



# REVERSAL OF FORTUNES

THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CHALLENGE TO WORK & SOCIAL EQUALITY.  
A CASE STUDY OF 'THE PARKS' COMMUNITY OF  
NORTHWESTERN ADELAIDE.

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT

In 1938, the South Australian Housing Trust embarked upon its first attempt at building a large public housing estate in Adelaide's north-western suburbs. For the next twenty five years, over 3000 homes were built, with the majority for public rental to a labour force overwhelmingly employed in local manufacturing plants, government authorities and service industries. By the 1970s, this area became popularly known as 'The Parks', comprising the suburbs of Ferryden Park, Woodville Gardens, Athol Park, Angle Park, Woodville North, Mansfield Park and Pennington.

During the 1970s, the long-boom of the 1950s and 1960s had drawn to a close, with a series of factory closures, plant rationalisations and retrenchments causing the local unemployment rate to increase dramatically, from 3% in 1971 to over 16% in 1981. The collapse in unskilled and production line work, combined with the relative absence of alternative employment opportunities, contributed to a deeply recessed and unresponsive regional economy. In the twenty years to 1991, the local labour force had been halved, and the unemployment rate had peaked at 30%. At the end of 1999, it had taken a further nine years and an unprecedented period of national economic growth to reduce the local unemployment rate to a post recession low of 18%.

The Housing Trust, responsible for the construction of a stereotypical streetscape of double units and a residential area scandalously under-resourced in terms of its social and recreational infrastructure, began the long process of rebuilding the community in the late 1970s. A modest redevelopment program involving the selective demolition and refurbishment of its ubiquitous double-units provided a range of alternative housing types for both single-parent families and elderly residents. By the early 1990's, over four hundred new and refurbished homes, aged care units and multi-storey residences had been completed by the Trust and its private contractors.

However the State Bank financial debacle, the reduction in Commonwealth funding, a large public sector debt and the increasing reliance of tenants on rental subsidies, forced a re-evaluation of the Housing Trust's activities and the future management of its estates. In 1994, the State Government announced a major redevelopment of the area, based around a large-scale program of demolitions and the forced relocation of public housing tenants over a ten to fifteen year period. The project was officially launched in 1999, with the first tenants from Stage One relocated and their homes demolished, allowing for the completion of the display village and sales and information centre in 2000.

By focussing on a detailed study of The Parks community, it is anticipated that a better understanding under Australian conditions can be provided of: (1) the special, socially constituted nature of place; (2) the interplay of the global-local and the impacts of economic restructuring; (3) the inseparability of labour and housing markets; and (4) how the agency of private markets and the state interpenetrate each other (and can reinforce disadvantage).

In summary, The Parks and its constituent labour force was established by the state to underpin the profitability of industrial capital. It is now to be dismantled, its residents dispersed in order to recreate the conditions for renewed profitability (this time for development or property capital in the form of Pioneer Projects Australia P/L and the South Australian Housing Trust).

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis. I consent to this thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

Simon Neldner

4 / 7 / 01

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On the front cover of this thesis, only one individual can claim credit (or accept the blame) for its contents and research findings. While the candidate is the star of the show, a supporting cast of characters (too numerous to be mentioned) are always there to guide the direction of the thesis and provide the material for the final result. And, if the journey takes longer than expected, the process of researching, writing and presenting the higher-degree thesis becomes a test of endurance for everyone involved.

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To the people of The Parks, who opened their doors and allowed their experiences to be recorded, this thesis is a record of your achievements and struggles for a better deal. Hopefully, there will be a recognition that places like The Parks have been 'made poor', and that State and Federal Government's will accept the social responsibilities which define an egalitarian, liberal-democratic country like Australia.

'Well society may be in its infancy,' said Egremont, slightly smiling; 'but say what you like, our Queen reigns over the greatest nation that ever existed.'

'Which nation?' asked the younger stranger, 'for she reigns over two.'

The stranger paused; Egremont was silent, but looked inquiringly.

'Yes', resumed the younger stranger after a moment's interval. 'Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were different dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws.'

'You speak of -' said Egremont, hesitatingly.

'THE RICH AND THE POOR.'

Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil*



## CHAPTER ONE

Our past is only a little less uncertain than our future and, like the future, it is always changing, always revealing and concealing. <sup>1</sup>

Daniel Boorstin

As in economics nothing is certain save the certainty that there will be firm prediction by those who do not know. <sup>2</sup>

John K. Galbraith

The social scientific urge to mathmatise the life-world using numerical codes and statistical manipulations is a mistaken project.<sup>3</sup>

Rob Watts

### **Preface**

In 1938, the South Australian Housing Trust embarked upon its first attempt at building a large public housing estate in Adelaide's northwestern suburbs. For the next twenty five years, over 3000 homes were built, with the majority for public rental to a labour force overwhelmingly employed in local manufacturing plants, government authorities and service industries. By the 1970s, this area became popularly known as 'The Parks', a name which had originated in the campaign to build a new community centre, but which also underscored – in an ironic way – the complete absence of developed recreational spaces and social infrastructure for local residents. This thesis represents a comprehensive case-study of 'The Parks', from the initial development of local industries through to the State Government decision in 1998 to proceed with a large scale redevelopment project (involving extensive demolitions), and how public policies have both reduced and ultimately intensified the level of disadvantage and social polarisation in an area universally seen as being 'on the wrong side of the tracks'.

The thesis has three main objectives. Firstly, a literature review which examines the place-specific outcomes of economic restructuring and the role of local labour markets in geographical research. Secondly, an analysis of restructuring, locational disadvantage and social polarisation, the loss of traditional employment opportunities, estate redevelopment and service withdrawal,

through a comprehensive study of 'The Parks' (a public housing estate in Adelaide's northwestern suburbs). Thirdly, the wider implications of these changes for communities 'on the edge' - specifically those households who lack the human or physical resources to recover from the combined assault of deindustrialisation, public sector withdrawal, labour market change and urban redevelopment. And lastly, a recognition that 'localities are of continuing significance precisely because they are the places where people live; they are the places where people find their sense of belonging' (Thorns, 1992: 250). These issues are at the centre of current geographical inquiry.

Following on from previous research – specifically that of the 'localities' project of the late 1980s (Cooke, 1989) and the re-emergence of local labour market analysis in the mid-1990s (Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peck, 1996) – there is an opportunity to advance the importance of 'place' and *geographical* scale in an Australian context. In the case of South Australia, the impact of disinvestment and polarisation have not been adequately reflected in the literature, although the concentrations of household disadvantage and long-term unemployment appear to be comparable, and in some cases more severe and of longer duration, than the experiences of Sydney and Melbourne. In addition, the restructuring and rationalisation of the 'old economy' (eg heavy industry, publicly owned utilities) and its replacement by more mobile investment flows and a multi-skilled workforce have not been sufficient to return the 'new economy' to full employment – particularly in the case of male full-time employment.

Indeed, it has become clear that systemic inequalities – such as longer-term unemployment and welfare dependency – have not been reduced (as the futurists would have us believe) but have often been exacerbated to include a significantly *larger* proportion of the population. Undoubtedly, the longer-term shift to service industries and the casualisation of employment has created millions of new jobs, but many of these are often in the wrong locations, demand a different basket of skills and provide wages and conditions which are significantly below those of a previously comparable, full-time job in manufacturing. If the successful implementation of an economic philosophy (eg free trade, privatisation) is to be judged by its ability to achieve an unemployment rate of less than five percent, then something is seriously wrong when some suburban areas have experienced rates two to three times greater than the metropolitan average since the mid 1970s. While policy-makers and academics have devoted a large amount of time and expertise to investigating these questions, there is still no definitive response

from the state to underwrite the 'smooth transition' towards a post-industrial future or even to provide the compensatory resources for those left behind in its wake. Instead, there remains no real or insistent demand for a national urban and regional policy of substance (Spiller & Budge, 2000). Nor is there even a rudimentary understanding of what has actually happened in all those abandoned and forgotten places. The deployment of standardised statistical barometers of economic well being – and then reliance upon their explanatory power to construct generic measurements of disadvantage (eg poverty lines) – is a very limited and ultimately unrewarding research methodology for local area analysis.

Geography's recent preoccupation with postmodernism, reinforces the need for more socially relevant analysis and a conceptual framework based around real-world conditions (Wheeler, 2000). It is proposed that labour market research provides such a framework: *locally* informed, grass-roots research. It is at this level that questions relating to the intersection of the public and the private, the global and the local, the state and the individual, the worker and the employer can be satisfactorily explored without resorting to (albeit theoretically informed) generalisation and speculation. Comprehensive, detailed case studies have been a rarity in the local research literature, which has tended to focus on broader themes and national trends within the Australian urban system. But while the case study approach offers a more comprehensive and specific platform for local area analysis, there is always the problem of maintaining a research focus and adopting a conceptual framework that may not sit easily with the accepted canons of geographical inquiry. There is a risk of the case-study method becoming trapped in the *cul-de-sac* of its own detail and losing explanatory punch at its completion.

However the benefits to be gained from such an approach, and the importance of unmasking the concentrated inequalities and locational disadvantages within the forgotten places of our largest cities, and broadening our knowledge of 'lived experience' tend to outweigh the risks of the enterprise. There will also be the additional benefit - not fully explored in previous locality or labour market studies – of expanding such an analysis and improving our understanding of economic and social change by including issues of housing redevelopment, service rationalisation and community involvement. Aside from the initial investigation of the local labour market, this would also propel the research into new territory, to consider the ramifications of job loss and industrial change in the context of the changes occurring to the welfare system (eg entitlement changes, housing assistance, service rationalisation) and the expanded role of private sector

involvement in state-owned enterprises. There would then be an opportunity to document how these changes – taken together – have impacted on a community as a whole. For example, the changes to public housing policy – specifically the move away from building new homes to providing rental subsidies to households in the private sector – would create a number of transitional problems for those communities built in a previous period of state intervention and service provision.

These objectives provide the thesis with a critically relevant and important platform to explore issues of service withdrawal and job loss in one of Australia's most disadvantaged communities. By focussing on a detailed study of The Parks community, and investigating the impact of social and economic change at the local level, it is anticipated that a better understanding under Australian conditions can be provided of: (1) the special, socially constituted nature of place; (2) the interplay of the global-local and the impacts of economic restructuring; (3) the inseparability of labour and housing markets; and (4) how the agency of private markets and the state interpenetrate each other (and can reinforce disadvantage). The Parks and its labour force was established by the state to underpin the profitability of industrial capital; and now it is being dismantled, its residents dispersed in order to recreate the conditions for renewed profitability (this time for development or property capital in the form of Pioneer Projects Australia P/L and the South Australian Housing Trust).

It is anticipated that these research objectives will address a number of crucial questions. For instance, can local coalitions survive in a period of economic realignment and service rationalisation; should the responsibility of the *state* extend to cover those communities left on the margins (as the *necessary* casualties of Government policies and compromises); and should the inherent spatiality of the labour market be the basis on which policies to reduce longer-term unemployment are developed? Following a brief introduction to the intellectual origin of this thesis, the following chapter, Chapter Two: Literature Review, will examine the origins of the locality concept, the role of local labour markets and the emergence of locality in the evaluation of socio-spatial change. Chapter Three will highlight the methodological issues and problems encountered during the research project. The results will then be presented in five thematic chapters, dealing with industry (Chapter Four), labour (Chapter Five), housing (Chapter Six), community (Chapter Seven) and redevelopment (Chapter Eight) respectively. In the concluding



chapter (Chapter Nine), a summary of the research findings will provide a platform for some alternative policy recommendations.

## Introduction

The uncertainty of history has always made the quest for absolute knowledge and firm prediction, particularly the *a priori* interpretation of social process, a largely unrewarding and myopic search for intellectual enlightenment. Yet the 1970s, a decade once described as 'on the hinge of history' (Schedvin, 1987: 20), became a period of intense self-critique and re-evaluation - characterised by a shared concern for the future and a desire to distance one's self from the past. One of the most prominent literary works from this period, Daniel Bell's *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973), attempted to challenge the contemporary theories of economic growth by proposing a development path based on an alternative mix of consumption patterns and the establishment of a knowledge based, though socially responsible, intellectual elite. Bell, like many of his fellow authors (Schumacher, 1973; Dahrendorf, 1975), put forward a radical hypothesis affirming the 'malleability' of socio-economic change, the idea of a 'smooth transition' from one economic period to the next (eg from an industrial to a service based economy) and the redistribution of material wealth to meet both societal needs and enable individual self fulfilment (Gershunny, 1978).

By 1993, twenty years after its initial release, Bell's utopian vision of a more liberal, humane society has failed to materialise, while the fictional accounts of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and Kurt Vonnegut's *Player Piano* (1956) have achieved, by default, a more realistic insight into the processes of technological and structural change by exposing both the fallacy of the 'smooth transition' and the systemic dysfunctionality of the capitalist system (Keinath, 1985: 223-224).<sup>4</sup> In contrast to Bell's hypothesis, the modern western economies of Europe and North America have experienced a significant trend reversal in socio-economic inequality since 1970, in both the distribution of income and the accumulation of wealth (Harrison & Bluestone, 1988; Phillips, 1990; Goldsmith & Blakey, 1992; Gregory, 1992 ).

In addition, the intensity, duration and spatial unevenness of these changes have often been exacerbated by the reckless pursuit of economic policies which have marginalised significant sections of the population, particularly the unemployed and the poor (Pinch, 1993). And where the 'benefits' of technological change (eg computerisation) has not only delivered greater efficiencies and labour-saving devices, but has also created a digital divide in terms of the affordability of new technologies (for low income households) and the availability of programs for displaced workers to access jobs in the 'new' economy (Fainstein, Gordon & Harloe, 1992; Massey, Quintas & Wield, 1992). Although a number of countries, notably Japan and Sweden, have either ameliorated the economic hardships of employment change or have socially reconfigured their economies to reduce the deleterious consequences of industrial decline, Australia has experienced significantly higher and sustained unemployment levels since the mid-1970s (Windschuttle, 1980; Stricker & Sheehan, 1981; Fagan, 1986a; Stilwell, 1989; EPAC, 1992; Gregory, 1992; Fagan 1994; Murphy & Watson, 1994; Gregory & Hunter, 1995).

By the latter half of the twentieth century, Human Geography was confronted with a series of challenges arising from the restructuring of the industrialised economies and the associated social and economic forces that have irrevocably altered both the "structured coherence" of regional economies and the "individual lifeworlds" of different localities (Harvey, 1985; Leitner, 1990). In light of these challenges, particularly the rising level of inequality in both housing and labour markets, human geographers attempted to embrace a new style of 'socially committed urban research' which aimed to demystify those forces which were generating and reinforcing social inequalities within the urban and regional systems of Europe and North America (Szeleyni, 1981).

It is perhaps no coincidence then that the release of David Harvey's *Social Justice and the City* (1973) symbolised the growing disillusionment of urban commentators towards the end of the post-war boom and the search for a more 'socially relevant consciousness' in urban and regional research (Forster, 1988: 70). Yet the search for relevance and the final, more elusive, goal of Harvey's 'emancipatory socialist project' has faltered due to its inherent inability to provide a credible *alternative* to the capitalist imperatives of uneven development, rising inequality and cumulative disadvantage (Cooke, 1987a; Storper & Walker, 1989; Sassen, 1990a).

Although geographers have gained a greater insight into the processes of economic change, including the importance of previous investment decisions and uneven redevelopment (Massey, 1984; Massey & Meegan, 1978; 1982; 1985), the development and implementation of alternative policy models has been less successful. This problem was identified by Logan (1978), who remarked that "marxist analysis will continue to be relevant for understanding problems but irrelevant for providing solutions" (Logan, 1978: 67). As a result, neo-Marxist thought was increasingly unable to define issues of human agency (Beauregard, 1988; Clark, 1990) and locality (Urry, 1981; Sandercock, 1986; Cooke, 1989a; Fagan, 1991; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peck 1996) or entirely escape its previous support for theory over practice, and thought over action. In many ways, the 'social scientific left ignored race, poverty and urban inequality altogether, having much more concern with issues of growth and accumulation' (Lash & Urry, 1994: 147). By the mid-1980s, however, a number of researchers began to question the role of structuralist theories of economic growth and capital flows, and started to focus on the way in which 'global realities intersect on the ground' and the 'specificities of place and of people' (Duncan & Savage, 1989: 358). In her annual report for *Progress in Human Geography*, Leitner (1992) noted that,

the reason for the rather meagre progress is that researchers fail to acknowledge the necessity of paying attention to the importance of the historical and geographical context in which events occur in order to adequately understand urban phenomena.<sup>5</sup>

As a consequence of this debate the importance of "place" and the resurgence of academic interest in socio-spatial differentiation (Soja, 1989), territorial organisation (Chisholm & Smith, 1990), and the role of historical processes of change in uneven redevelopment (Massey, 1984; Massey & Meegan, 1978; 1982; 1985) researchers came to the conclusion that "geography matters" (ie. space and place) in the description of social process and spatial variation (Johnston, 1994).<sup>6</sup> In summary, structuralist interpretations of change were found to be inappropriate in 'documenting the minutia of contemporary economic restructuring' (Cooke, 1987c: 409) and that as a result 'modelling of process advanced more rapidly than our ability to disaggregate to national or local scales' (Fagan, 1991: 200).

Human Geography, in light of this continuing debate, has reaffirmed the concept of locality and the importance of time and space in critical social theory. However the locality debate was

unable to come to terms with the general processes it so skilfully critiqued, particularly the wider significance of the state (Johnston, 1994), the labour market (Morrison, 1987; Peck, 1989a), civil society (Davis, 1992), migration (Cross, 1992), and the global economy (Dicken, 1992) in the structuring of social and economic relationships (Day & Murdoch, 1992). For example, although the localised effects of economic change have been addressed by locality studies, albeit in a 'mono-dimensional sense', the changing nature of social relationships in both the home and the workplace have remained under-developed (Bowlby *et al.*, 1986; Thorns, 1989; Fincher, 1990; Pratt & Hanson, 1991; Morris, 1991; Schor, 1992; Pinch, 1993; Moss, 1994).

The interrelationships of popular culture and the media (eg. television), politics and the state, work and personal identity (eg. ethnicity, age, gender, sexuality, race and occupation) have all tended to transcend the 'local' by forming a myriad of overlapping relationships and shared identities on a wide variety of scales that make the homogeneity and boundedness of change, that has been expressed in locality studies, conceptually incomplete. Despite these conceptual problems, locality research remains an important method of socio-economic analysis as the changes in household structure, gender roles (eg household division of labour), working patterns and community interaction are an 'intrinsically geographical phenomenon' because by their very nature they are both *locally* constituted and transformed (Coombes *et al.*, 1988; Peck, 1989b; Morris, 1991). However, postmodernism in general and locality research in particular have yet to provide a coherent methodology which can address both the general and the locally specific circumstances of urban change and transformation within the capitalist system. Why?

Firstly, urban problems have become multi-dimensional in both their nature and appearance which has tended to fragment the accumulation of knowledge between disciplines, obscure research aims and undermine methodological coherence (Johnston, 1992; Massey, 1999). For example, the recent intellectual advances made in philosophy, sociology and labour studies tend to be overlooked by the other social sciences, particularly economics, which is often more interested in the evolution and operation of structures than in the feelings, desires and needs of human beings.

Secondly, many urban problems seem to have become structurally embedded and reproduced within the capitalist system (eg unemployment, poverty, homelessness), while their intensity and

duration have shown few signs of diminishing. This has tended to generate a mood of disillusionment (Forster, 1988) and self-doubt amongst many urban geographers who are now trying to become more socially aware (Fincher, 1987b; Johnston, 1992; 1994) and policy relevant (Gould, 1991) in a period of increasing uncertainty and social polarisation (Pinch, 1993; Murphy & Watson 1994; Gaspard, 1995; McDowell, 1997). Thirdly, and perhaps more significantly, the prospects for substantive social change and community mobilisation have been eroded still further by: the continuing emasculation of the traditional working class and trade union movement (Davis, 1987; Moody, 1988; Wishart, 1992); the re-emergence of neo-conservative policies based on the fiscal imperatives of economic efficiency (Pusey, 1991; Stewart, 1994); the increasing political and economic dominance of financial markets and inter-industry trading flows by transnational corporations (Dunning, 1971; Hymer, 1972; Dicken, 1992); and the declining significance of the nation state in political economy (Reich, 1992; Tyler, 1993). All of these factors have, through time, gradually eroded the possibility of traditional class-based alliances and place as poles for community mobilisation, by promoting a re-identification with one's workplace, one's household or with one's own individual identity.<sup>7</sup>

The current labour market problems being experienced by the advanced western economies (eg long term unemployment and shortages of skilled professionals) are, perhaps, the crucial indicator of this change from a class or production based model of social organisation to the formation of new or class 'neutral' social groupings. As Peter Davidson observes, in his forward to George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1989), the explanation for this may be that 'class distinctions do not die; they merely learn new ways of expressing themselves' (Orwell, 1989: vii). For example, the rise in unemployment and contingent or atypical employment relationships (Belous, 1989) has altered the nexus between work and social equality, whereby one's position in relatively secure employment will often confer the rights of social and economic citizenship, while unemployment (or those on the margins of paid employment) appear to experience social and economic disenfranchisement (Lister, 1990; Brown & Scase, 1991; Paccione, 1992; Kaus, 1993; Pixley, 1993; Hutton, 1995). This phenomenon, so eloquently described by John Kenneth Galbraith, has led to a 'culture of contentment' (Galbraith, 1992) for those who have prospered in the 'new economy'.<sup>8</sup> While for all those people and places left behind, the sense of injustice and dislocation is undoubtedly widespread, but (and this is the crucial point) surprisingly little political radicalism has emerged to challenge the current system. Why? <sup>9</sup>

It is because the nature of capitalism itself had changed. Previously held notions of solidarity, locality, class and community do not appear to conform to the post-modern world of diversity, difference, flexibility and individuality - thereby acting to preclude traditional labour or community based movements from participating in organised, grassroots protests. The fragmentation of traditional rallying points for change, particularly the plight of organised labour (Davis, 1987; Moody, 1988; Wishart, 1992), reflects not so much the disappearance of class from the structuring of social relationships but its devaluation as both an organisational and explanatory concept.<sup>10</sup> For example, Giddens (1994) notes that,

Class once expressed itself precisely as community .... the remnants still exist, of course, but class division now much more often takes on individualised, or "biographical" form. The "new poor" ... don't form a community with one another. They share in common only their exclusion from participation in the labour market.<sup>11</sup>

And as Lawrence Haworth observed in *The Good City* (1960), the two principle ingredients of our economic wellbeing - opportunity and community - will be, to a large extent, determined by our relationship with the labour market. However in many areas of our cities, or forgotten places in our rural hinterlands, opportunity - specifically economic opportunity - has all but disappeared. And for many people, most notably working families and those on low incomes, life seems to be getting significantly harder. In these places, creative destruction has produced a 'dramatically different landscape of economic power' which, inevitably, 'imposes costs on those workers (or communities) unable to compete' (Zukin, 1994: 4). Furthermore, and in an Australian context, there has been very little 'awareness of the spatial components of the processes of economic change' - particularly where the 'impacts of reform are often sectorally and geographically uneven' (*Australian Geographer*, 1991: 101).

In conclusion, this research arose out of a concern for those communities, households or individuals left behind in the wake of globalisation, and the relative absence of any marketable skills or alternative industries to successfully compete or 're-engineer' themselves in the post-industrial world. It is also a thesis that seeks to understand better the embeddedness and operation of labour markets at the local level - particularly how locality interacts with labour processes through both time and space. Secondly, it is an exploration of the two way flow between global and local processes of change where the restructuring requirements of capital often take priority

over people and place. And finally, the continuing value of social citizenship, partnership and community, as strategies for the 'popular restructuring of urban space' need to be re-evaluated in view of the current 'pursuit of market dominated urban policies' (Paccione, 1992: 405) that have, invariably, led to increasing levels of community fragmentation and social exclusion. As Paccione (1992) states,

Humankind has a moral responsibility to ensure that those excluded from participation in the market can acquire the expertise to enter the circle of exchange, and develop their skills in order to make the best use of their capacities and resources.<sup>12</sup>

And finally, given this observation and at a time when the *state* is redefining its level of intervention within the market (eg privatisation), the question that needs to be asked is whether 'capitalism with a social conscience' actually exists or is it merely a chimera embodied in today's euphemistically termed productive society (Paccione, 1992: 94).

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- <sup>1</sup> Boorstin D., (1992) *Hidden History* Peter Smith Magnolia Massachusetts USA p1
- <sup>2</sup> Galbraith J.K., (1992) *The Culture of Contentment* Houghton Mifflin p153
- <sup>3</sup> Watts R., (1993) 'Australian Living Standards: Some Gender Considerations' *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 28(1): 15
- <sup>4</sup> The future role of the 'intellectual elite', in particular their leadership role, remains uncertain. Robert Reich in his analysis of future working patterns in the *Work of Nations* (1991), advanced the hypothesis that because of the changing nature of work the intellectual elite or 'symbolic analysts' would eventually, if not already, secede from society to form their own enclaves of exclusivity and consumption - based on their position as the sole generators of wealth and technical expertise. Hence the notion of a socially responsible or benevolent elite is, perhaps, unrealistic.
- <sup>5</sup> Leitner H., (1992) 'Urban Geography: responding to new challenges' *Progress in Human Geography* 16(1): 105
- <sup>6</sup> One of the disadvantages of structuralism was found to be its overt reliance upon the foundations of class and production based models of social analysis which promoted an *a priori* devaluation of human agency and the role of historical dynamics of change in the restructuring of specific places or locales (Urry, 1981; Duncan & Ley, 1982; Giddens, 1984; Massey, 1984). The recognition that geography was an 'active contributor to social explanation' (Warf, 1993: 167) prompted a post-modern rewriting of critical social theory, while the hitherto privileged status of meta-narratives suffered a similar, though ignominious, reversal in academic fortunes.
- <sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note the growing prominence of single issue causes or non-class based alliances founded on issues of self interest (eg. homeowner / no growth coalitions), or individual identity (eg. issues of race relations, gender equality, sexuality, age discrimination, ethnicity and multiculturalism). The significance of these movements, as opposed to traditional labour based social movements, is that they often cut across existing class cleavages, are not specifically tied to place and whose results usually further the interests of one group over another (eg. abortion vs. pro choice groups). Therefore a commonality of interests within a given locality may be fundamentally impossible, given these emerging divisions, even without noting the further dichotomy between workers and non-workers.
- <sup>8</sup> The idea of the 'contented majority', as opposed to the traditional class models, is not a new one. Gunnar Myrdal referred to the concept of the 'silent minority' who 'enjoy neither security nor a decent standard of living' (Myrdal, 1963: 17).
- <sup>9</sup> Where political radicalism has emerged is over the terms and conditions of *currently employed* workers rather than those of the unemployed. Yet even these groups have a not dissimilar fate of fragmentation, political exclusion and 'campaign fatigue'.
- <sup>10</sup> Thorns (1989) in his case study of New Zealand, argued that the unevenness of economic change and the growth in consumption sector cleavages were creating regional disparities and sharper social divisions, but not along traditional class lines (ie. a pattern of re-stratification was redefining current working patterns and household structures).
- <sup>11</sup> Giddens A., (1994) 'What's left for labour?' *New Statesman and Society* 30 September, 1994: 39
- <sup>12</sup> Paccione M., (1992) 'Citizenship, partnership and the popular restructuring of urban space' *Urban Geography* 13(5): 418.



## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Place is the intersection of a multitude of processes, the sedimentations of the past, the social practices of the present and projects for the future.<sup>1</sup>

Paul Bagguley

One of modern geography's greatest betrayals was its devaluation of the specificities of place and of people.<sup>2</sup>

Doreen Massey

People are always in a place, and places constrain and enable. But place depends on people who construct and organise it.<sup>3</sup>

Robert Sack

### 2.0 Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

During the 1980s a significant research effort was undertaken in an attempt to understand the two way flow between global and local processes of regional change and economic restructuring (Cooke, 1989a: 296-305; Fagan, 1991: 200; Massey, 1991: 267-282). In the United Kingdom, through the support of the Economic and Social Research Council (ERSC), a research program was established to provide comparative information on the differential outcomes of restructuring at the local level - in particular a taxonomical guide to the uneven trajectories of growth and decline within the urban and regional system of the United Kingdom (Cooke, 1986a; 1989a; Bagguley *et al.*, 1990; Harloe, Pickvance & Urry, 1990).<sup>4</sup> In North America a similar, though less structured, research effort has focused on the role of local government and political elites in the regeneration of urban areas in response to federal government cutbacks and the economic aftershocks associated with capital withdrawal and employment loss through deindustrialisation (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Smith & Feagin, 1987; Parkinson *et al.*, 1988; Judd & Parkinson, 1990; Leitner, 1990; Logan & Swanstrom, 1990; Fainstein, Gordon & Harloe, 1992; Cox, 1993; Pudup, 1993).<sup>5</sup>

In Australia, the locality concept has remained relatively underdeveloped with several (unrelated) studies focussing on issues of: industrial restructuring (Fagan, 1986a; Haughton,

1989; O'Neill, 1989; Stilwell, 1989); the importance of place (Sandercock, 1986); locational disadvantage (Fincher, 1990); class and gender relations (Walker, 1987; Watson, 1991b); regional employment change (Forster, 1991a; Taylor, 1992b); and social polarisation (Peel, 1993/94; Murphy & Watson, 1994). Not surprisingly, the absence of federally funded regional initiatives has tended to restrict research, while the few programs which were undertaken, failed to secure bipartisan support or funding over the longer term (Badcock, 1994; 1997c), whereupon the emphasis was returned to 'reforming' the micro-economy. As a result, economic policy was redirected towards goals of: labour market efficiency (*Working Nation*, 1994); and the gradual privatisation of public sector utilities (*Charting the Way Forward*, 1994).<sup>6</sup>

Given the ambivalence of the former Federal Labour Government towards alternative policy options (*Independent Parliamentary Inquiry into Tariffs and Industry Development*, 1993; Stilwell, 1992; 1993; Kelty, 1994; Langmore & Quiggin, 1994; Stewart, 1994), and the deliberate avoidance of any structured urban and regional development policies by its successor, locality studies in Australia are providing both a valuable insight and a political statement into issues of locational disadvantage, economic restructuring and social exclusion at the local level (Powell, 1993; Peel, 2000). To explore these trends, the literature review will examine two inter-related issues: the evolution and applicability of the locality concept (2.2); and secondly, a critical assessment of labour market analysis and social exclusion in spatial research (2.3). An attempt will then be made to contextualise this research, and provide a more comprehensive insight into the locality concept and its applicability to urban communities in Australia.

## **2.2 Locality Research**

### **2.2.1 Historical Antecedents**

The origins of 'locality' research can be found in several disciplines, including the pioneering work of regional geographers (Hartshorne, 1939; James & Joyce, 1954) and urban sociologists (Lynd & Lynd, 1929; Whyte, 1955; Gans, 1962) in their description of 'shared identity' and the uniqueness of place (Pudup, 1988). However the 'regional method', for so long an integral part of geographical inquiry, was ultimately eclipsed in the later half of the

twentieth century by the quantitative revolution (read logical positivism) and its redefinition of the discipline as a theoretically informed spatial science as opposed to a purely descriptive regional analysis (Schaefer, 1953; Haggett, 1965; Bunge, 1966; Haggett & Chorley, 1967; Harvey, 1969).

Similarly, the sociological study of community which had formed the cornerstone of ethnographic research in Europe and North America, was eventually overshadowed by modern social survey techniques which attempted to systematise both the selection of survey participants (as opposed to purposive observation), improve the range and type of data collected, and enhance the comparability and methodological synergy between case studies (Glass, 1966: 148; Bell & Newby, 1970: 250; Wild, 1981). By the late 1960s, both disciplines were considered unable to provide the necessary knowledge or conceptual understanding of the wider processes and unevenness of change in a world where, it was thought increasingly fewer social and economic relationships seemed to be both spatially bound and constructed. The search for synthesis and unifying general theory continued throughout the 1970s, yet the inherent limitations of logical positivism ultimately invited academic censure by geographers who,

expressed their revulsion at positivism's pretended neutrality, its atomistic conception of the social, its devaluation of the intuitive, and its failure to recognise that statistics don't bleed.<sup>7</sup>

The research emphasis in social geography now turned to issues of 'social engagement' (Livingstone, 1992: 356), human agency and political activism where place became both the 'medium and outcome of social reciprocity' (Livingstone, 1992: 357). It was from this debate that, as Livingstone concludes, the,

Fragmentation of knowledge, social differentiation, and the questioning of scientific rationality have all coalesced to reaffirm the importance of the particular, the specific, the local.<sup>8</sup>

However the evolution of the locality project, and geographical research in general, is far more than a chronological account of paradigm shifts, 'key works and important dates' (Livingstone, 1992: 9). It also represents the coalescence of historical trends and contemporary forces that have, in the past, both guided and shaped the collection and interpretation of knowledge (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991: 1-25; Livingstone, 1992: 1-31).<sup>9</sup>

### 2.2.2 The Search for Relevance

The locality project was established not only as an interdisciplinary response in the description and analysis of uneven re-development but as a rejoinder to the intellectual failures of the past. Its underlying dynamics express a wider appreciation for historical processes of change (Massey, 1984), a reinterpretation of place and community identity (Paccione, 1992), the contemporary role of the state and business elites in promoting urban regeneration (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Smith & Feagin, 1987) and the changing significance of socio-cultural relationships in both the home and the workplace (Bowlby, 1986; Bagguley *et al.*, 1990; Morris, 1991; Hanson & Pratt, 1995). However the social and political context in which the locality project developed, particularly in Britain and the United States, would form a vital component in explaining both its research objectives and ideological mission. As noted earlier, the growing political ambivalence towards urban policy and the associated devolution of fiscal and administrative responsibility over regional development, focussed research interest upon the readjustment ability and entrepreneurial skills of individual localities situated in a world of increasing uncertainty and global competitiveness (Pudup, 1993: 179). In 1988 Phillip Cooke, the coordinator of the Changing Urban and Regional Research Program (CURS), noted in his preface to *Localities* (1989a) that,

the overall objectives of the programme were to explore the impact of economic restructuring at national and local levels, and to assess the role of central and local government policies in enabling or constraining localities through their various social and political organisations to deal with processes of restructuring.<sup>10</sup>

The CURS initiative was established by the Economic and Social Research Council (ERSC) in 1984, and by the following year, seven teams were formed to investigate some thirty localities from which seven were selected as the principle case studies of global restructuring and local response (Cooke, 1986a: 9-17).

Each case study gave a detailed account of the effects of national and international processes within each local economy and the subsequent development of counter strategies to limit both the severity and rapidity of change. The main areas of comparability included: an historical retrospective of each locality's economic base and its development; the changing character of the built environment and cultural ambience; the level of class consciousness and local mobilisation; the severity of industrial change and employment restructuring; the locality's emerging place in the productive and regional hierarchy of the national economy;

the changing occupational and gender structure of the work force; and finally the role of political elites, multinational corporations and the level of central government support in the determination of alternative policy options.<sup>11</sup> The program was completed in December 1987 from which several academic texts (Cooke, 1989a; Bagguley *et al.*, 1990; Harloe, Pickvance & Urry, 1990), research monographs (Cooke, 1986a), conference papers (Meegan, 1992) and numerous refereed articles (Urry, 1986, 1987; Cooke, 1986b, 1987a, 1987b, 1989b; Massey, 1989; 1991) have been published.

Although the CURS initiative has generated a considerable level of debate (Thrift & Peet, 1989: 22) and established an alternative framework for the analysis of national socio-spatial change, the question remained as to whether the project had met its original aims and satisfied the methodological demands of combining both the uniqueness of place with the more general processes of social, political and economic change (Day & Murdoch, 1992: 82-83). For Massey and her fellow researchers, this has proven to be a difficult balancing act as the:

challenge is to hold the two sides together; to understand the general underlying causes while at the same time recognising the importance of the specific and the unique.<sup>12</sup>

How successful has the locality concept been? In order to adequately assess the locality literature an analysis of its subsequent critique, potential methodological weaknesses and possible improvements will be explored.

### 2.2.3 Critique and Counterthrust

Locality studies were an attempt not only to bridge the gap between theory and practice but to recast regional geography's heritage of 'local uniqueness' with the recognition that 'geography matters' in the explanation of both social processes and spatial patterns (Pudup, 1988: 369-390). However that search may yet prove elusive, as Pudup explains:

anyone trying to mesh theory with empirical description soon learns that the movement among abstract concepts and empirical description is rather like performing ballet on a bed of quicksand: training and agility doesn't prevent sinking in the mud.<sup>13</sup>

Given this challenge, has the locality concept achieved its goal of the reinstatement of place in critical social theory and escaped serious criticism or has it befallen the same fate as its predecessor's and sunk in the mud? The locality concept has not been immune from serious criticism, as both its theoretical foundations and empirical relevance have been questioned since the programs inception in the mid-1980s (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991: 52-53; Duncan & Savage, 1991: 155-164; Meegan, 1992: 6-15).

The main thrust of this critique has revolved around: the perceived lack of theoretical guidance (Gregson, 1987); an inappropriate definition of locality and a failure to acknowledge scale effects (Cochrane, 1987; Smith, 1987; Urry, 1987; Duncan & Savage, 1989; 1991); the unresolved duality between theory and practice (Graham & St. Martin, 1990; Sayer, 1991); the dangers of the empirical [re]turn (Cochrane, 1987; Harvey, 1987; Smith, 1987); the over-politicisation of local responses and the questionable ability of locales to achieve a 'coherent and unified social force' (Day & Murdoch, 1992; Cox, 1993); and the inadequacy of local labour markets in determining the parameters of analysis (Bowlby *et al.*, 1986; Coombes *et al.*, 1988; Peck, 1989b). Alternatively, several authors (while supporting the aims of the research) argued that the locality project had failed to: find the 'middle ground' between structure and agency (Cox & Mair, 1991); examine the changing nature of household and gender relations (Bowlby *et al.*, 1986; Pinch, 1987; Fincher, 1989a, 1990; Morris, 1991; Pratt, 1991; Pratt & Hanson, 1991; Pinch, 1993); explore the international context of restructuring (Thrift, 1985); or promote pathways for radical change at the local level (Beauregard, 1988; Lovering, 1989b; Swyngedouw, 1989).<sup>14</sup> How substantive have these criticisms been in redefining the locality project?

The main areas of challenge and critique have centred on issues of scale and definition, the role of household and gender relationships, the status of theory and the explanation of social process. Firstly, problems of scale and definition have always plagued geographical research and the recent criticisms by Duncan and Savage (1989, 1991) could be seen as opportunistic in light of previous discussions (Williams, 1981: 33-34). As Warde (1989) has remarked,

no explanatory concepts in geography have simply definable spatial boundaries, except perhaps the nation state .. [and] .. Empirical inquiry should accept uncertain boundaries, but seek theoretical assurance.<sup>15</sup>

Although certain aspects of the locality concept (eg. definition and aims) were probably misinterpreted or poorly explained (Cooke, 1987b), the sense of *deja vu* cannot be underestimated - particularly in light of regional geography's heritage of idiographic research and its past preoccupation with the unique. The problem identified by several critics was how could qualitatively different data sets be compared or generalised across the localities program without compromising its initial objectives. In response, Cooke (1987b) and Warde (1989) advanced an alternative data analysis, based partly on Clifford Gertz's work of clinical inference (Gertz, 1973): any findings arising from similar case studies could be generalised and any conclusions incorporated into existing theoretical constructs (Cooke, 1987b: 76-78; Warde, 1989: 275-276). Pudding metaphors aside, the nature of these generalisations and their portability across existing theoretical constructs remains a highly questionable one - particularly in light of the locality project's perceived lack of theoretical specificity.

The second major criticism, while allied with issues of scale and definition, concerns the changing nature and construction of alternative economic strategies and gender relationships in both the home and the workplace (Bowlby, 1986). The problem with locality studies, at least in a conceptual sense, was their inability to describe adequately changes in the gender differentiation of the workforce and the household division of labour - particularly where the forces of change were not seen to be locally determined or constrained. The changing experiences of the household, as documented in locality studies, were considered inappropriate in examining the social, as opposed to the economic construction of space (Bowlby, 1986,; Pratt, 1991; Moss, 1994).

In addition, the following remained underdeveloped: the variability of employment opportunities and access (Vipond, 1984; Pratt & Hanson, 1988; Morris, 1990; Pinch & Storey, 1992a); the changing structure and distribution of activities or division of labour within the household (Pahl, 1984; Walker, 1987; Pinch & Storey, 1992a, 1992b); the role of informal work practices and alternative household strategies in response to economic restructuring (Pahl, 1980; Redclift & Mingionie, 1985); the influence of patriarchal power structures on home ownership, planning and suburban development (Rose, 1981; Allport, 1983; Harman, 1983; McDowell, 1983; Forsyth, 1989); and the role of women in the restructuring of class and reproductive relationships (McDowell, 1983; Pahl, 1984; Walby, 1986; Fahey, 1988; Moss, 1994; Hanson & Pratt, 1995). In summary, feminist interpretations

of socio-economic change focussed on the gendered construction of space, whereby the nature of home and workplace relations were described as local social realities. As a result, the interrelatedness of gender and social processes were explained within an operationally specific context as opposed to a predetermined ideology or spatial conceptualisation (Bowlby *et al.*, 1986; Pratt & Hanson, 1988, 1992; Fincher, 1990; Morris, 1990; Watson, 1991b; Moss, 1994).

The third, and perhaps most injurious criticism, was the status of theory in locality research. Smith (1987) suggested that the CURS initiative was responsible for 'ghettoizing substantive theory', particularly the diminishing role of neo-Marxian analysis, as it gave,

the impression that the project [was] primarily about localities in and of themselves, rather than an attempt to understand the dimensions of contemporary restructuring as revealed by the experience of these localities.<sup>16</sup>

However the theoretical foundations of the localities project can be found in the industrial restructuring or spatial divisions of labour thesis<sup>17</sup>, originally proposed by Massey (1984), which attempted, despite Smith's skepticism, to,

place human geography in a wider theoretical context, one which recognised the way economies - on a local and global scale - had to continually restructure and readjust, to use then discard assets of both capital and labour as necessary steps towards economic growth.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, Cooke (1987c) argued that,

Locality research required that progress be made in areas other than housing and production; questions concerning households, local culture, electoral behaviour, and so on had to be addressed and assistance sought from social science theorising on a wider canvas.<sup>19</sup>

In contrast to Smith's interpretation, human geographers were attempting to broaden their theoretical analysis, particularly the wider significance of spatial and sectoral changes within the manufacturing industry (eg industrial restructuring, employment change, deskilling, technical divisions of labour, and the locational strategies of multinational companies), by including aspects of historical transformation and regional change, the importance of lived experience and cultural identity, the changing international division of labour, and the role of human agency and political response at the local level (Massey, 1984; Massey & Meegan,



1985; Lovering, 1989a). Dear and Wolch (1991), in their introduction to *The Power of Geography* (1991) remarked that,

the task of [any] social theory is to unravel the interactions of time and space in the structuring of people's lives and in the production of human landscapes.<sup>20</sup>

Although locality studies were unashamedly 'influenced by previous work on industrial restructuring' (Meegan, 1992: 13), they were also a serious attempt to explain the 'mediating influence on spatial patterns and processes of the creativity and independence of thought of human agents' (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991: 15).

The fourth major criticism, and perhaps the most important overall, questioned whether or not the locality concept adequately explained both social processes and spatial patterns (Duncan, 1989b). Specifically, Duncan and Savage (1991) objected to the premise that,

Localities were to be the operational and conceptual unit for analysis, envisaged as some sort of socio-spatial object influencing social action in its own right.<sup>21</sup>

This debate hinged upon the alleged significance of spatial variation in the structuring of socio-economic relationships and, if they did make a difference, how should those changes be 'assessed and conceptualised' (Duncan & Savage, 1989; 1991). The re-emergence of traditional concerns regarding 'spatial fetishism' and 'micro-structuralism' confused the localities debate, and prompted Duncan and Savage to recommend that future discussions of local proactivity should,

start by examining a social process, and consider, among other things, how it is spatially distributed, spatially constituted and spatially effective.<sup>22</sup>

In summary, Duncan and Savage (1991) objected to 'the notion that spatiality was central to social life' (Duncan & Savage, 1991: 155) by proposing that there should be no predetermined unit of analysis, but a research methodology situated within an operationally specific context. However these concerns were, in Cooke's words, 'lacking in precision' (Cooke, 1989b: 262) and gave no indication of how to define or to operationalise such a concept at a sub-national level.<sup>23</sup>

Given that the 'nature of geography has always been contested and negotiated' (Livingstone, 1992: 3), it was not surprising that the dissatisfaction with structuralism and the emergent concerns over agency and structure, theory and practice, global and local would eventually consume the localities debate (Cloke *et al.*, 1991; Sayer, 1991). Yet how do we assess the localities debate, given the current state of intellectual gridlock and the unresolved issues of theory, scale and process? Unfortunately, there seems to be no definitive answer in the analysis of spatial variation and social process at the local level. However, one question that did remain unanswered throughout the debate was whether sub-national units or regions within the nation state can make a difference, and if they did, how should those influences be represented. Should they be analysed in a more structured and comparative method of analysis (as proposed by Cooke) or in a more 'operationally specific' context (as proposed by Duncan and Savage)? From the very beginning, Cooke (1987c) argued that,

without researching individual life histories, talking to, or listening to, or reading about individual's experiences it is difficult to know what theories of social process actually mean.<sup>24</sup>

For example, in a locality there will be a 'highly diverse set of social groupings, some of which will have a clear stake in the place [eg. the factory worker or shopkeeper], others much less so [eg. the multinational corporation]' (Harloe *et al.*, 1990: 189). Both groups are faced not only with different territorial constraints, but they also interact with different institutions, interpret different social realities (be they local, regional, national or global in perspective) and experience a variety of interests 'from the more obviously material to the more cultural and ascetic' (Harloe *et al.*, 1990: 189). In order to gain a better conceptual balance, future research would need to 're-unite the economic with the social, cultural, and political, so as to give a sufficiently rounded account of social reality' (Day & Murdoch, 1992: 84; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peck, 1996). To achieve this, a study of labour markets, specifically those at the local or regional level, may provide a platform for contextualising socio-economic change, and investigating the ability (or inability) of localities to create and sustain 'proactive capacities' in response, for example, to the private and public sector withdrawal of resources (Cooke, 1996: 30). As a result, labour market research would need to incorporate a broader understanding of both economic and social issues - such as its inter-relationship with housing markets, community networks and industrial change.

## 2.3: The Labour Market

We are very conscious that we do not know enough about social and geographical mobility, changing income and employment opportunities over the life times of people who live in poor neighbourhoods and the role of job finding networks in poor neighbourhoods.<sup>25</sup>

The recognition of complex labour market issues as a research problem has, until quite recently, been overlooked by the social sciences where the 'emphasis has been only on the broad employment effects in terms of jobs, and not in terms of occupational changes or in terms of shifting production tasks' (Fischer, 1986: 1419). However the increasing intensity and duration of economic change at the local level has refocussed research efforts around issues of: social polarisation and structural unemployment (Pinch, 1993; Peel, 1993/94); the restructuring of industry (Stilwell, 1980; Harrison & Bluestone, 1988; Taylor, 1991); the changing nature and location of unemployment (Townsend, 1980; Forster, 1983; Stilwell, 1989); the increasing use of contingent labour (Belous, 1989; Brown & Scase, 1991); and the role of small firms, subcontractors and inter-firm partnerships in new production networks (Scott & Storper, 1986; Pyke et.al, 1990; Dunford & Kafkalas, 1992). All of these issues have forced a re-evaluation of the labour market - in particular the spatial dimension of labour relationships (Martin, 1986; Fischer, 1986; Morrison, 1987; Coombes et.al., 1988; Peck, 1989; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peck, 1996).

### 2.3.1 General Theory

The orthodox, or neo-classical, theorization of the labour market holds that jobs are allocated through a process of free and fair competition.<sup>26</sup>

The human subject of neo-classical investigation is a timeless, classless, raceless and cultureless creature; although male, unless otherwise specified.<sup>27</sup>

Labour market theory, as expressed in neo-classical economics, contends that labour is to be treated like any other commodity or 'factor of production', whereby jobs are allocated through a process of free and fair competition and wage rates set by a simple demand and supply equilibrium relationship. This theory has been termed the wage competition model.

However, several criticisms have been levelled at this model. Firstly, the wage competition model seemed unable to respond to supply or demand fluctuations fast enough to restore equilibrium. Secondly, the market relationship (on its own) was often seen to be inappropriate in determining both the level of wages and the social outcome - particularly in relation to a living wage. And thirdly, doubts were raised as to whether significant levels of market imbalance could, in actuality, be corrected by workers or employers acting independently of one another across different labour markets, industries or locations (Solow, 1980; Owen *et al.*, 1984). These doubts, concerning the validity of the wage competition model, have been confirmed by a number of empirically based studies of the labour market, particularly the study of local labour markets, which have shown that the wage competition model was often 'at variance with many observations of the real world' (Whitfield, 1987: 39).<sup>28</sup>

Not surprisingly, the most critical assessments of neoclassical theory emerged during a period of severe labour market 'stress', namely in the aftermath of the Great Depression and during the Second World War. In the United States, the combined works of Lester, Dunlop, Kerr and Reynolds changed the face of labour economics, by significantly revising neoclassical theory and bringing it closer to real world situations. Through their own experiences, most notably on wartime Labour Boards, they were unable to explain why there were such large variations in company wage rates, either between similar industries or within the same natural labour market. In addition, it was also realised that a self-correcting or 'market-clearing' equilibrium, as envisaged by neoclassical theory, could never be established, as the degree of market inertia was just too great - particularly when recruitment practices, imperfect information and workplace rules all acted as barriers to labour movement.

And finally, wage rates were found to be 'sticky', even in periods of high unemployment, and were remarkably resistant to downward pressure. All of which meant, that there were definite limits to the notion of exchange and labour mobility - particularly when each of the writers 'portrayed a world of less certainty, of greater lags, of more disequilibria' (Dunlop, 1957: 29). As a result, not only was a more analytical approach adopted, but a more realistic assessment was made about the limits to competition and adjustment, the importance of detailed local information (either from employers or employees), and why the labour market could not be understood from competitive principles - as defined by the neoclassical model.

Although there have been significant efforts to redress these issues with the introduction of several alternative theories, such as the efficiency and job competition models, they still fell short of reconciling issues of: imperfect information, job search behaviour, skill levels and reservation wages in the labour relationship; and the theoretical relevance of 'frictional' as opposed to 'structural' causes of unemployment. As a result, the failure of the traditional or theoretical models to take into account adequately all of the factors relating to the labour relationship, prompted a re-evaluation of labour market research, a growing concern for the inadequacy of labour market theories based on *homo economicus* (Brockway, 1993) and the need for rigorous empirical testing (Wilkinson, 1981; Dickens & Lang, 1988). In particular, the neutrality of orthodox theories towards distributional issues, such as the phenomenon of the 'working poor', refocused research interests towards the role of unequal opportunity structures (Kreckel, 1980) and the phenomenon of 'unequal jobs for equally qualified persons' (Pinch, 1987).

