The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* came into force on 1 March 1977. The agreement between the ACC and the State for the governance of the City under the Act contained a number of elements. The ACC would manage the City as a series of four Districts (Core, Inner Frame, Outer frame and Residential) containing 23 Precincts, as Figure 30 shows. These were as recommended by George Clarke and USC in the *City of Adelaide Planning Study 1974*. For each Precinct there was a ‘Desired Future Character Statement’, which was an innovative qualitative statutory control. From 1977 until 1982 there were a number of key individuals from the State and the ACC who were influential in the planning of the City, as Table 3 shows.

The ACC and the State were committed to a process of review and the adoption of a new City Plan on a five-yearly cycle with an integration of strategic and statutory approaches. This would provide certainty for the community during the first three years of the operation of the City Plan. But after a review in years four and five, with public involvement, a new City Plan would be adopted.

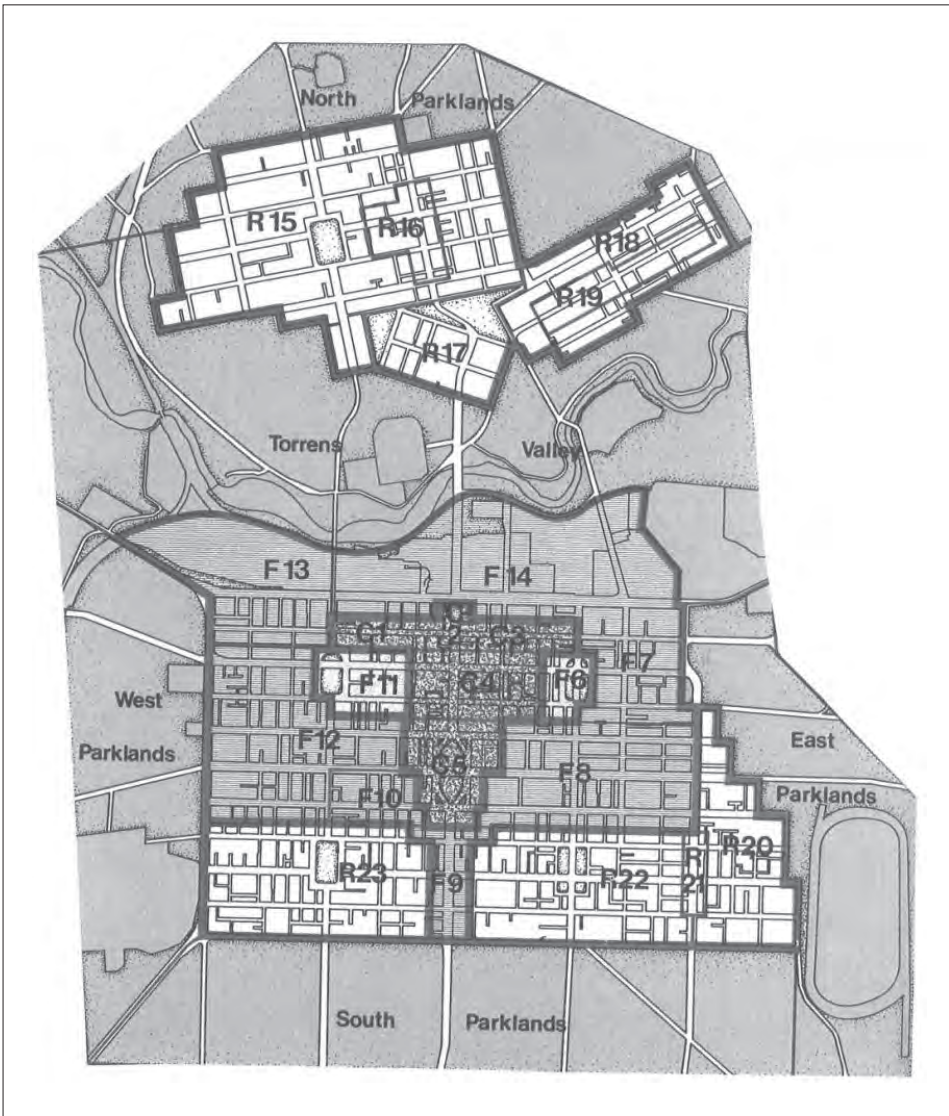


Figure 30: The City Precinct Structure

The City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC) was established as the successor to the City of Adelaide Development Committee (CADC) and was in place of the State Review Committee recommended in the Planning Study. The CAPC had eight members, four of whom were nominated by the ACC and four by the State. The Chairman was appointed from one of the ACC nominees and thus there was a

Don Dunstan+	Labor Premier of South Australia until 1979
Des Corcoran+	Labor Premier of South Australia during 1979
David Tonkin+	Liberal Premier of South Australia 1979-82
Hugh Hudson+	Labor Minister of Planning until 1979
David Wotton*	Liberal Minister of Environment & Planning 1979-82
John Roche*+	Lord Mayor and Chairman of the CAPC until July 1977
George Joseph+	Lord Mayor and Chairman of the CAPC 1977-79
Jim Bowen*	Lord Mayor and Chairman of the CAPC 1979-81
John Watson+	Lord Mayor and Chairman of the CAPC 1981-83
John Mant*	Commissioner and Director, Department of Housing & Urban Affairs until 1979
Newell Platten*	Commissioner and Chief Architect & Planner SAHT
Ted Phipps*	Commissioner and Director, Department of Environment & Planning from 1979
Gwyn Jarrott	Secretary, CAPC 1977
Alan Faunt*	Secretary, CAPC 1977-80
Gavin Lloyd-Jones*	Secretary, CAPC 1980-82
Michael Llewellyn-Smith	City Planner and Commissioner until December 1981, Town Clerk from 1982 (the author)
* Signifies an interviewee + Signifies deceased	

Table 3: Individuals of influence 1977–1982

change from the CADC in that the Lord Mayor of the day would not automatically be the Chairman of the new body. A reserve power was provided for the State. In the event of a tied vote in the CAPC on a matter, it fell to the Minister of Planning to determine. This put pressure on all Commissioners to resolve any deadlocks.

The State nominated John Mant, Stuart Hart, Newell Platten and Alan Wayte (Deputy Director of Transport) to the Commission. Hugh Stretton had advised the Minister that he did not wish to be appointed. Bob Bakewell had served Don Dunstan's interests well on the CADC but Mant took up this role (as the new Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs). Newell Platten was therefore the only State member of the former CADC appointed to the new body. Hart was still the Director of Planning and Chairman of the SPA and reported directly to the Minister of Planning but administratively he became part of Mant's department. Mant considered Hart's appointment reflected the need for the governance of the City

to be viewed within the metropolitan context even though the ACC now had its own planning legislation. Transport remained an important area of ACC/State relations and although Derek Scrafton (Director of Transport) was not initially appointed to the CAPC, his Deputy, Wayte, was the fourth State appointee. Hart, having lost the battle for the City to be part of the State's planning system, recalled:

I was appointed as one of the four State representatives on the CAPC. I did not find the meetings particularly enjoyable, and there seemed to be a tension and unease between the elected members of the Council and the State appointees.¹

As part of the agreement between the State and the ACC at the political level between Hugh Hudson and John Roche, and through their influence, the ACC nominated me as a Commissioner. When Roche succeeded Clampett as Lord Mayor and Chairman of the CADC in 1975, Bill Hayes (former Lord Mayor) had taken up the vacant ACC position on the CADC. The three elected members nominated to the CAPC were therefore Roche (Chairman), Jim Bowen and Hayes. John Chappel, while not appointed to the CAPC, continued to represent the ACC on the State Planning Authority.

The first meeting of the CAPC was held in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall on 1 March 1977, the 'Appointed Day', when the new Act came into effect. Hudson attended as the Minister for Planning with responsibility for the legislation. He advised that Cabinet had made an important decision in terms of governance and that the State would cooperate with the CAPC. He referred to his speech made in the House of Assembly on 21 October 1976 when the legislation was introduced.² Hudson had said:

I would point out that it is the intention of the Government that, as a matter of policy, it will endeavour in its development activities to conform to the City Plan and arrangements will be made for the Commission to examine Government development proposals.³

Mant advised the CAPC that he had been appointed as Director of a new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs and the Department was being structured

¹ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 79–82, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

² South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 21 October 1976, p.1751.

³ State Records, CAPC Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

on the basis of 'place managers'. The Secretary of the Commission would therefore have a distinctive role: rather than just having a statutory function he would have a strategic responsibility for the City as a place. The first Secretary was Gwyn Jarrott, who was previously Clarke's office manager at USC.⁴ The Secretary would have a position of influence as he was expected to be informed about State policies as they affected the City, liaise with State and Commonwealth Departments as well as ACC officers, and ensure an integration of strategic and statutory approaches. Given Jarrott's experience with the Planning Study, he was sufficiently qualified to advise the Minister of a development application lodged with the ACC that might be of importance to the State.⁵

The ACC provided an office for the Secretary in the Town Hall. Thus, Jarrott was in a position to comprehend the totality of government policies and programs relating to the governance of the City. Mant contended that this was very important as the Secretary could liaise with the ACC staff and keep the State informed. Some planning staff in the State opposed this, but Mant saw it as a coup as there was a State employee based in the Town Hall who had the ability to inform the Director what was actually going on in the City. Adelaide was different and no other head of a State planning agency in Australia had such an ability.⁶ Mant reflected on the initial membership of the CAPC, which he considered was an excellent group of people and an institution very typical of Adelaide. He liked it because of its innovative role in governance, which was so different to the planning situation in Sydney:

I was dealing with reasonable people of influence who I could talk to in an open way. In Adelaide you could come up with a good idea and people would see how it could be brought about.⁷

The CAPC requested the Secretary (Jarrott) to prepare a paper on the governance role of the CAPC, particularly for the benefit of the State Commissioners Hart and Wayte who had not previously been involved in the CADC or the Planning Study.⁸ Jarrott, clearly under the influence of his Departmental Head (Mant), concluded:

⁴ While I identified Jarrott in the list of 65 potential interviewees, I was unable to trace him.

⁵ Mant & Llewellyn-Smith, 1978, p.62.

⁶ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 80–92, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

⁷ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 8–41, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

⁸ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 6 April 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

- the CAPC's statutory role was defined in the legislation
- joint action at intergovernmental level would be essential if policies are to be defined having regard to local and wider community objectives
- positive initiatives must be taken in areas where cooperative action between the various levels of government and the private sector are necessary to achieve desirable community objectives
- planning legislation should reduce excessive legality and provide a degree of certainty but with maximum flexibility
- development control can only be seen as one tool of good planning.⁹

While the State was not bound by the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, in an important decision the Cabinet had agreed that applications by the State would be referred to the CAPC as Hudson had advised. Dunstan, through Bakewell, continued to exert influence. Bakewell directed all State Departments and agencies that:

- In the preliminary planning of a proposed project, regard should be had to the *Principles of Development Control* and Regulations provided under the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*.
- Following approval in principle of the proposed project by Cabinet, the responsible Minister or the Board of a Statutory Authority, the proposal should be referred to the CAPC for any comment it may wish to make.
- Any comments of the CAPC will be considered by Cabinet, the responsible Minister or the Statutory Board before approval to proceed with implementation of the project is given.¹⁰

To reinforce Bakewell's advice, Roche wrote to 15 relevant State Departments and agencies advising them of the need to consult with the CAPC. However, there was no such provision for development proposals by the Commonwealth Government. Roche therefore wrote to the Liberal Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, requesting that the Commonwealth comply with the provisions of the City Plan even though the Commonwealth could not be bound by the State legislation. The status of the *City of Adelaide Plan* was enhanced when Roche, who had used his influence within the Liberal Party, advised the CAPC that the Prime Minister had unexpectedly replied that

⁹ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 4 May 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

¹⁰ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 1 March 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

the Commonwealth would cooperate with the CAPC. Thus, Adelaide was different from the other capital cities in Australia in that Commonwealth Departments would submit development proposals in the City for consideration and comment, but not for formal approval, by the CAPC.¹¹

According to Brian Hayes, there was a need for a body such as the CAPC in Adelaide in the 1970s.¹² Besides being responsible for integrating policy between two levels of government, it had a statutory role. The CAPC was able to negotiate agreements and there was a better understanding of the issues from both the State and ACC with a degree of goodwill. While it was a sensible protocol that the CAPC considered applications from the State, there were no binding decisions. Hayes observed:

It is always a nightmare for Governments to have independent decision-making bodies as ultimately Ministers want to be in control.¹³

Mant admitted the influence he brought to his approach to planning in Adelaide reflected his two views about public administration. The first was his experience working with the NCDC. Because of the way the NCDC employed different groups of experts, it was not possible for anyone to be responsible for the outcomes to be achieved in a particular area. When Mant worked in the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) the concept of a 'place manager' emerged — a commonwealth employee being physically located in a local government area with responsibility for negotiating activities with a number of councils. The second view came from dealing with difficult intergovernmental relations in DURD. Mant therefore formulated the concept of a 'marble cake' approach rather than a 'layer cake' approach. Lawyers tend to think of the distribution of powers in exact terms. One layer of power is responsible for 'X' and another layer responsible for 'Y'. But a 'marble cake' approach recognises that an exact allocation of powers does not always reflect the reality of a situation. The CAPC demonstrated a 'marble cake' approach in several ways as it was an institution that enabled the right mix of powers to be used for the issue at hand.¹⁴

¹¹ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 4 May 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

¹² Brian Hayes, oral history interview 46 / 90–95, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

¹³ Brian Hayes, oral history interview 46 / 96–97, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

¹⁴ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 66–79, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

The ACC received and processed development applications from the private sector and assessed them against the statutory *Principles of Development Control*, which Roche and Hudson had negotiated. These principles were value judgments made by the ACC and the State and not by independent bodies or the judiciary. They were generalisations that the community, through its governments, made concerning the appropriate distribution of resources. The principles were primarily expressed in qualitative terms rather than purely mathematical or one-dimensional terms. They expressed a view of the future against which individual applications were judged.

The CAPC provided a form of management by exception. The ACC had day-to-day management of development control but because it was unrealistic to define boundaries beforehand between the two levels of government, the State retained a reserve power to request that a particular application be referred to the CAPC where the Minister was satisfied the State had a substantial interest in the outcome of the application. Also, if a particular application did not meet the statutory controls in some way but was considered to have merit by the ACC it could only be approved with the concurrence of the CAPC. While the State and the ACC were interlocked in every aspect of city management, the powers and responsibilities of the CAPC ensured there was an appropriate balance between certainty and flexibility.¹⁵

Judith Brine, who was later to become a Commissioner, contended that city planning is essentially an integration of strategic and statutory planning components.¹⁶ According to Brine, the State is better at the strategic level looking at the bigger picture but she also considered that councils have expertise at the local level in terms of assessing development applications against statutory requirements. A joint body, such as the CAPC, was therefore a very useful device to bring these two aspects together. Ian McPhail asserted that the CAPC was a powerful body with considerable influence in the governance of the City.¹⁷

The meeting of the CAPC in June 1977 was the last one Roche attended as he was not seeking another term as Lord Mayor. The CAPC thanked Roche for his considerable influence on planning in the City though his membership of the CADC, as the Lord Mayor and leader of the Council, for negotiating the *Principles*

¹⁵ Mant & Llewellyn-Smith, 1978, p.63.

¹⁶ Judith Brine, oral history interview 42 / 67–72, Adelaide, 5 May 2008.

¹⁷ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 75–77, Melbourne, 17 April 2008.

of Development Control with Minister Hudson, as the first Chairman of the CAPC, and for influencing Prime Minister Fraser that Commonwealth proposals would be submitted to the CAPC. Lawyer George Joseph, the senior Alderman, was elected unopposed as Lord Mayor in July and was appointed as the new Chairman of the CAPC but he had no background in city planning. At this time Bill Hayes resigned as a Commissioner and was replaced by John Chappel.

Alan Faunt followed Jarrott as Secretary of the CAPC. Faunt recalled his first meeting with Joseph took place over coffee at the 'Flash Gelati' café in Hindley Street where Joseph regularly met with property developers. Faunt remembered briefing Joseph about the roles of the CAPC in the following terms:

Its statutory function was to act as the development control authority for applications by the Council. It had a concurring role for applications by the private sector which the Council supported but which exceeded some of the provisions of the City Plan. It also acted as the *de facto* authority for applications by the State Government in the City in terms of a protocol agreed between the City and State. This was important as there was a lot of capital investment in the City by the State Government at the time.¹⁸

Joseph's approach was to be inclusive and at his first meeting he used his influence as the new Chairman to persuade the CAPC to invite representatives of State Departments to attend and thus better understand the City Plan and the role of the CAPC. Joseph also persuaded the ACC to agree to the services of the City Planner's Department being made available to the CAPC to provide professional advice on proposals by the State and the Commonwealth Government.¹⁹

At the August meeting the CAPC considered the Action Projects to implement the City Plan then identified by the ACC. In terms of governance, a number required liaison and cooperation with the State: 10 required direct cooperation, two required State involvement through the CAPC, and eight were the prime responsibility of State Departments.²⁰

The structure of agendas of the CAPC reflected the integration of strategic and statutory planning and the importance of implementation. Thus there were three

¹⁸ Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 9–18, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.

¹⁹ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 2 July 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

²⁰ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 3 August 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

sections in the Agendas: policy (strategic) decisions; development control (statutory) decisions; and project involvement through the Action Planning programme. The role of the Secretary and his ability to liaise directly with staff of the City Planner's Department was seen as critical to the way in which items were brought before the CAPC for consideration.²¹

The Commonwealth owned the whole of the land between Currie Street, Topham Street and Waymouth Street and it was used as an open lot car park. The Commonwealth proposed a new Commonwealth Centre on Currie Street and the ACC bought the balance of the land for a new car parking structure. At its October meeting the CAPC established criteria for the ACC's development, over which it had statutory control, and for the Commonwealth development, on which it could only comment. This is a good example of the overall governance role the CAPC played in planning the City.²²

The CAPC also had an important governance role to play regarding the Park Lands and the heritage of Light's Plan. The State had alienated Park Lands over time for a variety of uses, as described in earlier chapters. As part of the new joint cooperative approach to planning the City, the Engineering and Water Supply Department (E&WS) proposed the demolition of a pump station in the south-east Park Lands with the area to be returned to Park Lands and this proposal was supported by the CAPC.²³ The Commission also supported the demolition and return to Park Lands of the E&WS Kent Town Depot on Dequetteville Terrace (where 500 people were employed). However, the valve house on the site was retained and restored in 1981 because of its heritage value.²⁴

A major traffic issue was the ACC's proposed trial closure of Beaumont Road between South Terrace and Greenhill Road. The objective was to assist the residential redevelopment of the south-east of the city by eliminating traffic entering the city from the eastern suburbs by this route. This was a contentious issue with

²¹ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 6 September 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

²² State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 5 October 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

²³ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 2 November 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

²⁴ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of ACC meeting 27 October 1981, p.73.

the adjoining Burnside City Council but the ACC saw it as critical in terms of its residential programme. The CAPC agreed to support the proposal at its December meeting. Beaumont Road was eventually closed, which had an immediate effect on the desirability of living in the south-east of the city because there was no more through traffic.²⁵

Bakewell, in his capacity as Deputy Chair of the State Government Insurance Commission (SGIC), briefed the CAPC about the proposal for a new building in Victoria Square. The CAPC was keen to see a range of development options and authorised Commissioners Platten and Chappel to liaise with the SGIC architects. This was later to become a highly political application in terms of the new *South Australian Heritage Act 1978*. This legislation was enacted with bipartisan support in the Parliament to conserve items of State significance. The State established a South Australian Heritage Committee (SAHC) to advise the relevant Minister on items to be placed on the Register of State Heritage Items.²⁶ The 12 members were representative of building, real estate and heritage professionals. Their main role was to represent the views of the public on heritage matters. Alan Faunt contended that heritage was a major issue between the ACC and the State in the early days of the CAPC.²⁷ The Act amended the *Planning and Development Act 1969* but as the City was excluded from this legislation it was necessary to amend the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and a new section 24 was added. This required a new Principle for heritage and P31 was adopted through the legislative process of the ACC referring it to the CAPC, the CAPC's decision being reported to the Minister, Cabinet adopting the Minister's recommendation, and, finally, the Governor gazetting the new heritage Principle for the City.

As Chapter 4 describes, Ruthven Mansions in Pulteney Street avoided demolition by the intervention and influence of Hayes with Dunstan, but it had remained vacant and continued to deteriorate. The CAPC considered a proposal by the State Public Buildings Department to demolish Ruthven Mansions at its May 1978 meeting. The CAPC refused to support the demolition and sought further

²⁵ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 7 December 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

²⁶ Mosler, 2011, p.3.

²⁷ Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 9–18, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.



Figure 31: Ruthven Mansions after restoration

assistance from Dunstan so that the Mansions could be restored to residential use. Dunstan agreed and later a developer (with Chappel as the architect) restored the building as part of a larger development, as Figure 31 shows. The residential apartments sold without difficulty. The CAPC also influenced the ACC to extend its residential rate rebate to all city properties as it considered there was no justification for the bias against landlords and tenants compared to owner-occupiers.²⁸

Hudson and Mant approached Hart about whether Hart would be prepared to be seconded from his position of Director of Planning and undertake an *Inquiry into the Control of Private Development*. This was to provide advice to the Minister on improvements that could be made to the system of planning and development control outside the City. After appropriate terms had been discussed, Hart agreed and he was given a commission to carry out the inquiry. Hart stated that he enjoyed being free of

²⁸ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 3 May 1978, Box GRS 4083/00001/02.

administrative duties, and he submitted his initial report to the Minister in 1978.²⁹ He subsequently prepared supplementary papers were consequently prepared, which all contributed to the preparation of new State planning legislation in 1982 but, as Chapter 9 will discuss, this did not apply to the City and thus the ACC retained its separate system.

In June 1978, as part of its governance role, the CAPC considered joint Projects and Programmes for 1978/79. The ACC had suggested Victoria Square (AP2); The Yards — Joie de Vivre (AP11); Adelaide Railway Station (AP13); City and Metropolitan Movement Programme; Central City Parking Programme; After School Care Programme; and the Illumination of Buildings Programme. However, when the CAPC considered a list of 20 possibilities suggested by the Secretary, including those put forward by the ACC, they only selected seven studies:

- S1 The Yards — Joie de Vivre (AP11)
- S6 Low Rent Boarding and Lodging Accommodation
- S12 Parking Policies (Department of Transport)
- S13 After School Child Care (Department of Education)
- S14 Effects of statutory charges on new residential development
(Department of Housing and Urban Affairs)
- S15 Illumination of buildings (Department of the Premier)
- S16 Valuation of heritage buildings (Department of Lands).³⁰

In relation to the Parking Policies Study (S12) the CAPC appointed a Central City Working Group comprising Wayte (Department of Transport and a Commissioner), Bruce Thompson (State Planning Office), Andrew Lothian (Department of the Environment) and me in my role as a Commissioner. The terms of reference of this Group were to determine *joint* ACC/State policies for the City, having regard to the demands for short- and long-term parking and the future of public transport and to advise the CAPC in accordance with its governance role.³¹

As discussed above, Bakewell had briefed the CAPC about an application by the SGIC for a new commercial building on the corner of Victoria Square and Grote Street. In the middle of the site was the Marine and Harbours' building, the façade

²⁹ Stuart Hart, oral history interview 5 / 71–94, Springfield, 18 April 2007.

³⁰ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 4 June 1978, Box GRS 4083/00001/02.

³¹ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 4 June 1978, Box GRS 4083/00001/02.

and an internal staircase of which were on the new State Heritage List. The SGIC had appointed a local architect best known as a 'commercial architect' and the CAPC was concerned about the design of the building and the implications for the heritage façade in this prominent location. That a State agency was proposing the demolition of a State-listed item was a contentious heritage issue. Faunt recalled the Chairman of the SGIC, Lance Milne, rang him and advised he had 'the answer to a maiden's prayer'.³² Milne's proposal was to physically move the façade of the heritage item to the northern end of the site, thus freeing up the remainder of the site for the commercial development. Faunt advised the SGIC that the CAPC was unlikely to support this. Indeed, the CAPC maintained its view that it was not an acceptable proposal for a heritage item and that it should be possible to integrate the façade into the design of the new building.

Dunstan then invited Platten (but not Chappel) to prepare a scheme that included keeping the façade. Platten had eight weeks to prepare the scheme and received technical support from the SAHT. This was an unusual and different approach as it was really a case of 'hands on' work by a development control authority. Platten lodged his scheme with the Premier but nothing was heard for several weeks. Mant requested Faunt to arrange for all the Commissioners to be present at a meeting with Dunstan. When we arrived at the Cabinet boardroom there were two models, one with the façade retained in the middle of the site and one with the façade moved to the northern end of the site. The CAPC viewed the two models and discussed their respective merits for about 15 minutes. Dunstan entered the room and thanked the Commissioners for coming and looking at the two models. Then he said that he was sure that the Commissioners would all agree with him that the scheme that moved the façade of the Marine and Harbours' building to the northern end of the site was the best solution.³³

All the Commissioners, including me, nodded politely and with no further discussion the Premier left. Faunt recorded this meeting as a formal meeting of the CAPC with a decision to approve the application.³⁴ Dunstan had exerted his considerable influence to enable the SGIC to proceed with the scheme that

³² Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 40–41, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.

³³ Personal recollection of the author.

³⁴ Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 29–38, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.



**Figure 32: Relocated façade of the Marine and Harbours' Building
(with the new commercial building to the left)**

incorporated the relocated façade and the new building (see Figure 32).

One application that divided the CAPC across ACC/State lines was the ACC's proposal to demolish the former Pirie Street Methodist Church Old Meeting Hall and build a new centre for the administration. At the CAPC meeting in July 1978 the four ACC Commissioners voted in favour of the demolition while the four State Commissioners voted against it because they had concerns about the heritage value of the Old Meeting Hall. In terms of the Act, as there was a tied vote the matter was referred to the Minister for Planning for his determination. Minister Hudson subsequently refused the ACC's application to demolish the Old Meeting Hall.

The ACC decided to proceed with the new building in Pirie Street and reluctantly restored the Meeting Hall. It was somewhat ironic that upon demolition of the former Church, it was discovered that the Hall had actually been added to the Church as the Hall only had three sides and thus it was the Church itself that was



Figure 33: The new northern wall of the restored Old Methodist Meeting Hall

the earlier building. The ACC subsequently decided to build the northern wall of the Hall in character with the remaining three walls and the Hall now appears as a restored complete entity, as Figure 33 shows.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the establishment and role of the joint ACC/State City of Adelaide Planning Commission. It has identified individuals of influence during the period 1977 to 1982. The CAPC was an innovative approach to the governance of the City as the CAPC was in a unique position to have a comprehensive understanding of all government policies and programmes as they affected the City, including the ability to comment on any development proposals by the federal government, which in Australia was unique to Adelaide.

9

Changes in the ACC and the State, and the first Heritage Study of the City

CHANGES IN THE ACC

This chapter examines the changes in influences in the ACC, the State and the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC). I discuss the background to the first Heritage Study of the City and analyse the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*, together with the subsequent statutory amendments resulting from the review. In 1972 Lord Mayor Bill Hayes had instituted the policy that the Lord Mayor would only serve two one-year terms and that the senior Alderman would become the next Lord Mayor. This meant the Lord Mayor of the day enjoyed the support of the rest of the elected members of the Council during a limited term of office. Thus, when George Joseph chose not to comply with the policy and tried for a third year in 1979, he lost to Jim Bowen, who was then the senior Alderman. Bowen had the support of the other elected members and, as a member of The Adelaide Club, the support of the establishment. Bowen was also appointed as the Chairman of the CAPC.

Ian McPhail came to South Australia in 1979 as Director of the Office of Local Government. McPhail recalled the one thing that Bowen emphasised on him was the ‘Olympian and separate status of the Adelaide City Council’. The ACC had retained

the position of Aldermen as well as Councillors, and had its own planning legislation. McPhail wondered why was there such a piece of legislation that created a hole in the centre of the metropolitan plan. While this was a valid question, there were no pressures within the State to change the situation. It was just part of the structure of the City, clearly defined by the heritage of Light's Park Lands, which acted like a *cordon sanitaire*. Thus, there could be a different approach to governance in the City compared to the rest of the metropolitan area without it being a problem. However, McPhail contended the City's separate status meant it could be resistant to social issues, including housing, transport and accessibility.¹

I was invited to present a paper to the 7th East Asia Region Organisation of Planning and Housing (EAROPH) conference in Kuala Lumpur in 1980. The title of the paper was 'The City of Adelaide Plan: inception, legislation and implementation'. The ACC decided that the Lord Mayor should accompany me to the conference and this provided me with an opportunity to informally discuss Bowen's views about the City's heritage and the influence he was likely to have and the nature and size of a heritage list. Alan Faunt recalled that he had to develop a working relationship with Bowen in Bowen's capacity as the new Chairman of the CAPC. An early issue for the CAPC was a State proposal for a new Remand Centre at a site on Port Road in the suburb of Hindmarsh. Bowen considered that the facility should be in the City and he used his influence with the relevant Minister (David Wotton) to change the site for the proposal. Thus, the Remand Centre was built at the western end of Currie Street in the City after support for this site by the CAPC.²

Russell Arland had a difficult relationship with Hayes, as Chapter 3 discusses. Arland's relationship with Bowen was equally difficult and Arland retired as Town Clerk in early 1980. With influence from Bowen the ACC appointed Jack Measday as the new Town Clerk on a five-year contract from 1 August 1980.³ Measday was a qualified Engineer with a Town Clerk's Certificate and an Associate Diploma in Town Planning. Journalist David Moncrieff wrote in *The Advertiser* that Measday had previously been the City Engineer of Unley but most of his professional life had

¹ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 40–54, Melbourne, 17 April 2008.

² Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 39–72, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.

³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 6346.

been in the private sector and he had retired as the CEO of Boral Quarry Industries.⁴

The ACC's Commercial Manager (Dick Whittington) also retired. Bowen influenced the ACC to create a new Department with an upgraded position of Commercial Director. Barry Finch, an architect from Sydney, was appointed and he brought a new perspective to the development of the City. In his first report to the ACC in September 1980, he recommended a Marketing Plan for the City in terms of both residential and commercial development. Finch's view of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* was that it was just another obstacle to overcome, and that its review should be progressive, including the removal of any policy or constraint deemed negative. Finch stressed the importance of speed and freedom of decision with as few people as possible involved and any unnecessary constraints eliminated. He wanted to 'sell' the City as a place to live and do business.⁵

Arland had a protocol that Heads of Departments sorted out their differences before reports went before elected members so that different administrative views were not aired in committees. However, Measday had a different approach and allowed Finch's report to go forward despite my concerns as the City Planner about how the elected members would perceive the review of the City Plan if the new Commercial Director saw the Plan as an obstacle to development. I recognised the politics of this situation and reported to the ACC in December 1980 about the nature of the current statutory controls and the perceived problems with them. The ACC noted that the City's different system used all three available instruments of development control, namely:

- Principles were used to control height and usable landscaped space
- Regulations were used to control density and land-use
- Policy Guidelines were used to guide decisions about signs, parking and air-conditioning.

I suggested *inter alia* in my report to the ACC that:

- the development control system could be perceived as restrictive and some greater flexibility was required

⁴ *The Advertiser*, 1 July 1980, p.17.

⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4441.

- there was insufficient control over some uses of land due to the lack of distinction made between effectively dissimilar, though apparently related, uses in the same Development Group in the Regulations (e.g. local hotels and hotels with entertainment)
- many of the ACC's policies used in decision-making on development applications (e.g. commercial signs) were non-statutory
- changes were required to the *Act* to allow temporary approvals and home activities to be granted to a person rather than to the land.⁶

I argued in the report that the first review of the City Plan should not be revolutionary, as Finch was suggesting, but revisionary. It should, I suggested at the time, update the existing system, which had widespread State and community support. I further argued that it would be in the best interests of the ACC to maintain its innovative system in the City, compared to that controlled by the State Planning Authority (SPA) in the rest of the State. There was a risk the special governance arrangements for the City would be lost but the benefits of the City's separate system needed to be better explained if there was a perception the City Plan was an obstacle to development. The ACC discussed at length and then endorsed the approach I recommended, thus neutralising Finch's proposed *laissez-faire* approach to planning the City.⁷ This was an important decision about the future of the planning and development control of the City and reflected the political power I was able to exercise as the City Planner.

DIFFERENT INFLUENCES RESULTING FROM CHANGES WITHIN THE STATE

Premier Don Dunstan resigned unexpectedly on 2 February 1979 due to ill-health and thus the considerable influence he had exercised for a decade ceased. Dunstan could be credited with the return of residential population to the City and he also raised public awareness about the heritage of the City.⁸ When Des Corcoran, Dunstan's deputy, became Premier, he put his personal stamp on Cabinet and then

⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4441.

⁷ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of the ACC meeting 22 December 1980, p.671.

⁸ Linn, 2006, p.257.

called an early election for September 1979.⁹ The Liberal Party won the election and David Tonkin became Premier. There were subsequently significant changes to the upper and middle levels of the public service with reorganised Departments. Corcoran stepped down as Leader of the ALP and John Bannon became Leader of the Opposition.¹⁰

With a change of State Government, John Mant offered his resignation as Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs but he stayed on for a couple of months under the new Minister for Environment and Planning, David Wotton, until the Minister appointed a new Departmental Head.¹¹

Wotton recalled that one of his first tasks as a new Minister was to represent the State and address the ACC as part of the traditional Colonel Light Ceremony in the Town Hall. He was bombarded by members on all sides of the Liberal Party who had greater experience with local government regarding what to say about governance and the ACC/State relationship, as this was the new government's first opportunity to comment on it. In particular, Murray Hill, who was the new Minister for Local Government and who had worked closely with John Roche to secure the original City legislation passed in the Legislative Council in 1976, had strong views about the importance of the ACC. Wotton observed that there were some in his party who thought he did not show enough strength to do something about the City. They considered the controversial rezoning of south-west and south-east Adelaide in the City Plan should not have happened. However, there was also a feeling within the Liberal Party that the City was different and the issue did not warrant the State taking on the ACC politically. Thus, Wotton considered it was better to 'leave sleeping dogs lie'.¹²

Wotton also reflected that he had regular meetings with Bowen and found these useful and amiable, given their complementary perspectives. However, Wotton received mixed messages from his Department about the ACC's separate legislation. The question of whether it was appropriate for the ACC to have its own legislation seemed to be bound up in the broader issues of heritage, for which he also had

⁹ Combe, 2009, p.96.

¹⁰ Combe, 2009, p.99.

¹¹ John Mant, oral history interview 15 / 94–95, Sydney, 23 October 2007.

¹² David Wotton, oral history interview 25 / 09–17, Stirling, 13 February 2008.

responsibility. There were ongoing discussions within the Liberal Party about the relevance of heritage legislation.¹³

Wotton set up a Planning Advisory Committee (PAC) to assist him in his role as Minister and this included such people as Roche and a property expert, Roger Cook. Their advice was particularly useful in terms of the introduction of the *Planning Act 1982*. Hart was pushing to get the City back into the State system and Hart considered it would have been logical for the ACC's legislation to have been reincorporated at this time, as by then there had been five years experience with the City Plan. However, Roche used his influence on the PAC to ensure the City retained its separate status.¹⁴ Michael Lennon, who later was to become Director of the State Plan Review, observed the interests of commercial property owners were to the fore on the PAC that Wotton established. The PAC conceived the new planning Act and Lennon confirmed Roche's influence in excluding the City from this legislation.¹⁵

When Mant left, Wotton appointed Ted Phipps as the Director of a new Department of Environment and Planning. Phipps had been with the Land Commission and there was controversy within the Liberal Party about this appointment as the Party had not been great friends with the Land Commission while in Opposition. In government, the Liberal Party abolished the Land Commission and set up the Urban Land Trust in its place. Wotton appointed Phipps to replace Mant on the CAPC and this highlighted the importance the State still placed on the CAPC. In Wotton's view the significance of the CAPC was that it provided a governance mechanism for a good working relationship between the ACC and the State.¹⁶ This was important as the change in government could easily have resulted in a different approach by the State to the City and a downgrading of the joint body responsible for its management, the CAPC.

However, one State project that caused controversy was the North East Area Public Transport Review (NEAPTR). Representatives of the NEAPTR Team had

¹³ David Wotton, oral history interview 25 / 18–21, Stirling, 13 February 2008.

¹⁴ David Wotton, oral history interview 25 / 22–23, Stirling, 13 February 2008.

¹⁵ Michael Lennon, oral history interview 35 / 30–34, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

¹⁶ David Wotton, oral history interview 25 / 56–61, Stirling, 13 February 2008.

initially briefed the CAPC in November 1977 about the project.¹⁷ The options were for a freeway, buses, trams or trains in the transport corridor. Derek Scafton recalled the State wanted to extend the tramline through the City and was committed to the route along King William Street and through the Park Lands. The ACC was totally opposed and argued that it would only support the tram extension if it was undergrounded along King William Street and if any impact on the Park Lands was minimised. The State costed this proposal, which effectively ‘killed the project dead in the water’.¹⁸

In the lead up to the State election in November 1979 the Liberal Opposition announced it would scrap the idea of extending the tram and would replace it to the north-east with a bus system — the O’Bahn. Dean Brown, then the Shadow Minister, had seen this in Germany. When the Tonkin Government came to power, Alan Wayte in the Transport Department, who was also a Commissioner, was responsible for implementing the O’Bahn.¹⁹ With the change of Government there were technical discussions with the ACC’s engineering staff about appropriate routes for the buses in the City once they came off the dedicated busway and, without any political interference, this was much easier to implement. Scafton observed, in hindsight, and I agree, that if the State had simply asked the ACC what it wanted in terms of the tram routes rather than being insistent on King William Street and the Park Lands, the issues probably could have been resolved within the governance mechanism of the CAPC without too much difficulty.²⁰

INFLUENCES ON THE HERITAGE OF THE CITY

Arland was aware of Bowen’s views on a limited list of heritage items when Bowen became Lord Mayor. Arland was concerned at the growing politics about heritage within the ACC, and in August 1979 he requested a report be prepared on how best the issue of heritage might be addressed. Consequently, a report by Arland and me

¹⁷ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 2 November 1977, Box GRS 4083/00001/01.

¹⁸ Derek Scafton, oral history interview 43 / 25–31, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

¹⁹ Sybella Blencowe, oral history interview 21 / 78–83, Adelaide, 15 November 2007.

²⁰ Derek Scafton, oral history interview 43 / 29–35, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

was submitted to the ACC in March 1980 suggesting a broad approach regarding the unique historical, social, topographical, physical and cultural characteristics of Adelaide.²¹ Journalist Chris Milne wrote in *The Advertiser* about Arland's intention to define Adelaide's character and heritage and the importance of reflecting this in the new City Plan.²² Arland also stressed the importance of providing financial incentives for properties that were listed.

Bowen understood the importance of governance in relation to heritage and he wrote to Wotton in September 1980 advising that he intended setting up a Lord Mayor's Heritage Advisory Committee (LOMHAC) in the interests of the City.²³ The ACC authorised me, as the City Planner, to undertake a study tour to Britain and the US in October–November 1980 to discuss different approaches to heritage in a range of cities.²⁴ In the subsequent report to the ACC in March 1981 I recommended that architectural and planning professionals be engaged to draft a list and then an eminent independent body evaluate the list and make recommendations to the ACC to achieve a desirable outcome. This approach was adopted and on 27 April 1981 the ACC appointed Donovan Marsden Stark (DMS) to undertake the historical analysis (at a cost of \$23,000). Ian Miller (an architect/planner with Pak-Poy), Stephen Williams (an economist/planner with Hassells), Ross Bateup (an architect/planner with Kinhill) and Howard Murton (an environmental consultant with Lester Firth Murton) were jointly engaged to do an initial building inventory (at a cost of \$4,000).²⁵

As an example of a joint City/State approach, and through Bowen's influence with Wotton, the State gave the ACC a grant of \$35,000 towards the overall cost of the study of the City's heritage.²⁶ Bowen sent a Lord Mayor's letter to all residents and ratepayers of the City advising them that DMS was to carry out a Heritage Study.²⁷

²¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 2.

²² *The Advertiser*, 25 March 1980, p.5.

²³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 3.

²⁴ I visited the cities of Cardiff, Lancaster, Cambridge, Oxford and London in the UK, and Boston, New York, Washington DC, New Orleans and Cincinnati in the US.

²⁵ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of the ACC meeting 27 April 1981, p.332.

²⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 7601, Part 1.

²⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 2.

Jim Bowen	Lord Mayor and Chairman
John Chappel	Alderman and Architect
Roger Cook	Colliers International and President of BOMA
John Cooper	Professor and Head of the School of Architecture and Building, SAIT
Geoffrey Dutton	Author and Editor of Sun Books Pty Ltd
Ray Harrison	Head of the South Australian Heritage Unit
Jack McConnell	Architect
David Saunders	Professor of Architecture, University of Adelaide
Alan Spry	Consultant, Australian Mineral Development Laboratories
John Tregenza	Curator, Historical Collections, Art Gallery of South Australia
Gavin Walkley	Architect and Planner
John Watson	Alderman and Deputy Lord Mayor
Derek Whitelock	Author and Assistant Director, Continuing Education, University of Adelaide

Table 4: Members of the Lord Mayor’s Heritage Advisory Committee

Bowen wanted certainty for developers when he established LOMHAC.²⁸ He saw its establishment as the means of resolving the growing heritage debate.²⁹ He expressed the view to me at the time that buildings on a Heritage Register would be protected but that all unlisted places would be available for development if the proposal technically complied with the statutory provisions of the City Plan. Table 4 shows the members of LOMHAC.

The heritage activists of the 1970s and 1980s sought to preserve the architecture of the past with its links to the communities that had formed the City for more than a century.³⁰ The activists were as much interested in preserving the built manifestation of urban history as they were in preserving architectural styles. An increasingly restive community became alarmed as the Victorian and Edwardian built character of Adelaide was rapidly disappearing. Residents’ associations and heritage groups demanded more protection while architects and developers demanded less. However, a lot of the argument about the heritage of the City was a concern about the quality of the architecture that would replace something that the community knew and loved. The commercial sector was concerned that confidence in the City would

²⁸ Marsden & Nicol, 1990, p.36.

²⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk’s File 7601, Part 1.

³⁰ Mosler, 2011, p.62.

be eroded if a building not on any recognised heritage list could be affected by the actions of community groups.

Wotton considered the major issue during his term as Minister was the heritage of the City rather than more broadly-based planning issues. He recalled that he received a serious approach from The Adelaide Club to remove the Club from the State Heritage List but he had resisted its delisting despite the Club's influence and it remained on the List.³¹

REVIEW OF THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1976–81*

The ACC endorsed a six-stage review process of the City Plan to occur during years four and five of the current City Plan, in keeping with its governance agreement with the State. Preliminary work on Stage 1 — an examination and critical appraisal of the existing City Plan — began in the City Planner's Department in early July 1979. This work provided a 'position statement' of attainment to date. The Lord Mayor convened an all-day seminar of elected members and Heads of Departments of the ACC on 29 July 1979. Bowen also invited Martyn Webb (from Perth) who had contributed to the George Clarke and USC Planning Study to participate. Town Clerk Arland made the point to the Seminar that almost half of the elected members present were not members when the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* had been adopted and it was therefore important that new thinking be brought to bear in the review of the City Plan. Arland also presented a paper on governance in which he commented on the unique system of planning operating in the City:

It is worthwhile saying that the statutory powers given to this Council are unique in both their form and in the fact that they apply to this Council alone. This uniqueness speaks volumes for the level of cooperation and understanding achieved between the State Government and the Council in the preparation and acceptance of the Plan and its philosophies.³²

Stage 2 was the preparation of discussion papers, which sought to identify issues that the ACC, the State and the public would need to consider. Each discussion paper related to an objective in the Plan and they combined to form the

³¹ David Wotton, oral history interview 25 / 70–72, Stirling, 13 February 2008.

³² Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 2.

basis for 'Search Seminars' to which carefully selected participants from the State and the public who could contribute to the identification of issues were invited. Participants included representatives from key State Departments (such as Housing, Transport, Environment, Arts and Tourism); the North Adelaide Society and the Adelaide Residents' Association; academics (such as David Saunders, the Professor of Architecture at the University of Adelaide); and some professional organisations (such as the RAlA (SA) and BOMA). The Secretary of the CAPC (Faunt) attended each Search Seminar to ensure the CAPC stayed informed of progress.³³

The CAPC considered guidelines for the review of the City Plan at its August meeting. In terms of governance, the CAPC decided that it would comment primarily on matters of policy where the State had a substantial interest, would comment on areas where there was a potential statutory responsibility, and would facilitate appropriate expert advice from the State.³⁴ Faunt confirmed the CAPC would coordinate all the State responses on the review of the City Plan. This would allow the CAPC to provide an overview and resolve any conflicts between different State Departments and agencies and the CAPC saw this as an important task for the joint body in terms of the ACC/State governance arrangements.

Stage 3 comprised a revision of the existing Plan arising from the various consultations. As part of this stage there was an all-day seminar on 21 September 1980 for ACC elected members and Heads of Department. The State members and the Secretary of the CAPC were also invited. Draft revised objectives and policies were agreed as strategic elements and then the ACC adopted them for the purposes of public exhibition in the form of a draft City Plan 1981–86.³⁵

An exhibition of the draft City Plan comprised Stage 4, enabling formal representations from the public and the State. This exhibition opened in the City Planner's Department on 7 October 1980 and closed on 9 January 1981. Bowen sent a letter to every resident and business in the City inviting their participation and there were advertisements in the local press. Copies of the revised objectives and policies were made available free of charge and over 1500 copies were distributed. At the close of the exhibition, 94 written representations had been made from most of the major

³³ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1981, p.11.

³⁴ State Records, see Minutes of the CAPC meeting 6 August 1980, Box GRS 4083/00001/03.

³⁵ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of the ACC meeting 29 September 1980, p.193.

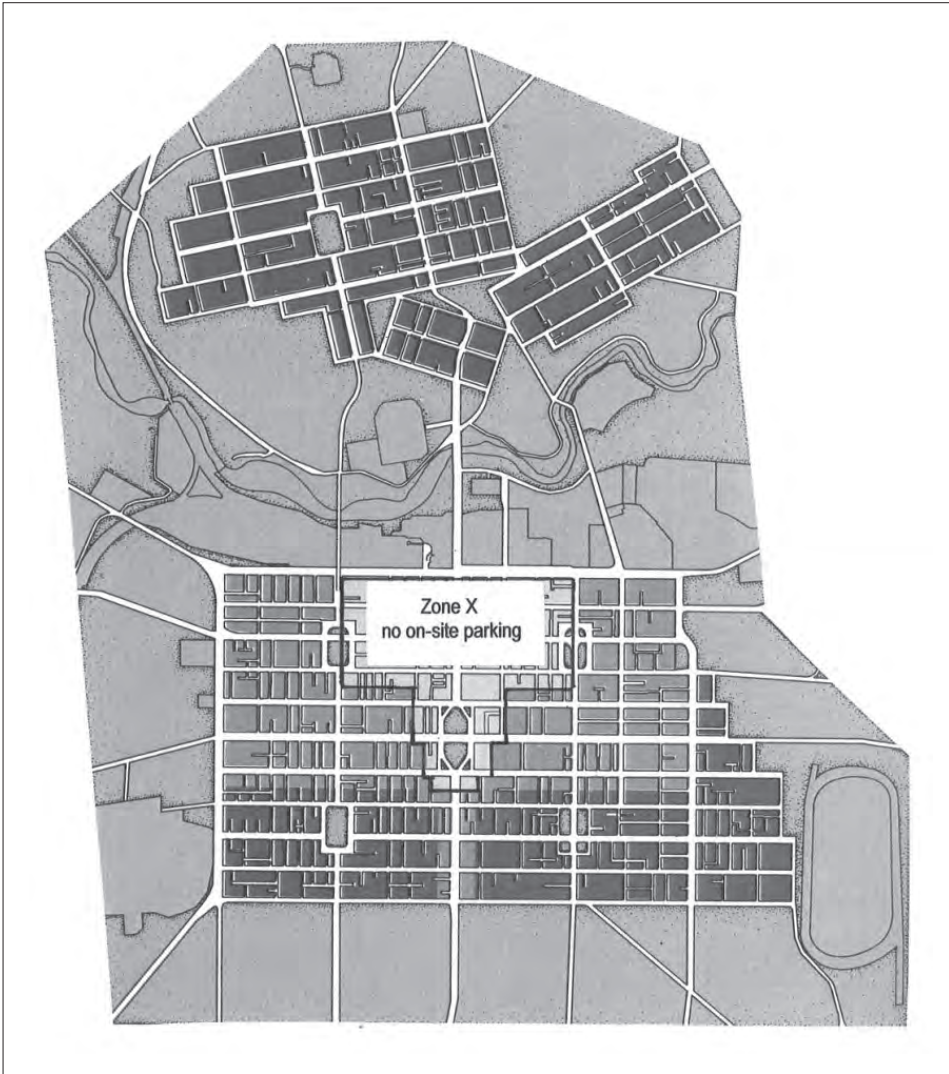


Figure 34: Zone X, no on-site parking

organisations with an interest in the City.

The CAPC provided comments to the ACC in December on the draft objectives and policies. There was general support for the proposed changes but the CAPAC considered there was a need for a commercial development programme to achieve the Economic Base Objective, one of the key objectives of the City Plan. The CAPC strongly supported the proposed heritage study to establish a Register of Heritage

Items for the City provided there was no conflict with State or Commonwealth heritage agencies. The CAPC noted a new policy had been included to encourage energy efficiency in building design. As Figure 34 shows, the CAPC also proposed a most important policy change for on-site parking in Zone X.

Derek Scrafton recalled that Clarke and USC had proposed Zone X in the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*. No parking for cars would be allowed in new buildings in the City centre.³⁶ This was an innovative concept and while Zone X was included in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*, the business community and developers had severely criticised the policy. In the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86*, the ACC introduced two new policies that recognised the importance of the essential business parker in the City centre and abandoned the policy of no parking in Zone X.³⁷ The CAPC supported this change because it would strengthen the Economic Base Objective.

Mant's Department prepared a discussion paper on the need to strengthen the Economic Base Objective of the City. The ACC supported the policies in the discussion paper and advised the State it would support a Supplementary Development Plan for the rest of the metropolitan area to control retail centres development. It would not apply to the City in terms of the separate legislation. Bowen had been active in local government circles expressing concern at the growth of suburban shopping centres, such as Marion and Noarlunga, at the expense of the City. The ACC advised the SPA it would be pleased to contribute professional expertise to the review of the *Metropolitan Development Plan*, recognising the need to maintain the City as the central place of the State in accordance with the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*.³⁸

Bob Teague recalled that he was a member of a State planning team set up to review the *Metropolitan Development Plan* in which Hart had established a hierarchy of regional centres. The team looked at the importance of the City in terms of the metropolitan area and the 'centres' policy and questioned why there was separate legislation as the metropolitan area had to be considered as a whole. I advised the State

³⁶ Derek Scrafton, oral history interview 43 / 76–80, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

³⁷ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1981, p.42. The thrust of these two new policies was to ensure that any parking in Zone X demonstrated an economic advantage to the City.

³⁸ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of the ACC meeting 29 September 1980, p.631.

team that they needed to recognise the ongoing political influence of the ACC and, in my view, the City's own legislation would be retained. Ultimately, a new section 36C was included in the *Planning and Development Act 1982* to control the extent of retailing outside the City. This was to reinforce the State's centres policy in terms of governance and assist the City as there was a concern about the demise of retailing in the City. Teague observed that some of the decline in retailing was attributed to the ACC's Zone X policy, which prohibited any new parking in the CBD.³⁹

Stage 5 of the review was a period of consolidation when comments were prepared on each of the 94 submissions received. Only four had requested to be heard in person and a special meeting of the City Planning Committee of the ACC was held to hear these personal representations. Some minor amendments were made to the draft objectives and policies as a result of the public representations. Development in the Frame District had been disappointing and the ACC introduced a commercial development programme to make conditions more attractive, and hopefully increase employment levels, in the Frame and Core Districts. The Hindley Street precinct was consolidated as the main centre of night-life to protect the Residential District from incompatible activities and facilities. The ACC introduced a new 'Cycling Objective' and cycling polices to make cycling safer and easier in the City with the provision of better cycle parking spaces. A major concern for the ACC was the protection of the City's heritage and a new Heritage Objective and Policies were introduced. The ACC also sought to promote a greater public awareness of heritage.⁴⁰

Stage 6 was the formal adoption of the objectives and policies of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* (the strategic elements) by the ACC in June 1981, exactly five years after the adoption of the first City Plan agreed by the ACC and the State.⁴¹ The ACC was confident it provided a sound basis for the ongoing governance of the City.⁴²

In Geoff Wagner's view, the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* was relatively superficial as all the hard work had been done in the original City Plan.⁴³

³⁹ Bob Teague, oral history interview 37 / 14–27, Adelaide, 24 April 2008.

⁴⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 6346.

⁴¹ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of ACC meeting 29 June 1981, p.91.

⁴² Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1981, Foreword.

⁴³ Geoff Wagner, oral history review 19 / 119–21, Burnside, 7 November 2007.

Faunt also considered that an enormous amount of effort had gone into the Planning Study and converting the Study into the first City Plan and, thus, the first City Plan review was more a fine-tuning exercise than a major policy debate.⁴⁴ From Faunt's perspective, the important aspect of the Planning Study and the first City Plan had been the integration of the statutory development controls within a strategic policy framework, recognising that all components needed to inform and learn from each other. The value of the CAPC, he thought, was that it was a body where ACC/State governance issues could be resolved — and not just in terms of planning the City. The ACC and the State could reach compromises outside the Council Chamber and Parliament House, and in that sense the CAPC was a rather 'unholy alliance'.⁴⁵

The ACC kept to its commitment and agreement with the Government of five-yearly reviews of the City Plan in order to take into account changing economic and social circumstances as well as changing public opinion. The new City Plan was part of the continuous integration of strategic and statutory approaches. The basic intent of the objectives remained valid and the City Plan retained them with minor amendments. Two new objectives, cycling and heritage, were added. However, in my view, one failing of the new City Plan was that there were still no Desired Future Character Statements for any areas of the Park Lands. Some original policies had been implemented and were therefore deleted. Some policies were no longer valid because of changed circumstances and were deleted. Other policies were reworded to better express their intent

CONSEQUENTIAL STATUTORY AMENDMENTS

As the strategic elements of the next City Plan had been defined, the ACC addressed the consequential statutory controls and the actions required to implement the new City Plan. Another ACC seminar took place on 21 June 1981 when Bowen again invited Martin Webb from Perth to attend and provide advice on the new statutory elements. There were sessions to discuss changes to the numbered General Principles, the DFCs of the Core and Frame Districts, the DFCs for the Residential District,

⁴⁴ Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 104–10, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.

⁴⁵ Alan Faunt, oral history interview 38 / 120–22, Adelaide, 1 May 2008.

and the Regulations.⁴⁶ The statutory amendments flowed out of the new City Plan so that the integration of strategic and statutory approaches would continue. The City Planner's Department had completed some administrative work on the necessary consequential amendments while the draft Plan 1981–86 was on public exhibition.

During July 1981 the ACC also considered in detail the results of the Action Planning programme 1976–81.⁴⁷ The ACC added the City Engineer's works programme, as this was the means of implementing its decisions that required civic construction works. Thus, the ACC could fund physical improvements arising from Action Projects and the overall programme represented the range of financial and human resources needed to implement the City Plan.

The two-month statutory public exhibition of the proposed amendments to the *Principles of Development Control* and regulations to control development was in the City Planner's Department during August and September 1981. The City Planner's Department prepared comments on the 62 written submissions for consideration by the City Planning Committee in October. Most of the submissions related to the C4 Precinct where the ACC proposed to reduce the plot ratio. The Committee adopted an amendment so that only the Chesser Street area became lower and the plot ratio in the rest of the Precinct remained unchanged.⁴⁸ The ACC adopted the recommendation of the Committee in November and forwarded them to the CAPC (as required by the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*) along with copies of the representations received and the comments made on them.

The CAPC fulfilled its governance role in relation to the amended statutory controls. It recommended to the Minister that the amendments be adopted. The Governor subsequently approved the amended *Principles of Development Control*. They were published in the *Gazette* on 6 May 1982, completing the first review of the City Plan in terms of the ACC/State agreement.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Agenda for the Seminar held on 21 June 1981, City Planner's Department File no. 14/79.

⁴⁷ Adelaide City Archives, City Planning Committee Agenda 27 July 1981, Item 2.3. Town Clerk's File 1487.

⁴⁸ Adelaide City Archives, City Planning Committee Agenda 26 October 1981, Item 2.1. Town Clerk's File 1487.

⁴⁹ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 6 May 1982, pp.1418–38.

The ACC published the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* in the same square format and style of the previous Planning Study and City Plan but this time chose green for the cover. Green is the colour of hope and growth and the ACC thought it was appropriate for the expected prosperity of the 1980s.⁵⁰ This Plan became popularly known as ‘The Green Book’. Again, the City Plan consisted of three Books integrated into one document:

- Book 1: The strategic plan containing Objectives and Policies and the statutory *Principles of Development Control*.
- Book 2: The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and seven Regulations made under the Act.
- Book 3: The Action Planning programme containing 12 Action Projects, nine Action Programmes, and three Research Studies.

CHANGES WITHIN THE ACC AFTER BOWEN’S INFLUENCE

Bowen did not seek a further term as Lord Mayor, not least because he had used the informal policy initiated by Hayes to help defeat George Joseph when Joseph sought a further term. Bowen’s two years as Lord Mayor had seen him exercise a considerable amount of individual influence. He had chaired the CAPC and maintained ACC/State relations through his personal contacts with Cabinet Ministers. He had overseen the review of the first City Plan and the adoption of its successor for 1981–86. The Heritage Study commenced and Bowen had appointed an Advisory Committee for the Study, which he also chaired. Gavin Lloyd-Jones, who had been a member of the USC Study Team, followed Faunt as Secretary of the CAPC early in 1981. He recalled an incident where Ted Phipps (the Director of Environment and Planning and a Commissioner) had said to Lloyd-Jones ‘Look, just give Lord Mayor Bowen what he wants’. From Lloyd-Jones’s perspective, that summed up Bowen’s influence at the time.⁵¹

John Chappel and John Watson were both candidates for the office of Lord Mayor in July 1981, neither of them the obvious successor to Bowen. Chappel and

⁵⁰ Kohl, 1998.

⁵¹ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 62–64, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

Watson had both become Councillors when Hayes was elected as Lord Mayor in 1971. They had both progressed to be Aldermen. Chappel had served as Deputy Lord Mayor and Watson was the current holder of this office, and both were members of LOMHAC. As it transpired, Watson, who had argued for a City Plan when he was first elected to the ACC, became Lord Mayor with the support of the North Adelaide Society and, as a member of The Adelaide Club, the support of the establishment.⁵² The State appointed him as the Chairman of the CAPC and he assumed the Chairmanship of LOMHAC. As Chappel had lost the election, he was no longer an elected member and thus he could not serve on the CAPC, SPA or LOMHAC. The ACC appointed Councillor Keith Shaw to replace Chappel on the SPA and Councillor Bill Manos as a Commissioner and as a member of LOMHAC.

According to Manos:

The concept of the CAPC was a good one in terms of governance and that it was the influence of the individuals involved who brought about change. The CAPC also bridged the information gap between the State and the ACC. When you had a small group of key individuals coming together for meeting after meeting, a certain understanding and consistent view came about. It was important to have Heads of State Departments on the CAPC so that they understood what was going on in the City. They could go back to their offices after a meeting and be informed about what was happening and thus could explain things to their political masters.⁵³

Jack Measday resigned from the office of Town Clerk for personal reasons in August 1981.⁵⁴ He did not make a comfortable transition from the private sector to local government and he suffered from ill-health. The ACC invited applications and I (as the then City Planner) was an applicant. After some months of deliberation by the ACC, on 1 January 1982 I became the twelfth Town Clerk, since 1840, of the City of Adelaide.⁵⁵ Ian McPhail, who was then Head of the Office of Local Government, observed:

⁵² Linn, 2006, p.246.