### 2.3.2 *Internal Labour Markets and Segmentation*

Labour market phenomena cannot be considered in a vacuum, but must be placed within the framework of the problems of industrial structure, the evolution of production techniques, and market forms, and the policies and structure of society.<sup>29</sup>

The reliance of labour market economists on a 'undisciplinary' approach, such as the use of econometric analyses in the explanation of labour market issues, prompted a multidisciplinary response that emphasises both the role institutional structures play in the explanation of wage rigidities and a sociological reappraisal of union involvement and government regulation of labour relationships (Whitfield, 1987). An example of this, was the emergence of segmentation or dual labour market theory, which was developed as an intellectual response to the persistence of black unemployment and urban poverty in the United States during the 1960s (Peck, 1989: 120; McNabb & Ryan, 1990: 151-152). The purpose of this theory was to understand the changing nature of work, particularly within manufacturing, and the processes that determined the allocation of jobs and the continuation of wage rigidity within and across different sectors of the economy (Hodson, 1982). Doeringer and Piore (1971), through earlier work on internal labour markets, proposed that the labour market could be defined in terms of primary and secondary spheres or sub-markets of employment that offered different sets of pay structures and career ladders within different firms. They concluded that,

the primary market offers jobs which possess several of the following traits: high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, equity and due process in the administration and work rules, and chances for advancement. The ... secondary market has jobs which, relative to those in the primary sector, are decidedly less attractive. They tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance.<sup>30</sup>

The reasons for segmentation, they argued, could be found in the changing nature of product markets and technological changes within the production process. As a result, dual labour market theory recognised both the importance of job characteristics as opposed to worker attributes, and the existence of qualitatively different types of jobs as opposed to the relatively homogeneous supply of labour - as proposed in neoclassical theory (Peck, 1989a: 122-23). Furthermore, the operation of internal labour markets was often based on non-economic rules and procedures, particularly when seniority ladders determined both the allocation of work and the level of remuneration (Osterman, 1975). However segmentation theory, particularly in relation to post-modernist writing, seems increasingly unable to account for the growing instability and diversity of labour market experiences under modern capitalism.<sup>31</sup>

### *2.3.3 Economics and Geographical Perspectives*

As segmentation theory suggests, the market relationship, in terms of matching workers with jobs, is far more complicated than orthodox theory assumed. Yet the recognition of barriers to employment is not a recent phenomenon, as occupational, educational, economic and geographical constraints have, for many years, been identified as significant variables in defining the labour market and a person's access to employment opportunities through both time and space (Dunlop, 1944; Carol, 1949; Reynolds, 1951; Kerr, 1954; Goldner, 1955; Dunlop, 1957; Vance, 1960; Thomson, 1965; Piore, 1968). For example, Kerr (1954) reintroduced the concept of non-competing groups whereby institutional barriers to employment, expressed either through the operation of internal labour markets or the benefits of having a union ticket, granted certain individuals or groups of workers access to different labour sub-markets. Institutional rules, either formal or informal, were seen to determine both the 'process of selection' and the 'process of rejection' in the labour relationship. In contrast, neoclassical theory, which gave precedence to individual choices,

could not account for market imperfections, such as employer preferences (or prejudices) and institutional barriers to occupational mobility. It was, to use Kerr's words, a belated recognition that 'not all jobs were open to all bidders' (Kerr, 1954: 29).

The recognition that labour market immobility was a result of complex structures operating at the local level, based on occupational, institutional and geographical barriers, was further developed by Goldner (1955). Through the use of journey-to-work data and the locational preferences of workers, Goldner (1955) proposed that the spatial expression of metropolitan labour markets would be conditional upon a worker's preferred 'geographical area within which he (or she was) willing to work at a particular point in time' (Goldner, 1955: 116)<sup>32</sup>. During the next ten years, a number of studies was published on labour market related issues, such as: economic development (Myrdal, 1957); labour hierarchies (Gerard, 1960); transportation costs (Kain, 1962); employment linkages (Vance, 1964); commuting isolines (Lonsdale, 1966); and racial segregation (Kain, 1968). In addition, the importance of local labour market analysis was further refined by Thomson (1965), who emphasised the role that industrial development and investment patterns had in the development of metropolitan labour markets (Thomson, 1965: 39,43). However the ultimate goal of the labour economist, was to model processes of societal change and territorial organisation at the local level. The only remaining problem, was to develop and refine a model that could express both the territoriality of change and the processes which shaped, and were shaped by, a locality's 'own historical, social and cultural dynamics' (Conti, 1989: 38). Fortunately, and as Goldner had previously intimated, geographers had already started to explore the spatial dynamics of local labour markets, through a series of studies based upon travel-to-work areas and labour shed analysis.

#### 2.3.4 *Local Labour Markets*

The critique of neoclassical theory by the social sciences and the recognition that labour markets, either at the local or regional level, displayed complex and highly variable patterns of development, refocused research interests,

away from the macro-economic concerns of regional and urban transformation – where spatial inequality is the derivative consequence of otherwise more universal phenomena – to the origins of inequality found in the structure and performance of the local job market.<sup>33</sup>

The increasing prominence of local labour markets and their spatial dimension in geographic research, reflected a movement of human geographers toward the recognition of the variability of unemployment rates between and within metropolitan areas (Thrift, 1979; Clark & Whiteman, 1983; Forster, 1983; Lewis *et al.*, 1989; Pattie & Johnston, 1990), the possible mismatch between the local demand and supply of labour (Owen *et al.*, 1984) and the recognition that labour was not a homogeneous commodity (Clark, 1983b).<sup>34</sup> However local labour market analysis, which was initially based on census information, has developed in three distinct phases. The first, from the early 1950s, described the impact of suburbanisation and economic growth, through a series of studies based upon journey-to-work patterns, commuting trends and the spatial distribution of labour demand - as expressed in labour shed and employment field analysis (Schorne, 1954; Rodgers, 1959; Chisholm, 1960; Gerard, 1960; Vance, 1960; Lawton, 1963; Humphreys, 1965; Lonsdale, 1966; Logan, 1968). However by the late 1960s, quantitative methods, which had allowed the analysis of progressively larger data sets, seemed unable to address the more qualitative concerns of recession, rising unemployment and concentrated disadvantage.

By the mid 1970s, a second wave of research, prompted by the emergence of an economic divide in the United Kingdom and inner-city decline in the United States, began to reassess labour market analysis, and incorporate themes of spatial mismatch, racial segregation, job search behaviour and industrial change, within a more tightly defined framework of labour mobility (Kain, 1968; Gayer, 1971; Young, 1973; Smart, 1974; Chesire, 1979; Howson, 1979; Ball, 1980; Howe & O'Connor, 1982; Forster, 1983; Simpson, 1983; Owen *et al.*, 1984; Fischer, 1986; Simpson, 1987; Waldinger, 1987; Wilson, 1987). By the late 1980s, and with the completion of the 'localities' project in the United Kingdom, the third wave of research, redefined the context and focus of labour market analysis, by incorporating themes of gender and ethnicity, while continuing studies into long-term unemployment, locational disadvantage and economic restructuring at the local level (Morrison, 1987; Pinch, 1987; Coombes *et al.*, 1988; Pratt & Hanson, 1988; Vicary, 1988; Green & Owen, 1989; Peck, 1989b; Robinson, 1991; Hanson & Pratt, 1992; Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov, 1992; Jonas, 1994b; Coombes, 1995; Hunter & Gregory, 1996; McLafferty & Preston, 1996).

A potential problem of using travel-to-work areas, as the exclusive unit of analysis, was their perceived failure to recognise: the problem of cross boundary 'leakage'; the arbitrary



nature of study areas (Coombes *et al.*, 1988; Peck, 1989b); and the differential mobility of both individuals and occupational groups within the same local labour market (Goldner, 1955; Frost & Spence, 1981; Dasgupta *et al.*, 1985). In addition, the role of the state, local enterprises and institutions in regulating the demand and supply of labour at the local level were similarly underdeveloped (Clark & Gertler, 1983; Cooke, 1983; Peck, 1989b; Day & Murdoch, 1992)<sup>35</sup>. What was needed, appeared to be a more balanced or realistic view of employment issues and, if labour market boundaries had to be set, they should be 'conceived of in conjunction with the issue under investigation and the population of interest' (Lewin-Epstein 1986: 567). This idea was further developed by Jonas (1994b), who stated that:

the local labour market .... probably operates at a much smaller scale than was previously theorised, suggesting the need for a corresponding need for theory and, presumably, of the research scale too (Hanson & Pratt, 1992). Research scales do not simply exist in the minds of researchers; they are socially produced from the material activity of doing research. [In addition] ... it is also constructive to view the relationship between the different scales as nested rather than hierarchical (Smith, 1992), and simultaneous rather than discontinuous.<sup>36</sup>

What was being suggested, in contrast to the exhaustive debate on boundary definition, was to reorientate labour market analysis, in favour of a more contextual study, which would take into account both social, political and economic conditions at the local level. It was also a recognition, albeit a belated one, that for many people, the opportunities to adapt to a changing labour market were highly constrained, territorially defined and locally constituted (Cooke, 1983; McCormick, 1986; Leonard, 1987; Morrison, 1987; Haughton *et al.*, 1993).

In summary, the importance of local labour market analysis, was the recognition that local conditions will always have a significant influence on a worker's: ability to find a job; the type of work and training available; the opportunities for mobility and advancement; and the chances of unemployment (Ball, 1980; Haughton, 1990a). The challenge for the researcher, was how to acknowledge the 'broad contours' of labour market theory and economic change, while not forgetting 'that it is at the local level that the need for adjustment becomes focussed and where the social effects caused by adjustment are most keenly felt' (Morrison, 1989: 1). The problem of neo-classical theory (and its attendant policies of deregulation), were not simply issues of ineffective policy prescriptions to complex labour market issues (eg union busting, flexibility, reform of entitlements) based on inaccurate and unsustainable assumptions of the competitive or market-clearing model. There was a fundamental problem of *analysis*, that issues of geographical variability and institutional

barriers were often absent from orthodox theories which had been accepted as an 'article of faith' and immune from critical investigation (Peck, 1996: 5). It was clear that 'a 'different starting point', 'a different set of objectives' would be needed.

## 2.4 Integrating Labour and Locality

As geographers, then, we place space, location, and everyday life at the core of our study of local labour markets.<sup>37</sup>

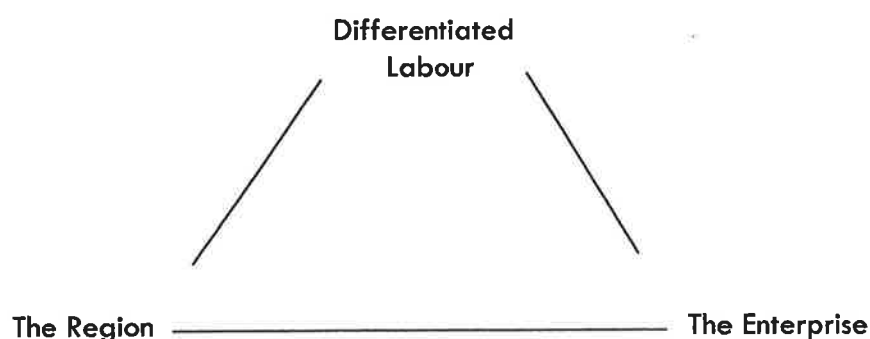
Unlike other commodities, labour power has to go home every night .... the limit on the working day implies some sort of limit on daily travel time. <sup>38</sup>

Locations that, for capital are a (temporary) space for profitable production, are for workers, their families and friends places in which to live, places in which they have considerable individual and collective cultural investment; places to which they are deeply attached.<sup>39</sup>

Geographers were in a unique position, not only to incorporate new meanings and explanations into labour market theory, but also to *reconceptualise* the entire debate. Following on from previous research, particularly Massey's account of local variability and uneven development (Massey, 1984), it was realised that the nature of this intersection – between labour and capital at the local level – 'is a matter not for theoretical predetermination, but for theorised concrete research' (Peck, 1996: 16). Issues of space and place would have to be taken far more seriously – particularly if an integrative and comprehensive analysis of the local labour market was to explain the unevenness of real world situations and the variability of institutional practices. As Peck (1996) argues, 'labour markets operate in different ways in different places', which makes local investigation and analysis of critical importance in the understanding of complex social and economic phenomena.

Since the mid-1970s, the rising tide of unemployment, particularly its devastating impact on working class communities, provided a significant opportunity for the social sciences not only to criticise neoclassical theories of the labour market, but to reveal a world where the social 'costs of unemployment and structural change [were] shunted down the labour market hierarchy (on both the demand and supply side) to those both least able to bear it and most powerless to resist' (Craig, 1985: 120). Not surprisingly, researchers were able to reveal the

local labour market for what it actually was: a spatially constituted method of exchange, that was just as unequal, just as discriminating, just as stratified, and just as imperfect as the society it represents (Peck, 1996). And it is at the local level, that the combination of these diverse, and often conflicting forces, of labour market development will need to be investigated. For example, Morrison (1987) proposed a framework of labour market analysis based on a conceptual triad, linking the characteristics of the region, employment profile and the enterprise - all of which are situated within the context of the local labour market (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1: The Conceptual Triad**  
**Source: Morrison (1987)**

The objective of this model was to evaluate the relationships between labour, local enterprises and the state and their relative roles in structuring labour relationships and distributional rewards, paying particular attention to segmentation at the local level (Morrison, 1987: 184). Although, the precise manner in which a labour market develops, will be a unique combination of individual experiences, investment patterns, recruitment practices, economic conditions and local circumstances. As Hanson & Pratt (1992) observe:

Individuals' knowledge of the universe of jobs available to them, their expectations about wages and benefits, and the gendering and radicalisation of jobs are all shaped locally, within the milieu of local employment, the neighbourhood and local community. <sup>40</sup>

In contrast, one of the failures of the localities project, was its choice of an inappropriate scale, particularly the emphasis on large regions or metropolitan areas, which tended to obscure the minutiae of change and understate the role of lived experience and human agency. For instance, given that each local labour market will be different (eg. in skill profile,

industrial base, demography factors, economic development) and any number of such markets will be contained within a single metropolitan area, a research methodology that relies upon regional comparability and labour homogeneity may be an injudicious compromise. On the positive side, local labour market analysis, and to a lesser extent the localities project, have shown that it is possible to combine both the history of different places with the experiences of local residents - set in the wider context of national and global economic change. As Lovering (1989a) comments:

The local labour market offers a particularly useful case study in which to examine the articulation of the locality level processes with global processes ... [yet] ... Invoking the local labour market does not in itself supply explanations. To get at these, it is necessary to trace the social and political bases of the historically specific processes which work themselves out in the local labour market.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast, the ethnographic or community studies literature, which incorporated some of these elements, often selected atypical urban communities, neighbourhoods or towns for investigation that were, invariably, isolated in physical or social space.

Previous research that most accurately incorporates these methods, apart from studies of company or rural townships, examined the development and transformation of settlement towns in Israel (Spillerman & Habib, 1976; Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov, 1992). The importance of this research is that it incorporates not only the crucial role of state planning, employment change and occupational mobility, but also the role of planned migration and functional interdependence in national economic development. And secondly, the problems that contributed to and reinforced the eventual deterioration of the settlements labour markets, a consequence in particular of their vulnerability to national and global economic changes, were an integral part of the research objectives.

In Australia, geographic research, particularly research focussing on the relationship between local labour markets, industrial development, employment change and public sector policies, remains comparatively unexplored (Powell, 1993; Peel, 1995; Bryson, 1996). Furthermore, with the possible exception of case studies on specific industrial areas, states or regional centres (Stilwell, 1980; Sheridan, 1986; Haughton, 1990c; Taylor, 1991; Stilwell, 1992), and the recognition, on a more general level, of residential segregation (Forster, 1983; 1991a) and urban inequality (Badcock, 1984; 1989; Forster, 1986; Hassan & Baum, 1993; Stilwell,

1993; Stretton, 1993a), there have been very few studies analysing the urban or locally specific 'dimensions of economic restructuring and micro economic reform' (Taylor, 1992a:10).

The major deficiency of the literature is that the economic role and function of specific locales or suburban communities within our cities, made redundant through national and global economic restructuring, have been overshadowed by larger, and less specialised regional or metropolitan research studies (Maher *et al.*, 1992). Secondly, the disadvantages generated by a local labour market in transition, even within an exclusively urban environment, tends to have been neglected - except where state development objectives had clearly failed (Finch, 1967; Forster, 1974; Peel, 1993/94; Stretton, 1993a). Thirdly, the redevelopment of exclusively working class communities, in combination with economic changes and public sector withdrawal, has the potential to cause considerable social upheaval and economic distress (Power, 1996; Badcock, 1998; Taylor, 1998). And finally, the continuing absence of alternative employment opportunities, within the boundaries of a spatially and occupationally segmented local labour market, has confined certain groups within our cities to increasingly insecure work or permanent unemployment (Hunter & Gregory, 1996).

The one remaining issue – at least on a theoretical level – is how can the local labour market be developed as a separate conceptual category. From the evidence presented, it is reasonable to assume that labour markets – defined geographically – are not merely 'containers for universal processes', but are the result of a complex set of variables which are 'modified to produce unique local outcomes' (Harvey, 1989). Secondly, the pre-occupation with boundary definitions – specifically commuting fields in previous travel-to-work studies – has tended to 'distract attention from the processes at work *within* local labour markets' (Peck, 1996: 88). In contrast, the most important component of the local labour market is not the pattern of commuting, 'but the social context in which such patterns are situated', that is the relationship between a person's home and their place of work. As Hanson and Pratt (1995) explain, this should be the starting point of our understanding of the local labour market, where the researcher should be less concerned with the distances people are required to travel, but how issues of race, gender and household structure intersect at the local level.

Furthermore, it should be possible to view the local labour market as the product of a 'variety of generative structures' (Peck, 1996: 90), which combine issues of labour demand and supply, skill demands and institutional regulation, and how these processes are themselves

modified by individual actions and state intervention. It also means abandoning the *predictive* and *flawed* reasoning of neo-classical theory – which evoked the myth of the closed system – in favour of a realistic or ‘complex causal articulation’ of labour market processes. As a result, institutional factors can no longer be considered ‘both separate and dispensable’ aspects of labour market analysis.

This would mean that ‘labour markets are both constructed and socially regulated in locally specific ways’ and would provide the researcher with the theoretical foundations to ‘generate explanations rooted at the scale at which labour markets are lived – the local’ (Peck, 1996: 110, 112). For Peck (1996), theoretically informed, local labour market research remains in its infancy. In the specific case of employers and job seekers at the local level, there is also a similar recognition that more research needs to be undertaken to understand the specific problems of job matching, recruitment practices and skill mismatch which could inform policy development (Adams, Greig & McQuaid, 2000). While Peck (1996) has also argued against the undisciplined use of travel-to-work studies (without some preliminary fieldwork and theoretical explanation), they are still an important method of analysis when attempting to explain the continuing spatial fragmentation of employment (and job opportunities) within metropolitan labour markets. As Hanson & Pratt (1995) explain, researchers should not completely ignore the ways in which ‘the friction of distance enters into the process of labour market segmentation *within* urban areas’ (Hanson & Pratt, 1995: 14). Of particular importance, are the ‘stories of containment’ and the associated patterns of female employment and occupational segregation in some of the more recent work on gendered labour markets and how the friction of distance has differentiated the labour market experiences of men and women (Hanson & Pratt, 1995).

As a contribution towards correcting this imbalance in the literature, the present study examines an industrial-residential area situated in the northwestern suburbs of Adelaide, South Australia. In relation to previous research on urban inequality and labour market disadvantage, there is no shortage of case-study material documenting the rise and decline of individual cities (Smith & Feagin, 1987; Fainstein, Gordon & Harloe, 1992; Meegan, 1992), regions (Smith, 1988; Rodwin & Sazanami, 1989; Pinch, 1992) or the plight of inner-city communities (Kasarda, 1989; Robson, 1988; MacGregor & Pimlott, 1990). The important contribution of the present study, apart from the pervasiveness of the economic transformation, is not only the rapidity of change but also the breakdown of a state and industry sponsored growth strategy. In this instance, previous rounds of investment and

economic growth had underpinned an employment and occupational structure that was to prove vulnerable as the supports of industry protection and public housing, initiated by the state, were subsequently withdrawn.

Secondly, and intimately related to issues of restructuring and public sector withdrawal, is the concept of locational disadvantage.<sup>42</sup> However this research – a prominent component of the former Keating Government's social justice initiatives – was unable to satisfactorily understand the complex issues of multiple disadvantage due to their findings being compromised by a national approach and an inattentiveness to local conditions (Maher *et al.*, 1992; Industry Commission, 1993). As Badcock (1994) states,

The adoption of geographical scales of analysis that average out intra-area differences in income or access to services obscures the localisation of poverty and service deprivation, especially on the outskirts of Australian cities.<sup>43</sup>

The *Social Justice Research Program into Locational Disadvantage*, based almost exclusively on city-wide studies and aggregated data, tends to over-emphasise the role of (housing) choice, misinterpret the problems of job availability, and the relative accessibility of low-income households to community facilities (eg health and welfare services) – particularly in view of the adoption of 'user-pays' pricing systems (Badcock, 1994; Burbidge & Winter, 1996).

In contrast, this study of The Parks incorporates recent developments in geographical thinking about spatial disadvantage through their application at an appropriate scale (McGuirk, 1997). In addition, the benefits of a multi-disciplinary method of research (Massey, 1999) and the need to deconstruct the underlying economism of contemporary labour market theories (Peck, 1996) were also seen to be important objectives of the research. The recognition of 'multiple, intersecting planes of social division' across a wide-range of scales has demanded a more refined, sophisticated and multi-disciplinary approach on behalf of the researcher – particularly if we are to reveal the locality-specific nature of social polarisation, exclusion and disadvantage (Mohan, 2000).

In summary, the spatial concentration of disadvantage and labour market change, previously dealt with by regional policies, have been largely overshadowed by the adoption of economic reforms which have paid little attention to location (eg tariff reductions, financial deregulation), but which have impacted disproportionately on those working class communities ill-equipped to adapt to the new economic environment. It is the purpose of this

thesis to investigate a community that has become largely disconnected from the 'new' economy, a community which, in terms of its labour market experience and potential, has a limited set of opportunities to select from to reinvent their lives.

## 2.5 Discussion

Many of us have begun to suspect that our urban theories have become so rarefied and abstract that it is hard to connect the actual life of real people in cities to the concepts that are now so routinely invoked to comprehend the changes occurring in our largest cities.<sup>44</sup>

To an urban geographer, the economic restructuring and physical redevelopment of our cities and neighbourhoods lies at the heart of our discipline (Chouinard, 1994). The localities debate, from which this literature review derives, was an attempt to systematise both the collection of data and generate a comparable profile of sub-national responses to the 'bulldozer' of economic change. By using local labour markets as the unit of analysis, an attempt was made to describe and account for the locally specific circumstances and responses to global economic change. However, in attempting to represent a composite picture of socioeconomic change and shared response, the localities project seemed unable to adequately 'knit together' the variable, and often conflicting, circumstances of labour market disadvantage that were locally constituted, but not necessarily spatially comparable.

The methodological dilemma was not that the facts of the story being told were untrue, it was that they were being misrepresented, because the spatial scale of analysis, the spatial units, were simply too large. As Bryson (1996) observes:

In focussing on the local level we find that the particular forms which the structural changes have taken can only be understood with reference to the historical roles of capital and the state in the locality.<sup>45</sup>

How can this problem be overcome, while not neglecting the wider international forces and implications for local communities of economic and social change? Firstly, the importance of understanding what is *actually* happening in the local labour market has been strongly emphasised. Secondly, the interdependence of labour demand and supply factors, coupled



with the regulatory role of the state and institutions at the local level has similarly been highlighted.

Thirdly, the identifiable weaknesses of theory have resulted, primarily, from the absence of qualitative information concerning the role of individual actors and how they operate in or are constrained by different local labour markets (Hanson & Pratt, 1995). Fourthly, the difficulties workers face - which have generally been overlooked by macroeconomic analyses - are often dependent upon local cultural, historical and economic conditions (Massey, 1984; Peck, 1996). Fifthly, the interdependence of housing and labour markets has, in some cases, exacerbated and concentrated the debilitating effects of labour market change and public sector withdrawal in those places unable to cope (Allen & Hamnett, 1991; Chouinard, 1994; Zukin, 1994). And finally, the insight of local labour market analysis, and to a lesser extent 'the localities' debate, is that labour market outcomes will often be uneven, diverse and subject to a variety of contextual influences and have a distinctively *spatial* expression. Only solid, careful field research and analysis can accomplish these objectives.

Unfortunately, it is also clear that connecting the 'global' and the 'local' is no easy matter. However, this does not diminish the importance of investigating and understanding *local* experiences of change. Indeed, the everyday concerns and experiences of low-income and disadvantaged households should remain a priority (Chouinard, 1994; Pinder, 1997). As a discipline, urban geography should also be aware of the widespread disaffection within its ranks, and the need to have more meaningful and understandable conversations about social justice issues and to challenge those methods of analysis which have promoted linguistic dexterity over well argued and documented research (Wheeler, 2000). The following chapter (Chapter Three: Methodology) will describe the methodological approach used in this thesis.

<sup>1</sup> Bagguley P., Mark-Lawson J., Shapiro D., Urry D., Walby S., Warde A., (1989) *Restructuring: Place, Class and Gender* Sage Los Angeles p219

<sup>2</sup> Massey D., (1989) 'The political place of locality studies' *Environment and Planning A* 21: 358

<sup>3</sup> Sack R., (1993) 'The power of place and space' *Geographical Record* 83(3): 329

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this literature review, and for the sake of coherence, the 'localities' debate or concept (as referred to in this text) relates to the UK based CURS initiative by the ERSC undertaken in the mid-1980s

<sup>5</sup> This debate has commonly been referred to as the new urban politics or reality (Peterson, 1985; Cox, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Recent attempts to redress this imbalance, namely the Building Better Cities Program (1991-1996), the Local Capital Works Program (1992-93), the Taskforce on Regional Development (1993-94) and the Australian Urban and Regional Development Review (1994-95), have faltered on the same problems of funding, implementation and social policy focus which have beset earlier programs - particularly the absence of detail on how a program's effectiveness or policy goals can be readily measured or achieved in the longer term. In March 1996, with the election of the Coalition Government, the final blow was struck with the abolition of the Department of Housing and Regional Development, and the transfer of its responsibilities to Social Security and Transport (respectively).

<sup>7</sup> Livingstone D., (1992) *The Geographical Tradition* Blackwell Oxford p329

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p358

<sup>9</sup> The locality project was in one sense a re-evaluation of place and community within contemporary social science. It was also an ideological counter reaction to the erosion of national economic sovereignty by the 'emergence of the global economy' where 'people and place [became] commodities: people as labour and places as locations' (Agnew & Duncan, 1992: 23)

<sup>10</sup> Cooke P., (ed) (1989a) *Localities: the changing face of urban Britain* Unwin Hyman London p ix

<sup>11</sup> For example, in terms of a locality's experience of restructuring, each case study highlighted the importance of previous rounds of investment and the centrality of indigenous industry to the direction and rapidity of national and international economic change. These industries being: the decline of the clothing and textile industry in Lancaster; the promotion of the tourism industry on the Isle of Thanet; the closure of automotive and whitegoods manufacturers in Birmingham; the growth in research and development facilities in Cheltenham; the rationalisation of the iron and steel industry in Teeside; the decline of wharf and storage activities in Liverpool; and the location of defence industries and government offices in Swindon. Each locality experienced a significant level of variability in both the impact of economic change, the relative success of alternative growth strategies and the level of central government support (See Cooke P., (ed) (1989a) *Localities* passim; Harloe et.al (1990) *Place. Policy and Politics* passim; Bagguley et al. (1990) *Restructuring; Place, Class and Gender* passim).