⁵³ Bill Manos, oral history interview 14 / 58–65, Sydney, 22 October 2007.

⁵⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 6346 (confidential section).

⁵⁵ Adelaide City Archives, see Minutes of ACC special meeting 7 December 1981, p.151.

It was 'very Adelaide' that a Cambridge MA who had boxed for the University was appointed as the Town Clerk by the Council. This seemed to be absolutely appropriate and completely in character at the time.⁵⁶

The ACC decided that in future the four appointees to the CAPC would all be elected members. Shaw, the ACC representative on the SPA and an architect, then replaced me as a Commissioner. The four ACC Commissioners were then Watson, Bowen, Manos and Shaw. The ACC subsequently appointed Gilbert Currie (Deputy City Planner) as my replacement as City Planner.

Watson was a longtime friend of Premier David Tonkin from their days as medical students at the University of Adelaide and they were both members of The Adelaide Club. Watson considered the ACC/State relationship and the governance of the City could be improved by regular meetings between the Lord Mayor of the day and the Premier of the day in addition to the joint operation of the CAPC. Watson instigated such meetings early in 1982 and they continued on a monthly basis until 1992. These meetings alternated between the Lord Mayor's Room and the Premier's Office and they were also attended by the Director of the Premier's Department and by me as the Town Clerk. However, in November 1982 the Liberal Party lost the State election and John Bannon became the new Labor Premier. Thus began a new era in ACC/State relations, with different key individuals exercising influence through their involvement in the governance of the City.

CONCLUSION

The City enjoyed a different system of planning and development control from the rest of the State. The *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* proved an effective framework to guide the development of the City as it provided a clear indication of the ACC's policies and this enabled efficient decision-making.

Dunstan's resignation after a decade of influence and the election of a Liberal State government could have had an impact on the separate legislation for the City and its governance. However, through the influence of some key individuals, the ACC remained separate from the new State planning system that the State introduced

⁵⁶ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 75–77, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

through the *Planning Act 1982*. The politics of heritage was becoming an issue within the ACC. Lord Mayor Bowen initiated the City of Adelaide Heritage Study with the appointment of consultants and an Advisory Committee.

The joint ACC/State body, the CAPC, continued to provide a mechanism for the effective governance of the City. Its role in the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* identified new issues to improve the City and these formed the basis for the next five-yearly Plan, the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86*.

10

The operation of the City's planning system from November 1982 until May 1987

PLANNING THE CITY IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE BANNON GOVERNMENT

When he became Premier, John Bannon considered the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC) as a unique instrument of governance and that part of its brief was to view the City in the broader context of the metropolitan area and indeed the State. He was not aware of any similar joint bodies in Australia.¹

From Bannon's perspective Adelaide was different and setting the pace in its innovative approach to planning. The City was the front door and showcase of South Australia and if the City was not working, then not much else did. Bannon considered there may have been some flaws in the system but there was a duly constituted ACC and his government had to find ways of working with it: the CAPC provided this opportunity. Elected members could 'look at the bigger picture' and not just deal with local and parochial matters. The State ensured the appointment of high level officers as they were in a position to exert influence and make a contribution. This raised the status of the City but at the same time made sure it fitted within the key

¹ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 93–95, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

John Bannon*	Labor Premier of South Australia from 1982
Don Hopgood*	Deputy Premier, Labor Minister for Planning from 1982
John Watson+	Lord Mayor, Chairman CAPC until 1983
Wendy Chapman*	Lord Mayor, Chairman CAPC 1983-85
Jim Jarvis+	Lord Mayor, Chairman CAPC 1985-87
Bill Manos*	Councillor, Commissioner, Chairman Plan Review Committee
Ted Phipps*	Commissioner and Director, Department of Environment & Planning until 1985
Ian McPhail*	Commissioner and Director, Department of Environment & Planning from 1986
Gavin Lloyd-Jones*	Secretary, CAPC 1980-82
Bryan Moulds*	Secretary, CAPC 1983-86
Helen Hele*	Secretary, CAPC from September 1986
Harry Bechervaise*	City Planner, City of Adelaide from 1984
Michael Llewellyn-Smith	Town Clerk / Chief Executive Officer, City of Adelaide from 1982 (the author)
* Signifies an interviewee + Signifies deceased	

Table 5: Individuals of influence 1982 – 1987

issues that were important to the State.²

Bannon continued the governance arrangement of Premier and Lord Mayor monthly meetings. He considered that Watson was ‘a courteous and proper gentleman in the traditional mould of Lord Mayors who had no axe to grind and no personal agendas to push’. Bannon recognised that Watson looked after the interests of the City as his first priority.³ Gavin Lloyd-Jones (Secretary of the CAPC) recalled organising a special meeting between Bannon and Watson (in his role of Chairman of the CAPC) to discuss the controversial State proposal for the redevelopment of the Adelaide Railway Station and Environs (ASER), which exceeded the controls in the City Plan (and which this chapter later reviews).⁴

Between 1982 and 1987 a number of key individuals exerted influence on the planning of the City while the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* remained in force: see Table 5.

Phil Smith, a Director in the then State Planning Office (SPO), recalled that the *Planning Act 1982* was brought into operation on 4 November 1982 by Minister

² John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 97–104, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

³ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 42–49, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁴ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 57–60, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

Wotton, a few days before Liberal Premier Tonkin lost the State election and Bannon became Labor Premier.⁵ According to Smith, there was an issue about proclaiming a large Act while the Government was in caretaker mode, but Wotton took the view that Parliament had passed the legislation and he was just bringing it into effect. Don Hopgood became the Minister for Environment and Planning and as the Deputy Premier he raised the status of planning within Cabinet. Ted Phipps, who Wotton had appointed, remained as the Head of Hopgood's Department and as a Commissioner. In Phipps's view, the *Planning Act 1982* gave much-needed impetus to the reform of planning in metropolitan and regional local government but the pressures to make substantial change to the governance of the City did not exist at the time.⁶ Stephen Hains also considered there was no good reason for the State to take on the ACC as there was nothing to be gained. While some in the State saw the separate legislation for the City as an aberration, nobody had the energy or driving force to change it and, in Hains's view, the SPO was without any political influence.⁷

Phipps, given his long experience in Federal and State Governments, found it interesting that the CAPC continued to exist. Although governments set commissions up, parliamentarians nevertheless view them with suspicion because of the Westminster system and the accountability of Ministers. It is hard to separate policy development from policy implementation and thus Ministers do not like being administratively responsible for independent bodies that, by their decisions, are actually creating policy *de facto* outside the directions of the Minister. While Ministers direct their heads of department, they cannot direct chairs of commissions and this they find a frustrating aspect of governance.⁸

Phipps considered the planning instruments of the City were of a high quality and leading edge in Australia at the time but that the planning staff in the ACC needed a strong understanding of the nature of the statutory *Principles of Development Control* and how to interpret them. From his perspective, the State was accountable to the wide electorate of South Australia and responsible for the governance of the whole State — but at its very core and focus was the City and the State had to deal with the

⁵ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 100–02, Adelaide, 28 April 2008.

⁶ Ted Phipps, oral history interview 33 / 50–52, Wattle Park, 7 April, 2008.

⁷ Stephen Hains, oral history interview 20 / 91–94, Salisbury, 14 November 2007.

⁸ Ted Phipps, oral history interview 33 / 58–59, Wattle Park, 7 April 2008.

powerful ACC. Phipps contended that the State left the CAPC in place because the State wanted to have good development controls for the City and its acceptance of the innovative planning system was a means of achieving mutual objectives. However, the underlying governance issue was the function of the City. Tension arose when the State wanted a development strategy for the State as a whole but did not trust the ACC to ensure the City fitted into the State's strategy.⁹ But the ACC continued to have its own legislation because the joint body, the CAPC, operated successfully.

The State's administrative view was that the *Planning Act 1982* consolidated the policies in the *Metropolitan Development Plan* and the policies in zoning regulations for individual council areas into one document.¹⁰ This streamlined and simplified the way in which planning and development was controlled in South Australia. The *Planning Act 1982* and the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* together provided the machinery to guide the development of metropolitan Adelaide through the 1980s but the urban structure was still dominated by the City with a strong CBD.¹¹

Don Hopgood, State Minister for Planning, established a Planning Review Committee, chaired by John Hodgson (later to become ACC City Planner) with Phil Smith as the Executive Officer. The Committee sought submissions and it went through a long process before coming up with a number of practical recommendations to change the *Planning Act 1982*. The Minister accepted the great majority of these recommendations, leading to amendments to the Act. Indeed, the amended Act adopted many aspects of the City's system and this brought the two pieces of legislation closer together. An important decision from the review of the Act was to introduce relevant amendments into the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. Hopgood then appointed Smith as Head of the Legislative Unit in the SPO and he became responsible for any amendments to State planning legislation, including the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. Smith confirmed that there was no imperative at that time to change the governance of the City and reintegrate it into the State system.¹²

⁹ Ted Phipps, oral history interview 33 / 8–12, Wattle Park, 7 April, 2008.

¹⁰ Department of Environment & Planning, 1982, p.9.

¹¹ Ted Phipps, oral history interview 33 / 41–43, Wattle Park, 7 April 2008.

¹² Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 114–16, Adelaide, 28 April 2008.

As one of the conservatives in Cabinet, Hopgood did not want to see the City absorbed back into the State system because, in his view, the joint governance arrangements were working perfectly well. He perceived that change was not necessary on the principle of 'If it ain't broke, why fix it?':

The other factor was the high level of experience and expertise the City had in planning personnel at the time. The City's system was not just about land use planning, despite many local governments still thinking that way about planning. There was a danger that if the ACC was absorbed back into the State system this old virus could infect the City.¹³

Hopgood also considered the CAPC played a very important role as a joint body between the ACC and State because it had the ability to look at broader issues of governance.

CONTROVERSY OVER THE STATE'S ASER PROPOSAL

The development of the Adelaide Railway Station and Environs (ASER) tested the relationship between the ACC and the State in terms of the governance of the City and the role of the CAPC as a joint body. The *Planning Study and City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* had proposed an Action Project for the Adelaide Railway Station.¹⁴ This envisaged a redevelopment to meet the evolving needs of the metropolitan transport system with the possibility of a convention centre above the tracks. However, Bannon had proposed a major development of the Adelaide Railway Station as part of his 1982 State election campaign. The ASER proposal consisted of a casino in the station building, a new high-rise hotel, and an office block. The ASER Property Trust was a joint partnership of the South Australian Finance Authority and the Japanese company Kumagai Gumi. It was established to implement the ASER development and there were significant concessions from the State without which the development would not have proceeded.¹⁵

¹³ Don Hopgood, oral history interview 26 / 36–49, Morphett Vale, 18 February 2008.

¹⁴ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.226; Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1977, p.101.

¹⁵ Mosler, 2011, p.110.

As this chapter discussed earlier, Watson met with Bannon, and on behalf of the ACC argued strongly that ASER was completely outside the provisions of the City Plan and particularly that the commercial building should be in the Core District and not in an area that was technically in the Park Lands. When the CAPC reviewed the ASER proposal, it had concerns about the height of the proposed hotel and the location of the office building. Bannon conceded that the hotel would be well in excess of the statutory controls and there would be an impact on the Park Lands and thus that the State would probably need to introduce special legislation to implement the scheme.¹⁶

In November 1983 the government appointed Judith Brine, an architect and town planner, as a CAPC Commissioner, replacing Hart. For the first time there was an independent Commissioner and someone who was not the Director (or Deputy Director) of a State Department. Brine recalled the ASER application most clearly from the time she was a Commissioner. Bannon requested that she meet with him and she was 'heavied' about the way in which she might vote on the proposal. According to Brine, she was very uncomfortable being in this position:

My vote was important but, as an independent Commissioner not a State employee, I did not appreciate being pressured to support a proposal by the State.¹⁷

Clearly the State thought there might be a problem with the way the ACC representatives would vote but in the event of a tie it would go to the Minister to determine and therefore Brine's vote was important. By this time the State had appointed deputy members, meaning there would always be four State votes at CAPC meetings.

Brine argued that the ASER development constituted a direct assault on the form of the City, on the integrity of its boundary and on the visual character of the Park Lands. She contended that the commercial nature of the buildings did not contribute to civic dignity or purpose and that they had no cultural value in relation to the Park Lands.¹⁸

¹⁶ Gavin Lloyd-Jones, oral history interview 18 / 57–60, Urrbrae, 6 November 2007.

¹⁷ Judith Brine, oral history interview 42 / 8–17, Adelaide, 5 May 2008.

¹⁸ Brine, 1984, p.8.

Bannon could not risk the possibility that the CAPC might not support the ASER proposal because it did not comply with the City Plan. Thus, for political reasons, the State chose not to submit the ASER proposal to the CAPC and instead introduced separate legislation that enabled the State to bypass the CAPC and the provisions of the City Plan. When the ASER Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly, Bannon commented on Clause 8 of Bill. He advised that the ASER plan of development would be by means of regulations and this would allow the House to have full details about the proposal. Both the CAPC and the ACC would be able to comment *but would not be involved in any decisions*.¹⁹

As this chapter will later discuss, Wendy Chapman followed Watson as Lord Mayor and Chair of the CAPC in May 1983. The CAPC had no role once the special legislation was passed but in September 1984 Chapman formally advised Hopgood that the CAPC did not support the size and bulk of the hotel or the use of part of the site as an office tower, that pedestrian access was inadequate, and that the public spaces lacked human scale. Bannon had judged correctly the likely position of the CAPC on the proposal. However, in January 1985 the CAPC did concur with a decision of the ACC for the demolition of the interior of the Railway Station building to create a casino, as Hopgood (as Minister responsible for heritage) had provided advice that this part of the proposal was acceptable in terms of the building's heritage. Bannon showed little patience with any critics in debates about ASER and in *The Advertiser* he was quoted as saying:

He [Bannon] said while the Government welcomed constructive views by the council on aspects of the project such as parking and street facilities it was 'just not on' to suggest fundamental changes to the project such as the location of the proposed buildings ... the final decisions rested with the Government.²⁰

The plans of the development were contained in Regulations to the special legislation as Bannon had promised. The ACC made substantial submissions to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Subordinate Legislation to disallow the Regulations, but no politician on either side of the House took any notice. The Parliament had effectively become the planning authority for ASER, a development

¹⁹ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 29 March 1984, p.1013.

²⁰ *The Advertiser*, 11 September 1984, p.14.

far outside the statutory provisions of the City Plan. An editorial in *The Advertiser* was critical of the ASER development:

It is a disappointing and curious sort of leadership that is prepared to be guided by developers rather than the City of Adelaide Plan, the Adelaide City Council and the City of Adelaide Planning Commission.²¹

The government appointed Derek Scafton (Director of Transport) to the CAPC to replace Alan Wayte. In Scafton's view the CAPC had established an ongoing planning process for the City with its own momentum and stature. The State agencies could judge which way the City was headed. The respective representatives worked well together and kept things moving between the ACC and the State. While there might not have always been a perfect answer, matters considered in the CAPC were resolved to the best of the Commissioners' ability. Scafton observed the following in relation to ASER:

Sitting around a table and discussing matters was a much better approach to the governance of the City than open political warfare between the ACC and State as was the case with the ASER development.²²

Bannon recognised that the ASER project caused considerable angst with the ACC and the CAPC. There were many issues involved in a commercial development crossing to the north of North Terrace over the railway. While the location of the office building and the height of the hotel were problems in terms of the City Plan, all the components were necessary for the scheme to proceed commercially, that is, the State could not sever the office building from the hotel. Although special legislation had been required, Bannon observed:

I considered the scheme actually turned out very well and had brought about a radical change to the City.²³

Bannon saw the fast-tracking of major projects as an important part of his election promises. He was prepared to use special legislation to achieve the ASER development and withstand criticism of not using the CAPC as the relevant planning authority but, in his view, the governance of the City did not suffer.²⁴ While the hotel

²¹ *The Advertiser*, 5 June 1985, p.12.

²² Derek Scafton, oral history interview 43/ 70–76, Adelaide, 13 May 2008.

²³ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 49–52, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

²⁴ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 54–55, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

and casino brought economic activity to the City, in my view the building of an office outside the provisions of the City Plan set an undesirable precedent for government actions.

CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE STUDY

As described in Chapter 9, a Lord Mayor's Heritage Advisory Committee (LOMHAC) had been appointed and Donovan, Marsden & Stark (DMS) had been engaged to carry out a heritage study of the City. The Bannon Government was committed to development, especially in the City, but often at the expense of the City's heritage. Bannon tended to focus on the politics of development and he created the South Australian Finance Authority to assist the private sector. There was a reduction in State Heritage Branch staff and thus there were inadequate resources to properly research items and produce reports. Items that may have been of State significance were lost before they were evaluated and this changed the built environment and the heritage of the City.²⁵

The City of Adelaide Heritage Study consisted of three stages:

- Stage 1: - research, describe and assess the historical influences (social, economic, physical and environmental) which had given Adelaide its character and prepare an inventory of items and areas of heritage, streetscape and landscape significance in the City.
- Stage 2: - review economic and legal aspects of heritage conservation in the City.
- Stage 3: - develop policy guidelines for inclusion in the *City of Adelaide Plan* to ensure that future development would be in harmony with the identified character of the City.²⁶

The building inventory of the City of approximately 7500 items had identified some 1500 properties as worthy of preliminary assessment. DMS reduced this list to 436 items that they considered should be assessed in detail. LOMHAC adopted an assessment summary sheet (Appendix 2) to evaluate these items.

²⁵ Mosler, 2011, p.31.

²⁶ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1990, p.11.

DMS proposed that the City of Adelaide Heritage Register comprise three components: a definitive Register, an Interim List that indicated items that had some significance but remained to be fully assessed and documented, and a 'Character Schedule' consisting of groups of buildings and streetscapes and conservation areas that contributed to the City's distinctive character. According to Graeme Davison, in a recently settled country such as Australia, a sufficient number of buildings and objects need to be kept as reminders of the origins of the nation; the historic significance of a building is not only its intrinsic qualities but its surroundings.²⁷

Any development application for an item being considered for the Register was referred to LOMHAC for comment before the application was determined by the ACC.²⁸ LOMHAC placed the 132 buildings, which were on the non-legally binding National Trust list, on the Register without further assessment. DMS documented and assessed 304 other items. LOMHAC voted on each item and the majority decision prevailed whether or not to list the item. However, DMS wrote to the ACC expressing concern that in their view LOMHAC was being swayed by development options on particular sites rather than information about historical significance.²⁹ LOMHAC did not accept about 50 buildings recommended by DMS for the draft Register. One of these was the Aurora Hotel in Hindmarsh Square, which, because of its importance to the heritage debate, this chapter discusses in more detail later.

Susan Marsden and Paul Stark (of DMS) were joined by Pat Sumerling as editors in a work that argued Adelaide retained living history on a grand scale.³⁰ The grain and texture of townscapes and the cohesion of urban areas, rather than just forlorn and isolated gems, were worthy of conservation, they suggested. Groups of buildings provided three-dimensional evidence that photographs and written documentation could not. In Marsden, Stark and Sumerling's view, there was general agreement on preserving the heritage of Light's Park Lands, which were the City's most distinctive asset and made it different from the other Australian capital cities.³¹ In 1983, Rod

²⁷ Davison, 1986, pp.5–11.

²⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 2.

²⁹ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File 3019.

³⁰ Marsden, Stark & Sumerling, 1990, p.46.

³¹ Marsden, Stark & Sumerling, 1990, p.53.

Johnston and Chris Elphinstone prepared a separate report on the heritage of the Park Lands for the ACC.³² The Council, through its City Plans, needed to balance development with the ‘character of place’ so that the new could coexist with the old as part of the City’s heritage.

The ACC engaged John Mant for Stage 2 of the City of Adelaide Heritage Study — the economic and legal aspects of heritage conservation. Mant advised that there could be no guarantee that a building not placed on the official register would avoid the attention of some community group or non-government conservation body if threatened. He recommended basing the system for the City’s heritage upon the provision of financial and non-financial incentives to conserve, rather than the awarding of compensation. Mant also recommended that economic factors not be taken into account at the time of listing. This caused concern to some of the elected members of the ACC and on their behalf Bowen wrote to Lord Mayor Watson about Mant’s recommendation, suggesting that the financial implications of listing had to be addressed in much broader terms. Watson responded that all the items proposed to be listed had been professionally and carefully researched by DMS, and the composition of LOMHAC reflected a high degree of professionalism.³³

After the ACC received the Mant Report, Transferable Floor Area (TFA) was at the forefront of discussion about heritage within the ACC.³⁴ TFA was a device intended to remove pressure on demolition and redevelopment of heritage-listed buildings by enabling unrealised development potential of heritage items to be sold from donor to recipient sites. The TFA scheme was an important innovation for Adelaide and the protection of its heritage through a mechanism to compensate for the loss of development potential on heritage sites. Its characteristics were:

- a clear method of calculation of TFA
- the register of available space and transfers kept by the ACC
- a limit on the number of recipient sites from one donor
- transfers limited to the Core and Frame Districts with none in the Residential District
- the total TFA limited by the maximum plot ratio on recipient sites

³² Jones, 2006, p.129; Johnston & Elphinstone,1983.

³³ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk’s File 7601, Part 1.

³⁴ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner’s Department File 3019.

- the overall bonus plot ratio system to limit the amount of bonus that could be achieved by means other than TFA
- a formal agreement between the ACC and the donor site to be binding, especially on future owners.³⁵

DMS recommended a Character Schedule of 715 buildings that they considered contributed to the City's distinctive townscape but that they deemed did not meet the LOMHAC criteria for individual listing. LOMHAC endorsed the importance of the Character Schedule in terms of Principle 25 (Townscape and Amenity) of the *City of Adelaide Plan* but LOMHAC recognised that the Schedule did not have any legal status.

Hopgood, mindful of the controversy over ASER, wrote to Watson in March 1983 about the importance of cooperation and coordination in the governance of the City in terms of heritage. Hopgood and Watson agreed that items within the City on the new State Register established under the *South Australian Heritage Act 1978* be added to the draft City Register. This then contained 419 items, of which 363 were buildings and the remainder included items such as the Rotunda in Elder Park, the Albert Bridge and the Adelaide Oval scoreboard.³⁶ Once a building was listed there was good cooperation between the ACC and the State, and they both approached the Commonwealth Government for tax and rate concessions in the form of a specific depreciation allowance or a deduction for expenditure on a restoration project. The ACC considered that taxation relief was a major issue for listed properties whose retention contributed to the heritage of the City.

In April 1983 LOMHAC adopted the City Heritage Register as recommended by DMS and forwarded it to the ACC. Watson and Hopgood discussed the legal aspects of the proposed Register in terms of the governance of the City's heritage.³⁷ They considered there needed to be changes to the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* with a new General Principle for Heritage as well as changes to the Regulations, and the matter was referred to the CAPC.³⁸ The CAPC advised the ACC in September 1983 of its suggestions to give statutory weight to the Register.

³⁵ Hamnett, 1987, p.68.

³⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 6.

³⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 6.

³⁸ Adelaide City Archives, City Planner's Department File 3019.

The ACC agreed and then the CAPC adopted these and forwarded them to the Minister with a formal request for the statutory changes.³⁹ Thus, there would be integration of strategic and statutory approaches to the heritage of the City within the existing planning system.

Watson continued the tradition of only serving for a limited term as Lord Mayor but returned to a position of Alderman on the Council. In May 1983 Wendy Chapman was a candidate for the Lord Mayoralty. Chappel, who had lost to Watson at the last election, was again a candidate. Chapman had been a Councillor for some years and was a member of the State Heritage Committee.⁴⁰ Two historic houses in North Adelaide, 'Kingsmead' and 'Belmont', were on the interim State Heritage list. In 1982 Chappel was the architect for a proposal to demolish 'Kingsmead' and erect a six-storey apartment block. The ACC did not support the proposal as it was contrary to the statutory controls, particularly the Desired Future Character (DFC) Statement for this part of North Adelaide. Chappel appealed the decision for refusal to the Appeals Tribunal but Judge John Roder, in an important judgement about the City's statutory controls, considered that there would be a private advantage but that demolition was not in the community's interest.⁴¹

Chappel's involvement in the 'Kingsmead' development became a factor in the Lord Mayoral election. Chapman won with the support of the residential electors in North Adelaide, as the loss of the City's heritage was becoming an important issue. Chapman was the first female Lord Mayor of an Australian capital city. She became Chair of the CAPC and LOMHAC. The Council members of the CAPC were then Chapman, Watson, Bill Manos and Keith Shaw.

Bryan Moulds replaced Lloyd-Jones as Secretary of the CAPC in February 1984. According to Chapman, the CAPC was a sound body for handling matters to which the ACC and the State had a claim. She worked closely with Moulds for the governance of the City, as she believed the CAPC provided a vehicle for reaching compromises.⁴² Moulds contended that the CAPC played an important

³⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 26 September 1983, p.811.

⁴⁰ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 14 October 1982, p.1109.

⁴¹ City of Adelaide Planning Appeals Tribunal, *Borthwick v Corporation of the City of Adelaide* (1985).

⁴² Wendy Chapman, oral history interview 29 / 93–95, Adelaide, 20 March 2008.

role in relation to the City Plans because, from the first Plan for 1976–81, they were unique in Australia in terms of development control processes. The concept of DFCs was a difficult planning concept to comprehend. The CAPC provided a forum where they could offer clarification and direction to what the word pictures actually meant. Moulds further considered, and I agree, that the planning system in Adelaide could not have operated without a body such as the joint CAPC being part of the development control process because of the checks and balances it provided.⁴³

Chapman held an informal meeting of elected members in the Lord Mayor's Room on 26 June 1983 to discuss the recommended Heritage Register, and this was attended by DMS and Mant who explained its implications.⁴⁴ Later, in November 1983, the ACC authorised the public exhibition of the Register but did *not* endorse it. Chapman wrote to all the owners of the properties proposed to be listed clearly indicating it was a draft list. Journalist Chris Russell wrote a covering story about the Register when it was published in *The Advertiser* that included criticisms from Bowen and Chappel.⁴⁵ Bowen said there was no opportunity for delisting while Chappel objected because the list had been prepared in private (despite the fact that he had been a member of LOMHAC until he lost the election to Watson). Russell wrote a further article in *The Advertiser* the next day and quoted Watson as saying:

I have been the Chairman of LOMHAC for most of its life. I believe the community wants the City's heritage to be to be maintained, especially its Victorian character, but balanced with the need for the City to remain the heart of the State.⁴⁶

Chapman opened the public exhibition of the draft City Heritage Register Chapman on 31 January 1984. It was open during normal office hours (and until 9pm on Friday evenings). The display also included proposed financial and non-financial incentives. These were technical and professional advice, Bonus Plot Ratio, flexibility with Planning and Building regulatory standards, waiving Planning and Building fees, the award of a civic plaque and the initiation of a special project where appropriate. The initial public reactions were that the list was conservative. Humble houses and

⁴³ Bryan Moulds, oral history interview 39 / 118–24, Adelaide, 3 April 2008.

⁴⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 8.

⁴⁵ *The Advertiser*, 22 November 1983, p.10.

⁴⁶ *The Advertiser*, 23 November 1983, p.32.

factories were less well represented, even if they were very old. Journalist Hamish Barrett wrote in the *News* that the Adelaide Residents' Association criticised the list as being completely inadequate to protect the heritage of the City.⁴⁷ The Association made a significant submission on the exhibited list and suggested major additions in the form of nine whole precincts and all the Park Lands. The Aurora Group (which will be discussed later in this Chapter) proposed 531 additional buildings and the whole of North Adelaide. Given the extent of public interest, the ACC extended the exhibition until 27 April with representations closing on 4 May. In an article in *The Advertiser*, Russell wrote that the ACC would refer all 130 submissions to LOMHAC together with comments by DMS and the City Planner.⁴⁸

The Building Owners and Managers' Association (BOMA) raised concerns about the uncertainty created by a given building being proposed for the list and the difficulty of providing a valuation on an affected property. In March the ACC added two further incentives: the construction of footpaths with suitable materials, and the provision of appropriate plantings adjacent to heritage buildings.⁴⁹ Journalist Garth Rawlins wrote an article in the *Sunday Mail* summarising BOMA's argument that the list was premature, as financial incentives had not been finalised.⁵⁰ BOMA also sought taxation and rate concessions from the ACC and the State as well as supporting taxation incentives from the Commonwealth.

Chapman invited Bannon to attend the exhibition and advised him she would be meeting with Hopgood to ensure the governance agreement about the City's heritage continued between the ACC and State. Bannon commented that he was supportive of the process and his Minister was keeping him informed on the proposed legislation. Hopgood advised Chapman that the Cabinet had agreed to the ACC's proposed statutory changes and suggested a joint working party to ensure a common position. The working party consisted of representatives from the City Planner's Department, the Department of Environment & Planning, the SAHC, and the Secretary of the CAPC. Hopgood proposed that the Register be in the form of a regulation and that this should be part of the future *City of Adelaide*

⁴⁷ *News*, 1 February 1984, p.5.

⁴⁸ *The Advertiser*, 10 May 1984, p.3.

⁴⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 5 March 1984, p.341.

⁵⁰ *Sunday Mail*, 7 May 1984, p.28.

Plan 1986–91 rather than as a change to the existing statutory controls. The initial use of a Regulation to give statutory effect to the Register rather than including the Register in the Principles was innovative as it provided a much more flexible planning instrument that could be easily amended when further information came to hand.⁵¹

Rawlins wrote a further article in the *Sunday Mail* that putting the City's Register into a Regulation, and therefore making it part of the statutory controls of the City Plan, was the most significant event in the City since the Planning Study had commenced.⁵² Journalist Ron Boland argued in the *Sunday Mail* that anyone wanting to see modern buildings could go to Sydney or Melbourne — Adelaide could continue to be different and retain its heritage so that the character of the City would be unique in Australia.⁵³ However, Geoff Harrison, the then President of RAA (SA), argued:

Few buildings are worth preservation just because of their age, and it must be recognised that unless the City as a whole is to become a museum piece many old buildings will have to be demolished to make way for new ones.⁵⁴

In February 1985 Hopgood requested the SAHC assess the items on the Register so that the City and State Registers would correspond. Items that the SAHC did not justify going on the State list were deemed to be of local significance. The SAHC considered groups of buildings or precincts (the Character Schedule) should receive future consideration.⁵⁵ The issue of a Character Schedule (which became known as 'Townscape') was an important part of the City's heritage and would be the major political issue within the ACC for the next decade.

The old arguments of the establishment and The Adelaide Club (as described in Chapter 2) came to the fore and they saw the proposed as an abrogation of property rights. Architects were particularly concerned about the proposed controls over new development next to heritage buildings. Journalist Tony Kracmera wrote

⁵¹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 9.

⁵² *Sunday Mail*, 15 April 1984, p.44.

⁵³ *Sunday Mail*, 29 April 1984, p.52.

⁵⁴ Harrison, 1984, p.4.

⁵⁵ State Records, South Australian Heritage Committee. Minutes of the meeting 20 February 1985, p.5.

in the *Sunday Mail* that Chapman had defended the size of the draft Register.⁵⁶ She had commented that it only represented five per cent of the City's building stock and that many of the buildings proposed to be listed were in ACC or State ownership. Chapman stressed the list was a draft and was for public comment *before* the ACC made a final decision to adopt the Heritage Register, which was intended to preserve the City's heritage.

The City Planner (Gilbert Currie) prepared a report on the public submissions for LOMHAC's consideration. There were three categories: items recommended for which there had been a request for delisting; items rejected for which there was a request for listing; and items not previously considered for which there was a request for listing. The City Planner argued that it would be impracticable to document and assess over 700 further items and that only about 10 per cent of the requests were worthy of further consideration. In practice, the City Planner's Department documented and assessed 78 additional items. LOMHAC, over a series of meetings, worked through all the submissions to decide on additions or deletions to the draft Register.⁵⁷

Chapman sought support for the ACC's position on financial incentives and wrote to the federal Minister for Finance in January 1984 urging the use of taxation incentives for heritage properties. She also raised the matter with the federal Minister for Planning, Territories and Local Government, Tom Uren at the Australian Local Government Association conference.⁵⁸ Uren replied he was supportive of taxation incentives for heritage conservation and had referred the matter to the federal Treasurer, Paul Keating, so that it could be taken into account in the Commonwealth's budget priorities. *The Advertiser* reported that at the Council of Capital City Lord Mayors conference in Perth, Chapman had used her influence and persuaded the other Lord Mayors to endorse the ACC's position on tax incentives for heritage properties.⁵⁹ *The Advertiser* also reported that both John Roche (former Lord Mayor) and the Local Government Association argued the perceived loss of value on heritage listed buildings had to be addressed by the three levels of Government acting together and

⁵⁶ *Sunday Mail*, 27 November 1983, p.11.

⁵⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 9.

⁵⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's File 4688, Part 8.

⁵⁹ *The Advertiser*, 9 July 1984, p.12.

therefore supported the ACC's position.⁶⁰ As the Town Clerk, I requested the City Treasurer to report on the costs of ACC rate rebates for listed properties. He advised the Council a 10 per cent rebate would cost \$218,000, a 15 per cent rebate \$327,000 and a 25 per cent rebate would cost \$546,000. In comparison, the residential rate rebate for owner-occupiers in the 1984/85 ACC budget was \$409,000.⁶¹

The ACC also made a submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Fiscal Incentives of Environmental Objectives (which included heritage). The ACC argued that there should be a range of measures including low interest loans, grants, rate remissions, rate holidays, rate rebates and subsidised mortgages and that the Commonwealth Government had a leading role to play in terms of the nation's heritage.⁶² However, the Commonwealth Parliament was dissolved on 26 October 1984 ahead of an election and thus the Standing Committee automatically ceased without completing its Inquiry.

Keating replied to Chapman in August 1984 advising that the Commonwealth would not provide taxation concessions to preserve built heritage. He argued buildings in commercial use could already claim outgoings and he had concerns about criteria for eligibility. Chapman was persistent and requested that Keating reconsider his position. She suggested that the National Trust of South Australia could act as an independent organisation to receive tax deductible gifts that would assist in preserving the City's heritage. Chapman also requested the Valuer-General to rate City heritage properties on the basis that they had no development potential and that this would have a significant impact in terms of lower State taxes and rates. In an important decision, the Valuer-General agreed to rate heritage listed properties in the City on the basis of their existing use rather than their 'highest and best' use under the City Plan.⁶³

When Currie decided to retire, the ACC undertook an international search to find a new City Planner. Harry Bechervaise, an architect/planner from Sydney, recalled being interviewed for the position by Chapman and the Chairman's Committee of the ACC. After he took up the position in November 1984, he immediately became

⁶⁰ *The Advertiser*, 30 July 1984, p.3.

⁶¹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 4688, Part 10.

⁶² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 4688, Part 9.

⁶³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 12.

involved in the ACC's heritage debate and the philosophy of concentrating on individual items rather than whole areas. Bechervaise observed:

The issue was certainty for developers in knowing which buildings *not* to touch.⁶⁴

LOMHAC recommended 35 additional items for listing. It adopted a final Register in November 1984 and referred it to the ACC. Because a number of elected members had an interest in some of the properties recommended, I obtained legal advice on their ability to vote on the Register. Individual properties owned by members had to be voted on separately, which allowed them to declare an interest and not vote under the provisions of the *Local Government Act 1934*. In February 1985 the ACC adopted the City of Adelaide Heritage Register, as recommended by LOMHAC, but the Register then had to be exhibited in terms of the statutory provisions of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. As an input into the statutory changes for the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*, the ACC, State, BOMA and the National Trust of South Australia held discussions to determine what would be included in a new General Principle and the use of a Regulation to authorise the Register.

Hopgood wrote to Chapman and congratulated the ACC on its innovative approach to the City's heritage, which showed Adelaide had provided leadership for conservation to all Australian Local Government.⁶⁵ The ACC also engaged Mant at this time to give further advice about the statutory controls for the 'retention of character'. He concluded the existing DFCs were too vague for this purpose and were open to wide interpretation. From his perspective, the Register should only be for significant individual sites and should not include Townscape. Therefore, the contribution that groups of buildings and streets made to the heritage of the City needed to be addressed as part of the DFCs. Bechervaise concluded it would not be possible to include this amount of work in the review of the DFCs for the next City Plan and the ACC agreed.⁶⁶

According to Chapman, her regular meetings with Bannon worked well for the governance of the City, especially as the meetings alternated between his office and the Lord Mayor's Room:

⁶⁴ Harry Bechervaise, oral history interview 31 / 40–44, Adelaide, 28 May 2008.

⁶⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 4688, Part 9.

⁶⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 15.

While we did not always agree, there was a fair bit of honesty and I considered that there were occasions when the thinking of the Council changed the Government's view. This reflected the importance of the personal relationship between the Premier and Lord Mayor and their influence.⁶⁷

Bannon reflected on his relationship with Chapman:

Chapman was keen to get some runs on the board. I had only recently become Premier and the State was just coming out of recession so I was also keen for things to happen. Thus our interests coincided and this helped things to move along in the City.⁶⁸

Chapman met regularly with me to discuss all the major issues in the City. Her approach was to be across all issues and to talk to everyone who needed to be in the relevant loop. She was interested in consultation and inclusion and did not want things going forward to the full Council until she was certain she had majority support. Chapman therefore spent a considerable amount of time meeting with and talking to elected members. She liked to work things through and used her influence as Lord Mayor to arrive at something acceptable. She could not remember one controversial issue where the ACC had not been unanimous in its view, because all the hard work had been done beforehand.⁶⁹

However, Steve Condous, who later became Lord Mayor, commented in his interview with Sharon Mosler that while I was the City Planner, bonus plot ratios above the basic plot ratios had to be earned.⁷⁰ Bonus plot ratios could be awarded for the conservation and maintenance of places deemed to be of historic, cultural, environmental, architectural, scenic or scientific significance or interest; for residential uses in the appropriate Precincts of the Core and Frame Districts; for entertainment or tourist uses; for required public facilities; or for works of art visible from public spaces.

During the period I was City Planner, it was very rare for the Planning Approvals Committee of the ACC not to adopt the recommendations of my Department on applications. Developers and architects recognised that there was no point in lobbying

⁶⁷ Wendy Chapman, oral history interview 29 / 54–83, Adelaide, 20 March 2008.

⁶⁸ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 42–49, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁶⁹ Wendy Chapman, oral history interview 29 / 126–37, Adelaide, 20 March 2008.

⁷⁰ Mosler, 2011, p.73.

elected members about their development applications; they had to deal with the professional City Planner's Department. However, this began to change after 1982 when I became the Town Clerk/Chief Executive Officer. In Condous's view, while the City Planner's Department under Currie continued to uphold the requirements of the City Plan, increasingly the ACC under Chapman was more willing to grant bonuses without the bonuses being justified.⁷¹

Jim Jarvis replaced Chapman as Lord Mayor in May 1985 (as I will discuss later). In August 1985 Jarvis wrote to all owners of properties on the draft Heritage Register advising that it was going to be exhibited from 23 October until 24 December 1985 as part of the statutory provisions of the City Plan review. This gave interested parties the opportunity of further comment, with the ACC to consider all submissions before forwarding the Register to the Minister for gazettal as a Regulation under the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. A working party comprising representatives of the ACC, the Department of Environment & Planning, BOMA, the National Trust and consultants Edwards, McArdle and Thompson produced the heritage incentives scheme.⁷² I was invited to discuss the ACC's approach to the conservation and development of the City through the use of incentives to the World Housing and Planning Congress held in Adelaide in 1986. The conference organisers recognised that the City was at the forefront of retaining heritage in Australia.

The ACC received legal opinion from Brian Hayes QC that the General Principle to govern the City's heritage and the concept of townscape needed to be much more clearly defined. Hayes advised that what was proposed would raise the presumption against demolition and replacement and therefore could be construed as a supplementary heritage list.⁷³ Bannon advised Jarvis that the State was not prepared to legislate for Townscape controls as the concept was too vague to be acceptable to a Court. I advised the ACC of the political advice from Bannon and the legal advice from Mant and Hayes. It was clear to the ACC that more research and documentation was needed for townscape to be able to be part of the next review of the City Plan (in 1989–90) for inclusion in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*. Thus, the ACC's first attempt at Townscape controls failed, but the public continued to demand more

⁷¹ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 63–65, Norwood, 1 March 2008.

⁷² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 17.

⁷³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 18.

conservation. The concern was about the broader heritage and texture of the City rather than just the protection of grand buildings, as that battle had essentially been won.

The pro-heritage members of the ACC were very concerned about this advice and as a result Councillor Norman Etherington persuaded the ACC to further address the character of the City by adopting the following policy position:

Part of the review of the 1986–91 City Plan (in 1989–90) should be to identify, conserve and promote areas of significant character so that these could be incorporated into the statutory elements of the 1991–96 City Plan.⁷⁴

In March 1987 the Australian Council of National Trusts advised that the ACC had won the Government Category award for *The City of Adelaide Heritage Study: Stage 1* for its outstanding contribution to the conservation and promotion of Australia's heritage and environment. Jarvis and I were invited to the presentation dinner in Sydney to receive the award, which the Governor-General presented. In April the ACC commended all the elected members, staff and consultants who had contributed to the Study to conserve the heritage of the City and the honour that the award had brought to the City.⁷⁵ As the ACC then had a Register, it committed \$200,000 in its next budget to assist owners of listed properties with grants and rate concessions. Journalist Jenny Brinkworth wrote in *The Advertiser* the judges had described the study as the most innovative and comprehensive conducted in Australia.⁷⁶ It had, she said, provided the ACC with the information necessary for appropriate heritage conservation, including an inventory of buildings and streetscapes after extensive community consultation.

There was a cooperative approach by the City and the State to the Heritage Study but for political and legal reasons the *Register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items* did not have status until it was part of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*.⁷⁷ This was some 13 years after George Clarke and Urban Systems Corporation (USC) had first proposed such a register of individual items. Before the Register was adopted the limited nature of heritage development controls under the *City of Adelaide Development*

⁷⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 9 March 1987, p.2319.

⁷⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 27 April 1987, pp.2470–71.

⁷⁶ *The Advertiser*, 11 April 1987, p.9.

⁷⁷ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.273.

Control Act 1976 meant the ACC was unable to prevent demolition, especially where the site value exceeded the improved value of the land. The demolition of the Aurora Hotel in Hindmarsh Square (and its replacement with an office building) became an important issue in the community debate about the City's heritage.

THE AURORA HOTEL AND CITICOM DEVELOPMENT

The demolition of the Aurora Hotel in Hindmarsh Square was a turning point in the debate about the heritage of the City. Barry Finch, the ACC's Commercial Director, was aware of the ACC's decision that any schemes he proposed had to comply with the provisions of the City Plan,⁷⁸ as Chapter 9 describes. Finch arranged with the State the exchange of land the ACC owned in Light Square with land owned by the State on the eastern side of Hindmarsh Square, which the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) occupied.⁷⁹ Finch had the idea of promoting office development with underground parking in the Frame District as an alternative to the development that was occurring on the other side of the Park Lands outside the City because of the restrictions in Zone X (see Chapter 9). Known as 'Citicom', the site was bounded by Grenfell Street, Hindmarsh Square, Pirie Street and Frome Street. It consisted of seven blocks with individual Torrens Titles and semi-basement parking. The CAPC approved the control diagrams for the scheme, which limited the height to three storeys, on the basis that the private sector would sell and develop the blocks.⁸⁰

The history of the Aurora Hotel (see Figure 35) was linked to the ABC, whose Adelaide offices were in the old Congregational Church buildings to the north of the hotel.⁸¹ In the Action Plan for Hindmarsh Square proposed by Clarke and USC, the hotel's retention was encouraged as a focal point for outdoor dining.⁸² It was listed as a possible place of Environmental Significance in the Planning Study as Item 208.⁸³ However, the height limit of 15 metres in the Planning Study for the area was

⁷⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 22 December 1980, p.671.

⁷⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Town Clerk's Department File 4688, Part 8.

⁸⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File 3052.

⁸¹ Aurora Heritage Action, 1984, p.7.

⁸² Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.215.

⁸³ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, p.155.



Figure 35: Aurora Hotel, Hindmarsh Square, before demolition

changed to 42 metres in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* and the ACC deleted all references to the Aurora in the proposed Action Plan for the Square.⁸⁴

Early in 1982 Ian Quigley & Associates bought the Aurora Hotel and proposed a 13-storey residential building with 73 units. In July 1982 the Planning Approvals Committee decided that the demolition of the Aurora Hotel and its replacement with a residential scheme would be favourably considered. The City Planner's Department recommended the retention of the hotel in any redevelopment scheme. However, the elected members felt otherwise and were swayed by a residential development in this location provided the design of the building would be architecturally compatible with existing and proposed nearby developments. Quigley subsequently advised the ACC the residential scheme had been abandoned because there was no interest in the sale of units in that location. The land was then sold to Vensa Pty Ltd for \$900,000.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1977, p.36.

⁸⁵ The major shareholder was former Lord Mayor Roche who had become Chairman of Boulderstone Pty Ltd (builders).

In June 1983 the ACC approved plans by Vensa for a six-storey office block. A public campaign started against the demolition of the hotel, led by Andrew Cawthorne. He enlisted the help of Norman Etherington, who was Chairman of the History Trust of South Australia. At a public meeting in October 1983, Etherington expressed the view that architects took a narrow view of what was worth preserving and stressed the tourism potential of retaining the heritage of cities as had been done in San Francisco, New Orleans and Boston. The Minister of Local Government, Terry Hemmings, criticised the ACC about its decision for the hotel but Bannon then reprimanded Hemmings.⁸⁶

A picket line was established and the Boulderstone workers, who were members of the Australian Building and Construction Workers' Federation, would not cross an official picket line to demolish the hotel. The campaign generated considerable media interest and a petition with several thousand signatures was presented to Chapman. At the ACC meeting in October 1983 the Lord Mayor referred the petition to a committee, which was normal procedure, but this caused considerable concern in the public gallery where the campaigners were expecting the ACC to debate the issue of demolition and the loss of the City's heritage.⁸⁷ The editorial in *The Advertiser* took the position that the campaign to save the hotel was doomed to failure because the building was not on any heritage list. If all City buildings were given some form of preservation listing simply because they were old, the City would stagnate.⁸⁸ To be listed, buildings needed sufficient architectural or historic merit but the community had to decide what it was prepared to pay for their retention in fairness to the owner.

Chapman justified the ACC's position by arguing the application had been approved because it complied with the statutory requirements of the City Plan, and there were no grounds for refusal as the Aurora Hotel was not on any list. The ACC had not wanted the listing of the hotel endangering its plans for the Citicom development and in retrospect the demolition of Aurora was therefore inevitable. Chapman recalled the controversy in the media over the ACC's action in demolishing

⁸⁶ Aurora Heritage Action, 1984, p.26

⁸⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 31 October 1983, p.64.

⁸⁸ *The Advertiser*, 1 November 1983, p.5.

the old ABC buildings in the middle of the night to avoid attention and prevent a possible picket line forming, as had been the case with Aurora.⁸⁹

As a result of continued public unrest, Hopgood, as the Minister responsible for heritage, arranged a meeting between representatives of the ACC, the State, the developer and representatives of the hotel supporters. The developer agreed there would be no demolition for 48 hours while options were explored. Chapman and I attended this meeting and put the ACC's position that legitimate decisions had been made and could not be revoked. If the developer decided to implement the approval there was no action the ACC could take. The hotel supporters suggested that the SAHT could buy the building for low rent accommodation but the SAHT advised the land value for such a development would be considerably less than the \$900,000 that the developer had paid for the site. Consequently, on 14 November 1983 Hopgood and Hemmings issued a joint statement that there was nothing more that the State could do. The developer proceeded to take legal action against five of the prominent hotel supporters to stop the picket. Faced with considerable costs, the picketers ceased. Etherington delivered a eulogy on the footpath outside the hotel on 30 November 1983 and demolition commenced in the early hours of the next day. Etherington said:

If what remains to us of Victorian and Edwardian Adelaide lives because Aurora died, that will soften the loss we feel today.⁹⁰

Journalist Chris Russell wrote in *The Advertiser* that the three independent consultants (Donovan, Marsden & Stark) who had produced the draft Register for consideration by LOMHAC, lamented the loss of the Aurora Hotel as it had been recommended for inclusion in the Register but LOMHAC had not agreed to this.⁹¹ The demolition of the Aurora Hotel and the ACC's demolition of the ABC buildings for its Citicom development led to the formation of the group Aurora Heritage Action Incorporated ('Aurora'). The Aurora group then had an influence in debates within the ACC about the heritage of the City, especially as Etherington was elected to the Council in May 1985 when Jarvis became Lord Mayor.

⁸⁹ Wendy Chapman, oral history interview 29 / 64–73, Adelaide, 20 March 2008.

⁹⁰ Aurora Heritage Action, 1984, p.21.

⁹¹ *The Advertiser*, December 1983, p.5.

The ACC, recognising there was no third party appeal rights, decided that agendas for future meetings of the Planning Approvals Committee, which were not held in public, would be made available to Aurora and to the Building Owners and Managers' Association (BOMA). This reflected the emergence of the two factions within the ACC: pro-heritage and pro-development. Thus, these bodies could make comments on individual applications in the agendas — and this extended the existing arrangements for the North Adelaide Society and the Adelaide Residents' Association.

The demolition of the Aurora Hotel by the private sector and the demolition of buildings by the ACC for its Citicom development raised the public awareness about heritage in Adelaide, while not saving the building. The heritage of Light's plan and the built form of the City became the major issue in the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and the adoption of the next City Plan.

REVIEW OF THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1981–86*

When Bannon became Premier he established a new Community Department, which included Local Government. He appointed Ian McPhail head of this new Department and he played a significant role in changes to the *Local Government Act 1934* in terms of universal adult suffrage and the impact these had on the ACC. The removal of multiple property votes caused considerable criticism in the Legislative Council as people who had such votes were principally members of the ACC. But it was Labor Party policy and the legislation passed because the power structures in the Legislative Council had begun to change and there was no longer much sympathy for the ACC. The key individuals with links to the ACC could no longer exert the influence they once had. Amongst the amendments to the Act was a change that *all* the positions on the ACC became two-year terms.⁹² Chapman sought a further term as Lord Mayor but lost to senior Alderman Jim Jarvis in May 1985, partly because of the convention of limited terms for the Lord Mayor and partly because the new term would now be for two more years, not one year.

The nature of the elected members on the ACC started to change at the 1985 election. The existing commercial, pro-development sector was on one side, and

⁹² Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 61–71, Melbourne, 17 April 2008.

the emerging pro-heritage representatives of residential and community groups on the other. The ACC nominated the new Lord Mayor, Jarvis, and Councillor Mark Hamilton for the CAPC. However, as the gazetted terms of Chapman and Shaw did not expire until November 1985, the ACC wrote to the Governor in terms of section 11(5) of the Act to have them removed as Commissioners so that Jarvis and Hamilton could be appointed. The ACC members of CAPC then became Jarvis, Watson, Manos and Hamilton. The State members were Phipps, Scrafton and Brine with Rob Nichols (recently appointed as the Head of the Department of Housing and Construction) appointed as the fourth member. The CAPC continued its governance role in the City Plan review process, which was then about to commence.

At the meeting between the Premier and Lord Mayor in February 1986, Jarvis used his influence to persuade Bannon that the new Head of the Department of Environment & Planning (Ian McPhail) should replace Phipps, who had just retired, on the CAPC. McPhail observed that a 'separate' City was part of the State's culture but he foresaw that the nature of the ACC would begin to alter and its influence would begin to wane because of the electoral changes he had been responsible for introducing.⁹³

In July 1985 the ACC adopted a procedure for the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and the adoption of a new City Plan.⁹⁴ Bechervaise was seconded from his position as City Planner to become the full time director of the plan review. Geoff Wagner was appointed as the acting City Planner for the ongoing day-to-day operation of the City Planner's Department. A separate office for the plan review team was established at 12 Waymouth Street — in the city but some distance from the Town Hall. The team consisted of four full-time and two half-time professional staff seconded from the City Planner's Department, as well as some support staff. The ACC provided a consultant budget of \$152,000 for specialist external advice. A programme was established so that the new Plan could be exhibited at the World Planning and Housing Congress, which was to be held in Adelaide from 28 September until 3 October 1986. Roche had used his influence as the Lord Mayor in 1976 to secure this event when he and I attended the IFHP congress in The Hague and

⁹³ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 72–74, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

⁹⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 29 July 1985, p.312.

presented a paper. Roche had argued Adelaide would be an appropriate venue as 1986 was South Australia's sesquicentenary year and the heritage of Light's plan would be celebrated.

Jarvis wrote to Bannon in August 1985:

The current plan is in need of a fundamental review to ensure the plan to be adopted in 1986 accurately represents community attitudes for the period 1986–91 and beyond. A very important part of the process will be input by the State Government at all levels. While the City of Adelaide Planning Commission has a role to play in this regard, a political involvement from the State Government is seen as essential for the successful review of the plan.⁹⁵

Bannon and Jarvis got on well personally, which encouraged the State to make a *political* commitment to the review of the City Plan over and above the governance arrangements of the CAPC. Jarvis was adroit in persuading the Premier, and three of his Cabinet, to serve on a joint Steering Committee.⁹⁶ The three Cabinet Ministers were Don Hopgood, Barbara Weise, who had replaced Hemmings as Minister of Local Government, and Gavin Keneally (Minister of Transport).⁹⁷ According to Hopgood, this high-level involvement by key members of Cabinet was an 'audit' of the governance arrangements to ensure the City was moving in a direction compatible with the State.⁹⁸

The ACC nominated five elected members to the joint Steering Committee. In addition to the four members of the CAPC (Jarvis, Watson, Manos and Hamilton), the fifth was Alderman Michael Harrison (Chairman of the Council's Finance Committee). Jarvis wrote to all members of the Steering Committee and confirmed that meetings would be held in the Queen Adelaide Room in the Town Hall. In an astute political move, the four members of State Cabinet would be guests of the ACC on its territory during this period of innovative high level City/State *political* cooperation about the future governance of the City.

Bechervaise engaged consultants Kinhill Stearns to provide a major input into the review in terms of the built form of the City. Kinhill Stearns argued that Light's

⁹⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487.

⁹⁶ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 62–69, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁹⁷ Corporation of the City Adelaide, 1986, p.283.

⁹⁸ Don Hopgood, oral history interview 26 / 41–42, Morphett Vale, 18 February 2008.

Plan contained sophisticated aspects of urban design but the potential of its heritage had not been realised. Development controls had been inadequate in this regard and not sufficiently fine-grained. The market place had not produced creative, innovative or sensitively designed buildings and contemporary towers had not enhanced the City's amenity.⁹⁹ According to Steve Hamnett, the heritage and built form proposals in the draft City Plan were crucial elements in developing an image for the City.¹⁰⁰

Strategically, the Park Lands were an important part of the heritage of Light's plan. The ACC introduced specific objective and supporting policies for the Park Lands. The new Park Lands Environment Objective was:

To conserve and enhance the Park Lands as a publicly accessible landscaped space with generally open character available for a diversity of leisure and recreation activities to serve the City's residents, workers and visitors.¹⁰¹

The ACC also made an innovative decision to have statutory controls applied to the 18 separate parks in the Park Lands.¹⁰² Gerner Sanderson Faggetter & Cheesman were engaged to prepare Desired Future Character Statements for each park which would become a 'Precinct' in the Park Lands.¹⁰³ For the first time, the ACC and the State, through the governance models of the political Steering Committee and the CAPC, had agreed on a joint approach to the management of the Park Lands as an important element of the heritage of Light's plan. The ACC determined that it needed statutory controls for the Park Lands to ensure they were conserved to serve the needs of the City and provide an unbroken green belt.¹⁰⁴

In relation to the Living Objective, consultants Wilson Sayer Core concluded that the ACC had a relevant, beneficial and positive role to play in the ongoing residential development of the City as a facilitator and partner rather than as a developer itself in competition with the private sector. The consultants proposed no fundamental changes, suggesting rather that fine-tuning and a change of emphasis was required and this could be achieved with more Precincts, each with a finer grain

⁹⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File 3395.

¹⁰⁰ Hamnett, 1987, p.63.

¹⁰¹ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.47.

¹⁰² Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.243.

¹⁰³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 15.

¹⁰⁴ Mann, 1986, p.195.

approach. Action should be directed away from those parts of the City where increased density and consequent loss of amenity would have an adverse effect on the DFC of the particular area. Wilson Sayer Core were also the consultants for the review of the Economic Base Objective and they considered that the City did not portray a unique or distinctive image of identity despite its well designed and compact nature and comprehensive range of activities.

As part of the City Plan review, Weise (who was Minister for Tourism as well as Local Government) was keen to promote State tourism, a potential growth activity. She considered that the ACC needed to be active in the assembly and dispersal of information, the coordination and promotion of activities, and the encouragement of development, as discussed at a meeting between Jarvis, Weise and me on 5 June 1986.¹⁰⁵ Jarvis advised the Minister that he considered tourism depended on the retention of the City's unique character and heritage and the City Plan needed to clearly set out urban design principles to guide City development. He agreed he would use his influence to persuade the ACC to promote the City within the State's tourism strategy.

Bechervaise understood the importance of the CAPC in the review process and he established a good working relationship with its secretary (Moulds) and regularly briefed the CAPC on progress with the review of the Plan. But Bechervaise never had any discussions with the Department of Environment & Planning (DE&P) about the City Plan, as the ACC was separate from the State system.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, Manos, as a politician, was concerned that a Director in the DE&P who was responsible for advising the Minister directly on the review of the City Plan, John Hodgson, was suspicious of the ACC and its separate legislation. Manos used his influence to protect the City's position. He observed:

Over many months I developed a special relationship with John Hodgson and we had a lot of meetings in the Mancorp offices. He came to appreciate the different nature and value of the City's planning and development control system.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Personal recollection of the author from the meeting on 5 June 1986.

¹⁰⁶ Harry Bechervaise, oral history interview 31 / 126–31, Adelaide, 28 May 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Bill Manos, oral history interview 14 / 73–76, Sydney, 21 October 2007.

Bechervaise prepared an 'Urban Design Manual' for desirable development based on the work of Kinhill Stearns and the argument that the key features inherent in the heritage of Light's Plan were the Terraces, Squares and Major Axes. He began discussions with the RAlA (SA) about this approach to urban design and proposed the lowering of building heights and the plot ratios in the Core District for economic and aesthetic reasons resulting from the Kinhill Stearns' report. This was a move to a traditional view of the City, where buildings collectively contributed to the structure of spaces.¹⁰⁸ Moulds recalled Bechervaise's views about the need to retain open vistas and create 'walls' to the street but his articulated views on urban design created tension with architects and developers.¹⁰⁹

As a result, architects, after initially discussing proposals with the Department of City Planning, started to lobby elected members when they did not get the advice they wanted to hear. Thus the assessment of development applications in the City started to become political rather than the essentially professionally technical and objective process it had previously been. The pursuit of individualism by a number of architects and developers gave rise to concerns about whether the Built Form Objective in the existing City Plan would be adequate to control new development. This objective was to:

Shape the Built Form of the City by concentrating the largest scale developments in the Core District generally reducing in scale to the Park Lands and ensure that new development respects the character and amenity of existing development.¹¹⁰

Consequently, a considerable amount of time and effort went into revising and expanding this objective. The new Built Form Objective was:

To create a built environment which realises the urban design potential of the Colonel Light Plan for the City of Adelaide while having regard to subsequent development and the need to reinforce exiting areas of character significance.¹¹¹

Bechervaise proposed the area north of North Terrace should be designated as an 'Institutional' District which would be a transition between the Core District

¹⁰⁸ Shelton, 1986.

¹⁰⁹ Bryan Moulds, oral history interview 39 / 105–08, Adelaide, 3 April 2008.

¹¹⁰ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1981, p.16.