<sup>12</sup> Massey D., (1984) *Spatial Divisions of Labour* Macmillan London p300

<sup>13</sup> Pudup M., (1988) 'Arguments within regional geography' *Progress in Human Geography* 12(3):384

<sup>14</sup> Although the debate has been an all encompassing one, its critique has largely been contained within the geography discipline. The major debates can be found in such journals as: *Antipode*, *Environment & Planning A*; *Progress in Human Geography*; *Area*; and *Environment & Planning D*.

<sup>15</sup> Warde A., (1989) 'Recipes for a pudding' *Antipode* 21(3): 277

<sup>16</sup> Smith N., (1987) 'Dangers of the empirical turn' *Antipode* 19(1): 59

<sup>17</sup> The spatial division of labour thesis was, in conjunction with Harvey's earlier analysis of accumulation and capital flows, a theoretical critique of neo-classical theory. A political-economy perspective was used to account for uneven development, capital withdrawal and regional inequality in their analysis and description of socio-economic relationships and spatial variation. The primacy of production and investment strategies in their explanations, although an important foundation, were also augmented by a wider appreciation for historical changes, contemporary social forces and local conditions (Gregory, 1989).

<sup>18</sup> Morrison P., (1987) 'Geographers and the labour market' in Holland P., Johnston W., (1987) *Southern Approaches: Geography in New Zealand* NZGS Christchurch p184

<sup>19</sup> Cooke P., (1987c) 'Individuals, localities and post-modernism' *Environment and Planning D* 5: 409

<sup>20</sup> Wolch G., Dear M., (1991) *The Power of Geography* Unwin Hyman Boston p. vi

<sup>21</sup> Duncan S., Savage M., (1991) 'New perspectives on the locality debate' *Environment and Planning A* 23: 156

<sup>22</sup> Duncan S., Savage M., (1990) 'Space, scale and locality' *Antipode* 22(1): 68

<sup>23</sup> When managing any project, be it a national study of regional change or an honours project, some form of spatial boundary or division (ie case-study area, locale, place, township, region, locality) needs to be made in terms of data availability and focus. Cooke argued that a 'catch-all' category, while not perfect, was the first step towards a more realistic interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> Cooke P., (1987b) 'Clinical inference and geographical theory' *Antipode* 19: 411

<sup>25</sup> Gregory B., Hunter B., (1995) *The Macro Economy and the Growth of Ghetto's and Urban Poverty in Australia* Centre for Economic Policy Research Australian National University DP No. 325 p34

<sup>26</sup> Peck J., (1989a) 'Labour market segmentation theory' *Labour & Industry* 2(1): 119

<sup>27</sup> Amsden H., (1980) *The Economics of Women and Work* Penguin London p13

<sup>28</sup> Firstly, certain sub-groups of workers, particularly recent migrants, were often seen to be at a disadvantage in the labour relationship in terms of the existence of certain barriers to their employment and the operation of ethnic labour markets (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Kornblum, 1974; Logan, 1976; Spilerman & Habib, 1976; Lewin-Epstein, 1986; Semyonov, 1988; Schreuder, 1989; Cross, 1992; Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 1994). Similarly, the unemployed were also seen to be at a disadvantage because of their inability to 'price themselves back into jobs' (Whitfield, 1987: 39-40), gain access to local employment opportunities or be reabsorbed into 'alternative industries, sectors or enterprises' (Taylor, 1992a: 8). Secondly, the distance which individuals were required to travel between their home, and their workplace, appeared to vary in relation to personal and mobility attributes (Kain, 1968; Parcel, 1979; Kalleberg et al., 1981; Vipond, 1984; Lewin-Epstein, 1986), the demand and supply of labour (King, 1976; Fothergill & Gudgin, 1979; Hudson & Sadler, 1983); and the relative accessibility to local job opportunities (Thomson, 1965; O'Conner & Maher, 1979; Howe & O'Conner, 1982; Kasarda, 1985; Owen et al., 1985; Pipkin, 1986; Blau, 1992). And finally, the institutional role of trade unions and enterprises in regulating the labour relationship, often to the advantage of certain unions and employers, confined many workers to occupations of limited remuneration or union coverage. For instance, the bargaining strength of certain unions, based on their strategic position, often enabled them to successfully negotiate wage increases, improve working conditions and regulate the supply of labour within their own industrial sectors or occupations (Freedman, 1977; Rubery, 1978). These practices, invariably, led to a continuing rigidity of wage rates within and across different industries (Mayhew, 1977; Clark, 1983; Angel & Mitchell, 1990) that could not, realistically, be explained by the wage competition model.

<sup>29</sup> Conti S., (1989) 'Labour market models in their spatial expression' in Ling G., Knapp G., (ed) (1989) *Labour, Environment and Industrial Change* Routledge London p 29-30

<sup>30</sup> Piore M., (1970) *Internal Labour Markets and Manpower Analysis* Lexington Massachusetts, as quoted by Ryan P., McNabb R., (1990) 'Segmented Labour Markets' in Sapsford D., Tzannatos Z., (eds) (1990) *Current Issues in Labour Economics* MacMillan London p152-153

<sup>31</sup> In addition, the economics literature criticises segmentation theory for its lack of explanatory depth or analysis (Peck, 1989a), its use of non-economic or sociological insights (Ryan & McNabb, 1990) and the absence of substantive theory (Cain, 1976).

<sup>32</sup> Goldner (1955) also recognised the importance of several other variables, such as: travel time, amenity values, pay levels and demographic factors in the construction of urban labour markets.

<sup>33</sup> Morrison P., (1991) 'Segmentation theory applied to local, regional and spatial labour markets' *Progress in Human Geography* 15: 491

<sup>34</sup> In contrast to these observations, the economics literature is largely confined to distance factors, as opposed to mobility or accessibility factors in defining job-search distances within the labour market. For instance, the distance minimisation thesis proposed that people's jobs or job search distances, in relation to their place of residence, was 'chosen on the basis of the least distance to travel' (Robertson & Sloan, 1992: 4). In addition, the break-point principle assumed the existence of a uni-linear relationship, whereby job attributes and/or employment opportunities were systematically traded off over ever increasing distances. However distance, as opposed to travel time, could be misinterpreted when extrapolating for the average worker across and within different labour markets - particularly when defining a geographical limit to job search behaviour (Hanson & Schwab, 1986; Pipkin, 1986; Robertson & Sloan, 1991). For example, arbitrarily defined travel-to-work areas can, alternatively, be seen as zones of transition rather than as readily definable commuting boundaries (Fischer, 1986).

<sup>35</sup> A further problem, as noted by Hanson and Johnston (1985), was the problem of insufficient data - particularly the role or influence of the 'spatial distribution of employment opportunities vis-a-vis the residence' (Hanson & Johnston, 1985: 194). This problem was also highlighted by Pratt and Hanson (1988, 1994), who noted that 'female' jobs were unequally distributed across space [and] usually at very fine scales' (Pratt & Hanson, 1988: 18) and that 'refining our understanding of the spatial constraints that different groups of women (and men) face in different spatial contexts is an important extension of earlier work on the geography of women's employment' (Hanson & Pratt, 1994: 501). Similarly, England (1993), though not in total agreement, argued that researchers should consider the 'totality of women's experience(s)' - that is, the context in which they are developed and experienced at the local level.

<sup>36</sup> Jonas A., (1994b) 'The scale politics of spatiality' *Environment & Planning D* 12: 260

<sup>37</sup> Hanson S., Pratt G., (1992) 'Dynamic dependencies: a geographic investigation of local labour markets' *Economic Geography* 68(4): 376

<sup>38</sup> Harvey D., (1989) *The Urban Experience* Blackwell, London p19

<sup>39</sup> Storper M., Walker R., (1989) *The Capitalist Imperative* Blackwell London p157

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p404

<sup>41</sup> Lovering J., (1989a) 'The restructuring debate' in Peet R., Thrift N., (1989) *New Models in Geography* Volume I Unwin Hyman London p215

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<sup>42</sup> This term was developed, in part, as an explanatory concept in the investigation and analysis of multiple disadvantage, as experienced by urban households on the urban fringe. Specifically, the effects of locational disadvantage were based on a series of inter-related variables, including: low incomes, high housing costs, long journey's to work and poor access to social infrastructure' (Beer, 1994: 3). A similar term, 'multiple deprivation', was used in the 1970s to describe social and economic inequality - particularly in rural areas.

<sup>43</sup> Badcock B., (1994) 'Stressed out communities' in Beer A., (ed) *Locational disadvantage and spatial inequality Proceedings of a Seminar Geography Department Flinders University Adelaide* p23

<sup>44</sup> Abu-Lughod J., (1994) 'Diversity, democracy and self-determination in an urban neighbourhood' *Social Research* 61(1): 181

<sup>45</sup> Bryson L., Winter I., Lazzarini V., (1996) 'Australian Newtown Revisited: Global Restructuring and Local Difference.' *Labour & Industry* 7(2): 36

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

She entered the story knowing she would emerge from it feeling she had been immersed in the lives of others, in plots that stretched back twenty years, her body full of sentences and moments, as if awaking from sleep with a heaviness caused by unremembered dreams.<sup>1</sup>

Michael Ondaatje

I can only make direct statements, only 'tell stories', whether or not the stories are 'true' is not the problem. The only question is whether what I tell is my fable, my truth.<sup>2</sup>

Carl Jung

Stories are always told by people, about people, for people. Geography's story is no exception.<sup>3</sup>

David Livingstone

### 3.0 Methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

The Literature Review, as described in previous chapters, has been recognised (in an academic sense) as the intellectual and contextual pathway from which the findings and methodological models of previously published material lead, in part, towards the formulation of the researcher's own aims and objectives. The Methodology Review, which this chapter comprises, is the description of method or style of analysis utilised by the researcher in telling his version of the social and economic transformation of The Parks. As a result, this thesis constitutes a personal account, based on the selection and interpretation of the available evidence and data available to the researcher. In approaching this topic, however, a number of research problems quickly presented themselves. After selecting the survey area, and the time period involved, it was found that very few references or historical abstracts were readily available. In many instances, the research material was often too general or imprecise, and lacked the depth required for a detailed historical analysis.

The city's north-western suburbs, as in real life, appeared to have been ignored - unable to fully capture the imagination of the historian or the university researcher. As a result, the area's development has largely been reconstructed through a combination of local vignettes,

newspaper articles, statistical registers, company records, survey information and unpublished archival material. These methods, given the aforementioned constraints, had the potential to provide, at the very least, a momentary glance into the changing social and economic fortunes of a suburban community.

To meet the aims of this thesis, a number of methods will be used to uncover potential sources of historical material and contemporary experiences. The first method proposed, was a standard library or catalogue search of the main reference and university libraries in Adelaide. The Mortlock Library proved invaluable in identifying relevant newspapers, business information and company records, whilst the Barr Smith and Flinders University Libraries served as a general, though necessary, source of relevant literature and previously unpublished theses<sup>4</sup>.

For more specific information, arrangements were made with several Government Departments and Local Government Authorities to consult their own research libraries and previously unpublished research material. This was to prove worthwhile, not only because of the type of information obtained, but also for the blend of politics and parochialism behind the decision-making process. For instance, who would have known that a simple milk licence application, renewed annually, could provide a list of local firms, and the date of their establishment. And finally, additional information was also obtained from smaller, though no less important, local community libraries and museums whose librarians and volunteer staff can often be overlooked - particularly when identifying alternative sources of information or the (undervalued) contributions of local historians.<sup>5</sup>

To unravel the impacts of economic restructuring on the local community, the second method adopted was the proposal for a field work component, which would examine household circumstances and the labour market impact of the recession. In order to meet these requirements, it was considered necessary for a random household survey to be conducted to determine, in greater detail, the variety of labour market experiences and the changing community profile of the research area. Because of the ethnically diverse and complex nature of The Parks, to meet the objectives of both randomness of selection and a uniformity of coverage, a multi-stage cluster sample was proposed. This would allow the investigation of two separate, though inter-related, social and economic groups. Firstly, and because the research area was largely developed in the post-war period, there was a strong likelihood

that significant numbers of original (or long-term) residents could be contacted and interviewed. This would allow a textured, though individually reflective, historiography of the research area - a viewpoint that has largely been neglected. Secondly, the same method of selection will also allow a more structured or formal questionnaire to be used for those households of working age and the changes associated with the local labour market. A feature of this research, was that both the economically active (ie those in the labour force), and the economically inactive (ie those not in the labour force) would be separately interviewed. It is anticipated that this will be particularly useful in investigating the historical development of the labour market and the diversity of lived experience or, as described earlier, the 'geography of everyday life.'

Then, on the basis of the outcome of the first two stages, a third research component was designed as a flexible response to those issues that demanded further investigation. For example, issues of economic development, specifically relating to the detailed information of former workers, an assessment of travel-to-work patterns and recruitment strategies of local employers in the north-western suburbs. In particular, there remained a considerable absence of detailed, first-hand information on specific companies, product or employment changes for those companies based in and surrounding The Parks. Secondly, and in recognition of the value of detailed oral histories, a number of community representatives were also recognised as potential sources of valuable information regarding the development of The Parks Community Centre and its uncertain future through the rationalisation of service provision. It was anticipated that this information could be sourced from the previous managers of the Centre, long-serving employees, unpublished documents, internal reviews and Parliamentary Reports.

Thirdly, and during this follow-up period, a significant effort was made to obtain a breakdown (by suburb and postcode) of workers currently employed in local factories, sales outlets and public sector organisations. A satisfactory response rate, if one could be obtained, would not only enable an analysis of travel-to-work patterns, but it would also provide an insight into local hiring or recruitment practices. And finally, as in all research, secondary data sources were obtained from a variety of Australian Bureau of Statistics publications - including census information (eg CDATA'91), labour force and small area manufacturing statistics. To preserve data continuity, census material for the survey area was manually reconfigured (by Census Collection District) to enable cross referencing and

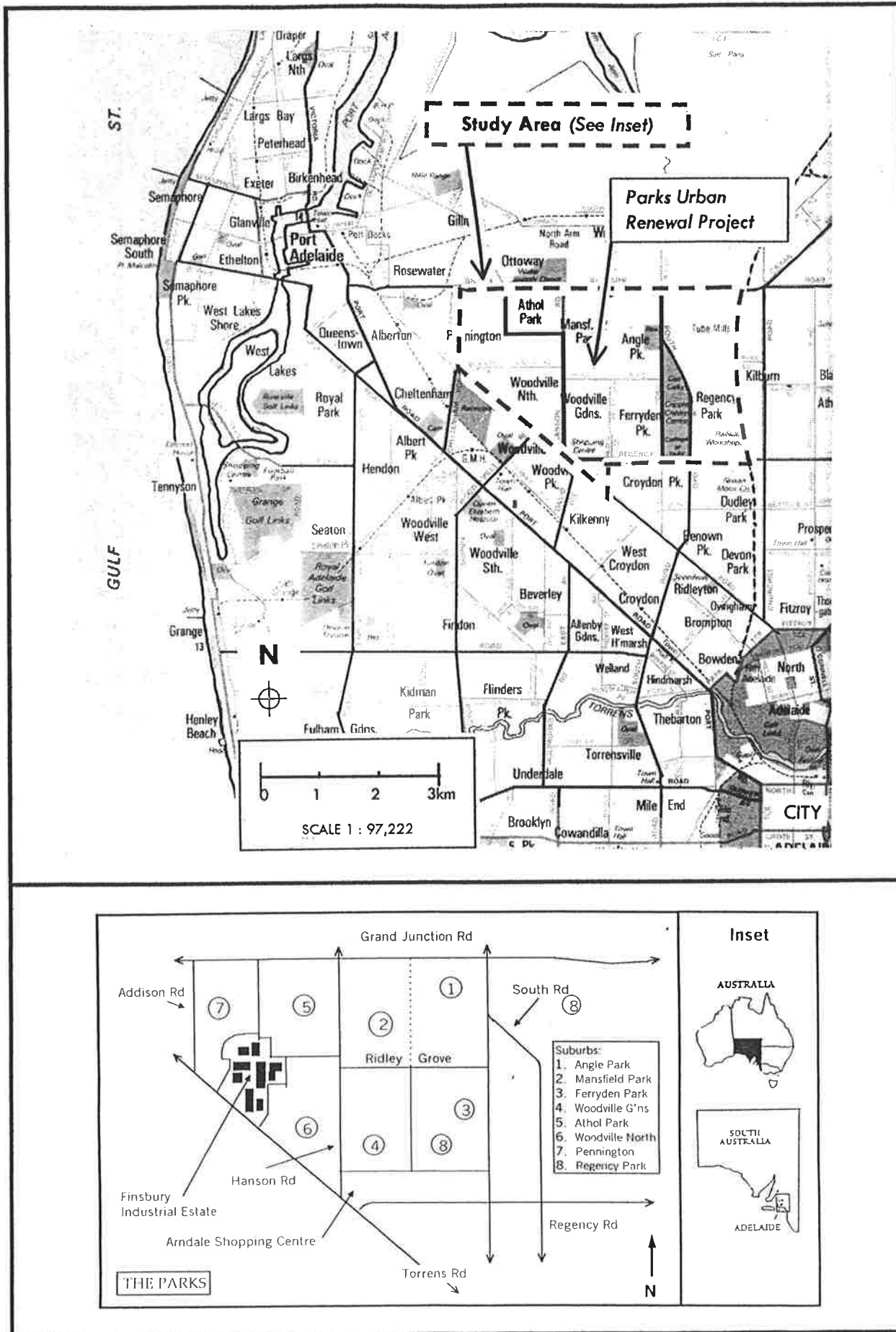
comparison between each Census year. Fortunately, collection district boundaries had not changed (over the time periods used) which allowed a statistical overview that was comparatively accurate.<sup>6</sup> In summary, a variety of methods were used, many of which were used in combination - either as confirmation or as supporting evidence for emerging issues (Philips, 1998). The following sections will provide details of: the survey area; previously (un)published research results; questionnaire designs; sampling procedures; data analysis; and the role of secondary data sources.

### 3.2 Study Area

The study area is located in the northwestern suburbs of metropolitan Adelaide (South Australia), and is approximately nine kilometres from the city centre. The survey area is physically enclosed by Addison Road, Torrens Road, Regency Road, Grand Junction Road and, at its eastern boundary, the northern Adelaide rail line. This area comprises the spatially contiguous suburbs of Pennington (part), Athol Park, Regency Park, Woodville North, Angle Park, Mansfield Park, Kilkenny (part), Ferryden Park and Woodville Gardens (Figure 3.1). These suburbs are generally referred to as 'The Parks' area of northwestern Adelaide, whose terminology derives from the Parks Community Centre which was completed in 1979 (Healy & Parkin, 1980).<sup>7</sup> However the boundedness or areal extent of The Parks area, particularly its constituent suburbs, have often been interpreted differently by both government authorities (Marsden, 1986), students (Peacock, 1974) and academics (Healy & Parkin, 1980).

For example, Peacock (1974), while studying the processes associated with the planning and design of the Parks Community Centre, included the suburbs of Ferryden Park, Angle Park and Mansfield Park in her analysis of resident and community needs. Similarly, Healy and Parkin (1980) included the suburbs of Angle Park, Mansfield Park, Ferryden Park and Woodville Gardens in their definition and evaluative history of the project.<sup>8</sup> In contrast to these interpretations, the official history of the South Australian Housing Trust (Marsden, 1986) noted that The Parks area should comprise the suburbs of Pennington (part), Woodville Gardens, Woodville North, Mansfield Park, Athol Park, Angle Park and Ferryden Park (Marsden, 1986: 162).<sup>9</sup> In terms of this research, the suburbs of Kilkenny (part) and Regency





**Figure 3.1:** Location of 'The Parks', Adelaide (South Australia)  
 Source: Parks Urban Renewal Project (1996: 4); Neldner(1997)

Park was included with the Housing Trust's definition, because of the need to use Census Collection Districts as the basis for boundary definition, census analysis, and the random selection of survey sites.<sup>10</sup>

### **3.3 Primary Sources**

#### **3.3.1 Previous Research**

During the 1970s, The Parks area was the subject of a series of sociological and community studies undertaken by both government authorities (Knapman, 1974; SA Department of Education, 1974) and university researchers (Martin, 1967; March, 1973; Peacock, 1974; Parkin, 1975) (Table 3.1). The majority of these studies were commissioned to evaluate and redress community disadvantage - particularly the absence of any significant recreational (eg swimming pool, gymnasium) or entertainment facilities (eg cinema) in the local area. This information was then used to construct a community planning strategy, which helped to assess the needs of the community and the activities or facilities that could be included in the design of a new community centre. This research, particularly the planning consultative process, relied almost exclusively on information collected during the survey period and a series of meetings with local residents and community leaders. Although response rates varied between and sometimes within different research studies, they often achieved a high level of positive response - particularly Knapman (1974) and Peacock (1974). How were these results achieved?

Firstly, the invitation to help or to be involved in the planning process, particularly in an area that had a reputation for either substandard or nonexistent community facilities, was an unexpected opportunity for residents to express their own ideas or suggestions for a new community centre. For example, Knapman's (1974) study attempted to evaluate the problems being experienced by Housing Trust tenants in the Mansfield Park area. Due to the nature of the questionnaire, the range of problems being experienced, and the opportunity for tenants to make suggestions towards improving their own dwellings, a response rate of 95.7% was achieved from a sample of 440 dwellings.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 3.1: Survey Research in The Parks Area**

| <b>Study</b>                        | <b>Description of Method</b>     | <b>Sample Size</b>               | <b>Response Rate</b> | <b>Notes</b>   |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Knapman (1974)                      | 1. Personal Interview (random)   | Housing Trust tenants (440)      | 95.7%                | A structured questionnaire was delivered to the female parent in each of the selected Trust home. Interviews were conducted over a period of four months, with a total of seven interviews being used. |
|                                     | 2. Personal Interview (informal) | Local community groups (50-60)   |                      | A further series of interviews were undertaken with local community groups, their leaders and active members.  |
| S.A. Department of Education (1974) | 1. Personal Interview (random)   | Randomised block technique (248) | n.a.                 | A study of Mansfield Park  |
|                                     | 2. Personal Interview (random)   | Randomised block technique (741) | 57.4%                | A study of Thebarton   |
| Peacock (1974)                      | 1. Personal Interview (random)   | Randomised block technique (20)  | 95%                  | A short questionnaire, with only one interviewer.  |
| Parkin (1975)                       | 1. Postcard (Reply-Paid)         | All Households (3659)            | 10.8%                | A request for suggestions or further information about the new community centre.   |

**Table 3.1 (cont...)**

| Study  | Description of Method                   | Sample Size                      | Response Rate | Notes   |
|--|---|----------------------------------|---------------|---|
| Parkin (1975) cont...                            | 2. Personal Interview (informal)        | Randomised block technique (177) | 88.1%         | A short survey (5-10 minutes), with a total of five interviewers.                                     |
|  | 3. Postal Survey (random)               | Electoral Roll sample (195)      | 40%           | A reply-paid postal survey, based on a formal questionnaire.  |
| Neldner (1993-94)                                | 1. Personal Interview (random)          | Multi-Stage cluster sample (400) | 70.2%         | A formal questionnaire and a series of unstructured interviews were used, with only one interviewer.  |
| <b>Other relevant Studies / Research Papers:</b> |   |                                  |               |   |
| Martin (1970)                                    | 1. Interviews / Participant Observation |                                  |               | A Sociological study of community networks and participation in three areas of metropolitan Adelaide. |
| March (1971)                                     | 1. Community Program                    |                                  |               | A Community Development and Sporting Activities Program in the Mansfield Park area.                   |
| Henderson Poverty Inquiry (1974)                 | 1. Personal Interview (random)          | Randomised block technique (440) | 41%           | A Commonwealth funded study of the Hindmarsh area, with extensive use of interpreters.                |

Source: Martin (1970); March (1971); Knapman (1974); Peacock (1974); S.A. Department of Education (1974); Parkin (1975).

Secondly, the majority of the surveys were based on an expectation of area improvement (ie a new community centre) as opposed to a more personal evaluation of the attributes or 'life history' of the selected households or survey participants. In addition, many of the surveys were usually brief and simple to complete. And finally, each survey was conducted with the authority or consent of either the South Australian Housing Trust or as part of a university research project.<sup>12</sup>

In light of these observations, several difficulties might be anticipated. Firstly, the high degree of cooperation, community awareness and positive response might be difficult to repeat - given the current problems of survey saturation (eg marketing surveys), door-to-door canvassing (eg religious, charity organisations) and community indifference. Secondly, the use of a reply paid mail survey has, in the past, proven to be a disappointment in The Parks area (Parkin, 1975). In one instance, a monetary incentive (\$5) was considered necessary to raise the level of positive response and encourage further participation in planning workshops (Parkin, 1975). Thirdly, a significant level of media coverage (eg letter drops, information booths) was seen to be an important factor in raising both the profile of the research and the degree of cooperation - particularly the future benefits of a community centre to local residents (Parkin, 1975).

And finally, The Parks area has experienced a 'reversal of fortunes' or a state of economic recession and social polarisation since the mid-1970s. Rising unemployment, lower household incomes and welfare dependency can be expected to have an influence on response rates, with the potential for an unfavourable environment to impact on the collection of information and the responsiveness of those households selected. However it is impossible to forecast - in advance of the proposed survey - the overall effect of community cooperation for a study that is to report (in the first instance) on the aftershocks of restructuring. How responsive will (or should we expect) a person to be who has lost their job, probably have no real opportunities for finding another one, and is now being asked to be interviewed by a university student trying to build a comfortable career?