¹¹¹ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.42.

and the open spaces of the Park Lands, and the CAPC endorsed this. The CAPC also supported the increase in the number of precincts, which allowed for a fine grain approach and for detailed controls to be incorporated into the DFC Statements. The CAPC considered this would provide for a greater diversity of residential use and a wider range of housing choices. Overall, Bechervaise proposed a lowering of the allowable Plot Ratios, which would result in a less dense development of the City.¹¹²

Bob Teague (a Director within the then DE&P) recalled that one of the biggest problems of the City's *City of Adelaide Development Act 1976* was that there was no power of Interim Development Control (IDC). Thus, when Bechervaise proposed a 'down-zoning' in terms of heights and densities the result was numerous planning applications to take advantage of the existing rather than the proposed rules. A huge glut of office space resulted from this and there was discussion within the DE&P as to whether the ACC should receive IDC powers to avoid such problems in the future. This oversupply of office space severely slowed development in the City for a number of years. Teague made the important observation:

This lack of Interim Development Control powers contributed to early discussions that the City's separate legislation should be repealed and integrated into the State system.¹¹³

The CAPC indicated that it was generally supportive of the direction the review was taking under Bechervaise but in December 1985 it requested that the ACC review all residential aspects of the draft City Plan so that the City would become a more interesting and attractive place to live. The CAPC suggested that incompatible uses in the Residential District should be removed and no new ones allowed. The CAPC also encouraged the ACC to provide for residential uses in specific parts of the Frame District. However, the number of streets in the Residential District being designated as areas of 'Townscape Character' concerned the CAPC as it was not clear what statutory controls would be entailed.¹¹⁴

Late in February 1986, the ACC endorsed the draft Objectives and Policies for the purpose of public exhibition during March in the Review Team offices. At the opening of the exhibition on 4 March, Jarvis stated:

¹¹² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File 3052, Part 8.

¹¹³ Bob Teague, oral history interview 37 / 48–50, Adelaide, 24 April 2008.

¹¹⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File 3052, Part 8.

We must ensure development is undertaken within the context of the City's heritage and its many examples of Colonial architecture.

The RAlA (SA) and BOMA were opposed to the changes Bechervaise was recommending because of fears they had of bureaucratic control over design. Over 40 architects marched on the Town Hall with placards and RAlA (SA) President John Cooper presented a petition to Jarvis opposing any design controls. Steve Hamnett (academic, author, City resident and a member of the State Planning Review) recalled the architects marching on the Town Hall:

This was pretty radical stuff from the Institute and the argument was that the best way forward was to have *no* controls and leave everything to the architects to sort out!¹¹⁵

The RAlA (SA) issued a special edition of its *Journal* in which it aired the views of the Chapter President (John Cooper) and John Chappel about urban design and the City's proposals.¹¹⁶ Bechervaise responded to the architects' criticisms and mounted a spirited defence. He argued that the ACC was committed to marketing the City as a historically interesting place to visit, and as a comfortable and very accessible place in which to work, live and do business. There needed to be a coherent built form with a common design philosophy within which individual designs could be developed. Bechervaise stated the fundamental philosophy that had guided the Plan Review was that future development should respect Light's heritage and planning of the City. Adelaide should capitalise on its unique traits so that the City continued to be a special place. The European-influenced architectural styles had resulted in a building pattern that reinforced the spatial features of the Light's plan. The streets, squares, landmarks and the City form itself were all important elements, he argued. The ACC aimed to promote Adelaide as a City of distinction, style, intimacy and character. The fundamental issue was whether to maintain the tradition and retain, reuse and enhance the existing character, or to invent a new one as with Perth and Brisbane. The purpose of the Urban Design Manual was to guide the interpretation of the plan through examples of 'good manners' taking into account scale, context

¹¹⁵ Steve Hamnett, oral history interview 47 / 98–100, Adelaide, 6 May 2008.

¹¹⁶ Cooper, 1986.

and the use of materials. It was not a statutory document but a guide to good design to achieve a special sense of place for Adelaide.¹¹⁷

Jacuelin Robertson (a Professor of Urban Design from New York) contributed to the debate about the nature of the City when he visited Adelaide, writing in *The Australian*:

Adelaide is in danger of following the 'Houston effect'. In the extreme this is a threat to sensible development as every building tries to be different and stand out. This is the wrong way for Adelaide to go. The solution is to limit the height and plot ratio.¹¹⁸

The CAPC scheduled meetings from April to September 1986 so that it could meet the timetable for its governance role in the review of the Plan. Helen Hele replaced Moulds as the Secretary of the CAPC early in September 1986. The CAPC welcomed the general thrust of the proposed amendments during this period but there was still concern about using 'Townscape Character Areas' as a means of controlling the heritage and built form of the City. Helen Davis (née Hele) recalled there was a lot of controversy with architects and developers after Bechervaise produced a very design-orientated City Plan.¹¹⁹ The State members of the CAPC stressed there would be no support to change any aspects of the CAPC's governance role in the Plan Review process.¹²⁰

Bechervaise recalled that every Wednesday evening for several months he met with Manos, Hamilton and Mant and that the meetings went late into the night. Manos, as Deputy Lord Mayor, had the political responsibility within the ACC for the production of the new City Plan. As well as being a lawyer, Manos was a developer and he had a genuine interest in seeing that the City Plan would be acceptable and workable in the marketplace. Hamilton was the leader of the Council's pro-heritage factor and was also a lawyer. The ACC had engaged John Mant as a legal consultant for the statutory controls to ensure there was integration with the ACC's strategic approach in the new City Plan.

¹¹⁷ Bechervaise, 1986, p.13.

¹¹⁸ *The Australian*, 4 June 1986, p.11.

¹¹⁹ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 26–27, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

¹²⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File 3052, Part 10.

Bechervaise considered architect/planners were important players in his review team because they were concerned with how a building looked and felt in the public realm. The review team spent a great deal of time trying to get the words right, in design terms, for each precinct of the City. However, with three lawyers going through every word of the draft DFCs that the Review Team had prepared, it was extremely hard work. The issue was what the words actually meant in practice. It became clear that Manos viewed the DFC Statements as providing the guidelines for new buildings that would reinforce the existing character, while Hamilton looked at the same words and saw them as the means to prevent buildings from being demolished and the existing character retained. Mant looked at how the words might be used in any appeal situation. This summed up the differences in the ACC about the nature of townscape as part of the City's heritage and the debate in the ACC was to continue for years.¹²¹

When Manos started working on the review of the City Plan he realised that the new plan needed some long-term underpinning. The essential ideas had to be disseminated so that they became a 'given'. He considered an educational programme was needed for the public. Manos questioned what was being taught at the schools of architecture and planning in Adelaide at the time. He believed generations of architects trained at the University of Adelaide did not embrace planning and had a particular attitude about design: they knew (and nobody else did) what good design was, and planning 'rules' about the heritage of the City should not get in the way.¹²²

Manos also recalled that developers and architects put individual Councillors under enormous pressure and the ACC became the last line of defence in design issues relevant to the heritage of the City.¹²³ Hamilton remembered the political differences with Manos over what the DFC Statements actually meant. Hamilton supported the integration of strategic and statutory approaches to the review of the City Plan and he contended the statutory *Principles of Development Control* flowed out of the strategic objectives and policies. Thus, he argued that the *Principles* should have both qualitative and quantitative requirements in a hierarchy with the qualitative controls providing a framework for quantitative controls. This would have resulted

¹²¹ Harry Bechervaise, oral history interview 31 / 81–98, Adelaide, 28 May 2008.

¹²² Bill Manos, oral history interview 14 / 18–33, Sydney, 21 October 2007.

¹²³ Bill Manos, oral history interview 14 / 36–48, Sydney, 21 October 2007.

in a degree of certainty and the qualitative measures would not have been continually questioned. According to Hamilton, when the planning department assessed an application only quantitative controls were applied without enough weight being given to the qualitative controls. Manos's point of view was that the DFCs provided a frame of reference for the character and design of a replacement building but that it could not be used as an argument to protect an existing building. But Hamilton had a different position and believed a DFC Statement should be capable of preventing the demolition of a building that contributed to the character and heritage of the City.¹²⁴ Thus, there were fundamentally different political views within the ACC about what preserving the character of the City really meant. But the argument in favour of retention of existing buildings also reflected a concern about the skills of Adelaide architects and the poor design qualities of replacement buildings they proposed compared to those intended for demolition.

At the meeting of the political Steering Committee in July 1986, Bannon made the important announcement that the State was generally happy with the direction the Plan Review had taken for the future governance of the City.¹²⁵ The draft City Plan attempted to move away from the pragmatism of the previous plans with a return to a more coherent view of the importance of Adelaide's heritage of Light's Plan and the Park Lands. While the proposed Desired Future Character Statements for Precincts in the Park Lands were innovative, the statutory controls over the Park Lands were unlikely to deter the State from alienating Park Lands for developments such as ASER.¹²⁶

ADOPTION OF THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1986–91*

In August 1986 the ACC adopted the draft *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*. Jarvis commented in a special edition of the free *City News* that 1986 was a Jubilee marking 150 years of European settlement in South Australia and the new City Plan was to celebrate the heritage of Light's Plan. Jarvis emphasised the importance of the image of the City, the Park Lands and the historic built form of the Town Acres. From its

¹²⁴ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41/ 54–68, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

¹²⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services File No.1487, Part 18.

¹²⁶ Hamnett, 1987, pp.62–64.

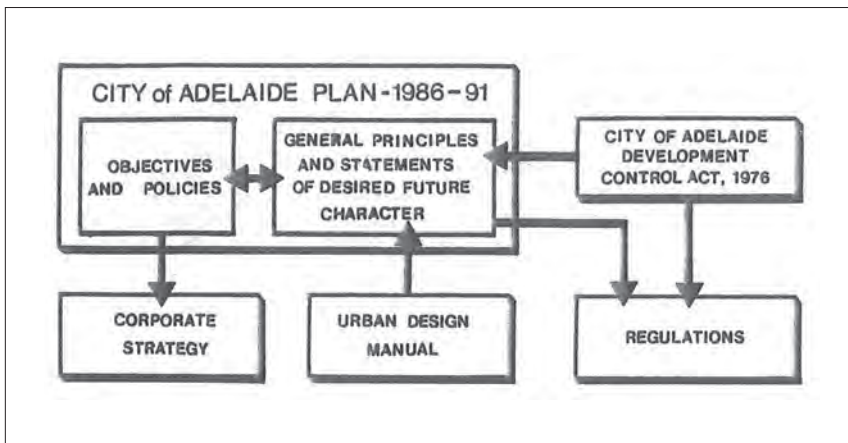


Figure 36: The City's Planning System 1986

very beginning, he observed, the City had been a deliberately planned enterprise and there had been an interest in both its appearance and economic sufficiency.¹²⁷

To ensure maximum public participation the strategic draft objectives and policies of the City Plan were placed on public display in the Old Methodist Meeting Hall (whose history was referred to earlier) for extended hours from Monday to Saturday. The proposed statutory changes, which included the draft Register of 419 individual Heritage Items, were similarly on display in the Plan Review office.¹²⁸

A further free edition of the *City News* was issued in September 1986 in two parts. Part 1 contained the ACC's adopted strategic objectives and policies of the new City Plan. Part 2 contained the draft statutory instruments of the general principles and DFC statements, including the precincts in the Park Lands.¹²⁹ The ACC then held public hearings on the consequential statutory proposals arising from the adoption of the objectives and policies. One was a combined submission from Bill Hayes, Jim Bowen, John Roche and John Chappel — the four original ACC members of the CADC — arguing that the proposed heritage list had gone too far and they were concerned about the implications for development of the City.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Acquisition 2915, Item 3.

¹²⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Acquisition 2915, Item 1, p.2.

¹²⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Acquisition 2915, Item 3.

¹³⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Administrative Services' File 1487, Part 18.

According to Manos the new City Plan had to build on the City's existing assets by acknowledging and reaffirming Light's grid layout of the City. It maintained the clear distinction between the built Town Acres and the Park Lands and ensured that new development, whilst contemporary in spirit, acknowledged the context in which it was being built. The built form controls were framed to provide a key emphasis on the quality of urban design.¹³¹

The integration of strategic and statutory elements through the CAPC continued in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*. The square format of previous City Plans was continued but this time the ACC made the interesting choice of grey for the cover. Grey is a neutral colour and it was seen as a balance between an 'all-black' view (development would be impeded) or an 'all-white' view (the City would be a better place) of what was being proposed for the City for the next five years.¹³² This City Plan soon became popularly known as 'The Grey Book'. It consisted of six parts rather than three books that had been the case with the previous documents and it did not contain any of the ACC's Action Projects. Figure 36 shows the system of city planning in relation to the ACC's broader corporate strategy for the City.

According to Hamnett, the document was better organised than previous City Plans and it was more readable to have all the development control information gathered together. He argued it was a true City Plan concerned with achieving a particular character for the City.¹³³ On 28 April 1987 the ACC adopted the amended statutory provisions of the City Plan and referred them to the CAPC under section 8 of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. Jarvis, in a Lord Mayor's report to that meeting of the Council, said:

Quite herculean efforts have gone into drafting the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*. This has been a consuming passion of the Council but I think when the results are put into practice the process will have been entirely justified.¹³⁴

The six parts of the new City Plan were as follows:

¹³¹ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.5.

¹³² Kohl, 1998.

¹³³ Hamnett, 1987, p.69.

¹³⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 28 April 1987, p.2546.

- Part 1 — Objectives
- Part 2 — Policies
- Part 3 — Principles of Development Control (with a specific section for the Park Lands)
- Part 4 — Statements of Desired Future Character
- Part 5 — Regulations under the Act
- Part 6 — The Register of City of Adelaide Heritage items.¹³⁵

The statutory provisions were gazetted in December 1987 and this concluded the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and the adoption of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*.¹³⁶

CONCLUSION

The period from November 1982 until May 1987 saw important changes in the key individuals in the City and the State who influenced the planning of the City. The State was prepared to use special legislation for the ASER proposal, as it contained elements that were inconsistent with the provisions of the City Plan, particularly an office building. This tested the governance arrangements of the CAPC but Bannon later agreed with Jarvis to establish a high level *political* Steering Committee to oversee the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and the adoption of the new *City of Adelaide Plan 1988–91*.

The State also supported the ACC's approach to a detailed and comprehensive study of the heritage of the City and subsequently the study won an award from the Australian Council of National Trusts. One of the outcomes of this innovative study was a list of individual buildings that, after due process, became the Register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items supported by statutory controls and with financial and other incentives provided to owners. The loss of the Aurora Hotel, which was not a listed building, resulted in the formation of the Aurora Heritage Action Group and the election of one of its leaders to the ACC. Over the next few years, Aurora began to exercise considerable influence over the debate about the character of the City within the ACC where two clear factions emerged: pro-development and pro-heritage.

¹³⁵ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, p.11.

¹³⁶ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 23 December 1987, p.1916.

Jarvis and Manos (the Deputy Lord Mayor who had political responsibility for the plan review process) provided the political leadership and influence to have the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* adopted containing Desired Future Character Statements of Precincts with precise wording and a register of 419 individual Heritage Items.¹³⁷ The City Plan introduced statutory controls over the Park Lands for the first time. Bechervaise, the City Planner, emphasised the heritage of Light's plan for the City and the importance of character. He developed an urban design framework for new development and set a direction for the built form of the City, which enhanced the reputation of the ACC as being at the forefront of integrated strategic and statutory city planning in Australia.¹³⁸

However, the nature of the overall character of the City, rather than just the retention of individual buildings, was not resolved and was deferred on political grounds and legal advice until the next Plan Review due to begin in 1990. 'Character' was set to become a very divisive issue within the community, the ACC and the State.

¹³⁷ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, pp.273–81.

¹³⁸ Hamnett, 1987, p.70.

11

The Condous Lord Mayoralty and the declining importance of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CONDOUS LORD MAYORALTY

This chapter examines the period from May 1987, when Steve Condous was first elected as Lord Mayor. I also review the decline in the status and importance of the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC). Jim Jarvis maintained the informal ACC convention of not seeking a further term as Lord Mayor and Steve Condous, the senior Alderman, was elected unopposed to the office in May 1987. At this election Jim Jarvis, John Watson and Bill Manos all retired from the ACC. Thus, there was a considerable loss of knowledge and expertise about planning the City and the ACC's governance arrangements with the State. Condous was first elected as a Councillor for the south-west of the City in 1968 and had served on various ACC committees, but he had not been involved in any of the strategic discussions with the State about the governance of the City.

Condous was appointed as Chairman of the CAPC in July 1987. Ian McPhail, Derek Scrafton, Judith Brine and Rob Nichols remained as the State members. Table 6 shows key individuals who had influence during the period from May 1987.

John Bannon*	Labor Premier of South Australia until 1992
Lynn Arnold*	Labor Premier of South Australia from 1992 until 1993
Susan Lenehan*	Minister for Environment and Planning from 1987 until 1992
Greg Crafter*	Minister for Planning and Urban Development from 1992 until 1993
Steve Condous*	Lord Mayor, Chairman CAPC from 1987 until 1993
Henry Ninio+	Lord Mayor, Chairman CAPC from May 1993
Mark Hamilton*	Deputy Lord Mayor, Commissioner, Chairman Plan Review Committee
Jane Jose*	Councillor, Commissioner
Ian McPhail*	Commissioner and Director, Department of Environment & Planning
Michael Lennon*	Director, State Planning Review
Helen Hele*	Secretary, CAPC from September 1986 until December 1993
John Hodgson*	City Planner, City of Adelaide from 1987
Michael Llewellyn-Smith	Chief Executive Officer/City Manager, City of Adelaide until 1994 (the author)
* Signifies an interviewee	+ Signifies unable to be interviewed for medical reasons

Table 6: Individuals of influence 1987–1993

When Condous became Chairman, the CAPC was dealing with the consequential statutory controls for the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* to ensure there was integration with the strategic objectives and policies as adopted by the ACC. Two special meetings of the CAPC were held in August and two more in September 1987 to consider these statutory provisions. The Desired Future Character Statements (DFCs) for the new Institutional District and Park Lands District were innovative statutory controls and the CAPC worked through the wording for them in detail. The CAPC endorsed the City Plan and adopted its statutory components at the end of September, referring them to the Minister under the provisions of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. These included regulations to authorise the *City of Adelaide Heritage Register* and the innovative Transferable Floor Area (TFA) scheme, which required the ACC to maintain a record of any transfers.¹ The CAPC suggested a consecutive numbering system for all the Listed Buildings that would be included in the DFCs within all the precincts of the five districts. This clarified the nature of the regulation and ensured the heritage of the City was recognised in the

¹ For example, the TFA on ‘Observatory House’ in Flinders Street was sold for \$166,200, which enabled restoration and maintenance work to be carried out.

statutory controls for the first time.² After consideration by the Minister and then Cabinet, the revised *Principles of Development Control* were approved by the Governor and gazetted.³

Thus, the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* came into operation as a result of extensive review, major public exhibitions and wide community consultation. The CAPC's annual report for 1986/87 stated that Adelaide was unique in the way it planned and controlled development in the City with the ACC, the State Government and the CAPC all extensively involved in the preparation of the Plan.⁴

In the middle of 1987, a restructure of the administration of the ACC began. At that time, Bechervaise was due to return to his substantive position of City Planner and I (as the then City Manager) requested that he take on additional responsibilities for Community Services.⁵ Bechervaise had been influential in producing the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* but he felt exhausted after two years of hard work and long hours and he did not want to have a large administrative responsibility. Consequently, Bechervaise resigned from the Council in August 1987 and decided to use his expertise in urban design by setting up a private practice to assist architects and developers in their dealings with the ACC.⁶ Bechervaise was quoted in *The Advertiser* as saying that after being the Director of the Plan Review he did not want to return to the administrative duties of a head of department, especially if required to take on additional responsibilities for Community Services.⁷

After an extensive selection process, John Hodgson from the State Public Service was appointed as the new City Planner in November 1987. As indicated in Chapter 10, Manos had used his influence to persuade Hodgson of the merits of the City's separate system during the Plan review and Hodgson became a supporter of the independence of the City from the rest of the State. He was influential in the Townscape debate that I cover later in this chapter.

² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 14.

³ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 23 December 1987, p.1916.

⁴ State Records, City of Adelaide Planning Commission, File 17/86.

⁵ The ACC had decided that the term Town Clerk/Chief Executive Officer was too cumbersome and in 1987 I became known as the City Manager.

⁶ Harry Bechervaise, oral history interview 31 / 134–39, Adelaide, 28 May 2008.

⁷ *The Advertiser*, 11 August 1987, p.5.

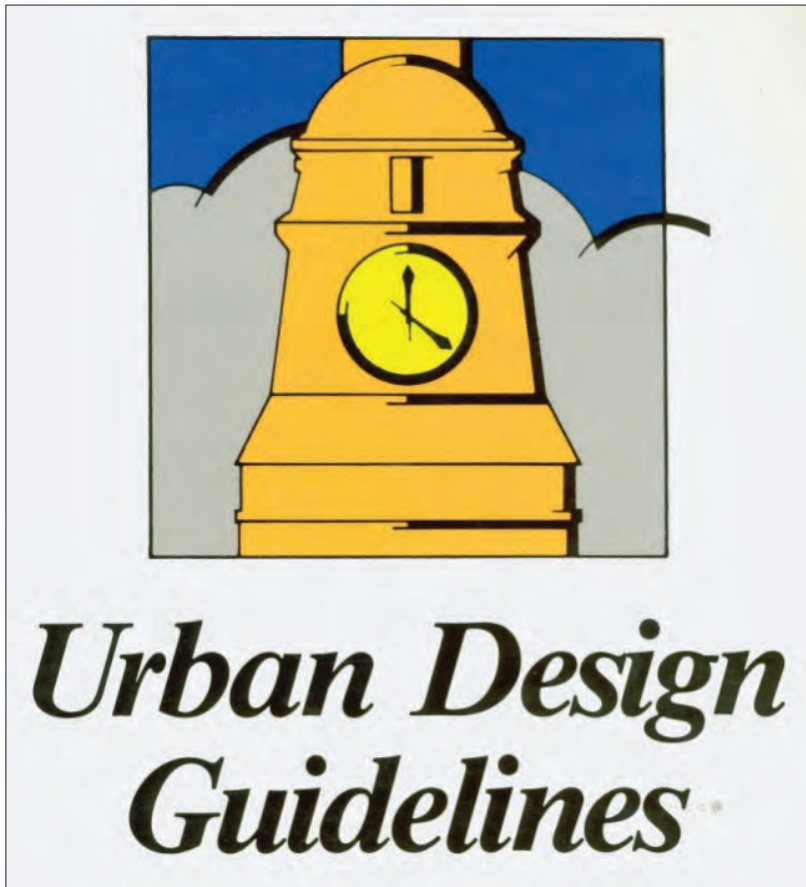


Figure 37: Urban Design Guidelines

As a result of the changes to the *City Plan 1986–91* made by the CAPC in December 1987, the City Planner reported to Council in March 1988 and recommended that its strategic objectives and policies be amended to conform to the statutory changes to the *Principles* and the regulations. While the City's planning system had always involved the integration of strategic and statutory processes, the statutory changes had evolved from the strategic objectives and policies. Thus, it was unusual for the ACC to amend its policy document *after* statutory changes by the CAPC, but Hodgson gave a briefing to the elected members about the changes and through his influence the ACC adopted them in April 1988. The City Planner also requested that the elected members advise him by the end of August 1988 of any

matters that they wanted addressed in the next Plan Review.⁸ Work continued under Hodgson on the preparation of the *Urban Design Guidelines*, as Figure 37 shows.

The guidelines, which had been initiated by Bechervaise, were to illustrate the fundamental urban design principles included in the General Principles and Desired Future Character Statements in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* and they were launched by the Lord Mayor in July 1988.

DECLINE IN THE STATUS OF THE CAPC

According to Davis (née Hele), who was secretary of the CAPC at the time, Condous did not have the breadth of planning experience needed for the position of Chairman. She recalled that when he became Chairman, he said to her:

You are really running the meeting — I am only here because I have to be.⁹

Davis further expressed the view that under Condous the CAPC gradually became a body that the State really ran and was no longer an effective joint body for the governance of the City.¹⁰ Condous admitted he found it difficult dealing with Commissioner Ian McPhail, who was the Director of Environment and Planning. Condous further observed that McPhail gave the impression that the ACC was becoming irrelevant and that the State was going to make all the important decisions affecting the development of the City.¹¹ Indeed, according to Davis, McPhail had pre-agenda meetings to determine how everything on the agenda would be dealt with and that he had the State votes arranged. He could usually rely on at least one ACC member to support the State's position on an important issue and there was never a tied vote.¹² Thus, the influence of McPhail on the governance of the City was substantial. McPhail made the observation:¹³

I took my role as a Commissioner very seriously but, as in most good committees, the deals had been done before the Commission met.

⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

⁹ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 19–20, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

¹⁰ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 17–18, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

¹¹ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 95–97, Norwood, 1 March 2008.

¹² Helen Davis, oral history interview, 40 / 21–23, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

¹³ Ian McPhail, oral history interview 34 / 80–82, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

Susan Lenehan replaced Hopgood as the Minister of Environment and Planning in 1987. She observed that she found the CAPC a valuable joint body for the governance of the City because it was a vehicle for dialogue between the two levels of government; it was the means of knowing what was happening in the City and what was coming up. In this context she found it very useful that her influential Head of Department (McPhail) was a Commissioner.¹⁴

McPhail also had a view about the governance aspects of the CAPC at the administrative level. He appointed Phil Smith as the Executive Officer to the CAPC when Helen Hele was the Secretary. As described earlier, John Mant had organised for the Secretary to be based in the Town Hall. McPhail and Smith had two concerns with this arrangement. First, there was the lack of backup as only one person had the specialist knowledge and background to do the job. Second, they were physically on their own. If the Secretary was sick or resigned, and when there were peaks in workload, the State had to provide the resources with someone going cold into the position at the Town Hall with little or no notice. Thus the issues were the lack of continuity and backup, a lack of succession planning for a unique job, and the fact that the Secretary was the only person in the planning agency who was writing assessment reports for the CAPC, that is, no one else was vetting and checking them. It was a policy in the State agency to always have two people involved in development assessments because one person may miss something or 'not see the wood for the trees'. In the Secretary's case, it was a position intimately involved with the CAPC and the City and thus a Secretary might miss the wider metropolitan and State perspective.

Accordingly, Smith started attending all CAPC meetings and he was able to bring some influence to bear on alternative or different perspectives on issues. On reflection, he believed that the combination of an Executive Officer and a Secretary worked well because there was always a backup and this gave more security for the State's agency to responsibly service the CAPC.¹⁵

Smith also observed that a perception existed that the Secretary actually worked for the ACC. As an individual based in the Town Hall and working closely with the Lord Mayor (as Chairman of the CAPC) and the City administration, it was easy to assume the Secretary had been 'captured' by the ACC and was not really

¹⁴ Susan Lenehan, oral history interview 27 / 55–60, Adelaide, 7 March 2008.

¹⁵ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 38–40, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

an independent officer of the State agency.¹⁶ McPhail advised the ACC in September 1989 that the Secretary was to be relocated out of the Town Hall and physically based in the Metropolitan Branch of his Department in Grenfell Street. While Condous and I recognised the arguments about the location of the Secretary, we saw that this move was part of the State's view that the CAPC was losing its importance. However, Condous used his influence as Chairman to ensure the CAPC itself continued to meet in the Colonel Light Room of the Town Hall.¹⁷

Condous stood again for Lord Mayor in May 1989 and was successful, winning the election against the then senior Alderman Ross Davis, who did not enjoy the support of most of the other members of the ACC. Thus, for the first time the tradition of a limited term of office for the Lord Mayor was broken. However, Condous could no longer rely on the support the other elected members usually gave the Lord Mayor. Also at this time, the ACC became quite divided along pro-development and pro-heritage lines with only a few non-committed members.

While the protocol of nominating the Lord Mayor as Chairman of the CAPC continued, the ACC nominated Alderman Brian Anders and the relatively junior Councillors Mary-Lou Jarvis and Sam Christodolou as the other Commissioners. The State retained McPhail and Scafton as Commissioners but replaced Rob Nichols with Mary Marsland and Judith Brine with Sandra Eccles. Marsland and Eccles were middle managers in State bureaucracies (Housing and Technology respectively). Thus, there was a perceived loss of status in the State Government's appointments. However, it was clear that McPhail was going to exert considerable influence when he advised the ACC that the Strategy Branch of his Department would take a close interest in the next review of the City Plan and how the City related to the wider State strategy for the metropolitan area.¹⁸

Following the appointment of these Commissioners there were no policy or project reports on CAPC agendas for the remainder of 1989 and it only carried out its statutory functions.¹⁹ Davis observed that the ACC representatives did not have the interest or expertise they once had; they were parochial and they failed to think

¹⁶ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 41–44, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

¹⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 19.

¹⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 20.

¹⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3144, part 4.

of the broader picture. It became obvious to Davis that the elected members had lost direction over the years and no longer supported the planning function — and that development of the City at all costs was the agenda.²⁰

At the elections in May 1991 Condous was again a candidate for Lord Mayor. While he was successful, for the first time the pro-heritage faction, with substantial campaigning by Aurora Heritage Action, took control of the ACC with a majority of 10 votes to six. Alderman Mark Hamilton became the Deputy Lord Mayor with responsibility for the review of the *City Plan 1986–91* and the adoption of the *City Plan 1991–96*. While the ACC nominated Condous as Chairman, the other three Commissioners from 1 July 1991 were Councillors Jane Rann, Chris Douglas and Alan Rye, all of the pro-heritage faction.²¹ The State Government replaced McPhail with David Ellis (from the Department of Environment and Planning), Scrafton with Rod Payze (the new Director of the Department of Transport) and Eccles with Mary Beasley (from public health). Thus only Condous and Marsland provided any continuity and knowledge of the governance arrangements of the City, while there were six new Commissioners.²² The role of the joint CAPC in the governance of the City was beginning to lose its relevance and importance.²³ Davis recalled that of the new Commissioners who contributed to CAPC debates, Rann was passionate about heritage on the ACC side and Payze stood out on the Government side as he thought broadly about the planning issues affecting the City.²⁴

Jane Jose (Jane Rann as a Councillor) considered there was a deliberate downgrading of the CAPC by the State by the time she became a Commissioner.²⁵ According to Payze, the ACC members on the CAPC had a strong view to protect the City's existing position rather than allowing the City to develop. The State believed the pro-heritage ACC was anti-development and that it was therefore necessary to have a broader perspective in the CAPC from the State members. Payze suggested further that they were able to look at the wider economic and social implications

²⁰ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 67–69, North Adelaide, May 2008.

²¹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 21.

²² South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 20 August 1991, p.885.

²³ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 67–69, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

²⁴ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 58–62, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

²⁵ Jane Jose, oral history interview 45 / 79–80, Adelaide, 2 May 2008.

of development rather than the ACC members who were conscious of the voting consequences of the City electorate resulting from the CAPC decision-making. There were views within Government that from the early days the City had been the catalyst for the growth, development and prosperity of the State. But by the early 1990s, Payze considered, there were other centres within the metropolitan area besides the CBD. There was a growing feeling in the State that the ACC had become introspective and thought too much of its own importance and thus it was not taking into account the broader planning issues. Payze reflected on the changes:

The Commission had become orientated to its statutory role of assessment and its importance was declining as the State was pursuing a multi-centered metropolitan area. The influence of the ACC had changed since the 1970s and the State no longer needed a separate system for the City.²⁶

In its early days the CAPC had consisted of key individuals from the ACC and the State who had exerted considerable influence on the development of the City. But the decline in its status, importance and relevance can be traced to the time when Condous became Chairman in 1987.

HOUSE OF CHOW RESTAURANT

The demolition of the Aurora Hotel was a pivotal point in the debate about the heritage of the City in terms of individual buildings. The demolition of the House of Chow Restaurant in Hutt Street in the south-east of the City (see Figure 38) was a turning point in the divisive debate about the retention of the character of the built form of the City. In late 1987 the ACC approved an application to demolish the House of Chow and replace it with a three-storey office building as it was considered it met the statutory controls, subject to the concurrence of the CAPC. John Hodgson, who was then the City Planner, observed:

The building had no heritage protection. There were better buildings of its type elsewhere in the City and it had been extensively modified internally and externally. But it was seen by the community as a landmark building and it became symptomatic of the Townscape debate.²⁷

²⁶ Rod Payze, oral history interview 44 / 59–62, Hyde Park, 19 May 2008.

²⁷ John Hodgson, oral history interview 32 / 105–08, Adelaide, 11 March 2008.



Figure 38: House of Chow Restaurant, Hutt Street

The House of Chow was on the City's Character Schedule and in an interesting decision the CAPC refused to concur with the ACC decision and thus refused the application. The developer, the Antonas brothers, went to the Appeals Tribunal, which upheld the appeal in December 1989. The developer did not immediately exercise the approval and in the *Sunday Mail* a spokesman for Aurora argued the building was an important part of the character of Adelaide.²⁸ In the *City Messenger* the State Member of Parliament for Adelaide, Michael Armitage, the two Ward Councillors for the area (Elizabeth Gordon and Alan Rye), and the State Director of the National Trust all expressed their concerns at the proposed demolition.²⁹

The Antonas brothers had not previously been involved in the development field and started demolition without the necessary separate approval under the *Building Act 1971*. Being aware of the issues over the Aurora Hotel, the developer used non-union labour to start demolition. The City Building Surveyor issued an order to stop the demolition and a community picket line soon formed. This included Councillors

²⁸ *Sunday Mail*, 14 April 1991, p.5.

²⁹ *City Messenger*, 17 April 1991, p.8.

Jane Rann, Alan Rye and Michael Gibbs, all members of the pro-heritage faction that had taken control of the ACC in the May 1991 elections. However, by July 1991 the House of Chow was damaged beyond repair and a union ban was placed on the site because non-union labour had been used for the demolition. Thus, the site could not be cleared and it was to remain undeveloped for years.³⁰

The demolition had an immediate impact on the Townscape debate and in September 1991 the pro-heritage ACC decided to proceed with statutory controls to protect Townscape. The ACC considered that protection for important *groups of buildings* was urgently needed to maintain the character of the City.³¹

Lynn Arnold, who was to become Premier after Bannon, reflected on the view in Cabinet:

The phrase 'to bathe Adelaide in aspic' was used in Cabinet quite often at this time and there was an irritation about those in the community who seemed to want no changes to the City. There was something of a 'crane fetish' and Cabinet considered the number of cranes on the skyline was a good sign and the extent of development was a measure of success for the State.³²

Cabinet considered what was happening in Adelaide very much reflected the position in the State and that the House of Chow was an important issue about development in the City. The State did not want to see the planning system abused by an unnecessary thwarting of a legitimate planning approval. The division in the ACC between the pro-heritage and pro-development factions was a point of tension and began to influence the State's view of the governance arrangements between the ACC and the State. Arnold observed that Cabinet believed it was hard to obtain development approval in Adelaide compared to the other capital cities.³³

TOWNSCAPE

The demolition of the House of Chow Restaurant and the value of its retention, compared with a new development on the site, became central to the debate about

³⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

³¹ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC Meeting 16 September 1991, p.732.

³² Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 26–29, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

³³ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 30–35, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

townscape as an element of the heritage of the City. It was a divisive issue within the ACC and in the community. Townscape evolved from the Character Schedule, which was an unresolved issue arising from the adoption of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* (see Chapter 10) and which became the major issue in the review of this City Plan.

John Hodgson was still in the Department of Environment and Planning in August 1987 when Bannon asked him to undertake a brief review of the planning systems then operating in the City and the rest of the State. This was in response to a number of difficulties both developers and State agencies had reported to the Government. The major issue that emerged from his review was how the ACC was dealing with heritage in the City. A Joint Industry Committee on Planning represented a group of various building interests. They were particularly concerned with the dampening effect on development as a consequence of heritage listings of buildings and argued that a number of buildings of dubious heritage value had been listed. It appeared that some listings had more to do with architectural character and contribution to the streetscape rather than any intrinsic heritage quality. In their view, the objective should be to retain the particular character given by the existing building in a new development, rather than retaining the building itself. They were concerned the ACC's Townscape proposal would be interpreted to retain the existing buildings rather than with the form and character required of the replacement building.³⁴

In April 1988 the ACC initiated a study to identify 'Significant Character Areas' and the means to achieve them. In a report on this matter, the City Planner advised that as well as a strategic approach to Streetscape there would need to be integration with statutory controls. Some form of listing and an appropriate covering Principle and/or a detailed specification of appropriate infill development within the DFC Statements would be required.³⁵

Almost a year later, the ACC mounted a 'Character of the City of Adelaide' exhibition in the foyer of the recently completed State Bank Centre. The purpose of the one-month public display was to indicate streetscapes that had survived in the City and were considered to be meritorious. They were marked on precinct maps

³⁴ John Hodgson, oral history interview 32 / 15–33, Adelaide, 11 March 2008.

³⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 15.

and supported by a brief statement of their importance.³⁶ There were 87 responses, consisting of eight from development or conservation bodies and 79 from individuals. The majority acknowledged the heritage of the City arising from Light's Plan and that Adelaide still had a character worthy of protection. The ACC authorised the City Planner to further investigate areas in the Frame and Residential Districts as the heritage in the City's Core District had essentially already been lost.³⁷ The four criteria to evaluate appropriate areas were aesthetic, cultural, historical and architectural. The architectural criteria included commonality in terms of age, style, scale, setback and siting, subdivision pattern, detailing, materials, colour and finishes.³⁸

As a result of the City Planner's investigation, the ACC decided the term 'Townscape' would be used. An exhibition of townscape proposals was opened in November 1989 in three locations around the City — the CBD, North Adelaide and south-east Adelaide — to encourage wide community involvement. Journalist Nigel Hopkins wrote in *The Advertiser* that the Building Owners and Managers' Association (BOMA) was concerned at the extent of State and ACC heritage lists and was therefore completely opposed to the townscape proposals.³⁹ The City Planner considered there should be a clear distinction between *individual* buildings and those buildings that *contributed* to the physical and aesthetic quality of the City's heritage in terms of Townscape. However, in July 1990 the ACC decided the relevant statutory procedures would commence for all buildings in the townscape proposals to be included on the City of Adelaide Heritage Register.

This put the cooperative ACC/State approach to the governance of the City at risk as the State was very concerned at this course of action by the ACC. Minister Lenehan wrote to the Lord Mayor in August and requested that the ACC consider the establishment of a review committee comprised of ACC representatives, State representatives, historians, architects, property owners and residents. The committee would recommend to the ACC any additions to the City's Heritage List. The evaluation of any additional items should proceed on the basis of retaining a defensible

³⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

³⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 15.

³⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 22.

³⁹ *The Advertiser*, 23 May 1990, p.17.

list meeting publicly available criteria for heritage assessment. The Minister further advised the townscape proposals should be deferred and become a matter for policy development as part of the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91*.⁴⁰

THE CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The ACC recognised the influence the Minister could bring to bear and in late August 1990 decided to establish a City of Adelaide Heritage Advisory Committee (COAHAC) to determine whether further individual buildings should be added to the Register, noting no additional items had been gazetted since 1987. The City Planner and I jointly recommended appropriate members of the Advisory Committee broadly along the lines suggested by the Minister. There was some concern in the community about the process that would be followed for any additional listing and this caused delay and debate within the ACC. It was not until February 1991 that the ACC appointed COAHAC with membership as shown in Table 7. The ACC also directed the City Planner to examine the Character Schedule on the basis it was the stock of buildings to be considered for listing in the City of Adelaide Register of Heritage Items, or for Townscape. There was an increase in the staff resources in the Planning Department to provide appropriate advice to COAHAC.⁴¹

The Advisory Committee met on six occasions and worked through all individual buildings recommended by the City Planner after assessment by his Department. An additional 104 items were exhibited and then COAHAC heard objections to listing from 40 owners. COAHAC recommended 117 items be added to the City's Register.⁴² These were the 104 individual buildings and 13 that were statues, memorials, public gardens and the West Terrace Cemetery. They would all eventually become part of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*.⁴³

The COAHAC Chairman, Ken Taueber, was the former Director of Lands and a respected retired public servant. Susan Lenehan reflected on why her idea of a broadly-based review committee was so important and the influence she had on

⁴⁰ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

⁴¹ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC Meeting 17 December 1990, p.2671.

⁴² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 25.

⁴³ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, Schedule 1, pp.321–32.

Ken Taueber	Independent Chairman
Peter Bell	Independent expert – heritage consultant
Andrew Cawthorne	Aurora Heritage Action Incorporated
William Close	Real Estate Institute of SA
Bruce Harry	RAIA (SA)
Gretchen Lindner	National Trust of South Australia
Sue Marsden	Independent expert - historian
Kate McDougall	Independent expert - heritage consultant
Grant Pember	Building Owners and Managers' Association (BOMA)
John Perse	SA Institute of Valuers
Hamish Ramsay	Adelaide Residents' Association
Barry Rowney	Independent expert - architect
Peter Stephens	North Adelaide Society
Doug Wallace	RAPI (SA)

Table 7: Members of the City of Adelaide Heritage Advisory Committee

the heritage of the City. If, as a result of comprehensive dialogue and research, the committee came up with a recommendation to list a particular building, then this would be a real defence for her against a developer wanting to demolish it. As Minister she could argue that the listing of an individual building had not resulted from the influence of the Lord Mayor or an individual councillor, but from a broadly-based committee after extensive and thorough consultation. This provided a way forward in conserving the heritage of the City through the listing of individual buildings and items, but not groups of buildings without individual merit.⁴⁴

After the election of the pro-heritage ACC in May 1991, the State became more concerned about the townscape proposals and the implications for the development of the City. Lenehan wrote a further letter to Condous in September 1991, advising that she had set up an informal working party (which included the City Planner) to advise her about Townscape.⁴⁵ The working party was chaired by David Ellis of her Department. The City Planner put forward an Issues Paper to the working party that covered:

⁴⁴ Susan Lenehan, oral history interview 27 / 14–55, Adelaide, 7 March 2008.

⁴⁵ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 17.

- Retention of the traditional character of the City
- Equity for building owners (especially in the Core and Frame given the City Plan provisions)
- Defensible selection criteria
- Legislative mechanism for dealing with items identified.⁴⁶

Ellis used his influence as chairman to steer the working party away from the townscape concept and to give consideration to the use of historic (conservation) zones that were available under an amendment introduced by Bannon in 1987 to the *Planning Act 1982*. But there was no such provision under the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and thus this approach would involve a legislative change if it was to be pursued.

Lenehan recalled there were all sorts of arguments at the time suggesting the townscape proposals would hold Adelaide back, such as it was a backwater and the ACC was anti-development. It was therefore important for the State to understand what the ACC was trying to achieve and Lenehan considered this involved the retention of the heritage character of the City. But she also emphasised that one had to be realistic and everything could not be put on the ACC's list; if there were too many and these were of dubious value, the quality of the list itself would be diluted.⁴⁷

The City Planner reported to the ACC in September that the Minister's working party had recommended that there be 'contributory items' or 'Conservation Zones'. Mark Hamilton was the leader of the pro-heritage faction controlling the ACC and under his influence it chose not to accept this advice and instead continued with its townscape proposal. This added to the State's growing concerns about the governance arrangements for the City and the direction the ACC was taking. The ACC directed the City Planner to redraft the DFC Statements as part of the *1991–96 City Plan* with a new heading of 'Townscape Context'.⁴⁸

According to Hodgson, the pro-development and pro-heritage groups each wanted his Planning Department to be an ally in its cause but his view was that the Department should provide impartial professional advice without fear or favour and not become influenced by either faction. Jose asserted that Hamilton took the

⁴⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

⁴⁷ Susan Lenehan, oral history interview 27 / 14–55, Adelaide, 7 March 2008.

⁴⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 18.

position that the elected members had the responsibility for the Plan and the Planning Department had to write it as the elected members wanted. Indeed, Hamilton used his influence to direct and wordsmith the work himself in quite a legalistic way.⁴⁹

In November 1991 the ACC adopted a 'Register of City of Adelaide Contributory Townscape Items', which contained a schedule of the buildings, maps showing their location, the relevant wording in the draft Desired Future Character Statements and a proposal to expand the existing Heritage Principle.⁵⁰ Hamilton was persistent and in December 1991, under his influence, the ACC requested the Minister for Environment and Planning to immediately amend the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and provide for interim protection of these items considered to be of townscape significance. A notice appeared in the *Gazette* that an exhibition of Townscape would be open to the public from 10 December 1991 until 28 February 1992. Any representation was requested to be in the form of an argument about the quality of the building proposed for the townscape Register.⁵¹

The issue of the City's heritage was important in the community and as a result of the townscape exhibition, 612 representations were received: 254 favoured listing, 316 were against, and 42 were ambivalent. In the Core and Frame Districts 116 were opposed and six were in favour; while in the Residential District 160 were opposed and 158 in favour. Of the general submissions not related to individual items, 41 were opposed and 90 in favour. The ACC employed heritage consultants McDougall & Vines to review the representations. Building owners were advised they could be heard by a Townscape Advisory Group (TAG), which the ACC would appoint, and that there would be a further exhibition of the proposals in September and October 1992. An unexpected consequence of the exhibition was that almost 700 *new* items were proposed for Townscape listing.⁵²

⁴⁹ Jane Jose, oral history interview 45 / 60–63, Adelaide, 2 May 2008.

⁵⁰ I declared an interest to the ACC in the report on Townscape as my wife and I owned a property in the south-east of the City that would be affected. The ACC unanimously resolved to note the City Manager's interest in an item in the Townscape proposal but authorised me to take any necessary *administrative* action regarding Townscape.

⁵¹ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 5 December 1991, p.1731.

⁵² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

REVIEW OF THE *CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1986–91*

Under the ACC's commitment to a five-yearly planning cycle as part of its governance arrangement with the State, the new *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* should have been available at the end of 1991 after two years of review of the existing City Plan. However, with the majority of resources in the City Planner's Department devoted to the issue of Townscape, as one element of review, it was not until February 1992 that the City Planner recommended new strategic objectives and policies for the draft *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*. An important new policy referred to 'Distinctive areas incorporating Heritage buildings and important Townscapes in the Residential District'. In April, Hamilton used his influence for the ACC to appoint a working party of five to manage the remainder of the City Plan review process. Besides Hamilton himself, Councillors Jane Rann, Chris Douglas, Bob Angove and Jacqui Gillen were all from the pro-heritage faction. A proposal to also include Councillors Sam Christodoulou and Charles Moschakis (pro-development) was lost on factional lines in the ACC vote.

Opposition in the community to the townscape proposal continued to grow and the leaders of the two factions, Hamilton and Ninio, clashed in an ACC meeting, as *The Advertiser* reported.⁵³ Ninio described Hamilton as having 'a born again fundamentalist attitude to the important and sensitive issue of heritage' while Hamilton described Ninio as 'the leader of a small but noisy rump of anti-heritage members of Council using scare tactics to stir up the community'.

The City Planner, Hodgson, advised the ACC that State officials were opposed to the way in which the ACC was proceeding with its townscape proposal. The State's position was to have State Heritage Items, Local Heritage Items and Historic Conservation Zones in the City.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, at the May meeting, after much debate, the ACC decided to proceed with the townscape proposal despite the known opposition from the State. Hamilton stated:

⁵³ *The Advertiser*, 4 May 1992, p.44.

⁵⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 26.

I was passionate about what could be achieved in the 1991–96 City Plan because the pro-heritage members had the numbers on the Council for the first time and it was a rare opportunity to proceed.⁵⁵

Hamilton used his influence to try and ensure that every building arising from all of the assessments undertaken would be added to existing Heritage Register *or* would be part of the proposed statutory controls covering Townscape. Under the governance arrangements for the City the initial townscape proposal was then referred to the CAPC for its consideration.⁵⁶ In June 1992 Hamilton arranged for the ACC to engage Harry Bechervaise (the former City Planner) for the sum of \$102,000 to give further advice on the townscape proposal. Lord Mayor Condous and the pro-development faction opposed this expenditure as it had not been discussed with the then City Planner (Hodgson) and there was no advice from him about the implications.⁵⁷

The Plan Review Working Party organised an all-day workshop on 17 July, inviting over 100 key stakeholders to participate. Bechervaise suggested the underlying message of the new *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* should be to promote the heritage of the City as a foundation stone for a better Adelaide with a title ‘Caring for the City’. ‘Townscape’ was one of the four themes proposed for the new Plan, along with ‘Good Design’, ‘Housing’ and ‘Sustainable City’.

In early August the ACC considered a report from all the Townscape Advisory Groups, who had held 10 meetings and heard from 85 owners of buildings proposed to be listed. McDougall & Vines also provided a report on each of the buildings proposed for townscape listings. As had occurred with the original list of Heritage items, if individual elected members owned any affected property they had to declare an interest and not vote. Such items had to be dealt with separately, thus allowing the elected member to declare his or her interest. By this means on 28 September 1992, the ACC adopted the final ‘Register of City of Adelaide Designated Townscape Items’ as a proposed amendment to the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* and requested

⁵⁵ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41 / 86–88, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

⁵⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC Meeting 11 May 1992, pp.1819–21.

⁵⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 26.

that the CAPC review and assess the Register.⁵⁸ In addition, the ACC requested that the Minister arrange early gazettal of the Register once the CAPC had approved it. The City Planner advised all owners of the properties concerned that their property had been retained on the Register, or deleted, or had been deferred for further consideration as a potential item in a second round of townscape to be known as 'Townscape II'.⁵⁹

Bannon resigned as Premier in September 1992 and Lynn Arnold became the new Premier. Arnold decided to split the environment and planning functions and created a new department of Planning and Urban Development with Greg Crafter replacing Lenehan as the Minister responsible for planning.⁶⁰ Crafter, reflecting the concerns in the State, immediately took an interest in the ACC's townscape proposal. He had been a ministerial advisor to Dunstan and had a long history in ACC/State relations. Crafter intervened in the governance of the City on 18 October 1992 and set up a joint City/State Forum to review the townscape situation.⁶¹ He considered that the pro-heritage Council was not acting in the long-term interests of the City and that the State had a legitimate role to play in its development. Crafter chose not to use the CAPC for this role because its effectiveness as a joint body was already in decline.

CITY/STATE FORUM

The membership of the Forum was Ray Bunker (Chairman), with Tom Muecke, Michael Lennon, David Ellis and John Ellis representing the State. Councillors Jim Crawford, Jane Rann and Alan Rye and me (as the City Manager) represented the ACC. The City Planner provided a paper to the Forum in September 1992 with a possible approach but it soon became clear from the State members that there was not going to be a Townscape Register with groups of buildings but rather a Local

⁵⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 20.

⁵⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 20.

⁶⁰ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 71–73, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

⁶¹ Greg Crafter, oral history interview 28 / 9–11, Adelaide, 18 February 2008.

Heritage List of individual items. Thus, groups of buildings would *not* be protected, only individual buildings.⁶²

At the Council meeting in October, Councillor Ninio asked whether the ACC had considered the economic impact of the townscape proposals on values and rate revenue, particularly in the Core and Frame Districts. He then proposed that all the townscape proposals be held in abeyance pending discussion with the State and the outcome of the Forum to allay the growing concerns in the community about Townscape. Ninio and the pro-development faction used a public relations consultant to prepare an open letter signed by Ninio and the other five Councillors of the faction expressing concerns about the townscape proposal and the impact it would have on the development of the City. They sent it to owners of all the additional properties proposed for listing. Ninio saw Townscape as the major political issue for his campaign to run as Lord Mayor in the next ACC election in May 1993.⁶³

Concerned by the Minister's intervention, at the next Council meeting Hamilton used his influence to request the CAPC to *immediately* consider an amendment to the statutory provisions of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* to include the townscape Register. The ACC voted on factional lines, and the decision was ten votes to six.⁶⁴ However, the CAPC — bearing in mind that only three Commissioners were members of the ACC's pro-heritage faction — deferred making a decision until the findings of the City/State Forum were available.

While the proposed townscape Register was effectively in abeyance, the City Planner's Department was continuing assessment of the additional items that the ACC had proposed for listing under Townscape II. However, because of inconsistencies between the DFC Statements and the retention of buildings, the City Planner was influential in persuading the ACC that about two thirds of Townscape II should be deleted. But in early November the ACC decided the remaining items of Townscape II would be exhibited for public comment. As a result of the Townscape II exhibition, 127 owners requested to be heard while 61 did not. Of those 127, only 10 representations were in favour, the remainder opposed mainly on the grounds of

⁶² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 4688, part 20.

⁶³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 20.

⁶⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

a decrease in property value and restrictions on what owners could do with the land. In particular BOMA had strong objections to Townscape II, perceiving there was no balance between economic realities and listing and it was therefore a *de facto* heritage list.

There was much informal intense discussion within the ACC, and the pro-heritage faction recognised the political reality of Minister Crafter's position. I was party to most of these discussions and was able to exercise some influence. As a result, the ACC requested that the City Planner prepare a further report for the Council recommending the listing of Local Heritage Items. It was clear the State had a different view about Townscape and Premier Arnold did not want the economic development of the Adelaide impeded with any uncertainties about what could be done in the City.⁶⁵ Consequently, the ACC, at its meeting on 15 December 1992, adopted the City Planner's recommendations, which effectively recognised there would be no statutory controls to protect the heritage of the City in terms of Townscape but that there would be protection for Local Heritage Items. The ACC requested the Minister consider the following:

- An item of Townscape which Council believes justifies substantial or partial retention should be listed as a Local Heritage Item forming a schedule to the Regulations under the Act.
- The required Regulation amendment be exhibited for one month together with the listing criteria and notification should be sent to owners of all listed properties.
- With the exception of those items in respect of which an objection is received, the regulation amendments and schedules be subsequently forwarded to the Governor for approval and gazettal concurrently with the gazettal of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*.
- Any consequential amendment of the draft *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* be made by the Governor on the advice of the Minister.
- An independent Review Body be established by the Minister to consider objections to the proposed Regulation amendments and advise the Minister. Following consideration of that advice by the Minister, further items may be added to the schedule, without delaying gazettal of the new City Plan.

⁶⁵ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 38–40, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

- The Review Body should include an independent Chair and representatives with a range of skills and experience in design, planning, history, property and valuation.
- In areas of Townscape significance, other than where retention of built fabric is considered essential to protect the heritage of the City, the Council should allow redevelopment or infill development to occur, provided this is done having regard to urban design criteria which reinforces and enhances that existing character.⁶⁶

Where an owner objected to an item being listed, Minister Crafter decided to remove it from the list of 1492 local heritage items. This outcome disregarded the heritage significance of the property and in Jose's view was a quite extraordinary political decision given that the ACC had followed due process.⁶⁷ It was never envisaged that owners could simply ask for a property to be delisted that had been placed on the list after professional and independent assessment.⁶⁸

In April 1993 the CAPC endorsed 1342 Local Heritage Items as part of the draft *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*. The CAPC noted that a further 400 items were still being assessed by the City/State Forum established by the Minister. The pro-heritage ACC made a substantial commitment to its policy position about the importance of the heritage of the City and included \$1 million in the ACC budget for incentives in the management of Local Heritage Items.

CONCLUSION

The decline in the status and importance the CAPC began when Lord Mayor Condous became Chairman of the CAPC. At the administrative level, McPhail (Director of Environment and Planning) was influential in the State's dominance in the CAPC and ensured the City was seen as part of the metropolitan area and not independent of it. The divisive debate about Townscape, within the context of the heritage of City, was of major concern to the State, particularly when the pro-heritage faction gained control of the ACC in 1991. Deputy Lord Mayor Hamilton exerted

⁶⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Planning and Development, File D3052, part 22.

⁶⁷ Jane Jose, oral history interview 45 / 39–42, Adelaide, 2 May 2008.

⁶⁸ My view as expressed to Mosler in July 2001 and quoted in Mosler, 2011, p.106.

considerable political influence within the ACC to try to maintain the heritage of the City. Minister Lenehan had some influence on this issue from the State's perspective. The ASER proposal by the State, discussed in Chapter 10 had tested the governance arrangements but ACC/State relations had survived with the continuation of the CAPC. But the ACC's townscape proposal challenged the governance arrangements to the extent that it was a contributing factor in the State's decision to include the City in the State Planning Review, which Chapter 12 will discuss.

12

The State Planning Review, the last City Plan and the end of the City's separate system

THE STATE PLANNING REVIEW

Premier John Bannon was influential in the development of the State during the 1980s.¹ He combined the Savings Bank of South Australia (founded in 1848) and the State Bank of South Australia (founded in 1896) to form the new State Bank and this was part of a substantial period of expansion in Adelaide.² Bannon also created the South Australian Finance Authority to assist the private sector with developments.³ Further, he brought about the ASER development, despite opposition from the ACC, and in 1985 secured the Grand Prix motor race for Adelaide with the support of the ACC.⁴

However, by the late 1980s there was mounting public criticism that the Bannon Labor Government was failing to deliver major projects. There was a community feeling that the planning system was to blame and the Government believed the

¹ Parkin & Patience, 1992.

² Martin, 2009, p.115.

³ Mosler, 2011, p.23.

⁴ Martin, 2009, p.117.

existing planning system did not serve the community well. The problem was the philosophy of *control* behind the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and the *Planning Act 1982*. There had been a perception in the 1960s and 1970s that government under Dunstan's influence could bring about change and achieve reform through legislation. This attitude had changed and Greg Crafter observed that what was needed was legislation with some vision that empowered communities and facilitated rather than controlled development.⁵

At a regular meeting between the Premier and the Lord Mayor Steve Condous, Bannon advised there was going to be a State Planning Review that would include the City.⁶ Bannon also indicated to Condous that the State would appoint a reference group to assist in this review but, as Local Government would have a representative on the reference group, there would be *no* separate ACC representation.⁷ The Premier invited me to be an individual member of the Reference Group because of my background with the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and involvement with City Plan reviews. I accepted the Premier's invitation and he made it clear to me I would *not* be representing the Council.

Bannon announced publically in March 1990 there would be a State Planning Review. According to Steve Hamnett, the nine terms of reference were:

Within the context of securing an internationally competitive economic base for the State, whilst preserving and enhancing the natural and social environment for South Australia, the Review is to advise the Premier generally of improvements to State and regional-level planning. In particular the review is to advise upon:

Policy objectives for metropolitan Adelaide, including the City of Adelaide, for the next 20–25 years, having regard to future economic, social and environmental circumstances.

Strategies required to ensure the successful achievement of such objectives (including critical actions of government, the private sector, Local Government and the community) and their financial implications.

⁵ Greg Crafter, oral history interview 28 / 21–25, Adelaide, 18 February 2008.

⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC meeting 9 April 1990, p.1531.

⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 1.

The extent to which revised objectives and strategies should be given statutory effect.

Improvements, in terms of both procedures and structures, to the administration of development controls, particularly in regard to:

- the powers and responsibilities of planning authorities;
- the formulation of planning policy;
- the approval process;
- appeal rights.

The revised planning system should have a greater degree of predictability and be prompt, efficient and responsive to user requirements.

In light of these, desirable amendments to legislation and their financial, administrative and other implications.

The Review should address these matters taking into account the Government's 'Planning Policy', the 'Future Directions' statement, 'Creating an Environmentally Sustainable Society', 'Social Justice Strategy', and other relevant statements of Government Policy.

The Review should be open and consultative, allowing adequate opportunities for individual, community, private, Local Government and Government input.⁸

Brian Hayes QC recalled that the Premier invited him to chair the Planning Review. The other members were Stephen Hamnett and Paul Edwards but Edwards soon left for Britain and he was replaced by Graeme Bethune. The Premier appointed Michael Lennon as the Review Director.⁹ Bannon recalled that he accepted the advice of Lennon that a '20/20 Vision' was needed for the State and that the review should include the City.¹⁰

Jane Jose considered that a contributing factor for the State Planning Review was the growing perception in the State that the ACC was anti-development and only interested in the retention of Adelaide's character. She thought the State had come to

⁸ As detailed to the author by Steve Hamnett, oral history interview 47/ 45–46, Adelaide, 6 May 2008.

⁹ Brian Hayes, oral history interview 46 / 32–35, Adelaide, 12 May 2008.