### 3.3.2 *The Sample Survey*

The sample survey is distinguished from other research ... by its ability to estimate quantitatively the distribution of a characteristic in a population, and to accomplish this by obtaining information from only a small proportion of that population.<sup>13</sup>

Human geographers, while investigating a range of social issues, often make use of or rely upon the results obtained from survey research. However in some cases, especially given the cost and time constraints of a Ph.D thesis, it may not be entirely appropriate or practicable to undertake a sample survey - particularly if alternative data sources are readily available (Sheskin, 1985: 7-11). It is important, therefore, to closely examine the technical feasibility and likely information yield of undertaking a sample survey - in this instance, a representative sample of the Parks community. Despite the advantages of sampling, the retrieval of a complete set of statistical information is seldom (if ever) achieved - even in the most well planned and resourced of research studies.

As a result, the design of the sample survey and the method of participant selection becomes crucial - not only in attempting to reduce potential sources of error, but also in trying to achieve an acceptable or statistically significant level of (positive) response (Moser & Kalton, 1989). After further consideration, the following weaknesses were noted: the absence of any detailed case-study information relating to the study area <sup>14</sup> ; the non-collection or suspension of official time-series data <sup>15</sup>; and the unavailability of alternative data sets. Having accepted the sample survey as a research instrument, a decision had to be made as to the most appropriate survey design and method of participant selection.<sup>16</sup>

Survey information can be collected in any number of ways, from the more sophisticated use of reply-paid or incentive based postal surveys to the hit-and-miss strategy of place or activity specific interception surveys. Generally, most designs will incorporate either one or more of the following methods: a personal interview survey; a reply-paid postal survey; or a telephone survey. For the purposes of this thesis, a personal interview format utilising a written questionnaire was considered the most appropriate method.

In contrast, a reply paid postal or telephone survey was discounted for the following reasons. Firstly, because the Parks community is generally recognised as a low socio-economic status

or working class area (Parkin, 1975; Stimson & Cleland, 1975; ABS, 1993) it was considered unlikely that a high response rate could be obtained, particularly when a significant proportion of the resident population was born overseas (ie 32%). Secondly, the generally poor level of formal or secondary education and/or written comprehension skills could make complex, multi-choice, 'open-ended' or 'flip-through' questions (particularly those demanded by a survey on labour market issues) difficult, if not impossible, to adequately complete. In addition, the proposed length of the questionnaire, seventy-one questions, was bound to influence the overall level of response - most notably in the case of a postal survey.

Thirdly, postal and telephone surveys usually suffer from a certain degree of non-coverage error, where certain individuals or groups are not included in the sampling frame (eg unlisted numbers). Fourthly, the potential for missing or incomplete information is generally, though not always, reduced by a personal interview method (Scott, 1961; Dillman, 1991). In addition, households selected for a personal interview survey do not have the opportunity to read or choose, in advance, which questions will be answered or left incomplete - a significant source of non-response and measurement error. And finally, in contrast to telephone or postal survey methods, a personal interview method has the advantages of: including those households overlooked or unable to respond through other survey means; explaining research and questionnaire objectives directly to the respondent (particularly in terms of sensitive questions that may otherwise have remained unanswered); enabling the collection of additional information through participant observation or interaction.

These advantages, however, are counterbalanced by the general recognition that interview surveys (compared with their telephone and postal counterparts) can often be inconvenient, difficult to complete, spatially restrictive and prohibitively expensive. In summary, despite the logistical and cost advantages of alternative survey designs, the choice of a postal or telephone survey, given the target population, may have resulted in a response rate that was inadequate or unable to meet the stated research objectives. For these reasons, and the relative absence or inadequacy of alternative data sources, a personal interview format was chosen.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.3.3 Sources of Error

In a sample survey there are at least four main sources of error. These being: sampling error; non-coverage error; non-response error; and measurement error. Sampling error refers to an incorrect or insufficient sampling of the target population. Non-coverage error arises when certain members of a given population are excluded or overlooked from the sampling frame. Non-response error results when elements of the sample population, selected as survey participants, refuse to participate or only complete certain questions. And finally, measurement error refers to the provision of false, misleading or inaccurate information by the respondent that may, in certain circumstances, be exacerbated by faults in the survey design or a failure to properly record and code the information provided (Dillman, 1991: 228).

In relation to the personal interview method, an important potential source of error can be the problem of contamination or interviewer induced bias. This could be of particular relevance to 'open ended' or opinion based questions that, in some cases, may be open to interviewer prompting or re-direction. Other potential biases can originate at the point of contact, where the interviewer's behaviour may influence a respondent's decision to participate in a survey. For instance, the punctuality or appearance of an interviewer could be interpreted or 'scripted' differently depending on the socio-economic profile, personal beliefs, cultural background, medical condition or feelings of the respondent. Secondly, another source of sampling error may arise when establishing contact with survey participants in certain areas due to physical or community barriers (eg gated communities, guard dogs, high rise apartments, crime areas).

And finally, given the choice of a multi-stage cluster sample, the most obvious disadvantage is that it is not just one sample being taken but a series of samples - with a possibility of sampling error in each (Baily, 1987: 87-102). Although the potential for error and omission will, to a certain extent, influence the 'inferential value' of a sample survey - it is a situation that researchers can never completely avoid. As Moser and Kalton (1989) remark,

Non-response is a problem no investigator of human populations can escape; his (*sic*) survey material is not, nor can never be, entirely under his (*sic*) control and he can never get information about more than part of it.<sup>18</sup>



Survey research, while offering a unique perspective, can also be susceptible to a variety of factors which can affect the level of participation (Groves, 1992). As related by Heberlein and Baumgartner (1978), a sample survey is, ultimately, 'a request for help - one which may or may not be answered.' (Heberlein & Baumgartner, 1978: 401). The challenge for any researcher, therefore, is to limit or minimise the degree of error, through the design of an appropriate sampling methodology. This requires, on a more general level, tailoring the questionnaire to be both relevant and informative, though flexible enough to deal with a variety of household circumstances - thus maximising the probability of securing a high level of (positive) response.<sup>19</sup>

#### 3.3.4 *Sampling Methodology*

In many respects, the role of sample size, sampling frame and sampling design are the most important elements in determining both the quality and the accuracy of the information collected during a sample survey (Sheskin, 1985: 31). The number of survey respondents or sample size will ultimately depend on the level of accuracy required, the cost and time constraints of the researcher and the desired (spatial) distribution of the survey population. However, as Dixon and Leach (1975) observe 'it is principally sample size, and not the percentage of the population included in the sample, which determines [its] accuracy' (Dixon & Leach, 1975: 11). For this sample, and after a careful consideration of survey costs, a total of four hundred households was randomly selected. Having determined the sample size, and that resident households were to be the target population, it was important to obtain a complete listing (ie sampling frame) of every household.

For this list to be as accurate as possible, it was necessary to construct a sampling frame which, ideally, 'contained all the target population with no elements excluded and none included more than once' (Dixon & Leach, 1975: 27). Unfortunately, and having reduced the size of the study area, there was still no complete listing or register of households. Therefore a sampling design was needed that would, simultaneously, involve randomness of selection, reduce the overall level of survey costs, and provide a complete list of resident households. To meet these conditions, a multi-stage cluster sample, utilising a probability proportional to

size (PPS) sampling design, was chosen - whereupon the first priority was to divide the study area into manageable blocks or clusters of households.<sup>20</sup>

From results obtained in the collection of the 1991 Census of Population and Housing, the study area had previously been subdivided into a total of thirty-one Census Collection Districts or CCD's. From these findings, it was revealed that a total of 6,339 occupied (residential) dwellings was recorded during the census period. Given this information, it was decided that each of the thirty-one CCD's would form the basis of the sampling frame. A probability proportional to size sampling method (PPS) would then be used, so that each CCD was both proportionately weighted (in terms of its cluster or population size) and then randomly selected. For the purposes of this survey, and based on a sample (not exceeding) four hundred households, a sampling fraction of 1:32 was chosen.<sup>21</sup> At this point, and with each of the six largest CCD's receiving an additional cluster, the total number of clusters was calculated to be 640.<sup>22</sup> Following on from this procedure, and utilising a random number table (Rand Corporation, 1955), a random starting point was selected ( $k=3$ ) from which every  $n$ th or 32nd cluster was then selected systematically (eg 3,35,67 etc..). Upon the completion of this process, each of the selected CCD's were further subdivided into smaller groups or blocks of between 70-110 homes.<sup>23</sup>

A simple random sampling technique, as described by Sheskin (1985: 41-42), was then used to determine which block was selected - again with the use of a random number table (Rand Corporation, 1955). The final stage, with both the CCD and the block selected, involved the listing, in sequential order, of each residential unit and its corresponding address. And finally, according to both the size of the sample interval and the number of households within each block, a random starting point ( $k$ ) was again chosen.<sup>24</sup> By repeating this process, two groups of ten household's (10) were then selected for each block. This enabled the selection of both a primary and a reserve sample (if required). This method of selection was then repeated for each of the twenty CCD's and no further selections were made - either as replacements or additions. In summary, in each stage of the process (except the last) a random choice was made in which each CCD, block or household had an equal chance of being selected. In addition, through the use of a multi-stage cluster sample, the potential for non-coverage and sampling error was also substantially, if not completely, reduced.

### 3.3.5 Questionnaire Variables

The questionnaire survey was designed, primarily, to investigate changes within the local labour market. During a period of several months, and a process of trial and error, a draft questionnaire was developed. After further consultation, and the survey's exposure to 'real world' conditions through a pilot survey, the questionnaire was redesigned and its questions redrafted. The final questionnaire contained a total of one hundred and thirty two questions. These questions were then divided into twelve sections. Each section representing a specific or thematic grouping of variables or respondent characteristics (Table 3.2). These groups were: demographic (Section A); education (Section B); health (Section C); previous work experience (Section D); current labour market status (Section's E & F); current partner information (Section G); housing (Section H); income (Section I); and community and electoral participation (Section J).

### 3.3.6 Pilot Survey

The pilot survey was conducted in the Port Adelaide-Woodville area during the month of August 1993. A total of twenty-eight households was randomly selected, in this instance from the Port Adelaide electoral roll (AEC, 1993). A brief letter was then sent to each household explaining both the aims and the nature of the research project. After a period of one week, each household was contacted by telephone to ascertain their willingness to participate and, if agreement was reached, to arrange an acceptable interview time. At the conclusion of the pilot survey, a total of seven households had been interviewed, eight could not be contacted, and four declined to participate.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.3.7 Evaluation and Redesign

The initial sampling frame, which was used in the pilot survey, was based on a pre-existing electoral roll for the federal electorate of Port Adelaide (Australian Electoral Commission, 1993). Although the electoral roll was updated prior to the 1993 Federal election, it proved to be a significant source of non-coverage error. For instance, the electoral roll was unable to

**Table 3.2: Questionnaire Design**

**Section A: Demographic**

Age  
Gender  
Birthplace  
Year of Arrival

Second Language  
Cultural Background  
Number of Dependents

**Section B: Education**

Current Educational Status  
Highest Year of Secondary School (completed)  
Post-Secondary Qualifications

**Section C: Health**

**Section D: Previous Employment History**

Previous Work Experience

Labour Force Status

**Section E: Currently Employed**

Occupation  
Suburb of Employment  
Type / Industry of Employer  
Years in Current Job  
Weekly Earnings  
Work Status

Union Membership  
Current Working Hours  
Travel Time  
Mode of Travel  
Second Job  
Previous Unemployment

**Section F: Currently Unemployed**

Details of Previous Job  
Reason(s) for Unemployment / Job Loss  
Job Search Techniques  
Means of Transport

Type of Job Wanted  
Reservation Wage  
Job Search Distance  
Preparedness to Move

**Section G: Current Partner Information**

Current Marital Status

**Section H: Housing**

Usual Address Five Years Ago  
Usual Address One Year Ago

Length of Residence  
Home Status

**Section I: Income**

Household Income

**Section K: Community Participation**

Eligibility to Vote (ie enrolled)  
Suburb Advantages

Community Activities  
Suburb Disadvantages

account for those households or household members who were ineligible to vote (recent migrants), had been omitted from the roll (recent in-movers, non-registrants) or who had subsequently changed residence (out-movers). In addition, the size of the electorate soon proved too time consuming and too expensive to adequately survey - particularly the distance between the selected survey participants. It was decided that the survey area should be reduced, and that the household address and not the individual should form the basis for the sampling frame.

Thirty-two changes were made to the original questionnaire based upon respondent feedback. These changes included: the deletion of unnecessary or confusing questions (eg home mortgage details); and the alteration or addition of questions to reflect contemporary labour market or societal changes (eg casual employment). Secondly, several design changes were made to: improve the uniformity of questionnaire responses (eg a design format that addressed the entire household); reduce the overall length of the questionnaire (eg the deletion of explanatory notes); include a coding system for future analysis; and provide space for additional comments. In summary, the time devoted to pre-testing and piloting the survey proved valuable in streamlining its design, revealing potential deficiencies, and assessing the value of the data to be collected.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.3.8 *Main Survey*

The survey was conducted from mid October 1993 to mid-July 1994 - a period of nine months. During this period a total of four hundred households was approached, of whom three hundred and twenty two were contacted. This resulted in a total of one hundred and thirty six questionnaires, with each questionnaire representing a member of the labour force. For those households not currently in the labour force, an unstructured interview format was used. These interviews, based on a personal or life history method (Baily 1987: 191-192), were designed as an investigative tool to explore issues of: community development; labour market experience; and to allow a more personally reflective view on contemporary social and economic changes.

To provide the greatest degree of flexibility, interviews were conducted over the weekend between the hours of 10:30am and 5:30pm. In contrast, weekday interviews were rejected

due to travel constraints, while evening interviews were also rejected as interview time would be limited (eg 2-3 hours). In addition, the possibility of a refusal may have been increased by the intrusion into or disruption of regular household activities (eg a favourite television program, meal time etc..). A further consideration was the area's reputation for juvenile delinquency, car theft, assault and vandalism - particularly at night.<sup>27</sup>

### 3.3.9 Response Rate

The overall response rate for the household survey was 70.2% (Table 3.3). In relation to the questionnaire survey, as applied to the economically active, a total of 106 households agreed to participate and 59 households declined. This resulted in a survey response rate of 64.2%. For the collection of field notes, as relating to the economically inactive, a total of 120 households agreed to be interviewed. A further 37 households declined to participate. This resulted in a response rate of 76.4%. Generally speaking, refusals were given in an indifferent manner and only a handful of responses could be considered insulting or intimidating. The most common reasons, if a respondent was asked to clarify their refusal, was that they either had 'no time' or were 'not interested' in participating. A more common experience, particularly for elderly citizens, was their reluctance to talk to someone they did not recognise or, alternatively, invite them into their own home. This was understandable in an area and at a time when attacks on the elderly were perceived to be increasing - particularly the media coverage given to those assaults and the murder of Mrs. Mavis Pitt in 1993.<sup>28</sup>

During the survey period a number of households, for a variety of reasons, could not be contacted or successfully interviewed. As a result, a total of 78 households remained to be contacted at the end of the survey period. A significant proportion of these households, even after several repeat visits, could not be successfully contacted during the survey period - of which eighteen homes were subsequently found to be either empty or under renovation.<sup>29</sup> A further eight respondents, although contacted, could not participate due to personal, health or family reasons. Other reasons for non-inclusion included: language barriers (6); physical inaccessibility (6); mislabeled correspondence (4); and the departure or movement of

**Table 3.3: The Parks Study - Response Rates  
October 1993 - July 1994**

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Questionnaires *                                    | 136        |
| Field Notes **                                      | 120        |
| Refusals: (Q)                                       | 59         |
| (FN)  | 37         |
| No Contact  | 34         |
| Empty / Under Renovation                            | 18         |
| Miscellaneous: Personal, Health or Family difficult | 8          |
| Language Barriers                                   | 6          |
| Physical Inaccessibility                            | 4          |
| Mislabelled Correspondence                          | 4          |
| Moved during survey period                          | 2          |
| Incomplete (ie. end of survey period)               | 2          |
| <b>Total:</b>                                       | <b>400</b> |

**Notes:**

\* A total of 106 households was surveyed, resulting in the completion of 136 questionnaires. A response rate of 64.2% (106/165). \*\*A total of 120 households was interviewed (eg not in the labour force), resulting in a response rate of 76.4% (120/157). The overall response rate was 70.2% (ie. 226/322).

households out of the study area (2). In addition, a further two households, although agreeing to be interviewed, could not be re-contacted before the conclusion of the survey.

### 3.3.10 *Logistical Summary*

During the survey period, a total of fifty seven days or 441.5 hours were spent in collecting data, interviewing or physically documenting the survey area.<sup>30</sup> In addition, a total of 837 household contacts were made or attempted during this period. The cost of the survey, excluding labour, was estimated at \$2491 - which included items such as postage, photocopying, and travel costs.

### 3.3.11 *Ethical Considerations*

Ethical considerations, particularly when conducting academic research, can be a source of legitimate concern to survey participants (eg privacy and data confidentiality concerns). Sheskin (1985) remarked that each researcher, 'should make certain no individual suffers any adverse consequences as a result of a survey' (Sheskin, 1985: 11). Because the personal interview survey was chosen as the most practicable method, certain ethical considerations become significantly more important. Firstly the respondent or household, without prior notification, will often be at a disadvantage or apprehensive in relating personal or sensitive information to someone they do not know. And secondly, upon completion of the interview, concerns may be raised as to the confidentiality and security of the information supplied and its future storage and analysis. In an effort to reduce or allay fears about confidentiality, an introductory letter was forwarded to each selected household before personal contact was established. This strategy, combined with the use of official 'University of Adelaide' stationary, helped to establish both the credentials of the researcher, secure a degree of trust, and safeguard the confidentiality of the information disclosed. In addition, by notifying selected households in advance each household was given an ethically responsible choice of accepting or rejecting the opportunity to participate (ie 'informed consent'). And finally, after the survey information was coded and stored on computer, all paper copies of the questionnaire were destroyed. In addition, any reference to a household's place or suburb of residence was removed by its substitution with a numeric code.<sup>31</sup>



In relation to the field work, and on a more personal level, the difficulties of accomplishing this task became more noticeable over the course of the survey period. Not only did the researcher have to approach and interview people in their own homes, but it also entailed a degree of personal contact which required both patience and empathy. During the course of several interviews, and having approached other households who had declined to be interviewed, it became apparent that the researcher was involved in a variety of very personal situations. These ranged from informative and polite encounters, to ones of irritation and mild abuse. In addition, and given the nature of the survey, a range of different groups and households was also encountered. For example, interviews involving the disabled, the infirm and the recently bereaved *required* a sensitive and unobtrusive approach.

A further problem, and one which the researcher can be unprepared for, was establishing contact with those members of the community who had been de-institutionalised from the mental health system. Despite these difficulties, which were (in hindsight) to be expected, a significant number of households were genuinely interested in the research and what it was trying to accomplish. A final point, though somewhat unrelated, was the problem of interviewer fatigue. In some instances, and given the time periods involved, it was often extremely difficult to maintain a constant level of concentration. However this feeling was offset by the recognition that the personal interview method is an unavoidable form of social interaction. For example, an elderly person's desire for companionship or 'someone to talk to' was seen as an important part of the fieldwork - in many ways equal to that of the researcher's own aims or requests for information.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.3.12 *Data and Analysis*

After the completion of the sample survey, a coding manual was developed to allow the questionnaire data to be reduced and then transferred, via a coding sheet, to a computer for further analysis. At this stage, consideration was given to a variety of statistical packages, although this was confined to those programs that were available on the university's computer network (eg SAS, SPSS). Given the range of data collected, and the type of analysis required, SPSS PC+ (ie Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was considered the best

available option - as it operated in a 'windows' environment and was relatively user friendly. As Bryman & Cramer note, 'the great advantage of using a package like SPSS is that it will enable you to score and to analyse quantitative data very quickly and in many different ways' (Bryman & Cramer, 1994: 17).

To hasten the analysis, the survey information was first coded and stored on Microsoft Excel (v5.0) and then imported into SPSS PC+. This allowed the data to be evaluated and stored on two different systems, the former acting as a reserve in case of information loss or failure. A further advantage of SPSS PC+, particularly when it was time to analyse the data, was the variety of pre-written or 'canned' programs available to the operator - ranging from a simple frequency table to chi-square analysis. Despite these advantages, however, the nature of the data collected - most notably its modest size - tended to preclude a more indepth or sophisticated analysis from being undertaken or attempted. The reason for this, given the total number of questionnaires, was that there were too few cases, and secondly, the variable nature of survey response (ie the number of employed vis-a-vis the number of unemployed).

### **3.4 Supplementary Fieldwork**

Following the completion of the household survey, and for the purposes of comparison, consideration was given to a survey of local employers - which would allow a more structured analysis of travel-to-work patterns in the north-western suburbs. Given the range of potential contacts, however, the proposed survey was limited to four separate, though occupationally distinct, employment or geographical areas. These being: the Arndale Shopping Centre; the Islington Railyards; the Finsbury Industrial Estate; and Regency Park. After further study, and having compiled a list of local businesses, an introductory letter was sent to the largest employers in each of the selected areas. From these requests, and over a period of several months, a total of forty-eight employers - with a combined work force of 4 387 employees - agreed to participate. This information, which was confined to a worker's suburb of residence, proved invaluable in defining the 'labour shed' or spatial limit of the local labour market. And finally, it unmasked the degree to which local workers were able to find employment in local industries.

The second, and equally important aspect of supplementary fieldwork, was a case study of the Finsbury Industrial Estate in Woodville North. During the household survey, and having visited the area previously, a number of local residents were able to identify particular industries, products and ownership changes associated with the former munitions complex. What was missing, however, was a more comprehensive and historically accurate analysis of the Finsbury Industrial Estate. A priority, therefore, was to locate retired company managers or supervisory staff who could either recall their own working experiences or suggest a range of alternative contacts.<sup>33</sup> After making some initial telephone calls, and given the fact that a majority of workers (even in retirement) knew of each others' whereabouts, it proved relatively easy to find a group of experienced, knowledgeable and technically proficient people.<sup>34</sup>

As a result of these efforts, a total of thirty workers, many of whom had retired, were contacted and successfully interviewed. Having gained a valuable insight into the area's development, combined with the results obtained from the survey of local employers, it was possible to reconstruct a detailed history of the Finsbury complex. The final stage of the fieldwork, recognising the value of detailed oral histories, involved the interview of community representatives and former workers of the Parks Community Centre. Prior to the commencement of these meetings, however, a series of interviews were also undertaken with numerous individuals, business and government organisations.<sup>35</sup> The major advantage of these interviews, having already identified a series of relevant issues, was to focus the Ph.D thesis on the theme of economic restructuring and locational disadvantage.

### **3.5 Secondary Sources**

In contrast to primary sources, which have been independently compiled by the researcher (eg survey data, oral histories, field work), secondary sources generally refer to those documents or data archives 'gathered or authored by another person' (Baily, 1987: 295) - such as periodicals, textbooks, government publications, dictionaries, encyclopaedia's, magazine or newspaper articles. Although many of these are an important part of the research process, the demands of a Ph.D thesis (and its accompanying literature review) requires a more critical or contextual analysis of the available source materials. Given the

time devoted to a sample survey, what role should the analysis of secondary source materials assume?

At the commencement, it was intended that the materials and information collected from a survey of local residents would form the centrepiece of the thesis. However this was not to be the case, as the results obtained from the sample survey increasingly took on a secondary or supporting role - particularly when an honest or self-reflective assessment was made of the data collected. In this instance, it was not the quality of the responses that could be questioned, but the survey's overall deficiency or lack of any real explanatory power. In contrast, the relative importance of the unstructured interviews became significantly more valuable in identifying local or historical issues which could only be examined by a detailed re-evaluation of existing secondary source materials or, in the case of Finsbury, the location and interview of former workers. Unfortunately, this task was made more difficult by the relative absence of any published or oral histories specifically dealing with The Parks community. As a result, and given these circumstances, the task of reconstructing an historically accurate description of the social and economic development of The Parks community assumed a higher priority (in both time and resources) than was originally intended.

Given the usual reliance on survey data in the social sciences, particularly the prominent role of census findings, there is always the risk that quantitative and qualitative methods can be seen as competing opposites - rather than as complimentary techniques in the investigation and analysis of a particular problem or research issue. Following the completion of the sample survey, therefore, it became necessary to re-evaluate what the thesis was actually trying to achieve. Could a change of emphasis be accommodated within a research methodology that was, in some respects, felt to be superfluous? What prompted this re-evaluation? It was recognised, somewhat belatedly, that the fieldwork, though providing an invaluable insight into the study area, was not the only relevant or useful source of information. In this instance, and as the German philosopher Johann Goethe had previously intimated, 'he who cannot draw on three thousand years is living from hand to mouth' (Gaardner, 1994: 126). In other words, the researcher must be prepared to build upon the work of others and, on a more personal level, extend the boundaries of their own ability. Following on from this, the role of secondary source materials - though not always obvious at the time - can be important in offering historical or contextual support to your own research findings.

The Mortlock Library, an historical branch of the State Library of South Australia, proved to be a valuable source of company records, statistical registers and local newspapers. In many ways, the information gathered from these sources tended to outweigh the contributions and insights obtained from an extended period of fieldwork. For example, although a detailed history of the Finsbury Industrial Estate was undertaken, it could not have been accomplished without the contributions of various business directories or annual company reports. These sources, in contrast to the supplementary interviews, were able to provide an accurate - if somewhat dispassionate account - about each of the firms and their respective roles at Finsbury. The importance of this information, while highlighting specific events and important dates, also served as a reminder to those workers who had either forgotten or remained uncertain as to their collective experiences.

Another instance, which highlights this process, was a comprehensive examination of two further sources of information. The first was a review of the proceedings or Hansard of State Parliament; while the second, and more exhaustive review, involved the examination and indexation of a local community newspaper. This was accomplished, via a manual search, of each and every edition of the Weekly Times between 1958 and 2000. From this search, a total of 929 newspaper articles was manually recorded and indexed. The results of this research, while directly benefiting the Ph.D thesis, will also provide an invaluable reference tool for those who wish to make a similar, though less arduous, journey in the future.<sup>36</sup>

A third source was an investigation of various reports, newspaper articles, minutes, and correspondence held by local government authorities, community libraries and museums. The Woodville Council, which kindly waived its freedom of information restrictions, made available a variety of materials - ranging from its extensive property files to correspondence with State and Federal Government officials. The Woodville Museum, with the generous assistance of its secretary, was able to lend several maps and photographs for copying and reproduction. The Parks Community Centre, again with the assistance of its staff, provided a range of information - including copies of its annual reports, newspaper articles, internal reviews, board minutes, documentary footage (eg film & video) and staff interviews. And finally, there is the residue of materials which - more than any other method - tends to reflect the research skills of the Ph.D candidate. In this instance, the range of organisations, fellow

academics and government departments which were approached to provide advice and/or further information.