¹⁰ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 107–10, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

the view that there had to be a significant change in the City, rather than trying to create change within the existing system.¹¹

In my view, the Government had already taken the position that the City would no longer be treated separately. Hamnett considered the terms of reference were important as they set the agenda and the State had taken a decision at a broad philosophical level to integrate the City into a new system well before any technical issues were considered. The Premier's influence was clear from the start — he wanted to simplify all relevant planning legislation.¹² However, at the next regular meeting between the Premier and Lord Mayor, they agreed the City Planner would liaise with Lennon to ensure there was a coordinated approach to the City Plan review and the State Planning Review, particularly over the issue of the City's heritage.¹³

According to Hamnett, Lennon's staff had prepared an early working position paper (unpublished) entitled 'Planning, Building and Development Control'. This had contained a specific section on the City and its separate legislation. It highlighted the joint CAPC compared to the SA Planning Commission, which was purely a State body. According to Hamnett, the working position paper raised the issue of the lack of third party appeals and the complexity of administering the City's system. It saw the fact that the ACC's Plan was conceived separately from the rest of the State as a manifestation of a separatist attitude. The working position paper expressed the view that there seemed to be little justification for the continued existence of parallel systems and that the advantages that did accrue all favoured the ACC. Some of the policies in the City's plan, such as the ACC's approach to car parking, did not fit well with the transportation policies of the State. The working position paper, Hamnett said, concluded that there were aspects of the City's system that could prove a useful model for the rest of the State. The innovative 'Desired Future Character Statements' were becoming an accepted part of some other Council Development Plans as qualitative statutory controls.¹⁴

¹¹ Jane Jose, oral history interview 45 / 92–94, Adelaide, 2 May 2008.

¹² Steve Hamnett, oral history interview 47 / 87–88, Adelaide, 6 May 2008.

¹³ Adelaide City Archives. Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 22.

¹⁴ Descriptions of the unpublished working position paper supplied to the author by Steve Hamnett, oral history interview 47 / 51–66, Adelaide, 6 May 2008.

Diana Ferretti examined the State Planning Review as a case study.¹⁵ She argued the individuals in the Reference Group, especially Hugh Stretton, were influential in the approach taken to the future of the metropolitan area. Lennon recalled interesting and entertaining debates in the Reference Group where Stretton provided the intellectual base.¹⁶

Bannon had been persuaded to not only look at reviewing the statutory development control system, but to integrate it with a strategic planning approach that offered a vision for the future. This was not new; it had been the case in the City in 1972 when Stretton had then been an influence on Premier Dunstan and Lord Mayor Hayes. Bannon observed in relation to the City's separate system:

There had always been developers who could not understand the need for two systems, and those who were 'picky' and did not think the City should be treated differently from any other Council.¹⁷

In a submission to the State Planning Review, BOMA expressed the view that the City was a State asset and its development should be overseen by a body with appropriate skills and expertise rather than by Councillors primarily representing the residential Wards of the City.¹⁸ The RAIA (SA) and RAPI (SA) both requested the Premier to ensure the State's role in the CBD would be taken into account in the Planning Review and in any new governance arrangements.¹⁹

Lynn Arnold also recalled business was finding the planning system a labyrinth and too hard to deal with, particularly as the City had a separate and different system. Lennon regularly briefed Cabinet and Cabinet became excited about the State Planning Review and the idea of a 'whole of State 20/20 Vision' when the State was City-dominated.²⁰

A report from Lennon to the Reference Group examined the relative strengths and weaknesses of the City's separate planning system with the *Planning Act 1982*. The Reference Group agreed that the new legislation should adopt the best features of

¹⁵ Ferretti, 2003.

¹⁶ Michael Lennon, oral history interview 35 / 142–46, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

¹⁷ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 107–10, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

¹⁸ *BOMA News*, 1991, p.6.

¹⁹ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704.

²⁰ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 64–69, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

each system.²¹ Work on the State Planning Review had progressed to the point that in January 1991 Bannon announced there would be a new planning system that would remove delays and provide better coordination between the City and the rest of the metropolitan area. I persuaded the ACC to hold a workshop to discuss the direction the State Planning Review was taking and its likely impact on the City. Lennon was invited to attend and he outlined what was envisaged for the City. As an individual member of the Reference Group I was aware of what was being proposed but as it was confidential I was not able to inform the ACC as the City Manager. Thus, I persuaded Lennon to attend as he could officially brief the ACC.

The ACC consequently decided it should make a submission to the State Planning Review. The ACC submission was prepared by all the Heads of Departments within the ACC under the leadership of the City Planner rather than me, given my membership of the Reference Group. John Hodgson had been persuaded of the merits of the City's separate system as described earlier and he structured the submission on the basis of the implications for the City in the following areas:

- urban consolidation
- heritage
- major projects
- strategic planning
- employment
- public transport
- parking
- housing.²²

The draft submission commented that it was important to recognise that the quality of life and economic viability of the metropolitan area and the City were mutually interdependent. It criticised the State's view that the rationale for a separate Act appeared to have gone, especially as the advantages of the City's system were identified but not any deficiencies. The introduction of third party appeal rights appeared to be contrary to the aim of speeding up the planning process. The draft submission also suggested that the State was ignoring the role of the CAPC as a joint

²¹ Adelaide City Archives, Unpublished Report dated 16 May 1990, p.9. Department of Corporate Services File 3704.

²² Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 3.

body and the importance of the CBD. The ACC endorsed the submission in August and forwarded it to the Premier.²³

However, in late November 1991 Bannon announced that a draft development Bill was being prepared that would replace the *Planning Act 1982*, *Building Act 1971*, *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, *Heritage Act 1983* and the land division provisions of the *Real Property Act 1886*. The ACC immediately organised a further workshop (at Ayers House on 15 December) and again invited Lennon to attend and explain the State's position. He made it clear the ACC should be in no doubt of the State's intentions and that the City would be a part of the new State system; the separate governance arrangements the ACC had enjoyed since 1972 would cease.²⁴

In the late 1980s there was a collapse of regional economies in Australia. The institutions that had carried Adelaide for over 150 years, such as Elders and the Bank of Adelaide, all disappeared in a very short period of time. Rather than remaining South Australian, they became part of the national/international economy. There was also a major reform of the public sector and the nature of the central city changed. Lennon observed that it was difficult to persuade the ACC that the City was under serious threat, despite the manifestations of increasing vacancy rates and declining property values. The argument in the State Planning Review was whether action could be taken to reinvigorate the City by policy and institutional devices. The policy framework put forward was that the City was an essential part of the metropolitan area and the State had a legitimate interest in the governance of, and strategy for, the City. In the 1970s the joint City/State CAPC had played this role and the City then had arguably a higher level of planning expertise than the State. The expertise at the State level was mostly in the statutory approach inherited from Stuart Hart. Outside the City, the State saw 'planning' as being no more than the control of development and there no sense of any integration with strategy or direction.²⁵

Lennon provided a briefing to the Reference Group before the final report of the State Planning Review was forwarded to the Premier. The report contained the 20/20 Vision; a bill for the Development Act; and regulations under the proposed development. The ACC recognised the political realities of the situation, but it was

²³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 3.

²⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 4.

²⁵ Michael Lennon, oral history interview 35 / 113–16, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

of concern to the ACC that the State was proposing to substitute the concise *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, which it felt had proven effective in operation, with new legislation that it saw as untested and complex. The ACC considered the proposed *Development Act 1993* would adversely affect the quality of development control in the City rather than improve it.²⁶

According to Phil Smith, there were political, technical and professional reasons why the State formed the view that the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* should be repealed and the City integrated into the State system. The main technical reason was the recommendation from the Planning Review that the *Planning Act 1982* and the *Building Act 1971* should be amalgamated into a new development Act. Thus if the City's separate Act continued, there would be a problem with the *Building Act 1971* in the City. The old *Building Act 1971* would have to be retained for the City alone or the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* would have to be amended to bring in the relevant building provisions of the new development Act. There would then be two planning Acts and two building Acts applying in the State, which was not desirable. From the State's perspective, the value of a joint City/State body had ceased and the State made a decision to have only one piece of legislation covering both planning and building throughout the whole State, including the City.²⁷

Hamnett asserted the integration of strategic and statutory planning approaches had evolved in local government over time as planning expertise and resources had become available to other Councils in South Australia. Desired Future Character Statements were going to be part of development plans for all other local government areas under the new legislation based on the model in Adelaide, thereby transposing a City innovation onto the State level. Thus, the State Planning Review accepted that the City's system had a wider application to other Councils and saw this as a sensible progression.²⁸

Payze considered the relationship between the City and State and the influence of the ACC since the 1970s changed over the twenty-year period. The State needed to provide a new framework for planning the metropolitan area having regard to

²⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 5.

²⁷ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 47–57, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

²⁸ Steve Hamnett, oral history interview 47 / 31–35, Adelaide, 6 May 2008.

population growth, transport accessibility and social needs. Adelaide was different from the other capital cities with its dominance of the metropolitan area but by the 1990s the State did not need a separate governance arrangement for the City; it needed to be integrated.²⁹

Smith also observed that by the early 1990s several pieces of State legislation had been inserted into the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and it was in need of a major overhaul. There was also some concern for planning professionals. Planning issues and court judgments about developments common to the rest of the State did not apply in the City. Thus, planners could move between Councils and to and from the State planning agency but this did not include planners in the City because they were working in a different system. There was some insularity about the City having its own legislation and this was part of the perceived culture that the City was a different place. The State Government concluded that a system within a system was too difficult to control and it needed to be changed.³⁰

Bob Teague, from the State planning agency, wrote to the ACC in late February 1992, advising that it was intended that the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*, which was yet to be finalised, would become a Development Plan for the City under transitional arrangements of the new legislation. Consequently the ACC considered that they needed to make an urgent response to the draft State legislation and set up a working party consisting of Deputy Lord Mayor Hamilton and Councillors Rann, Gillen and, in an effort to be bipartisan, Ninio from the pro-development faction. In April the ACC adopted the Working Party's Report, which was primarily about the ongoing governance of the City and the continuation of the CAPC, but it also included a detailed analysis by the City Planner of the technical aspects of the Bill and its deficiencies.

Hamilton tried to influence Minister Lenehan to retain the CAPC on the basis of the governance benefits of the City's system and he also met with Lennon in May to see whether some form of compromise was possible. I had been present at a meeting of the Reference Group before the final report was forwarded to the Premier. It was obvious to me that the State Planning Review had a firm position and the only possibility was a direct approach to the Premier. At the ACC meeting later in May,

²⁹ Rod Payze, oral history interview 44 / 40–49, Hyde Park, 19 May 2008.

³⁰ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 61–71, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

Hamilton, as the Deputy Lord Mayor (rather than Lord Mayor Condous, who was off-side with the pro-heritage Council), was authorised to pursue the matter of the CAPC directly with the Premier. Condous was later to call on the State to intervene directly in the City's affairs because of the pro-heritage ACC's position on Townscape, for which the ACC formally censured him.³¹

Bannon declined to meet with Hamilton and in June the ACC directed Hamilton and me 'to pursue required amendments to the Development Bill by whatever means possible'.³² The ACC considered it might still be able to exercise some influence in the Legislative Council when the legislation was eventually considered. Lennon informed the ACC in July that the State regarded the City as the commercial and cultural heart of the State and that role was supported. However, there was now a need to integrate the planning systems and the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* would be repealed. Lennon also advised that there would be a consultation process on the draft legislation for eight weeks to facilitate public discussion and seek specific responses, and that he welcomed a further submission from the ACC.³³

After the public exhibition had closed, Lennon briefed the ACC again at the end of August. The City Planner then prepared a final submission that the ACC adopted and forwarded to the State. The main ACC concerns were still about governance arrangements for the City and how the integration of strategic and statutory approaches to planning would be achieved. The ACC's specific concerns were:

- The mechanisms for coordination of Council and State strategic planning, and capital investment, to ensure that agreed strategies are effectively put into practice.
- The implications of the proposed new integrated development legislation for the efficiency and effectiveness of development control in the City.³⁴

In Lennon's view, the *Development Act 1993*, resulting from the State Planning Review, was an attempt to frame legislation in political and economic terms.³⁵ It was

³¹ Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC Meeting 14 December 1992, p.4627.

³² Adelaide City Archives, Minutes of the ACC Meeting 22 June 1992, p.2037.

³³ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 5.

³⁴ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 6.

³⁵ Michael Lennon, oral history interview 35 / 62–67, Melbourne, 18 April 2008.

a pragmatic and practical effort to identify the interests in the planning system and was designed so that there was a separation of roles. The intention was to create a hierarchy of interests of the constituencies being served. If the application was only of local and neighbourhood significance then the relevant council could deal with it. But if there were higher issues, then the application needed to be referred upwards. These were exactly the roles of the ACC and the CAPC for the governance of the City under its own Act, the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*, and thus the City's planning and development control system became a partial model for the State.

The new Planning Strategy for the metropolitan area would guide the framing of all local government Development Plans. The format of the Development Plans would be 'Issues', 'Objectives' and 'Principles'. Thus there would be an integration of strategic and statutory approaches that had been in the City's separate system since 1972; again, this represents the transfer of a successful planning innovation at the City level into a generic State expectation and requirement.³⁶ The draft Bill proposed the separation of policy and development control with the creation of two new State bodies: the Development Policy Advisory Committee (DPAC) and the Development Assessment Commission (DAC).³⁷ I argue that this proposal resulted directly from my work with Mant in the City in 1976 and the influence we had in the separation of strategic and statutory planning into different components, but their integration in one document: the *City of Adelaide Plan, 1976–81*. This approach continued in all the subsequent five-yearly City Plans.

At the close of the State Planning Review, Lennon became the Chief Executive Officer of the new Department of Planning and Urban Development with responsibility for assisting Minister Crafter to pass the new legislation in the Parliament.³⁸ When he introduced the bill for the *Development Act 1993* into Parliament, Crafter said:

The City of Adelaide will now become subject to the same development legislation as the rest of the State. I would like to acknowledge the work of the Review Team of Brian Hayes, Stephen Hamnett and Graeme Bethune. They have met the brief of designing a planning system which can take Adelaide and

³⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 8.

³⁷ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 5.

³⁸ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 3704, part 7.

South Australia into the twenty first century. It is now our responsibility to give legislative form to the results of the comprehensive review process.³⁹

Arnold considered Crafter did an excellent job of navigating the new legislation through the Parliament. The ACC had clearly wanted to retain its separate system, but it no longer had the influence in the Legislative Council it once had. Indeed, the Australian Democrats (Ian Gilfillan and Mike Elliot) then held the balance of power and had a lot to say about planning issues. But the Liberal Opposition, after some minor amendments, supported the bill.⁴⁰ The Parliament passed the legislation on 5 May 1993. Just as Wotton had taken the view that Parliament had passed the *Planning Act 1982* and he was just bringing it into effect while the Government was in caretaker mode, Smith thought it was a superb irony that exactly the same thing happened with the *Development Act 1993*. The Arnold Labor Government enacted it while in caretaker mode on 5 December 1993 and consequently the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* was repealed thus ending 21 years of an innovative and different approach to city planning.⁴¹ Arnold was effectively a caretaker Premier until the election on 11 December 1993 when there was an enormous loss for the ALP and Dean Brown became the new Liberal Premier.⁴²

The City lost its separate system of planning for a number of reasons that I have identified. Cabinet considered the pro-heritage ACC was ‘dragging the chain’ in terms of development and holding the State back. The City’s culture was that Adelaide was a different place but the nature of the elected members on the ACC had changed since 1984 (when the *Local Government Act 1934* was amended) and it no longer represented the major business interests in the City. Other councils had acquired planning expertise and so the City’s successful planning model could be progressed to a broader local government context. Thus it no longer made sense to have one system inside the Park Lands and another planning system beyond. Indeed, the two pieces of planning legislation had fundamentally become similar and lawyers argued there should be a single planning jurisdiction. The State needed a new policy framework because the CBD was important to the whole State, not just the ACC, and

³⁹ South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Assembly, 10 March 1993, p.2435.

⁴⁰ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 11–20, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

⁴¹ Phil Smith, oral history interview 36/ 103–05, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

⁴² Martin, 2009, pp.135–37.

within the metropolitan context the City was under economic threat, especially in the area of retailing. There were no third party appeals and were no interim development control powers in the City. The changing leadership in the State and the City was another reason, albeit minor, that Adelaide was integrated into a new State system.

CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STATE AND THE ACC

There were some implications for the ACC/State relationship and the governance of the City resulting from the change from Bannon to Arnold as Premier in September 1992, and from Condous to Ninio as Lord Mayor in July 1993.

Bannon was Premier for most of the period Condous was Lord Mayor. Condous considered he had a good working relationship with Bannon and they had regular monthly meetings alternating between the Premier's Office (in Victoria Square or Parliament House) and the Lord Mayor's Room. Even if they did not agree about something, Condous suggested, they would walk away feeling they had reached a compromise.⁴³

However, Bannon remembered that his relationship with Condous was quite difficult. Condous was more of a 'populist' Lord Mayor than the other Lord Mayors with whom Bannon had dealt (Watson, Chapman and Jarvis). From Bannon's perspective, the problem was that Condous wanted to be agreeable to everyone:

This made it hard when there were difficult issues and tough decisions to be made. Often the last person to speak to him influenced him.⁴⁴

One example was the proposed demolition of the Tram Barns in Hackney Road, adjacent to the Adelaide Botanic Garden.⁴⁵ While it was not a unanimous decision in Cabinet, Bannon had summed up all the issues, including the heritage value of what was left of the Tram Barns. Bannon was able to influence a majority of Cabinet and they decided that demolition was justified, particularly as the new Tropical Conservatory in the Garden had been designed and built on the basis of all the Tram Barns on the site being cleared.⁴⁶

⁴³ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 85–87, Norwood, 1 March 2008.

⁴⁴ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 72, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁴⁵ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 70–71, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁴⁶ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 73–76, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.



Figure 39: Tram Barn retained and new Conservatory

The National Trust expressed opposition to the proposal for the demolition of the Tram Barns and Lenehan recalled this was a major issue during her term as Minister. One view in Cabinet was that all the Tram Barns should be demolished as this had been part of the original brief for the Tropical Conservatory, which set the new building in open Park Lands of the Garden; this view held that it should be seen in the setting for which it was designed. At the time, the ACC was divided on pro-development and pro-heritage lines, but under Hamilton's influence the ACC's position was to keep at least one of the Tram Barns and demolish the others. Lenehan accepted her Department's advice and came to the view that she should oppose the removal of the Tram Barns, and she had argued in Cabinet for their retention.⁴⁷

Bannon had been in constant touch with Condous about the issue. Condous had assured Bannon of his support and that he could not see any heritage value in the Tram Barns either. However, one day Bannon was driving along Hackney Road to a

⁴⁷ Susan Lenehan, oral history interview 27 / 21–24, Adelaide, 7 March 2008.

function and a crowd had gathered outside the Tram Barns protesting against their demolition. Bannon remembered:

There was Condous on a soapbox addressing the crowd saying ‘No demolition’. I could not believe the Lord Mayor had changed his views.⁴⁸

Lenehan also recalled that Condous, who had been initially supportive of total demolition, changed his mind and this influenced the City and State to reach a compromise where one Tram Barn building remained (see Figure 39) but the others were demolished.⁴⁹

Bannon observed there was a ‘cat and mouse game’ over Condous’s possible candidature for a seat in State Parliament. There were rumours that the Liberal Party had persuaded Condous to stand but he had assured Bannon privately he was not going to. But the rumours persisted and Bannon felt very let down when Condous finally announced he was going to run as the Liberal candidate for the seat of Colton.⁵⁰

Arnold recalled that Bannon advised Cabinet that Condous would not run for a seat in Parliament when he retired as Lord Mayor but when he did emerge as a Liberal candidate this made things difficult between the City and the State.⁵¹ Bannon considered that if Condous had been upfront about his intentions they might have worked something out. But the relationship was fractured and, as Premier, Bannon no longer knew if he was dealing with the Lord Mayor or a Liberal candidate and therefore could not be open about things. Thus, the regular monthly meetings, which had started with Premier David Tonkin and Lord Mayor John Watson, had to cease. I was present at the meeting when Bannon expressed this view and advised the Lord Mayor he would no longer meet with him. In Bannon’s view, this was regrettable as there was no longer a way of dealing with ACC/State issues through their personal influences and the governance of the City would suffer.⁵²

In January 1991 there were rumours about the financial stability of the State Bank. Bannon engaged JP Morgan to assess the Bank’s position, as well as

⁴⁸ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 81–83, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁴⁹ Susan Lenehan, oral history interview 27 / 25–27, Adelaide, 7 March 2008.

⁵⁰ John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 70–93, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

⁵¹ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 50–52, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

⁵² John Bannon, oral history interview 23 / 70–93, Adelaide, 5 February 2008.

commissioning a report from the Auditor-General. The Auditor-General found the State was guarantee for the Bank and \$970 million was needed immediately to cover the losses.⁵³ The State Bank collapsed and a Royal Commissioner, the Hon Samuel Jacobs, was appointed to investigate all aspects of the management of the State Bank and its relationship with the State government. In August 1992 he reported that there had been mismanagement, recklessness and negligence rather than corruption. More than \$3 billion was needed to bail out the Bank. Bannon, in his role as Treasurer, claimed he had no idea about the extent of the problem as he had remained at arm's length from the management of the Bank.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission stated that 'the Bank and the Bank group failed because it made too many loans that it should never have made, loans were high risk, beyond a level acceptable to a prudent banker'.⁵⁴ Bannon resigned as Premier in September 1992 over the State Bank collapse. Lynn Arnold became the new Premier and the leader of an insecure and minority government.⁵⁵ Arnold actively pursued the State Planning Review, directed by Lennon, and it was the subject of much discussion in Cabinet. Arnold's aim was to have a planning system with appropriate controls but minimum regulation.⁵⁶

Condous recalled that when Arnold became Premier after Bannon resigned in September 1992 Condous tried to re-establish a relationship with the new Premier.⁵⁷ There were two meetings with Arnold in Parliament House during the period until May 1993 when Condous retired, but they only lasted about ten minutes. In Condous's view, Arnold was not interested in City/State relations as by this time it appeared the State had decided to have a new planning system.

Arnold stated:

I had little contact with the Lord Mayor as Condous was the Liberal candidate for the State seat of Colton and this made any meeting difficult.⁵⁸

⁵³ Martin, 2009, p.131.

⁵⁴ Government of South Australia, 1993, p.9.

⁵⁵ Martin, 2009, p.133.

⁵⁶ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 19–21, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

⁵⁷ Steve Condous, oral history interview 30 / 92–94, Norwood, 1 March 2008.

⁵⁸ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 51–53, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

It was widely expected that Hamilton and Ninio would contest the Lord Mayoralty in the May 1993 elections as the respective leaders of the pro-heritage and pro-development factions. However, close to the election Hamilton unexpectedly decided not to be a candidate. Hamilton advised:

My legal firm had become part of Finlaysons and they had an extensive range of clients. This meant I would have had too many conflicts of interests.⁵⁹

With no other candidate from the pro-heritage faction, Henry Ninio became Lord Mayor unopposed in May 1993 and the pro-development faction gained control of the Council (nine votes to seven). Ninio had never chaired an ACC committee and had never served in one of the senior positions of Aldermen. He had no background in the successive City Plans and the governance of the City; his whole approach to townscape was that development at any cost was good. Ninio, as a small businessman in Rundle Mall, was widely perceived to be a supporter of the Liberal Party. However, on a visit to the City of London with Ninio in July 1993 it became clear to me that Ninio was a card-carrying member of the Labor Party and he had close relationships with several Cabinet Ministers, particularly Crafter.⁶⁰

As Lord Mayor, Ninio became Chairman of the CAPC and pro-development Sam Christodoulou was nominated as a Commissioner. Surprisingly, though, the ACC also nominated Jane Rann and Chris Douglas (both pro-heritage). The Government members, Rod Payze, David Ellis, Mary Marsland and Mary Beasley, remained unchanged.⁶¹ However, by this time the CAPC had a limited life as the political decision had been made by the State to repeal the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and integrate the City into the State system.

It was symptomatic of the situation that after Ninio became the Chairman there were no policy items on any of the agendas for the CAPC monthly meetings from July through to December 1993. By the time the CAPC ceased to exist it was

⁵⁹ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41 / 94–96, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

⁶⁰ An invitation had been received from the City of London for all the Australian Capital City Lord Mayors and CEOs to visit London in July 1993. Ninio, as the new Lord Mayor, and I accepted the invitation and attended.

⁶¹ South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 18 June 1993, p.1866.

really only acting as a development assessment authority and did not have any broader governance or strategic role in the City.⁶²

Bob Teague considered that the ACC changed after Condous retired. In Teague's view, Ninio and the pro-development ACC had accepted the merits of combining the planning and building controls in the proposed new legislation and were not opposed to it.⁶³

Arnold thought the relationship between the State and the City had been one of defensiveness on behalf of the ACC when the pro-heritage faction was in charge. However, things changed under Ninio when the pro-development members had the majority in the new Council in May 1993. Arnold commented that he personally got on well with Ninio as he was equally keen on promoting economic development in the City.⁶⁴ With Arnold as Premier and Ninio as Lord Mayor, who were both committed to the development of the City with minimum planning restrictions, in my view it was politically inevitable that the nature of the governance of the City would change and the separate system would cease with the repeal of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*.

Hamilton observed the loss of the joint City/State body — the innovative CAPC — meant the nature of the governance arrangements for the City changed. Instead of being separate and different, the *Development Plan* for the City took on a standard format and Adelaide was treated like any other council. The special relationship that had existed between the City and State since their foundation in 1836 was gone and, in Hamilton's opinion, this was not in the best interests of the City.⁶⁵

In its early days the CAPC had consisted of key individuals from the ACC and the State who had exerted considerable influence on the development of the City but its status, importance and relevance had declined. The last meeting of the CAPC took place on 15 December 1993.

⁶² Phil Smith, oral history interview 36 / 127–28, Adelaide, 8 April 2008.

⁶³ Bob Teague, oral history interview 37 / 77–79, Adelaide, 24 April 2008.

⁶⁴ Lynn Arnold, oral history interview 24 / 56–59, Adelaide, 11 February 2008.

⁶⁵ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41 / 97–103, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

THE CITY OF ADELAIDE PLAN 1991–96

The ACC endorsed the objectives and policies of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* in November 1992 and the consequential statutory elements were considered by the CAPC and gazetted in July 1993. Thus, the integration of strategic and statutory approaches to planning the City through the CAPC continued in this final City Plan.

The original work programme for the Plan Review included an assessment of the numerical standards related to the built form of the City; uses in the Western Service Precinct; potential of the West Terrace Precinct; distribution of welfare housing and institutional needs; new Residential Development Strategy; additions to the City of Adelaide Heritage Register; and a review of the Character Schedule (Townscape).⁶⁶ However, when the pro-heritage faction gained control of the ACC in May 1991, they placed all the emphasis in the Review on the protection of the City's heritage and the importance of Townscape.

Hamilton recalled that when he became the Deputy Lord Mayor and responsible for the Review of the *City Plan 1986–91* leading to the adoption of the *City Plan 1991–96*, he played a 'hands on' role. He wanted to see an increase in the number of heritage-listed buildings as well as a substantial strengthening of the DFC Statements in terms of design requirements and the protection of Townscape. Hamilton was keen on a fine grain approach to the planning of the City on a precinct by precinct basis.⁶⁷

The issue of Townscape, which became a list of local heritage items, dominated debate in the formulation of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96*.⁶⁸ While the ACC and the State were still arguing the politics of a separate system, at the administrative level the City Planner maintained close liaison with the State Planning Review to ensure the *Principles of Development Control* could provide the basis for the Development Plan for the City in terms of the proposed new legislation.

The *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* placed greater emphasis on the need to preserve Adelaide's heritage and for new development to be of good design quality.

⁶⁶ Adelaide City Archives, Department of Corporate Services File 1487, part 21.

⁶⁷ Mark Hamilton, oral history interview 41 / 86–89, Adelaide, 9 May 2008.

⁶⁸ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, p.5.

The introduction of the local heritage list and the inclusion of strengthened design requirements for new development were a significant milestone in the protection of the heritage of Colonel Light's plan for the City and the enhancement of Adelaide's character.⁶⁹

Davis observed the nature of the CAPC at the time was such that reports on the review of the City Plan were received and noted rather being debated and a position taken.⁷⁰ The draft *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* was distributed to Commissioners in December 1992 for consideration in January 1993.⁷¹

After consideration by the CAPC in terms of the governance arrangements, the amended *Principles of Development Control* were gazetted.⁷² They included a widespread introduction of a bonus plot ratio for residential development in the Core and Frame Districts. This City Plan was the fourth and final one under the provisions of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* but only continued until the Act was repealed in December 1993 with the *Principles of Development Control* becoming the transitional Development Plan for the City.⁷³ The Regulations under the Act provided for Schedule 1 to be the Register of the City of Adelaide Heritage Items and for Schedule 2 to be the Register of Local Heritage Items.⁷⁴

Despite the fact that in November 1992 the ACC was well aware the City Plan was likely to be in operation for only a limited time, it decided to publish the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* in the same square format as all the previous City Plans ('The Blue Book', 'The Green Book' and 'The Grey Book'). This was the same format originally used for the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* ('The Red Book').⁷⁵ This time the colour of the City Plan's cover was white. While white usually signifies purity and peace, it is also the colour of truce and surrender.⁷⁶ The last City Plan became known

⁶⁹ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, p.7.

⁷⁰ Helen Davis, oral history interview 40 / 71:73, North Adelaide, 26 May 2008.

⁷¹ Adelaide City Archives. Department of Planning and Development File D3052, part 23.

⁷² South Australian Government, *Gazette*, 22 July 1993, p.745.

⁷³ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, p.9.

⁷⁴ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, pp.321–44.

⁷⁵ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974.

⁷⁶ Kohl, 1998.

as 'The White Book' and this was particularly appropriate as the ACC gave up its independent planning status and the City became absorbed into the new system of State planning. This publication completed a distinctive suite of documents for an innovative system of city planning and development control that is unique in the planning heritage of Australia. The integration of strategic and statutory elements continued in one document and the last City Plan was structured in eight parts, as follows:

- Part 1 — Objectives
- Part 2 — Policies
- Part 3 — Principles of Development Control
- Part 4 — Desired Future Character Statements
- Part 5 — Schedule of Transferable Floor Area provisions
- Part 6 — *City of Adelaide Development Control Act*
- Part 7 — Regulations under the *Act*
- Part 8 — Action Projects.⁷⁷

There were four important joint City/State Action Projects identified in Part 8. These were a review of Rundle Mall to boost its activity levels; a residential and commercial redevelopment of the East End Markets; the enhancement of North Terrace as a special cultural and educational precinct; and the relocation of the ACC's Halifax Street Works Depot, which provided a six-acre (2.43 hectare) site for dense well-designed new housing.⁷⁸ The East End Markets redevelopment in south Adelaide was a major project and was the responsibility of the CAPC as it continued its statutory role. Crafter noted that the land was owned by the Government resulting from the demise of the Beneficial Finance Corporation (BFC), which was a subsidiary of the State Bank. BFC had acquired the land for some \$80m based on completely unrealistic expectations of what could be developed on the site.⁷⁹ The Government decided to split the site into commercial development along Rundle Street East and residential development behind the heritage façades, which were to be retained (as Figure 40 shows). There was a complex legal agreement between Max Lieberman,

⁷⁷ Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992, p.13.

⁷⁸ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992, pp.349–59.

⁷⁹ Greg Crafter, oral history interview 28 / 43–51, Adelaide, 18 February 2008.



Figure 40: The redeveloped East End Markets
(Heritage façade retained with new residential development behind)

who undertook the residential component, and the Mancorp Corporation, which was responsible for the commercial rejuvenation of Rundle Street East. Together they demonstrated what could be achieved within planning and heritage principles on a complex City site.⁸⁰

The *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* was only in operation for a few months but it was important as it provided *inter alia* for statutory controls for local heritage places that evolved from the long and divisive debate over Townscape in the ACC. The statutory controls became the transitional *Development Plan* for the City in December 1993.

⁸⁰ Mosler, 2011 p.129.

CONCLUSION

Premier Bannon initiated a State Planning Review that included the City partly because of the State's concerns about the divisive debate about Townscape within the ACC. Arising from the State Planning Review and under the influence of Premier Arnold, the State government proposed and the parliament passed new legislation. The *Development Act 1993* entailed the repeal of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and there were political, technical and professional reasons for this. The ACC had lost its influence in the Legislative Council to maintain the City's independent position. Indeed, Lord Mayor Ninio, elected in May 1993, was a member of the Labor Party and supported the City being integrated into the State's new system, which was partially based on the City's model. In December 1993, after twenty-one years, the innovative system of planning and development control for the City of Adelaide came to an end.

Conclusion

THE UNIQUENESS OF ADELAIDE

The history of William Light's plan for Adelaide, particularly its siting and the Park Lands, is a very important element in the growth of the City and the State and is the 'creative tension' in the political relationship that developed between the ACC and State Government from 1840. In Bill Peach's view, the free-settled nature of the colony of South Australia contributed to the civilised qualities of Adelaide that has made the City different and special.¹ But it is the continuous belt of Park Lands that makes Adelaide unique and which gives the City its distinctive character as a city in a garden.² The City of Adelaide is one of the few cities in the world whose boundaries have not altered since their foundation.³ The Park Lands provide a clear boundary and sense of identity; whether walking, cycling or driving, you have to pass through them to get to the City. Of all the Australian capital cities, only in Adelaide is there physical evidence separating the centre from the surrounding other local government

¹ Peach, 1980, p.85.

² Mann, 1986, p.194.

³ Llewellyn-Smith, 1998, p.19.

areas.⁴ A good example of this distinctive quality is to compare the boundaries of the City of Adelaide (Figure 1, Introduction) with the boundaries of the City of Sydney in 1971 (Figure 22, Chapter 4).

Peter Smith, the CEO of the ACC in 2010, wrote that there is something wonderfully unique about Adelaide which differentiates it from eastern State cities and that is the natural advantage of Light's plan and design for the City.⁵ Peter Garrett, former Federal Minister for the Environment, Heritage and the Arts, stated 'I had the privilege of adding the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout to the National Heritage List and these are one of Australia's greatest examples of planning heritage'.⁶

For all these reasons the City of Adelaide *is* different from all the other Australian capital cities.⁷

GOVERNANCE OF THE CITY

The year 1950 was critical for planning in Adelaide and South Australia. Professor Denis Winston, the recently appointed Chair of the new Department of Town and Country Planning at Sydney University, came to Adelaide and provided some advice on the future planning of the City.⁸ Winston's report emphasised the need for control over development and was a major impetus for a new approach to the planning and development of the City within a metropolitan context over the next two decades.⁹ Stuart Hart prepared the State's Metropolitan Development Plan (MDP). But in the 1960s the statutory provisions of the MDP, which zoned the whole of south Adelaide as commercial, and the policies of the ACC, contributed to a considerable loss of residential population from the City. In the early 1970s the ACC had concerns with the State's statutory planning scheme and metropolitan transportation proposals. In contrast, the State had concerns about the ACC's traffic, parking and development policies. There was then an unusual degree of cooperation between the State and the

⁴ Hamnett, 1987, p.69.

⁵ Smith, *The Weekend Australian*, 27–28 March 2010, p.6.

⁶ Freestone, 2010, Foreword, p.vii.

⁷ Grenfell Price, 1924; Pike, 1957; Stretton, 1970; Whitelock, 1977; Freestone, 2010.

⁸ *The Advertiser*, 15 July 1950, p.5.

⁹ Linn, 2006, p.145.

ACC when the reformist Premier Don Dunstan and reformist Lord Mayor Bill Hayes agreed that the City needed a new policy direction.

A new governance model was established in Adelaide that was different to all the other Australian capital cities. It was successful because of a *joint* approach to the planning and development of the City by two levels of government and through the influence of key individuals in the State and the ACC. The Labor Government passed the legislation in the House of Assembly and the ACC used its influence in the Legislative Council to ensure the new joint body — the City of Adelaide Development Committee (CADC) — was established. The CADC exercised an innovative form of Interim Development Control over the City from 1972 until 1977, which was unique in Australia because in all the other capital cities the respective State governments maintained power over the local government councils through control of the statutory planning schemes.

After further agreement between the ACC and the State, on 1 March 1977 they introduced another innovative legislative approach to city planning. The *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* provided a benchmark for governance in Australia as the City had its own legislation and, based on the model of the CADC, a new joint City/State authority, the City of Adelaide Planning Commission (CAPC), was established. The CAPC was in a unique position to have a comprehensive understanding of all government policies and programmes as they affected the City, including the ability to comment on any development proposals by the federal government. The *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* also came in to effect on the same day. It proved an effective framework to guide the development of the City as it provided a clear indication of the ACC's policies. The CAPC made critical political decisions which re-established an inner-city residential population but also maintained the City's role and function as the centre of the metropolitan area.

In Adelaide there was a joint political commitment from the Lord Mayors and Premiers to this system of planning and development control with a cycle of five-yearly City Plans. The system provided three years of certainty and stability but with a review of the existing policies and statutory controls in years four and five. Extensive community engagement in this review process provided informed input into the next City Plan. The State was prepared to use special legislation for the ASER proposal, as it contained elements which were in excess of the provisions of the City Plan,

particularly an office building. ASER tested the joint governance arrangements of the CAPC but cooperation between the ACC and State continued. Premier John Bannon later agreed with Lord Mayor Jim Jarvis in 1985 to establish a high-level *political* Steering Committee to oversee the review of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and the adoption of the new *City of Adelaide Plan 1988–91* while the CAPC continued to operate.

The ability of two levels of government to work together through a joint body — for 21 years — was an unusual demonstration of public policy for a capital city.

THE INFLUENCE OF KEY INDIVIDUALS

My favourite quotation from Shakespeare opened the Introduction: ‘What is the City but the people?’ In the 1970s, Bent Flyvbjerg traced the development of a city plan for Aalborg, Denmark, and identified the political powers and interests that shaped the local outcomes.¹⁰ I have argued that in Adelaide key people influenced the planning of the City because of the relationship between the State and the ACC. This commenced with William Light and John Hindmarsh in 1836 when they disagreed over the siting of the City. Over time, Charles Reade, Tom Playford and Stuart Hart were influential in the State, while Thomas Worsnop, Bill Veale and Hugh Bubb were individuals of influence in the ACC on the City’s development until 1971.

Hugh Stretton was an individual of considerable influence through the publication of his book *Ideas for Australian Cities* in 1970 and his personal contact with Premier Dunstan and Lord Mayor Hayes. Their relationship and respective leadership of the State and ACC helped enable the passing of special legislation that established the CADC as a joint body with representatives from the State and the ACC.

The CADC was made up of key individuals who were collectively and individually influential in the City/State relationship. As well as being an author and academic, Stretton was Deputy Chair of the South Australian Housing Trust and a heritage activist in North Adelaide. Bob Bakewell was the powerful head of Dunstan’s Premier’s Department. Newell Platten was the chief architect and planner of the

¹⁰ Flyvbjerg, 1998.

Housing Trust. Besides Lord Mayor Hayes, Councillors Jim Bowen, John Roche and John Chappel were the dominant members of the ACC with their respective experience and expertise in real estate, development and architecture.

The ACC and the State saw the interim development control through the CADC as a holding operation until a planning study of the City could be carried out. The ACC engaged George Clarke and Urban Systems Corporation (USC) for the study primarily because of their work in Sydney. Clarke was an individual of considerable influence and he and his team authored the important and innovative *City of Adelaide Planning Study*.¹¹ Arising from this study, Clarke, with Stretton's encouragement, proposed separate legislation to authorise a new Plan for the City separate from the rest of the State's planning system.

This proposal had considerable implications for the State, particularly in terms of transport policy and the costs of implementation and was therefore unacceptable to the State. Planning Minister Hugh Hudson and Lord Mayor John Roche politically, and John Mant and I administratively, were the individuals who then negotiated an outcome between the State and the ACC to convert the *City of Adelaide Planning Study* into the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*, as well as the introduction of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*.

During the period of operation of this Act, from March 1977 until December 1993, Lord Mayors John Roche, George Joseph, Jim Bowen, John Watson, Wendy Chapman, Jim Jarvis, Steve Condous and Henry Ninio, but to varying degrees as I have described, were individuals of influence through their role as Chairman of the joint CAPC and through their personal meetings with the Premier of the day. Dunstan's resignation after a decade of influence and the election of a Liberal State government in 1979 could have had an impact on the separate legislation for the City and its governance. However, through the influence of some key individuals, the City remained separate from a new State planning system when Liberal Premier David Tonkin and Planning Minister David Wotton introduced the *Planning Act 1982* for the rest of the State. After a Labor government was elected in 1982, Premier Bannon and his Planning Ministers, Don Hopgood and then Susan Lenehan, continued and supported the separate governance arrangements for the City. But in 1993 the then Labor Premier Lynn Arnold and his Planning Minister Greg Crafter introduced

¹¹ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974.

legislation that repealed the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and thus ended Adelaide's separate status.

Mant and Ian McPhail and the Secretaries of the CAPC were State officials who exerted a considerable amount of individual influence on the nature of the City/State relationship through the CAPC. McPhail, as the Director of Environment and Planning, was influential in the State's dominance in the CAPC and ensured the City was seen as part of the metropolitan area and not independent of it. Lennon was an influential Director of the State Planning Review and then head of Crafter's Department. Within ACC, the Deputy Lord Mayors responsible for the two major Plan reviews, Bill Manos and Mark Hamilton respectively, and the City Planners, Harry Bechervaise and then John Hodgson, influenced the planning of the City during the period from 1984 until 1993. As the Town Clerk (Chief Executive Officer) from 1982 (later known as the City Manager), I ensured the ACC's policy position was maintained in the ACC's relationship with the State.

As Flyvberg identified in Aalborg, powerful political interests influenced local outcomes. In this book I have attempted to identify all the individuals in Adelaide who influenced the political outcomes for the City during the history of the State and the City from their foundation until 1993.

THE INTEGRATION OF STRATEGIC AND STATUTORY PLANNING

In Sydney the Sydney City Council's *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971*, prepared by George Clarke and USC, could not be implemented while the State, through its agencies the SPA and HOBAC, continued to have effective control of the City of Sydney through the statutory plan.

The choice of Clarke and USC to undertake a planning study of the City of Adelaide was an important one as his work provided a new direction for the City. There was influence from Dunstan and the members of the CADC, particularly Stretton, which provided the policy framework for an approach to city planning that integrated strategic and statutory elements. This was innovative, differing from the traditional statutory planning schemes which were in force in all the other capital cities in Australia. The ACC established a new City Planner's Department to support

this new system of planning and development control in Adelaide and I was appointed as the City Planner in 1974.

An integration of strategic and statutory approaches to city planning had been inherent in the approach of the CADC to Interim Development Control during the period October 1972 until February 1977 as published in the *First Statement of Policy* and the *Second Statement of Policy*.¹² These policies arrested the decline of the residential population in the City, particularly in the southern end of the City. Interim Development Control provided a holding operation while Clarke and USC carried out the planning study of the City. He learnt the lesson from his work in Sydney of the importance of integrating strategic and statutory planning as evidenced in the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*.¹³ He proposed a strategic approach with objectives and policies and a statutory approach to provide legal controls over development through a separate Act for the City.

After political and administrative negotiations between the ACC and the State to convert the Planning Study into a City Plan, Mant and I made the important decision to separate the policy parts of the proposed City Plan from the statutory parts for which legislation was needed in the form of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976*. This was a different approach to city planning and development control in Australia in the 1970s but the decision to integrate the mutually interdependent strategic and statutory elements approaches into one document, the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81*, was equally important. This integrated approach continued for the next five-yearly City Plans of 1981–1986, 1986–1991, and 1991–1996.

The ACC published the four five-yearly *City Plans* in a common format with consistent contents. The format was the same as the *City of Adelaide Plan* originally published by George Clarke and USC. They provided a suite of documents, all popularly known by the colour of their respective covers, which illustrated a particular joint approach to planning a capital city and continued the tradition of Adelaide being different from the other capitals where the respective State governments exercised the power over the local Council.

¹² City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1972; City of Adelaide Development Committee, 1975.

¹³ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, pp.6–10.

HERITAGE

An important element of the relationship between the ACC and the State during the period covered by this book was the approach to the heritage of the City, which began when Premier Dunstan purchased Edmund Wright House to save it from demolition.

In the *City of Adelaide Planning Study*, Clarke and USC identified 281 'Places of Environmental Significance' for consideration as possible heritage items.¹⁴ However, this was a contentious issue in the community and Action Project 19 was included in the *City of Adelaide Plan 1976–81* to continue investigations as the State had advised it was proposing state-wide legislation for the protection of heritage.¹⁵

The politics of heritage was becoming an issue within the ACC. When Jim Bowen became Lord Mayor in 1979, he established a Lord Mayor's Heritage Advisory Committee with the explicit intention of providing a definitive list of items in the City to be retained to provide certainty for developers because any building not on the list could be demolished. The State politically and financially supported the ACC's approach to a detailed and comprehensive study of the heritage of the City and the study won an award from the Australian Council of National Trusts. One of the outcomes of this study was a list of individual buildings that, after due process, eventually became the Register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items supported by statutory controls and with financial and other incentives provided to owners.

The loss of the Aurora Hotel in 1983, which was not a listed building, resulted in the formation of the Aurora Heritage Action Group and the election of one of its leaders to the ACC. Over the next few years the Aurora Group exercised considerable influence over the debate about heritage and the character of the City within the ACC, where pro-development and pro-heritage factions began to emerge.

Bill Manos (Deputy Lord Mayor) had responsibility for the review of the *City Plan of Adelaide Plan 1981–86* and provided the political leadership and influence to have the *City of Adelaide Plan 1986–91* adopted containing a Register of 419 individual Heritage Items.¹⁶ The ACC introduced statutory controls over the Park Lands for the first time. Harry Bechervaise, the then City Planner, emphasised the

¹⁴ Clarke & Urban Systems Corporation, 1974, pp.154–58.

¹⁵ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1976, p.107.

¹⁶ Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1986, pp.273–81.

heritage of Light's plan for the City and the importance of character. He developed an urban design framework for new development and set a direction for the built form of the City, which enhanced the reputation of the ACC as being at the forefront of integrated strategic and statutory city planning in Australia.¹⁷

However, the nature of the overall character of the City, rather than just the retention of individual buildings, was not resolved and was deferred on political grounds and legal advice until the next City Plan review due to begin in 1990. 'Character' — which became known as 'Townscape' — was set to become a very divisive issue within the community, the ACC and the State.

The ACC's pursuit of townscape controls, partly resulting from the demolition of The House of Chow building, was of major concern to the State, particularly when the pro-heritage faction gained control of the ACC in 1991. Deputy Lord Mayor Mark Hamilton exerted considerable political influence within the ACC to try to maintain the heritage of the City while Planning Minister Susan Lenehan had some influence on this issue from the State's perspective. The ACC's townscape proposal challenged the governance arrangements to the extent that it was a contributing factor in the State's decision to include the City in the State Planning Review.

THE STATE PLANNING REVIEW AND END OF THE SEPARATE CITY SYSTEM

Premier John Bannon initiated the State Planning Review in 1990. Arising from the review and under the influence of the next Premier, Lynn Arnold, the State proposed and passed new legislation. The *Development Act 1993* entailed the repeal of the *City of Adelaide Development Control Act 1976* and there were political, technical and professional reasons for this. The ACC had lost its influence in the Legislative Council to maintain the City's independent position. Indeed, Lord Mayor Ninio, elected in May 1993, was a member of the Labor Party and supported the City being integrated into the State's new system.

After 21 years of a separate system, Adelaide's unique joint approach to city planning and development control, which had come into being because of the cooperation between a reformist Premier and a reformist Lord Mayor in 1972, ended.

¹⁷ Hamnett, 1987, p.70.

The norm of the power of an upper-level of government (the State) exercising power over a lower level of government (the capital city Council) in the control of planning the City was re-established, but the benefits of a joint approach were lost.

States have a legitimate interest in the role and function of their respective capital cities. They retain the right to determine the form of governance that applies and how the city is part of the State's strategy for the metropolitan area. The State recognised from the experience in Adelaide the importance of separating strategic/policy planning from statutory planning and the *Development Act 1993* established two new State bodies. These were a policy body — the Development Policy Advisory Committee — and a statutory body — the Development Assessment Commission.

But the integration of strategic and statutory planning approaches was also recognised and the relevant *Development Plan* for each local government area in South Australia contains a combination of these approaches. Indeed, elements of the *City of Adelaide Plan 1991–96* became the transitional *Development Plan 1993* for the City of Adelaide.

Many elements contributed to the successful operation of a unique system of planning and development control that existed in the City of Adelaide from 1972 until 1993 within the historical framework of the politics of City/State relations from 1836. In conclusion, I summarise these factors as:

- key individuals who can exert influence need to be in leadership roles
- planning is primarily a political not a technical process
- planning is also a continuous process, with cycles of information, investigation, decision, action and review leading to a new cycle
- cities are complex urban systems that need to be managed in a systematic way
- strategic and statutory approaches to planning need to be integrated
- the community needs to be actively involved in setting the desired outcomes for the local area
- local plans are implemented by the parallel processes of positive actions and statutory controls over development
- the State has to balance local desires with the needs of the broader metropolitan context

- Colonel Light's siting of Adelaide means the City will always be the central place of the metropolitan area with the characteristics of a city-state.

It was a privilege for me to be an active participant in the planning and development of the City of Adelaide, initially as the City Planner from September 1974 and then as the Town Clerk (Chief Executive Officer) from January 1982 until the City lost its separate system in December 1993. I was involved for 19 years of the 21-year period (1972–1993) that has been this book's main focus. It was an honour for me to be able to interview many of the the key individuals from the ACC and the State who were still alive and who had influenced, to varying degrees, the City's innovative system of planning and development control which was unique amongst Australia's capital cities.

Appendix 1: Key People of Influence identified as potential interviewees

GROUP A: 'ELDER STATESMEN'

1	H (Hugh) Stretton	Member CADC; Deputy Chair SAHT; Academic; Resident of North Adelaide
2	JS (John) Chappel	Councillor; Alderman; Deputy Lord Mayor; Member CADC; Member CAPC
3	JVS (Jim) Bowen	Councillor; Alderman; Lord Mayor; Member CADC; Chairman CAPC
4	JJ (John) Roche	Councillor; Lord Mayor; Chairman CADC; Chairman CAPC DECEASED 2010
5	SB (Stuart) Hart	Director of Planning; Member CAPC
6	J (John) Brine	Deputy Member CADC; Academic
7	DJ (John) Williams	Secretary CADC
8	GC (Gilbert) Currie	Deputy City Planner and subsequently City Planner ACC
9	RW (Bob) Clampett	Lord Mayor; Chairman CADC DECEASED 2010
10	NJ (Newell) Platten	Chief Architect and Planner SAHT; Member CADC; Member CAPC
11	RD (Bob) Bakewell	Director Department of the Premier; Member CADC

11 interviews conducted of the 11 potential interviewees identified

GROUP B: INTERVIEWEES BASED IN SYDNEY

—	GC (George) Clarke	Director USC; City of Sydney Strategic Plan; City of Adelaide Planning Study DECEASED
12	K (Kyrstyna) Luczak	Department of City Planning Adelaide; widow of George Clarke
13	N (Nicholas) Shehadie	Lord Mayor of Sydney, Member Woolloomooloo Committee
—	A (Andrew) Briger	Civic Reform Alderman, Sydney City Council DECEASED
—	L (Leo) Port	Civic Reform Alderman, Sydney City Council DECEASED
14	W (Bill) Manos	Deputy Lord Mayor of Adelaide; Member CAPC; Chair 1986-91 City of Adelaide Plan Committee
15	JH (John) Mant	Advisor to Minister Hudson; Director Urban Development; Member CAPC
16	D (Darrel) Conybeare	Senior Planner USC Sydney and Adelaide Strategic Plans

5 interviews conducted of the 8 potential interviewees identified

GROUP C: CITY OF ADELAIDE PLANNING STUDY TEAM AND ADVISORS

17	P (Peter) Hignett	Urban Systems Corporation Planning Team
18	G (Gavin) Lloyd-Jones	Urban Systems Corporation Planning Team
19	GW (Geoff) Wagner	Principal Planner, Department of City Planning
20	SG (Stephen) Hains	Urban Systems Corporation Planning Team
—	G (Gwyn) Jarrott	Urban Systems Corporation Planning Team, Secretary CAPC UNABLE TO TRACE

- DA (David) Horner Urban Systems Corporation Planning Team;
Department of City Planning
DECEASED
- 21 S (Sybella) Blencowe Advisor to Bakewell and CADC
(née Daunt)
- 22 M (Michael) Bowering Legal advisor to CADC

6 interviews conducted of the 8 potential interviewees identified

**GROUP D: FORMER PREMIERS AND MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE
ADMINISTRATION OF PLANNING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1972–1993**

- DA (Don) Dunstan Labor Premier 1972–1979
DECEASED
- D (Des) Corcoran Labor Premier 1979
DECEASED
- DB (David) Tonkin Liberal Premier 1979–1982
DECEASED
- 23 JC (John) Bannon Labor Premier 1982–1992
- 24 L (Lynn) Arnold Labor Premier 1992–1993
- G (Glen) Broomhill Labor Minister for Planning 1972–1975
DECEASED
- H (Hugh) Hudson Labor Minister for Planning 1975–1977
DECEASED
- RG (Ron) Payne Labor Minister for Planning 1977–1979
DECEASED
- 25 D (David) Wotton Liberal Minister for Planning 1979–1982
- 26 DG (Don) Hopgood Labor Minister for Planning 1982–1987
- 27 S (Susan) Lenehan Labor Minister for Planning 1987–1992
- 28 G (Greg) Crafter Labor Minister for Planning 1992–1993

6 interviews conducted of the 12 potential interviewees identified

**GROUP E: LORD MAYORS AND CHAIRMEN OF THE CADC/CAPC AND CITY
PLANNERS OF ADELAIDE 1972–1993**

—	WH (Bill) Hayes	Lord Mayor; Chairman CADC 1971–1973 DECEASED
n/a	RW (Bob) Clampett	Lord Mayor; Chairman CADC 1973–1975 (<i>Reference Interview 9</i>) DECEASED August 2010
n/a	JJ (John) Roche	Lord Mayor; Chairman CADC 1975–1977; Chairman CAPC 1977 (<i>Reference Interview 4</i>) DECEASED April 2010
—	G (George) Joseph	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1977–1979 DECEASED
n/a	JVS (Jim) Bowen	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1979–1981 (<i>Reference Interview 3</i>)
—	AJ (John) Watson	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1981–1983 DECEASED
29	WJ (Wendy) Chapman	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1983–1985
—	JB (Jim) Jarvis	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1985–1987 DECEASED
30	SG (Steve) Condous	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC 1987–1993
—	H (Henry) Ninio	Lord Mayor; Chairman CAPC from May 1993 UNAVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW (<i>medical reasons</i>)
—	MJ (Michael) Llewellyn-Smith	City Planner 1974–1981 (Author)
n/a	GC (Gilbert) Currie	City Planner 1982–1984 (<i>Reference Interview 8</i>)
31	HS (Harry) Bechervaise	City Planner 1984–1987
32	JD (John) Hodgson	City Planner 1987–1994

8 interviews conducted of the 14 potential interviewees identified

GROUP F: CHIEF EXECUTIVES OF THE STATE PLANNING AGENCY, SENIOR PLANNERS, AND SECRETARIES OF THE CAPC 1972–1993

—	G (Grant) Inglis	Director Environment & Planning 1972–1976 DECEASED
n/a	JH (John) Mant	Director Urban Development; 1976–1979 (<i>Reference Interview 15</i>)
33	EJ (Ted) Phipps	Director Environment & Planning 1979–1984
34	I (Ian) McPhail	Director Environment & Planning 1984–1992
35	M (Michael) Lennon	Chief Executive Planning & Urban Development 1992–1994
36	P (Phil) Smith	Director (Assessment) Environment & Planning
37	R (Bob) Teague	Director (Legal) Environment & Planning
—	G (Gwyn) Jarrott	Secretary CAPC 1977–1979 UNABLE TO TRACE
38	A (Alan) Faunt	Secretary CAPC 1979–1981
n/a	G (Gavin) Lloyd-Jones	Secretary CAPC 1981–1984 (<i>Reference Interview 18</i>)
39	B (Bryan) Moulds	Secretary CAPC 1984–1989
40	H (Helen) Davis (<i>née</i> Hele)	Secretary CAPC 1989–1993

10 interviews conducted of the 12 potential interviewees identified

GROUP G: DEPUTY LORD MAYORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CITY PLAN REVIEWS, SELECTED CAPC COMMISSIONERS AND MEMBERS OF THE STATE PLANNING REVIEW

n/a	W (Bill) Manos	Deputy Lord Mayor; Chair 1986–91 City of Adelaide Plan Committee (<i>Reference Interview 14</i>)
41	M (Mark) Hamilton	Deputy Lord Mayor; Chair 1991–96 City of Adelaide Plan Committee

42	J (Judith) Brine	State Member CAPC
43	D (Derek) Scrafton	State Member CAPC
44	R (Rod) Payze	State Member CAPC
45	J (Jane) Rann (née Jose)	Council Member CAPC
46	BR (Brian) Hayes	Chair State Planning Review 1991–1993
—	G (Graeme) Bethune	Member State Planning Review 1991–1993 DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED
47	S (Steve) Hamnett	Member State Planning Review 1991–1993

8 interviews conducted of the 9 potential interviewees identified

SUMMARY

Of the total of 65 potential interviewees identified for the period 1972–1993:

- 14 were deceased (and two died later)
- one was unable to be traced (Jarrott)
- one was unavailable for interview for medical reasons (Ninio)
- one declined to be interviewed (Bethune)
- and one was me, the author

leaving 47 who were interviewed as indicated.

Appendix 2: Heritage Summary Assessment Sheet

CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE STUDY		ASSESSMENT SUMMARY SHEET 1/1		A1 FORM / BUILDING * No.		CORPORATION USE ONLY				
A2 CURRENT NAME OF ITEM		A3 ADDRESS / LOCATION OF ITEM		A4 P.T.A. *		A5 ASSESSMENT NO. *				
B1 CURRENT OWNER		B2 PREDOMINANT USE				A6 NATIONAL MAP GRID CO-ORDINATES *				
C1 FORMER NAME(S) OF ITEM		C2 FORMER OWNER(S)		C3 FORMER USE(S)		A7 PRECINCT				
D1 HISTORICAL THEME(S) *				G1 INVENTORY * GRADING		A8 DEVELOPMENT ZONE				
E1 HISTORICAL PERIOD(S) *				H1 LISTING RE- * COMMENDED		A9 FURTHER VIABILITY STUDY REQUIRED *				
F1 VERIFIED DATE(S) *										
EVALUATION COMPONENTS * COMMENT						GRADING				
HISTORY (J1-J3)						E	VG	G	F/p	NA
J1 PERSON / GROUP	Historically significant persons or groups associated with the item and its function.									
J2 EVENT	Important events associated with the history of the item.									
J3 CONTEXT	Related to and representative of broad historical themes.									
DESIGN (K1-K6)										
K1 DESIGNER	The names of architects, engineers, builders etc, if known.									
K2 CONTRACTOR	The names of contractors responsible for const'n if known.									
K3 STYLE	Notes on the style and character of the item and its significance.									
K4 DESIGN	Notes on the composition and detailing of the item - any noteworthy or significant points.									
K5 CONSTRUCTION	Materials of construction - noteworthy construction techniques.									
K6 INTERIOR	Notes on significant interior spaces.									
INTEGRITY (L1-L2)										
L1 ALTERATIONS	A listing of perceivable alterations to the original state of the item.									
L2 CONDITION	The present condition of the item.									
ENVIRONMENT (M1-M2)										
M1 STREETSCAPE/ LANDSCAPE	The significance of the item in its surrounding environment.									
M2 LANDMARK	The significance, if any, of the item as a landmark in its setting.									
N1 OTHER COMMENT										
Expansion or elaboration of above evaluation components as appropriate.										
O HERITAGE LISTING STATUS	D1 NATIONAL TRUST Classified or Recorded List	D2 NATIONAL ESTATE Register	D3 STATE HERITAGE Register or Interim List	D4 OTHER Status on other heritage-related lists	D5 LOMHAC LISTING ENDORSEMENT City Heritage Register or Interim List					

NOTE: All additions or alterations to this form will be dated.

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