### 3.6 Discussion

Social scientists ... do not enjoy the luxury of controlled experiments ... In addition, probability theory would tell us that in different real-world situations, different variables may be more or less important, and combine in different ways, with variable weights or degrees of importance.<sup>37</sup>

For the social researcher, the investigation of the unfamiliar or the unimagined is often a journey into the 'unknown' - particularly when the results of a sample survey are never entirely under the control of the researcher. In terms of this research, a number of problems presented themselves during the period of fieldwork. These were problems of: relative inexperience; survey logistics; and the identification of secondary source materials. Although these were primarily problems of application as opposed to method, an additional series of decisions, many of them subjective, had to be made during the research process. In recognising that this process has been one of compromise, previously held notions of objectivity and impartiality promoted within the social sciences could be seen as misleading. Why?

In many ways, 'research choices are made in (both) historical and sociological contexts' (Dabscheck, 1991: 7) governed as they are by current events, personal interests, previous debates and ascendant paradigms - whereupon all researchers face the important task of deciding which method or style of analysis can (best) meet their research objectives. For example, each researcher needs to make a series of decisions or choices as to: which research topic is perceived to be 'worth doing'; what sources of information are available; can it be completed on time; what level of funding is required; and, finally, how should any results be presented? The final combination of these 'choices' will represent, not only a series of relatively benign trade-offs (eg. between cost and data availability), but a number of highly subjective decisions based on the judgement of the researcher.

Secondly, and towards the completion of the fieldwork, a significant problem arose as to the role of the thesis. For instance, the investigation of a person's labour market experiences - either individually or collectively - brought with it a range of situations that were poignant, as they were abstruse. What situations were encountered? In many ways, the experiences derived from fieldwork can become a test of the researcher's own secureness. Should the researcher be objective and balanced, or passionate and efficacious? How should the researcher describe, let alone understand, the circumstances surrounding joblessness? And finally, why should anyone listen to or take notice of the research or its findings? These were important questions, particularly in The Parks area, where the majority of households were on low incomes and one quarter of the workforce was unemployed. As a result, there was a concern that the thesis may have assumed a different role - one of statement and advocacy - which was beyond the scope or the definition of a higher degree. Given these circumstances, the thesis needed to find its own particular niche, not only as a written testament to the candidate's ability, but to provide a voice to a place and a range of experiences, which may otherwise have remained unheard.

Fortunately, and prior to the completion of the thesis, the opportunity arose to participate in the feasibility study of the Parks Urban Renewal Project. For a period of seven months, from March to September 1996, several working groups were established to examine redevelopment options - covering such areas as: public housing options, employment generation, community life, cultural development and site planning. Given the nature of the thesis, an invitation was accepted to attend and contribute ideas to the Economic Development Advisory Group. This group, which was composed of business representatives, government officials and regional development organisations, was given the responsibility of advising on economic policy matters, such as addressing the high rate of local unemployment and supporting local businesses. After the appointment of a consultant, and a number of advisory meetings, a strategy outline was included in a draft Local Area Plan - which would eventually form the basis for a Cabinet submission.

In contrast, and following the release of the draft strategy, a personal decision was made to prepare a dissenting or minority report in response to several deficiencies in the official document. This report was then submitted to the Minister for Urban Development and Local Government Relations, Pioneer Projects Australia and the Parks Voice - the local residents association. Not surprisingly, this experience revealed the deficiencies of policy development

at the local level, the degree to which local residents were actually 'consulted' and the actions of institutional stakeholders in framing people's options in advance of the project. As a result, involvement in the 'consultation process' was an unexpected, though welcome, opportunity to make a contribution to the feasibility study and to give the thesis a 'voice' in a policy-making context.

There was, however, an additional set of factors that had an influence on the Ph.D thesis. Firstly, the thesis was completed without the financial assistance or security of a university scholarship. In addition, and given current funding constraints, the resources made available to postgraduate students were often inadequate and subject to inordinate scrutiny. For example, a small grant for photocopying expenses did not allow for any additional funds to be directed to such luxuries as prints, maps or library searches. Thirdly, the problems of living in a country area - particularly in respect to transport and computing issues - were similarly under-estimated. And finally, the personal costs or sacrifices of a Ph.D thesis cannot be overlooked. From the start of the thesis to its eventual submission, eight years will have passed. A considerable period of time and a trial of patience for both student and supervisor! These 'costs', while reflecting a significant loss of income, were also seen as missed opportunities and an overwhelming sense of frustration - particularly the social problems generated by the redevelopment (and indirectly, on behalf of the residents that had participated in the Main Study). Despite these circumstances, a period of self-reflection and personal involvement in the redevelopment proposal did provide a more realistic assessment of the Ph.D thesis and what it was trying to achieve.

It also meant taking sides, and then publicly making a stand on several issues. A conscious decision was made to write letters to the *Adelaide Advertiser* (Neldner, 1994), address a public meeting of residents during the consultation phase of the redevelopment project, forward specific questions to Government Ministers concerning the rationalisation of services, and to submit a dissenting report on the adoption of an Economic Development Strategy for the area. These findings were then included in a conference paper, presented to the Institute of Australian Geographer's Annual Conference at Hobart in 1997 (Neldner, 1997). However there was also a considerable learning curve involved, and the necessary requirement for the candidate to be as objective as possible. Because of the complex issues, the diversity of people and viewpoints involved, a candidate can sometimes be drawn into situations that – in



hindsight – might lead to a lapse in judgement or where discretion can be the ‘better part of valour’. But as Said (1993) reminds us,

Every intellectual whose *métier* is articulating and representing specific views, ideas, ideologies, logically aspires to making them work in a society. The intellectual who claims only to write for him or herself, or for the sake of pure learning, or abstract science, is not to be, and *must not be*, believed.<sup>38</sup>

The researcher or candidate cannot be a lifeless, passionless or spineless automaton, particularly in the social sciences where issues of poverty, homelessness, dependence, and unemployment weigh upon the lives of millions. Of course, it is also true that there are no magic-bullet solutions to the myriad of social and economic problems to be found in the pages of this thesis. But that is not the point. As Marian Wright Edelman, in a commencement speech at the Milton Academy in 1983, remarked: ‘Pick a piece of the problem that you can help solve while trying to see how your piece fits into the broader social change puzzle’ (Zinn, 1995: 598). Social research is – by its very nature - both a cooperative and a cumulative process, and with this research it is hoped that the mistakes made in building and then redeveloping places like The Parks will not be easily repeated.

In conclusion, a successful Ph.D thesis seems to involve far more than the fulfilment of a higher degree, or the methodological conventions which influence its findings, as it tends to involve a more personal process of self-discovery and the desire to extend the boundaries of one’s own ability. In many respects, the methods used - while eschewing a more quantitative approach - could be seen as too pragmatic or flexible in investigating issues of economic restructuring and labour market change. Fortunately, the social sciences have always embraced a rich tradition of methodological eclecticism, which - given the nature of the study - would suggest that there is no ‘correct’ method of investigating complex social or economic issues. Of course, these sentiments also reflected the discipline’s own turbulent history, the shift toward post-structuralism and a loss of certitude in urban geography. In this instance, the non-linearity of life experiences and the range of historical events - which determined the circumstances surrounding the development of the Parks community - gave rise to a more contextual (if somewhat tangential) form of analysis and a more inventive form of investigation.

Despite these observations, there remained a significant opportunity to explore the social and economic circumstances which, in later years, would lead to a rapid transformation of The Parks area. The problem which existed, and which this chapter attempted to address, was not so much in identifying which issues were important, but in deciding how they should be investigated, analysed and discussed. The following chapters will investigate five separate, though inter-related themes: industry (Chapter Four), housing (Chapter Five), labour (Chapter Six), community (Chapter Seven) and redevelopment (Chapter Eight). The concluding chapter, Chapter Nine, will be devoted to a summary of the research findings, several policy recommendations and a final comment.

<sup>1</sup> Ondaatje M., (1993) *The English Patient* Picador London p12

<sup>2</sup> Jung C., (1963) *Memories, Dreams & Reflections* Collins London Prologue

<sup>3</sup> Livingstone D., (1992) *The Geographical Tradition* Blackwell Oxford p4

<sup>4</sup> Useful information was also found in Parliamentary Papers, often as a result of a local Member raising questions or tabling information in State Parliament. In addition, further information was also obtained in various annual reports from State Government Departments and Statutory Authorities. A search was also made at the National Library in Canberra.

<sup>5</sup> As will be shown in the following chapter, a map of the Finsbury Industrial Estate was found to be on display, tucked away in a corner of the Woodville Museum. After establishing contact with the Secretary, the map was subsequently borrowed and photographed. Upon making further inquiries, it was found to be the only map known to be in existence of the munitions complex during the Second World War. This highlights not so much the element of perseverance, but also one of luck and good fortune when examining any research topic.

<sup>6</sup> See 10: Appendices for further information on the design of the survey and the questionnaire.

<sup>7</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the survey area will usually be described as 'The Parks' or 'the Parks' when referring more generally to the community. For example, the local community centre will be referred to as *the Parks Community Centre*.

<sup>8</sup> While recognising the unresolved problem of boundary definition, Healy & Parkin (1980) observed that several definitions of The Parks area were in use, particularly those used by other Government Departments (eg health, welfare, education), the electoral commission and local government (Enfield, Port-Adelaide Enfield) in the delivery of social and administrative services (Healy & Parkin, 1980: 190-191).

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the Housing Trust's involvement in the planning, construction and administration of public housing in South Australia, see Marsden (1986).

<sup>10</sup> A listing of CCD's (1971,1981,1991,1996) are in 10: Appendices: Survey and Questionnaire Design

<sup>11</sup> Heberlein & Baumgartner's (1978) work, as described by Dillman (1991), revealed the 'lack of salience of the questionnaire topic was a constraint to high response' (Dillman, 1991: 234). For the Parks community, the 1970s was a period when the need for new or additional facilities was one of the area's most immediate and pressing concerns - particularly for its burgeoning teenage population.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Knapman (1974) was specifically employed by the SAHT for its study of the Mansfield Park area. Furthermore, the majority of the researchers were women. Although gender is not specifically identified as a factor in survey response, research in The Parks area tended to involve, and make a conscious choice, to involve women. This was due, primarily, to the time and day upon which interviews were conducted and the remarkably determined and idealistic role played by a series of outspoken women in the development of the community centre concept. In many instances, they were instrumental in organising additional meetings, fundraising activities and serve with distinction on various steering committees and the Interim Board of Management.

<sup>13</sup> Dillman D., (1991) 'The design and administration of mail surveys' *Annual Review of Sociology* 17: 226-27, 228-29

<sup>14</sup> As noted previously, the last survey research conducted in the Parks area was the 1970s. This was considered to be inadequate, though informative, particularly in relation to the combined effects of economic and social change over two decades.

<sup>15</sup> For example, the recent suspension and rationalisation of manufacturing employment data has limited both the coverage and availability of small area or time series data sets, compiled annually since 1968-69. And secondly, some information - such as CES Registrant or Client data - was unavailable for 'private research purposes' (Reference: Correspondence from Helen Connor - DEET Legal Officer C92/10736).

<sup>16</sup> Sources consulted: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1991) *Questionnaires Used in the Labour Force Survey* Canberra ABS Catalogue No.6232.0; Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993) *An Introduction to Sample Surveys* Canberra ABS Catalogue No. 1202.2; Bouma G., (1993) *The Research Process* Free Press New York (Third Edition); Mendenhall W., Ott L., Schaeffer R., (1971) *Elementary Survey Sampling* Wadsworth California; Moser C., Kalton G., (1989) *Survey Methods in Social Investigation* Gower Aldershot (Second Edition); Sheskin I., (1985) *Survey Research for Geographers* Resource Publications in Geography Association of American Geographers (CATMOG) No.17

<sup>17</sup> Other advantages may be summarised as: interviewer control over the timing, order, spontaneity and completion of the questionnaire. Other disadvantages may be summarised as: little or no opportunity to consult published records and less anonymity on behalf of the researcher. For a discussion of these and other issues See: Baily 1987: 174-176

<sup>18</sup> Moser C., Kalton G., (1989) *Survey Methods in Social Investigation* Gower Aldershot Second Edition p166

<sup>19</sup> In relation to other survey methodologies, the intercept survey was considered inappropriate in terms of satisfying the principle of random household selection - particularly when finding an appropriate contact

location or meeting place to administer such a survey and, secondly, its limited applicability in certain controlled situations (eg. Monitoring shopping or travel behaviour). Furthermore, a sampling methodology involving a combination of survey methods was also considered inappropriate in terms of the already stated disadvantages and potential incompatibility of results arising from other methods.

<sup>20</sup> A recent paper by Groves, Cialdini and Couper (1992) remarked upon the desirability of maintaining a high level of flexibility in the design and implementation of a sample survey and, secondly, the importance of tailoring a questionnaire to the target population. To improve the level of positive response an interviewer should: (a) promote feelings of reciprocity; (b) remain consistent; use the authority or name of an organisation (if possible) in support your research; (d) clearly describe its aims; (e) undertake the research in an area that is infrequently visited; and (f) empathise with the characteristics or helping tendencies of the population. See Groves R., Cialdini R., Couper M., (1992) 'Understanding the decision to participate in a survey' *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56: 475-495

<sup>21</sup> One advantage of this method is that even if a cluster or group of households are of unequal size, each would have an equal chance of being selected. Furthermore, if the same number of sampling units, namely households, are chosen from each of the selected clusters, the overall probability of selection would have remained the same (Moser & Kalton, 1989: 111). An obvious disadvantage of this method, is that the size of each cluster or PSU must be known in advance. The statistical process involved in this method of selection is contained in 10.0: Appendices.

<sup>22</sup> For the purposes of this survey, an initial sample of two hundred households were drawn. Following this selection, an additional sample of two hundred households were similarly selected. This resulted in a reduced sampling fraction of 1:16

<sup>23</sup> Prior to this procedure, the total number of clusters was calculated to be 634. However for the random sampling procedure to continue, and even multiple of 32 (ie the sampling interval) had to be used. The nearest even multiple of 32 was 640. As a result, each of the six largest CCD's received an additional cluster.

<sup>24</sup> For the purposes of this survey, a count was physically made of residential dwellings within each of the randomly selected CCD's. Although the Parks area was well established, it was found that various degrees of redevelopment and selective infill had occurred following the 1991 Census of Population and Housing. Therefore a physical count of homes was made to ensure a greater degree of accuracy, particularly when sampling within CCD's and establishing block sizes.

<sup>25</sup> As the questionnaire only targeted the economically active, a total of nine households were excluded due to their unavailability or retirement from the labour force

<sup>26</sup> A panel of 'experts' was also consulted, with helpful comments being received on the content and overall design of the survey questionnaire. In the Department of Geographical and Environmental Studies (University of Adelaide), Peter Smalles, Blair Badcock and Derek Smith offered their advice, as did Judith Sloan from the National Institute of Labour Studies (Flinders University), and Meredith Miller from the Department of Employment, Education and Training (Australian Longitudinal Survey Section) provided further technical advice (Reference 87/1515).

<sup>27</sup> Public notification of the survey, and its aims, was circulated by the local Messenger Press (eg Weekly Times) during August 1993 (See: 'Study into Coping' *Weekly Times* 25 August 1993: 1)

<sup>28</sup> Mrs Pitt, who had lived alone and was retired, was physically assaulted and then murdered in her home (in King Street, Pennington) in early 1993. Her attacker, a person who had worked on and been invited into her home, was subsequently convicted of her murder in 1994.

<sup>29</sup> In each case, where a home was found to be (temporarily) unoccupied, several repeat visits were made at different times and on different days. This process was completed until an area was completed.

<sup>30</sup> For a summary of diary and response rates, see 10: Appendices

<sup>31</sup> During the survey period a total of one hundred and fifty pages of field or case study notes were collected.

<sup>32</sup> A further problem, which increased as the research progressed, was the uncomfortable feeling that the researcher already 'knew' most of the answers. Fortunately, this was largely unrealised, as each and every household had something new or different to offer the research - a wonderfully rich and informative source of information which could not have been gathered by any other means.

<sup>33</sup> Initial contacts were established by word-of-mouth, with Mr Doug Hamilton (former Town Clerk of the City of Woodville) recommending a number of former engineers and managers who may be of assistance to the project. A further source of contacts, were obtained from a number of South Australian Business Directories which listed company managers and sales representatives. It was then a process of elimination, via the local telephone book, as to the possible sources of information.

<sup>34</sup> A total of 30 former and current workers, involved in the Finsbury complex, were interviewed.

<sup>35</sup> The following organisations were contacted: City of Enfield-Port Adelaide, City of Woodville, City of Grange, City of West Torrens, Port Adelaide Skillshare, ParksSkill, South Australian Centre of Manufacturing, South Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, South Australian Council of Social Service, South Australian Department of Employment, Training and Further Education, Commonwealth Department of

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Employment, Education and Training, National Institute of Labour Studies, Department of Labour Studies (University of Adelaide) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

<sup>36</sup> See 10 Appendices: Weekly Times Newspaper Index

<sup>37</sup> Dabscheck B., (1991) 'An Essay on Method and Industrial Relations' in Kelly D., (ed) (1991) *Researching Industrial Relations: Methods and Methodology* Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Teaching Monograph No.6 University of Sydney.

<sup>38</sup> Said E., (1994) *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures* Vintage London p 82

## INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER'S FOUR - EIGHT

In retrospect, The 'Parks' started life at a relative disadvantage, with the subdivision and development of alternative settlements or *urban villages* surrounding the city centre. These villages were regarded as the preferred sites for development due to the quality of the land, the availability of fresh water, and their proximity to local sources of stone and timber. In contrast, and due to the poor quality of its land, the scarcity of fresh water and inadequate drainage, The 'Parks' was seen to be an inferior site for development. As a result, areas such as Norwood, Hindmarsh and Goodwood were the preferred development sites, which would help to influence the future pattern and direction of urban settlement within the metropolitan area (Marshall, 1961). In the north-western suburbs, the villages of Kilkenny, Woodville, and Cheltenham developed slowly, but gained a significant economic advantage as centres of commerce, industry and transportation - due to their close physical proximity to the important road (eg Port and Torrens Roads) and rail links between the city centre and Port Adelaide.

By the late 1930s, and due to the linear pattern of urban settlement, the opportunity existed for vacant land to the north and south of the Port-Adelaide axis to be developed for future residential, commercial and industrial use. The Parks, though gradually experiencing the pressures of metropolitan expansion, remained a largely agricultural district, with the area north of Torrens Road given over to various farming activities such as: dairying, lucerne fields, market gardens, glasshouses, a sewerage farm or, in the case of vacant ground and community commons, the pastoralist's scourge of boxthorn and swampland. Given these historical preconditions, what factors were responsible for its contemporary transformation? The following five chapters will examine, in greater detail, the role of: industry (Chapter Four); housing (Chapter Five); labour (Chapter Six); community (Chapter Seven) and eventual redevelopment (Chapter Eight).

## CHAPTER FOUR: INDUSTRY

South Australia has never operated under *laissez faire* circumstances. In fact, it has never relied on market forces of any form for the allocation of resources throughout the entire period of its industrialisation.<sup>1</sup>

Kyoko Sheridan

You don't pick and choose. You get the industries you can get. They all provide employment. You want all industries. You don't talk about 'we won't have this or we won't have that'.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Thomas Playford

Manufacturing had thus been grafted on to the South Australian economy by concerted government action to attract and retain a few large companies in two main industries.<sup>3</sup>

Paul Robins

### 4.0 Industry

#### 4.1 Introduction

The most important feature of economic development in South Australia has, undoubtedly, been the continuing role of the *state* in subsidising and attracting private business investment. This strategy, outwardly expressed as providing the 'right' investment environment, was to form a symbiotic and often dependant relationship between private capital and the public sector that would last from the earliest period of settlement to the present day. In establishing this relationship, the *state* provided two crucial functions. The first was its implementation of a growth strategy founded on the orderly subdivision, sale and settlement of land. The second was the state's provision of physical infrastructure (eg road, rail and port facilities) and various business incentives (eg serviced allotments, relocation grants, tax exemptions) in the support of pastoral and mining interests; and more recently, the development and expansion of secondary industry. However the provision of a *social overhead* for business, in combination with the reduction of establishment costs and the absence of any performance or investment related criteria, was to place private capital in a much stronger bargaining position - particularly during the (re)negotiation of state support and incentive packages. Notwithstanding the important contribution of agriculture and mining to the state's economy,

particularly in the formative years of land settlement, the support of private enterprise reached its zenith, and ultimately its limits under the industrialisation strategies of the Butler (1933-38) and Playford (1938-65) Liberal-Country League Governments.

## **4.2 Industrial Development**

### *4.2.1 Establishment: 1836-1930.*

The historical development of secondary industry in South Australia, from the earliest period of settlement to the beginning of the 1930s depression, was one of steady growth, diversification and self-sufficiency (Richards, 1975; Donovan, 1979). This was largely due to the prohibitive costs of transport, the perishability of goods, and the predominance of relatively small, family owned enterprises - many of which 'were spread throughout the colony, near raw materials and local markets' (Donovan, 1979: 20). As a result, factories were involved in meeting the needs of the local population - particularly the processing of primary products (eg flour mills, saw mills, breweries, tanneries and various foodstuffs), the provision of personal needs (eg. soap & tallow manufacturers, leather merchants etc..) and the development, manufacture and repair of agricultural (eg. iron & brass foundries, blacksmiths) and transport equipment (eg ship repair, wheelwrights, coach & boat building) (Table 4.1 & 4.2).

By 1901, secondary industry, as defined by the statistical indicators of the time, accounted for almost twenty seven percent of the state's workforce - a significant achievement for a small, relatively isolated state (Sheridan, 1986: 36). In the north-west, several important industries, based on the processing of primary products (eg chaff and flour mills, abattoirs, boiling down works) and the manufacture of general merchandise (eg. bottle manufacture, iron foundries) and construction materials (eg a brickmaking) were gradually established at Brompton, Kilkenny, Woodville, Beverly, Findon, Royal Park, Islington and Dry Creek. The most important of these developments, was the relocation of Adelaide's railway workshops to Islington in 1891 and the opening of Holdens Motor Body Builders factory at Woodville in 1923. <sup>4</sup> By the 1920s, the 'Adelaide-Port Adelaide axis [was] the focus of South Australian secondary industry' and manufacturing employment (Donovan, 1979: 61).<sup>5</sup>



**Table 4.1: A Brief Chronology of Industry Development in Adelaide, 1836 to 1935**

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1836 - 1859: | Brewing & Maltsters<br>Flour Milling<br>Lumber & Saw Milling<br>Mattress & Furniture Manufacture<br>Chaff Milling<br>Blacksmiths & Wheelwrights<br>Harness & Saddlery Making<br>Printing & Publishing<br>Slaughtering & Abattoirs<br>Dairying & Food Products<br>Brass & Iron Foundries<br>Tanneries & Soap Making<br>Glass & Bottle Manufacture<br>Brick Making & Construction |
| 1860 - 1889: | Textiles & Weaving<br>Stone Cutting<br>Machine Tools<br>Carriage & Coach Building   |
| 1890 - 1909: | Rail & Engineering Workshops<br>Agricultural Implements<br>Sugar Refining<br>Electric Light Works   |
| 1910 - 1935: | Alkali and Salt Manufacture<br>Wool Milling<br>Galvanising Foundries<br>Appliances & Household Items<br>Shipbuilding & Repairs<br>Cement Making<br>Motor Body Building  |

**Source:** Richards, 1975; Donovan, 1979; Lewis, 1985; Marsden, 1977; Mitchell, 1962; S.A. Year Book, 1994.

**Table 4.2: Number of Manufactories and Employers in South Australia, 1915-1935**

| Year | No. of Factories | Total Employees |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1915 | 1,934            | 17,204          |
| 1920 | 1,960            | 20,336          |
| 1925 | 2,136            | 27,838          |
| 1930 | 1,978            | 17,621          |
| 1935 | 2,036            | 28,054          |

**Source:** Donovan, 1979: 76

#### 4.2.2 Re-evaluation: 1931-1937

The impact of the 1930s Depression, particularly the rapid downturn in commodity prices and a spiralling unemployment rate (eg. 23.8% in the 1933 Census), prompted a re-evaluation of government policy towards secondary industry and the risks of a state economy based, in large part, on the export income associated with the production and export of various mineral, agricultural and pastoral products.<sup>6</sup> The South Australian Government, through the support of a select group of businessmen, union leaders, politicians and public servants had, by the late 1930s, largely accepted the social and economic necessity of implementing a state sponsored industrialisation strategy. This strategy was briefly outlined by the State's Auditor-General, J. W. "Bill" Wainwright, in his first report to the South Australian Parliament in 1935. Wainwright recognised that,

the objective of public policy in the past has been most concerned with the developing of the primary industries. These industries do not now offer much inducement for further extension, and South Australia must in the future have as the objective of her policy a greater development of secondary industries and less dependence upon exported primary products.<sup>7</sup>

Although the shift towards secondary industry was a general *recognition* of South Australia's dependence on primary production and allied industries, Wainwright expanded his own analysis to include the problems of small business and their lack of development capital, the supportive role of service industries and the need for industrial research in a *balanced economy* (Connell & Irving, 1992: 447-448). In addition, there was also the immediate problem of accommodating or reabsorbing a significant number of agricultural workers displaced by the vagaries of climate, depression, mechanisation and better farming practices (Mitchell, 1962).

However the *specific* catalyst for change, aside from Wainwright's observations, was the possibility of General Motors-Holden (GM-H) closing their South Australian plant, based in Woodville, in 1935.<sup>8</sup> The company, in its submission to the State Government, claimed that the level of business taxes and charges in South Australia were not only higher than other states but represented a significant cost disadvantage.<sup>9</sup> The State Government, having being

caught by surprise, was unsure of how to respond to the company's request. General Motors, unimpressed with the State Government's hesitation, reaffirmed their intention to move by purchasing 100 acres of land at Fishermans Bend, near Melbourne, in May 1935. The State Government, having been publicly admonished for its inattentiveness, began to realise the potential vulnerability and fragility of the state's industrial base.<sup>10</sup> The loss of the Woodville plant, which had become the economic linchpin of the state's economy and its largest single factory, could have seriously undermined the state's ability to attract outside investment or provide alternative factory employment for the workers displaced - 1 100 of whom lived and worked in the Woodville area (Marsden, 1977a: 200-202). The local community was, understandably, in a state of 'profound shock'. Not surprisingly, the Woodville Council hastened to add that any relocation,

would be a dreadful blow, not only to Woodville and Adelaide but the whole state. Few people realise the number of subsidiary industries that have grown up around the plant ... [and] ... If this industry goes, the state will be crippled for decades. We have no other secondary industry to take its place.<sup>11</sup>

The State Government, having been made aware of the economic and political realities of a potential closure, had little choice but to address the company's claims. To that end, a report was commissioned into the Motor Body Building Industry in South Australia. Wainwright's report, while emphasising the importance of the industry to South Australia's economy, also recommended the implementation of a more comprehensive strategy to: reduce the general level of business costs; actively promote the state's advantages (ie fewer industrial disputes, climate, lower costs of living etc...); and provide a range of incentives to attract interstate and overseas investment. The General Motors episode, while providing a future insight into problems of competitiveness and capital mobility, 'brought home the role industry could play in the economy and employment' (Marsden, 1977a: 201). The government realised, if somewhat belatedly, that South Australia could ill afford to lose its only significant manufacturer, an important source of employment (eg 10 000 jobs) and a yearly contribution of nearly £500 000 to the state's revenue base (Mitchell, 1962).<sup>12</sup> However for the people of Woodville, and the State as a whole, the behaviour of General Motors had shown that investment decisions, as with corporate fidelity, could no longer be taken for granted - either now or in the future.

The public re-evaluation of secondary industry, and its relative importance, prompted a change in state government priorities towards the attraction (and retention) of industry, particularly larger and more technologically advanced firms to South Australia. As Wanna (1981) notes,

This change centred on: tariff protection for manufacturing in its own right, attracting and indeed 'capturing' foreign capital investment, committing substantial amounts of state revenue to the establishment of infrastructural provisions to overcome locational handicaps, and reducing company taxation, state taxes, and state service charges.<sup>13</sup>

Not surprisingly, a potential problem with this strategy, though largely unrealised at the time, was the absence of any performance related criteria (in respect to inward investment) or a specific blueprint to determine which industries should be nurtured or how their performance should be monitored over the longer term. For the moment, however, the state needed a leader and salesman who could both accelerate the industrialisation process and promote the economic and lifestyle advantages of 'doing business' in South Australia.

#### 4.2.3 Consolidation: 1938-1945

Sir Thomas Playford, the state's longest serving Premier, was elected to office (upon the resignation of Sir Richard Butler) in 1938. His abilities, though recognised on the Western Front, and later in the orchards of Norton Summit, were largely untested in the corridors of power along North Terrace. However South Australia, still emerging from the depths of the Great Depression, and yet to experience the sobering reality of another World War, elected and then re-elected his Government over a period of twenty seven years. By 1965, and having presided over a remarkable and unbroken period of economic prosperity, many South Australians came to view Playford (and the Government he led so effectively) as the principal architect and driving force behind the state's post-war transformation. While there can be little doubt as to the effectiveness and pragmatism of his leadership style (Cockburn, 1991), criticism of the Playford 'legend' - specifically who or what was responsible for the state's industrial development - was always going to evoke serious and impassioned debate.

Firstly, as other authors have correctly observed, the importance of secondary industry to South Australia's economy was recognised, and its development promoted, by a select group of bureaucrats, politicians and businessmen - well before Playford became Premier in 1938 (Mitchell, 1962; Jaensch, 1986; Stutchbury, 1986; Howell, 1988). This group comprised: Bill Wainwright; Edward Holden; Horace Hogben; and Sir Richard Butler. From the beginning, these men were important co-sponsors of the state's industrialisation strategy, and helped in the establishment of the state's pre-eminent economic development authorities: the South Australian Housing Trust (1936); and the Industries Assistance Corporation (1937) (Mitchell, 1962; Jaensch, 1986; Marsden, 1986; Howell, 1988; Stretton, 1993). In contrast, Playford was initially opposed to the formation of the Housing Trust, and voted against the Bill in the House of Assembly.

Secondly, the state's historical and statistical records do not conclusively support the mythology of the 'Playford legend' (Donovan, 1979) - most notably Stutchbury's analysis, which compared the relative rates of economic growth within each of the seven Australian states. It was found that 'in the post-war period, South Australian growth in this area is good .... but not extraordinary' [as] 'the state's performance [was] always within the order of magnitude achieved by the other states' (Stutchbury, 1986: 74,80). Given this evidence, it was the *consolidation* of manufacturing activity and investment, and not its absence, which characterised the period after 1938. The difference being, that in the early period of settlement the state's secondary industry 'existed in a service or ancillary capacity to the primary sector of the economy', whereas the post-war period 'offered the opportunity for industrial development, qualitatively different from the infant origins of industry' (Richards, 1975: 132-133).

As a result, one of Playford's first priorities was to support local manufacturers and to attract interstate and overseas investment by providing a range of concessions to industry (eg reduction of energy, housing, land and water costs), and the further development of the state's road, rail and port infrastructure - particularly the development of a local steel industry and the concept of a more *balanced economy* (Cockburn, 1991). The two most celebrated examples of Playford's pragmatic and unorthodox style, were the attraction and establishment of British Tube Mills and ACTIL Ltd (Australian Cotton Textile Industries - a subsidiary of English Calico Ltd) at Kilburn and Woodville (respectively).

A number of British firms had, by the late 1930s, decided that for strategic reasons part of their productive assets should be relocated to 'less threatened parts of the empire' (Cockburn, 1991: 85). Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, British Tube Mills, a steel tubing manufacturer, and English Calico Ltd, a Birmingham based textile manufacturer, each sent representatives to examine the feasibility of establishing factories in Australia. Playford, not to be outmanoeuvred by the eastern states, successfully advocated the advantages (eg lower wages, cheaper land etc..) of 'doing business' in South Australia by offering a superior package of incentives. For British Tube Mills, these included: cheap land at Kilburn, and various 'infrastructural facilities such as roads, water, electricity and housing on extremely attractive terms' (Cockburn, 1991: 85).<sup>14</sup>

In contrast, English Calico initially reneged on its agreement, and placed all of its equipment in storage at Thebarton. However in 1941, and after an attempt to remove the equipment to a Bradford's mill in Sydney, Playford was able to convince an English Calico executive that he could not only provide the land, but the building materials, the connecting infrastructure, a water filtration plant and the engineers to reassemble the machinery - and all at no cost to the company (Miles, 1969: 141-141; Cockburn, 1991: 88-90). Just six weeks later, the ACTIL factory had been established on a thirty-three acre site opposite GM-H at Woodville, with the first cotton yarn being spun on the 26 February 1942. Edward Holden, remarking on Playford's success, stated that:

Never in my experience have I seen such cooperation. But for the Premier's unorthodox and forthright methods we would not have got this industry in South Australia.<sup>15</sup>

Although these events, along with the earlier attraction of British Tube Mills, gave weight to the 'Playford Legend' they could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of the South Australian Chamber's of Commerce and Manufacturers and the State Public Service who had helped to locate the land, provide the building materials, re-direct the labour, and build the pipeline and filtration plant. The nature of these concessions, given to British Tube Mills and ACTIL Ltd, clearly demonstrate the extent to which Playford and his government perceived the importance of their industrialisation strategy.<sup>16</sup> Despite these efforts, it was not until the outbreak of hostilities in Europe and the Pacific (Second World War, 1939-45) that the Playford Government, in a period of social and economic reorganisation, was given the opportunity to accelerate its own industrialisation program.

After the declaration of war, and given the limited capacity of (peacetime) munitions manufacture, the Federal Government was faced with the task of establishing large scale production complexes - not only in meeting the demands of modern warfare, but whose facilities were sufficiently removed or decentralised from the possibility of air attack. In 1940 the Commonwealth Department of Munitions was established, specifically, to administer the production of munitions (and aircraft) throughout Australia. In each state, Boards of Area Management were established, with each being responsible for 'supervising the carrying out of the munitions production program allotted to a state, and for coordinating the State productive effort' (Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, 1944/45). As a result, and given the relative isolation of South Australia, three large munitions factories were established at Penfield, Hendon and Finsbury in Adelaide's northern and north-western suburbs.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of the war, South Australia had successfully 'captured' around £12.6m or 23% of Commonwealth expenditure on war-related munitions facilities (Table 4.3). The resources which were directed to these industries, namely the extension of local infrastructure (eg. the extension of rail, road, water and electricity connections), the construction of modern buildings, the provision of equipment and the application of the latest technologies, would help in the attraction of new industries and their expansion during the post-war period (Sheridan, 1986). Miles (1969) notes that,

The significance of the Commonwealth war factories ... [was] incalculable. They represented enormous capital outlay. Industry, transport and the state generally benefited from this. They employed thousands of men and women. They helped to develop new fields of experience in factory management and the techniques of quality production. But much more importantly, they furnished the actual nucleus of major post-war industrial undertakings.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, the National Security Act (1939) and its regulation of price and rent controls, provided Playford with a powerful instrument in regulating the distribution of scarce resources and (in the future) as an economic device in lowering the state's cost structure(s). It was to be these policies, in combination with the strategic benefits of physical isolation and munitions manufacture, that would provide the foundations of post-war development and, more importantly, define the future functional and economic role of the *Parks* area.

**Table 4.3: Peak Capital Valuations - Munitions Factories & Establishments  
Australia (to 30 June, 1945)**

| State             | Land            | Buildings<br>and Works | Plant and<br>Equipment | Total              | Population<br>(1947) # | Per Capita<br>Value |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| New South Wales   | £129333         | £11,542,518            | £8,619,072             | £20,290,923        | 2,985,464              | 6.8                 |
| Victoria          | £136,477        | £6,185,226             | £11,669,950            | £17,991,653        | 2,055,252              | 8.8                 |
| Queensland        | £6,975          | £789,647               | £1,117,152             | £1,913,774         | 1,106,269              | 1.7                 |
| South Australia   | £110,712        | £7,007,084             | £5,528,590             | £12,646,386        | 646,216                | 19.6                |
| Western Australia | £9,679          | £339,721               | £441,244               | £790,644           | 502,731                | 1.6                 |
| Tasmania          | £9,834          | £378,625               | £595,997               | £984,456           | 257,117                | 3.8                 |
| <b>Australia</b>  | <b>£273,677</b> | <b>£26,242,821</b>     | <b>£27,972,005</b>     | <b>£54,617,836</b> | <b>7,580,820</b>       | <b>7.2</b>          |

**Table 4.4: Peak Capital Valuations - South Australia (to 30th June, 1945)**

| Establishment               | Land               | Buildings<br>and Works | Plant and<br>Equipment | Total                 |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Ammunition Factories</b> |                    |                        |                        |                       |
| - Finsbury                  | £22,023.00         | £1,026,148.00          | £2,660,953.00          | £3,709,124.00         |
| - Hendon                    | £5,126.00          | £267,157.00            | £461,180.00            | £733,463.00           |
| - Country S.A.*             |                    | £54,578.00             | £272,576.00            | £327,154.00           |
| <b>Filling Factories</b>    |                    |                        |                        |                       |
| - Salisbury                 | £49,932.00         | £5,071,464.00          | £2,069,219.00          | £7,190,615.00         |
| Stores & Transport          | £33,631.00         | £587,737.00            | £64,662.00             | £686,030.00           |
| <b>Sub-Total (S.A.)</b>     | <b>£110,712.00</b> | <b>£7,007,084.00</b>   | <b>£5,528,590.00</b>   | <b>£12,646,386.00</b> |

**Table 4.5: Employment - Munitions Factories and Establishments \*\*  
South Australia (to 30th June 1945)**

| Establishment               | 1940 | 1941         | 1942          | 1943          | 1944         | 1945         |
|-----------------------------|------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Ammunition Factories</b> |      |              |               |               |              |              |
| - Finsbury                  |      | 826          | 5,346         | 2,792         | 1,614        | 1,395        |
| - Hendon                    |      | 2,003        | 2,712         | 2,501         | 1,195        | 557          |
| - Country SA                |      |              |               | 318           | 409          | 186          |
| Filling Factories           |      |              | 2,781         | 5,011         | 2,191        | 1,819        |
| Stores & Transport          |      | 33           | 286           | 528           | 527          | 395          |
| <b>Sub-Total (S.A.)</b>     |      | <b>2,862</b> | <b>11,125</b> | <b>11,150</b> | <b>5,936</b> | <b>4,352</b> |

**Notes:** In terms of munitions and small arms production, 'government factories were the sole producers .. and the sole units engaged in the filling and assembly of gun ammunition.' By 1943, the principal ammunition and filling factories in South Australia were in full production, yet it was soon discovered that the manufacturing capacity which had been developed was far greater than could ever realistically be used. By 1944, employment levels had decreased rapidly, while in the following year materials and manpower, previously under the control of the Department of Munitions, reverted to civilian use.

\*=Smaller factories were established at Port Pirie, Clare, Kapunda, Mount Gambier and Murray Bridge.

\*\* = Includes Administrative Staff.

# = Figures used are from the Australian Census, 30th June 1947. The last census year was in 1933.

**Source:** Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics (1944/45) *Official Year Book of Australia* No.36 - 1944/45: 1037-1073 and Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics (1946/47) *Official Year Book of Australia* No.37 - 1946/47: 703 Commonwealth of Australia Canberra.



### 4.3 Expansion & Change: 1945-1995

The north-western suburbs, particularly in the years following the Second World War, became the economic and industrial bell-wether of the state's industrialisation program. In terms of the expansion of secondary industry, the area's industrial development can be traced through the economic and employment fortunes of some its largest manufacturers; that is General Motors-Holden and ACTIL at Woodville, Philips at Hendon, John Shearer's at Kilkenny, AA Simpson & Sons at Dudley Park, Pope Industries at Beverley, British Tube Mills at Kilburn, the South Australian Railway Workshops at Islington, and the Finsbury Industrial Estate at Woodville North. For the purposes of this thesis, and by way of illustration, the Finsbury Industrial Estate will be used as a case-study to highlight both the processes of initial development, government policy, industrial change and restructuring.

#### 4.3.1 The Finsbury Industrial Estate

##### (i) Background

During the Second World War, the Finsbury Industrial Estate was the site of a large munitions complex in the city's north-west and 'provided the first large scale impetus to urban development away from the Port line of development' (Marsden, 1977: 214). The Finsbury area (*Cheltenham Gardens, Woodville North*) proved to be an ideal location for munitions manufacture, as it was established in an area that was relatively flat and underpopulated, but not too isolated as to prevent the extension of local services or infrastructure connections. At its peak, Finsbury employed 5,300 workers - almost one half of all munitions workers in South Australia - and comprised fifty modern, well equipped buildings. However by 1944 employment levels had decreased rapidly, as a miscalculation by the Federal Government had produced a munitions capacity that quickly surpassed the requirements of the armed forces - even in a period of total war (Table 4.5). As a result, and following the scaling down of munitions manufacture, it became apparent that the legacy of skills and production technologies utilised in the manufacture of armaments and munitions could be transferred to civilian use. Sir John Jensen, permanent head of the Commonwealth Department of Munitions, and J.W. Wainwright, South Australia's Auditor General, turned their attention to this issue -

namely the future role of munitions facilities in the post-war period. As Colin Branson explains,

Protocol required that official communications were through the Heads of Governments – Ben Chifley as Prime Minister and Thomas Playford as Premier of South Australia. The Commonwealth, most likely at the suggestion of Sir John Jensen, set up a Secondary Industries Commission and requested the States to establish groups which would work directly with the Head of its Commission. In South Australia the S.A. Industries Advisory Committee was formed with J.W. Wainwright as Chairman, two representatives of the S.A. Chamber of Manufacturers, Messrs. William Queale and Ron Michell and two from the Adelaide Chamber of Commerce, Messrs. Roland Jacobs and Moxon Simpson. The first meeting was held in August 1944 with Colin Branson, one of the Auditor General's staff, acting as Secretary. The Chifley Government assigned the role of disposing of surplus munition factories to its Secondary Industries Commission which used the State Committees ... to act on its behalf in the respective states. The Playford Government was keen to use the incentive of existing factory buildings to attract new industries to South Australia, so as to maintain the high level of employment when war factories were closing down and the military forces were returning their personnel to peacetime activity.<sup>19</sup>

As related in *A Richness of People* (1969), the Finsbury complex 'was found to be an ideal site for the hub of a peacetime manufacturing district [as it] covered more than 100 acres, with ample room for expansion' (Plate 4.1 & 4.2). Finsbury was also served by its own branch line (with 8-10 peak hour services per day) linking both Woodville and Osborne, and whose buildings, service connections and equipment were valued at more than £3.7m in June 1945 (Table 4.4). More importantly, its buildings, which included numerous case factory's, rolling mills, tool rooms, foundries, storage and administration areas, could be easily subdivided to meet the needs of modern industry (Figure 4.1). The South Australian Government, through the negotiating efforts of its Industrial Advisory Committee, was also able to secure a considerable reduction to the leasehold fee.<sup>20</sup> By reducing these charges, and in combination with the State's other cost advantages, it proved to be a significant incentive for companies - not only as a foil to interstate alternatives, but considerably offsetting the higher transport costs which businesses incurred by establishing a factory in South Australia.

In August 1946, the Finsbury site was leased and its factory space subdivided between a variety of manufacturers and government agencies. Although some of these companies were new to South Australia (eg W Watson & Sons, Tecalemit, Vactric Electrical Industries) or Australia (eg. Rubery, Owen & Co.), the majority of firms were either expanding (eg

**Plate 4.1:** Finsbury Munitions Complex - 1942



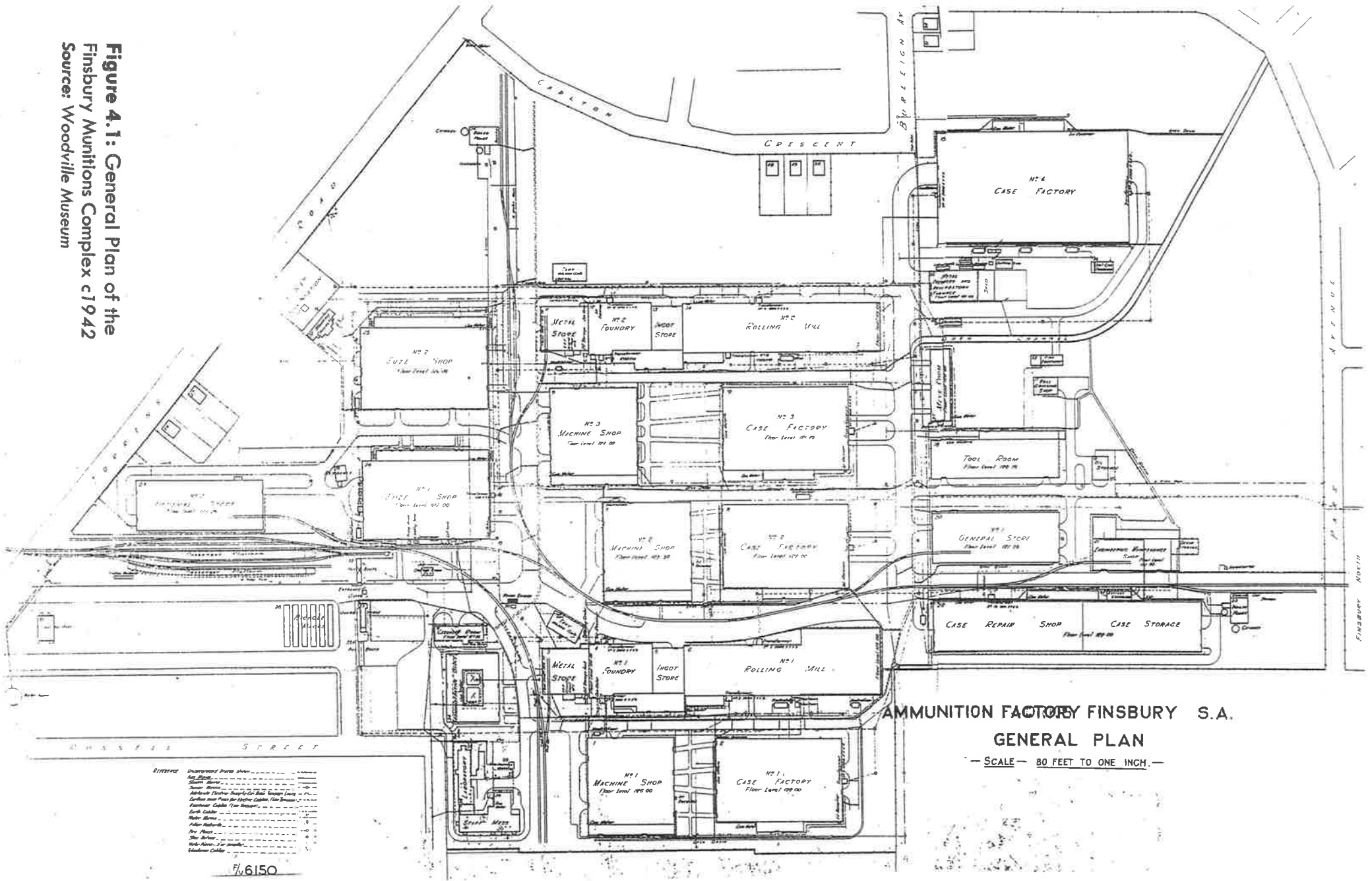
Administration Block (centre), Finsbury Munitions Complex c1942  
Cheltenham Racecourse & Torrens Road in background.  
**Source:** *Woodville Museum*

**Plate 4.2:** Finsbury Munitions Complex - 1947



Vactric Electrical and Pope Products (foreground), Finsbury 1947.  
The present day suburb of Athol Park remains undeveloped (background).  
**Source:** *A Richness of People* (1969)

**Figure 4.1: General Plan of the Finsbury Munitions Complex c1942**  
 Source: Woodville Museum



AMMUNITION FACTORY FINSBURY S.A.

GENERAL PLAN

— SCALE — 80 FEET TO ONE INCH. —

Kelvinator Ltd, Pope Industries, Richards Industries) or relocating (eg. APAC Industries, SA Enamels) within the Adelaide metropolitan area (*Advertiser* 18 April; 19 August, 1946). One of the first companies to move into Finsbury was Tecalemit, a Victorian based company, which was looking to consolidate and expand its operations. Of the other companies, Pope Ltd transferred its diecasting plant from Beverley, Richards Industries moved its aircraft frame plant from Mile End and Rubery, Owen and Kemsley (ROK) <sup>21</sup> established an automotive accessories plant.

In terms of industry development and employment generation, the Finsbury Industrial Estate (along with Philips at Hendon, and the Weapons Research Establishment at Penfield) was a major component of the State's post-war industrialisation strategy. By the 1950s, these companies, in conjunction with GM-H Woodville, British Tube Mills and ACTIL Ltd, were in an excellent position to capitalise on the rising level of (latent) consumer demand, the economic miracle of 'full employment' and the supplementary benefits arising from the Federal Government's post-war reconstruction program. The following case studies will follow the varying economic and employment fortunes of several companies and government organisations, based at Finsbury, during the post-war period (Table 4.6).

*(ii) Tecalemit (A/Asia) Pty Ltd* <sup>22</sup>

In 1942, the Commonwealth Government extended an invitation to Tecalemit,<sup>23</sup> a British firm, to manufacture grease guns and lubrication equipment for the Department of Defence. After the war, and given the demand for automotive components (with the development of the 'Australian Car'), the company was looking for a more suitable site to expand its operations - which could not be satisfied by its smaller factory in North Melbourne. The South Australian Government, with the help of the Commonwealth Secondary Industries Commission, was in an excellent position to capitalise on Tecalemit's concerns, through the active promotion of its former munitions complexes.

Brigadier Arthur Sewell, Tecalemit's new Managing Director, travelled to Adelaide to meet with Colin Branson, then Secretary of the S.A. Industrial Advisory Committee. After visiting

**Table 4.6: The Finsbury Industrial Estate (1946-1995)***Register of Major Companies*

| Company Name  | Products   | Origin  |
|---|--|---|
| Appliances Ltd *  | Washing Machines,<br>"Dominion" Refrigerators  | Established: (1946) - South Australia.<br>Subsidiary of Kelvinator Ltd, and<br>absorbed by that company in 1952.  |
| Automotive Parts and Accessories<br>Company (APAC Industries) | Materials Handling Equipment,<br>Hydraulic & Mechanical Jacks,<br>Air Filtration Equipment, Engine<br>Protection Equipment.                                  | Established: 1923 (1946) - South Australia<br>Sold to Clyde Industries (NSW)<br>in 1953 (Known as Clyde-Apac) . In 1996,<br>Clyde Industries merges with EDI. |
| Brooker J., & Sons *  | Preserves, Canned Fruit & Vegetables,<br>Condiments.   | Established: (1951) - South Australia<br>Sold to Jon Preserving Co. in 1964.<br>Closed in 1980.   |
| Fibreboard Containers Pty Ltd                                 | Corrugated & Solid Fibre Cartons   | Established: (1946) - South Australia<br>Sold to James Hardie Packaging in<br>1981, then to AMCOR in 1986.  |
| Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd  | Refrigerators, Freezers, Kitchen<br>Exhaust Systems, Room & Commercial<br>Air-conditioners, Wayne Petrol<br>Pumps (assembly).                                | Established: 1933 (1947) - South Australia<br>Sold to Email Ltd (NSW) in 1980.  |
| Pope Products Ltd   | Diecasting, Electric Motors,<br>Irrigation Equipment, Lawnmowers,<br>Wringer Washers, Waste Disposal<br>Units, Servicing & Spare parts,<br>Air-conditioners. | Established: 1925 (1946) - South Australia<br>Merged with AA Simpson & Sons<br>in 1963 (Known as Simpson-Pope Ltd) .<br>Sold to Email Ltd (NSW) in 1986.      |
| Porcelain Enamels *   | Bathroom Accessories   | Established: (1947) - South Australia<br>Subsidiary of Richards Industries Ltd.<br>Closed in 1949.  |
| Richards Industries Ltd *                                     | Aircraft Construction, Inboard &<br>Outboard Marine Engines, Light<br>Trucks & Commercial vehicles,<br>Air-conditioners.                                     | Established: 1885 (1946) - South Australia<br>Sold to Chrysler Corporation (USA)<br>in 1947. Closed in 1979.  |
| Rubery, Owen & Kemsley Pty Ltd                                | Brake Drums, Steel & Alloy Wheels,<br>Earthmoving Equipment, Steel<br>Shelving, Containers, Mag Wheels.  | Established: 1884 (1947) - United Kingdom<br>Sold to the Arrowcrest Group (S.A.)<br>in 1986. (Known as ROH)   |
| S.A. Enamels Ltd *  | Vitrified Enamelled Baths  | Established: (1947) - South Australia   |
| Steel Improvement (S.A.) Pty Ltd                              | Industrial Oils & Lubricants, Oil<br>Reclamation & Heat Treatment<br>Service, Filtration Units.  | Established: 1910 (1946) - South Australia<br>Sold to Steel Improvement Holdings<br>Pty Ltd (NSW)   |
| Steel Pressings Ltd *   | Automotive components, pressed<br>body & truck panels.   | Established: (1952) - United States<br>Subsidiary of Chrysler Corporation.<br>Closed in 1979.   |

**Table: 4.6 (cont..)**

| Company Name                            | Products  | Origin   |
|---|---|--|
| Tecalemit (Aust.) Pty Ltd               | Grease Guns & Nipples, Oil & Grease Pumps, Plastic Tubing, Bicycle valves, Brake & Power Steering Lines, Pressure Gauges, Mobile Servicing Units, Air & Oil Filters, Prefabricated Homes. | Established: (1946) - United Kingdom<br>Sold to SIBE plc (1983). |
| Vactric Electrical Appliances Pty Ltd * | Vacuum Cleaners, Fractional Horsepower Motors, Electric Irons, Spray Units.   | Established: (1946) - United Kingdom<br>Closed in 1955.          |
| Watson W., & Sons *                     | Medical Equipment   | Established: (1948) - Victoria                                   |

*Other companies / organisations involved at Finsbury:*

|   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Adelaide Fibre Box Company *                  | Finsbury Engineers Pty Ltd *        |
| Advertiser General Printing Plant *           | Finsbury Post Office *              |
| Army Inspection Service *                     | Finsbury Press *                    |
| Atom Distributing Company *                   | Fruehauf Trailers (Aust.) Pty Ltd * |
| Austral Mack Ltd *                            | Genie Headers & Mufflers            |
| Bank of New South Wales *                     | Gibb, Sir Alexander & Partners *    |
| Barringup Pty Ltd                             | Griffen Press *                     |
| Birrell, M.K. & Co. *                         | Harpenden Pty Ltd                   |
| Castor & Conveyor Ltd *                       | Harris E.C., & Partners *           |
| CJ Engineering *                              | Lawrences Ltd *                     |
| Cleaners Ltd *                                | Leach G., Printers *                |
| Commonwealth Government                       | Lemco Engineering Pty Ltd *         |
| - Commonwealth Rolling Mill *                 | Multiboard Packaging Pty Ltd *      |
| - Department of Administrative Services       | Nile Flite Properties Ltd           |
| - Department of Supply (Works & Housing) *    | Personnel Administration (SA) PL *  |
| - Department of Supply (Stores & Transport) * | Polythene Bags & Covers *           |
| - Finsbury Ammunition Factory *               | Riverwood Cartons                   |
| Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme*  | S.A. Paper Bag Company *            |
| - SA Education Department *                   | Schultz & Hill Ltd *                |
| - Architect-in-Chiefs Department *            | Shahin Corporation                  |
| - Public Buildings Department *               | Sharrad H.J.H., (Storekeeper) *     |
| Commonwealth Savings Bank Agency *            | Smith A.A. Engineers *              |
| Croda Paints                                  | Steiger (Aust.) Pty Ltd *           |
| Defence Standards Laboratory *                | Tantulum Industries *               |
| - Defence Research Laboratory *               | Texas Instruments *                 |
| - CSIRO                                       | Visy Interpak Ltd *                 |
| Denton C.H., Engineers *                      | Wonder E.M., Dr *                   |
| Dorman R.V., & Co. *                          | Wright, Norman Ltd *                |
| Express Freight Pty Ltd *                     |                                     |

Notes: \* = Company / Organisation has since left Finsbury.  
(-) = Year of arrival at Finsbury.

Sources: Sands & McDougall Business Directories (1948-1973), Marsden S., (1977) History of Woodville; South Australian Department of Lands (Titles Office); Paul Kyriakou; Personal interviews & correspondence.

Finsbury, and having been suitably impressed with its range of facilities, he was able to recommend the complex to Tecalemit's Board of Directors.<sup>24</sup> In addition, a range of incentives was also provided, which included: lower rental, power and water charges; Housing Trust homes for its senior executives; and access to shared office and canteen facilities.

Tecalemit moved into the No.2 Machine Shop (BN:7), the No.2 Case Factory (BN:8) and the former Administration Block (BN:34) in 1946/47. During its time at Finsbury, the company, has produced a wide variety of manual grease guns, grease nipples, mechanically and electrically controlled lubrication devices, self-greasing systems for trucks and buses (eg XGS system), automotive components (eg air & oil filters, tyre & bicycle valves, gauges, air conditioning & power steering lines) and servicing equipment (eg wheel balancing equipment, hydraulic hoists).<sup>25</sup> For a short period, the company also built a number of timber framed, pre-fabricated homes and experimented with a plastic extrusion process, which resulted in limited orders for specialist products - usually with much finer tolerances (eg devices to measure the stress in dam walls, artificial insemination tubes).

However due to the nature of the product, and the limited market, this venture was not considered to be commercially viable. As a result, the majority of Tecalemit's work is based on the process of converting bars of steel, utilising specialist thread cutting equipment, into grease nipples and valves of various sizes and/or specifications. The factory, though well suited to production purposes, was gradually modified for more sophisticated and automated machines, although its product range continues to be designed overseas, manufactured under license and marketed within Australia and New Zealand.<sup>26</sup>

At the moment, and given these developments, the company continues to manufacture automotive componentry for each of the large car companies - Ford, General Motors-Holden and Mitsubishi (eg hydraulic, brake and air conditioning hoses & fuel injection lines). However the demands of modern manufacture, particularly tighter quality controls, smaller margins and just-in-time production methods, have required a greater emphasis be given to re-training, skill development and technical proficiency - not only to retain existing contracts, but to remain internationally competitive. In terms of employment, Tecalemit maintained a workforce of between 150 and 200 workers during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>27</sup>



By 1995, Tecalemit's workforce had gradually increased to a total of 230 workers. In 1983, the Tecalemit group of companies was acquired by SIEBE-plc, Britain's largest diversified engineering Group, which comprises 120 companies based across six continents, with over 30 000 employees and annual revenues of US\$3 billion. The Tecalemit Group is now a part of the SIEBE Diversified Products Division, and 'is a world leader in the production of specialty engineered fluid handling and automotive garage and repair shop equipment' (SIEBE Environmental Controls, 1996:3).

(iii) *Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd; Appliances Ltd; Email Ltd - Finsbury* <sup>28</sup>

Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd was a South Australian company, founded by William Queale in 1933. After the war, the company expanded its operations by transferring part of its productive capacity to Finsbury in 1946-47. Prior to that time, Kelvinator's South Australian operations had been based at Keswick. Following this reorganisation, the Finsbury plant was responsible for the manufacture of refrigerators, freezers, cisterns (eg 'Kelvinware'), room and commercial air-conditioners, and a variety of water and beverage coolers (eg 'Temprite'). The Keswick plant, which retained responsibility for the manufacture of refrigerator compressors and fuel pumps, also served as the company's Australian headquarters.<sup>29</sup>

Kelvinator's plant at Finsbury comprised the following buildings: the No. 1 Machine Shop (BN:1)<sup>30</sup>, the No.1 Case Factory (BN:2), the No.1 General Store (BN:20), the Tool Room (BN:18) and the Mess Room (BN: 37).<sup>31</sup> During the 1950s, three additional plants were built on the eastern side of Finsbury. The first of these, a dedicated refrigerator plant, was built during the mid-1950s and contained a modern electrostatic paint-shop. This factory, while producing the "Kelvinator" brand, also manufactured a *second* line of products - in this instance refrigerators for Leonard and HMV.<sup>32</sup> The second plant, which became known as the Kelvinator Plastics Division, was responsible for the production of foam insulation and plastic linings. The third plant, which was responsible for Kelvinator's expanding room air conditioner business, was built in 1956. In addition, a specialist laboratory and product testing service was also established at Finsbury.

By the early 1970s, Kelvinator's work force had reached 2 500 - which included a number of sales and service centres interstate (Sydney 200, Melbourne 150; Brisbane 100) and its two factories in South Australia (Keswick 600, Finsbury 1200). However for South

Australia's whitegoods manufacturers (eg Simpson-Pope, Lightburn, Kelvinator and Wilkins Servis), that accounted for one quarter of Australia's domestic production, the 1970s represented a prolonged period of rationalisation. For instance: fewer products were being produced; popular brand names were being retired; common (and increasingly imported) componentry was being favoured over those parts previously manufactured locally; and, in a struggle for market share, an intense period of mergers and acquisitions had started.

By the late 1970s, Malley's had merged with Simpson-Pope, Rank with GEC, while Wilkins Servis had gone into receivership. In 1979, Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd was the subject of a successful takeover attempt by Email Ltd - a New South Wales based whitegoods manufacturer. Prior to that time, the production of rotors and stators (which had previously been manufactured at Finsbury) had ceased in favour of purchasing these components from Singapore.<sup>33</sup> The rationalisation of compressor manufacture, and the transfer of the larger, belt driven compressors to an interstate subsidiary (of Email Ltd.), saw the eventual closure of Keswick. With the cessation of manufacturing at Keswick, its remaining administrative functions were transferred to Finsbury - which allowed the Keswick property to be sold.

The Finsbury plant, as a result of these changes, continued to produce refrigerators, freezers and room air-conditioners.<sup>34</sup> In terms of employment, the period between January 1982 and March 1983 resulted in a loss of around 600 workers - largely due to the rationalisation of production and a major contraction in domestic sales. In 1989, and due to a further acquisition, a small kitchen exhaust systems business was acquired by Email Ltd and relocated to Finsbury. In June 1993, Email announced it would transfer its refrigerator production (previously based at Finsbury) to Orange, New South Wales. This decision, which was reported as a 'cost-cutting' exercise, was an element of Email's 'single product' plant policy.<sup>35</sup> In August 1994, the last 'Kelvinator' refrigerator was produced in Adelaide - with the loss of a further 200 jobs.<sup>36</sup> There are now 240 employees based at Finsbury, which manufactures kitchen exhaust systems and room air-conditioners.<sup>37</sup>

(iv) *Vactric Electrical Appliances Ltd - Finsbury* <sup>38</sup>

In 1946/47 Vactric Electrical Industries Ltd, a British company (based in Scotland), decided to establish a manufacturing plant in Australia. After arriving in Adelaide, the company moved into the No.2 Fuze Shop (BN:2) at Finsbury. However Vactric, which was a manufacturer of

electrical appliances (eg vacuum cleaners, irons and electric motors), various tools (eg spray guns) and household cleaning products (eg floor polish), was unable to commence production as originally anticipated - with its range of vacuum cleaners being fully imported and reassembled at Finsbury<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, these production difficulties were never fully resolved, as its range of upright vacuum cleaners and floor polishes continued to be fully imported throughout the 1950s. In addition, and given limited facilities, Pope Industries (which had also established a plant at Finsbury) was contracted to undertake a range of production tasks - including press and diecasting work.

At its peak, Vactric Electrical Industries Ltd employed around 150 workers at its Finsbury plant.<sup>40</sup> However in 1955, and at the direction of its parent company, the Finsbury plant was closed. While its leasehold agreement was transferred to Pope Industries, the company retained an office in the city (Flinders Street) which retained responsibility for servicing, marketing and distributing its products.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, this was to prove a temporary measure, as even its city office was closed, and its functions transferred to Sydney in 1960. Within fifteen years, the company had traversed a rather circuitous route: from importer, to local manufacturer and, with changing economic circumstances, an importer once again.<sup>42</sup> The ephemeral and contradictory nature of industrial development, even at the height of the 'long boom', was never more visibly portrayed than by Vactric Electricals experience at Finsbury.

(v) *Pope Industries Ltd, Simpson-Pope Ltd, Email Ltd - Finsbury* <sup>43</sup>

Pope Industries Ltd was a South Australian company founded by Sir Barton Pope in 1925. Originally known as the Pope Sprinkler and Irrigation Company, it was a relatively modest concern and occupied a small garage in Croydon in its formative years. However by the mid 1930s, the company had moved to a new factory in Beverley, and was soon manufacturing a large range of domestic appliances and irrigation equipment. During the Second World War, the company (along with other South Australian businesses) was involved in munitions and armaments manufacture and employed around 3 000 workers.

In 1947, the company established an additional plant in the Finsbury Industrial Estate and moved into the No.2 General Store (BN: 27)<sup>44</sup>, the No.1 Fuze Shop (BN: 26) and the No.2 Fuze Shop (BN: 25).<sup>45</sup> During the 1950s, the Finsbury plant was responsible for diecasting work<sup>46</sup>, electric motor production<sup>47</sup>, air-conditioners, wringer washers, irrigation equipment, research, servicing and spare parts.<sup>48</sup> At Finsbury, Pope Industries also manufactured a number of products for other companies - which included grease gun nozzles for Tecalemit, refrigerator parts for Kelvinator and vacuum cleaner components for Vactric.

In 1956, the Finsbury plant was expanded to manufacture a larger range of electric motors (ie up to 500hp) - while a West Australian company (Beaufort Engineering Pty Ltd) was acquired to manufacture compressors and a range of lawnmower engines.<sup>49</sup> At its peak, the company employed between 800-850 at Finsbury (ie. Wringer Washer - 150, Air-Conditioning / Warehousing section - 100, Machine Shop / Diecasting - 100, Electric Motors - 500), with the majority of Pope's workforce drawn from the local area - including a large number of migrants from the Pennington Hostel (to the immediate north of Finsbury). However in 1960, and after a period of unbroken sales records, Pope Ltd's TV business recorded a loss, while sales inventories were larger than expected.

The following year, and as a result of a Federal Government 'credit squeeze', Pope Ltd reported 'major losses and liquidity problems' towards the end of its three year expansion and diversification program. A rationalisation of inventories and products was initiated with the termination of electronics manufacture, while around 1000 employees were laid off. By 1962, staff numbers had stabilised at around 2500. In contrast, and coinciding with Pope Ltd's financial problems, AA Simpson & Sons were in a much stronger position to propose a merger.<sup>50</sup> The merger proceeded, and in 1963 Pope Industries Ltd and AA Simpson & Sons became known as Simpson-Pope Holdings Ltd.<sup>51</sup>

By 1964, a complete rationalisation had been undertaken of Pope Ltd's manufacturing capacity, with the air-conditioning section being transferred to Dudley Park, while Finsbury retained responsibility for electric motor production, wringer washers, spare parts and customer service.<sup>52</sup> In 1965, Simpson-Pope introduced a range of automatic (push-button) washing machines, and a 'Simpson' brand refrigerator - although this was discontinued in 1972.<sup>53</sup> Despite a 25% reduction in tariffs, employment stood at 3743 and total sales reached \$55 million (including \$1.3m in exports) in 1974. During the 1970s,

irrigation equipment (which had previously been manufactured at Finsbury) was transferred to Beverley, while Finsbury retained responsibility for electric motor and waste disposal production.<sup>54</sup>

In 1986, Simpson-Pope Ltd was acquired by Email Ltd, a New South Wales based electronics and whitegoods manufacturer. This resulted in a further rationalisation of production, with Simpson-Pope's air conditioning section being merged with Kelvinator's (at Woodville North), while its larger range of industrial motors was sold. The Finsbury plant was now responsible for the production of a smaller or more basic range of electric motors (including rotors and stators) - which have been specifically designed for Email's own range of electrical appliances and whitegoods.<sup>55</sup> Due to these changes, and improved production technologies, employment numbers have fallen to around 85 workers.<sup>56</sup>

In 1995, Email Ltd sold its interest in Pope Electric Motors to Ron Griffiths, where the focus shifted to expanding the company's overseas markets, diversifying its product base and exploring joint venture opportunities (eg. Thames Water) in the precision engineering, filtration and mining industries. In 1997, Perry Engineering (Mile End) was acquired from Boral Ltd (under a merger agreement), with both companies providing a solid domestic base (for export growth), a combined annual turnover of \$47m and 300 employees (*Advertiser* 22 January 1997: 38). However employment levels are not expected to increase significantly, while part of the Finsbury factory (considered surplus to requirements) has already been offered to alternative businesses under a commercial leasing arrangement (*Advertiser* 28 October 1998: 75).

(vi) *Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, Finsbury; S.A. Education Department (Building Division), Finsbury; Public Buildings Department, Pennington* <sup>57</sup>

The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme was established to provide a retraining and rehabilitation course for returned servicemen.<sup>58</sup> An intensive six month training course was offered, based on skilled trades and occupations (eg. painting, joinery, plumbing, carpentry, wood machinists etc). After the training period had finished, each of the participants were placed in the private sector (according to their trade) for between twelve and eighteen months experience. During this time, the government contributed towards their wages in the form of an employment subsidy.<sup>59</sup>

However towards the end of the scheme, several groups could not be placed in the private sector. These workers, and given the government's commitment to provide a period of work experience, were subsequently employed by the Education Department to manufacture and assemble pre-fabricated (timber framed) classrooms.<sup>60</sup> A short time later, a building was found in the former Finsbury Munitions complex in Woodville North (BN: 18 / Tool Room). This operation, which eventually came under the jurisdiction of the Architect-in-Chief's Department, moved to Pennington in 1952.<sup>61</sup> After a disastrous fire at the Keswick depot in the mid-1950s, the Maintenance Section temporarily joined the Construction and Joinery Division's at Pennington - until such time as new premises could be completed at Netley.<sup>62</sup>

The role of the Construction and Joinery Division's at Pennington, was primarily one of classroom pre-fabrication and construction. This was an important task, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s when there was a shortage of adequate classrooms and teaching facilities. By the mid 1960s, around 320 workers were based at Pennington. In addition, twenty three assembly gangs (made up of four outside carpenters and a foreman) and twenty on-site gangs (made up of three painters and a leading hand) travelled throughout the state and metropolitan area - undertaking construction work and final finishing.<sup>63</sup> The Construction division, while specialising in prefabricated timber framed classrooms, also built specialist teaching areas (ie craft, music and science rooms), libraries, shelter sheds and administration offices.<sup>64</sup>

During the 1960s the SAMCON (ie. SA Modular Construction) technique was adopted, particularly in the construction of complete schools.<sup>65</sup> Whilst the Joinery division comprised a timber mill, sheet metal, painting and joinery workshops, and specialised in individual or pre-fabricated components (eg windows, doors, cupboards). Although timber classrooms were gradually phased out, and new construction methods adopted, the Public Buildings Department was also involved in a number of other public sector projects.<sup>66</sup>

In the early 1960s, the Department's new depot was completed at Netley,<sup>67</sup> whereupon the Construction division was transferred, while the Joinery division remained at Pennington. During the 1970s, the Public Buildings Department and its successor, SACON, experienced a change of direction. Instead of competing with the private sector for larger and more expensive (construction) projects, the Department was reduced to a supporting role

- one of maintenance and minor renovations.<sup>68</sup> The culmination of these events, and following the election of the Tonkin Liberal Government, was the rationalisation of the Public Buildings Department, the transfer of the Joinery division to Netley and the closure of the Pennington depot. During the 1980s the former Pennington depot was used, alternatively, as a training area for fork lift and heavy vehicle drivers and as a temporary storage area for Grand Prix equipment. In the early 1990s, the area was demolished and has since been redeveloped for housing.<sup>69</sup>

*(vii) Department of Supply; Department of Supply, Housing and Transport; Department of Administrative Services - Finsbury / Finsbury Stores / Finsbury North. <sup>70</sup>*

The Commonwealth, through the Department of Munitions and then the Department of Supply, has maintained a continuous presence at Finsbury since 1941. After the termination of munitions manufacture in 1945, the Commonwealth decided to base its transport, repair, distribution, storage and warehousing services at Finsbury.<sup>71</sup> Immediately after the war, the Department of Supply moved into the storage section at Finsbury North and the No.1 Foundry (BN: 4), No.1 Rolling Mill (BN: 6), and its accompanying Ingot and Metals Stores (BN's: 3 & 5) within the former munitions complex.<sup>72</sup> By the late 1940s, the Department of Supply (Stores & Transport) had six major workshops, which were responsible for servicing, testing, modifying and repairing Commonwealth vehicles.<sup>73</sup>

Among its other responsibilities, the Department of Supply was also responsible for auctioning surplus or used vehicles, and providing a VIP fleet for royal occasions and state visits. In addition, the Department of Supply had an important logistical role with the Weapons Research Establishment (WRE) in projects such as the British Nuclear Tests at Maralinga and the Rocket Range at Woomera.<sup>74</sup> A variety of work was also undertaken for other Commonwealth, State Government (eg. E&WS, Education, Harbours Board) and private sector organisations.

During the 1950s, approximately 300 people were employed at the Finsbury Stores and Workshops, which included a substantial and on-going apprenticeship program. By the mid 1960s, the Department of Supply (in South Australia and the North Territory) comprised almost 1 000 workers in a variety of service, support and administrative positions (eg.

Finsbury - 500, Darwin - 100, Woomera - 300).<sup>75</sup> At Finsbury, the Commonwealth Fleet was in excess of 1 800 vehicles - including semi-trailers, light trucks, commercial and passenger vehicles.<sup>76</sup> However the 1970s, with the scaling down of Woomera and the onset of a national recession, brought with it a decline in employment and service responsibilities.

By the mid-1980s, the Department of Administrative Services (*formerly* the Department of Supply) embarked upon an extended period of commercialisation and rationalisation - whereupon each of its public sector enterprises were treated as 'commercial business units'.<sup>77</sup> The result, aside from an even larger reduction in employment numbers, has been the outsourcing of activities to the private sector (eg Auctioning) or, for its remaining functions, a process of relocation (eg COMCAR, DAS Fleet), centralisation (eg Personnel) or interstate transfer.

In 1995, employment numbers had fallen to fewer than 35, while Finsbury has retained only two of its former functions: Removals and Distribution. The Removals section arranges the removal and relocation of government equipment and furniture (which is handled by private contractors), while the Distribution section has responsibility for international and metropolitan freight services, warehousing and specialist waste removal.<sup>78</sup> Ironically, with the rapid reduction in employment numbers and service responsibilities, the problem of under-utilised assets was solved with the subdivision and sale of the Finsbury North storage depot.<sup>79</sup> In summary, the Department of Supply which had previously provided a 'whole of government service', has largely been reformed into separate 'cells' or operating units and its functions dispersed or sold - a process that has been accelerated under the current Howard Government.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, the 1996 Federal Budget outlined the final partition and sale of its Asset Services Division - whose 35 operational sites and 1 900 employees were to be permanently 'downsized' (*Sydney Morning Herald* 21 August 1996: 9). The Finsbury North depot has now been closed.

(viii) *Rubery Owen & Co Ltd; Rubery Owen & Kemsley (ROK); Rubery Owen Holdings Pty Ltd (ROH); Arrowcrest Group* <sup>81</sup>

In April 1946 Rubery Owen & Co. Ltd, a British based automotive components manufacturer, announced its intention to establish a plant at the former Finsbury Munitions complex in



Woodville North.<sup>82</sup> Its technical representative, Mr Frank Hambleton<sup>83</sup>, agreed to lease the No.2 Foundry (BN: 12), the No.2 Rolling Mill (BN: 14), and its accompanying Ingot and Metals Stores (BN's: 13 & 11).<sup>84</sup> Although production was still twelve to eighteen months away, Rubery Owen & Co (Aust.) Ltd planned to manufacture 'automotive components such as road wheels, chassis frames, axle casings and motor pressings .... in collaboration with the Australian motor car industry' (*Advertiser* 18 April, 1946: 1).<sup>85</sup> In the beginning, however, there were considerable difficulties in establishing the plant - such as a dedicated rim line and press shop - and obtaining suitable materials.<sup>86</sup>

Among its early achievements, the company produced the first steel wheels for both Holden and Chrysler in the late 1940s and 1950s (respectively).<sup>87</sup> During its time at Finsbury, ROH has also diversified into the manufacture of brake presses, transmission parts, containers, steel shelving, car ramps, barbeques, earthmoving equipment, mag and boutique wheels.<sup>88</sup> To meet its production requirements, ROH also acquired the former manufacturing plants of CH Denton (Engineers), Steel Pressings and Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd at Finsbury - while at the same time investing in new equipment, leading production technologies and numerous factory additions.<sup>89</sup> Although ROH was, by the early 1970s, Australia's leading manufacturer of steel wheels, there was a possibility that the company would relocate its manufacturing operations - either interstate or overseas.<sup>90</sup> These fears, though unrealised at the time, were rekindled in 1988 when the Federal Government, through the Australian Industries Assistance Commission, offered a generous grant to Comalco for the establishment of a rival manufacturing plant in Tasmania. Following this announcement, and in a period of uncertainty, ROH was again faced with the prospect of leaving South Australia.<sup>91</sup> Despite these difficulties, ROH was able to stay and has since embarked upon a significant program of consolidation and expansion.<sup>92</sup>

By the mid-1970s, ROH was starting to supplement its domestic sales program with an export strategy to 'soften' or alleviate the effects of a possible deterioration or weakening of the domestic market. This strategy, which has become a highly successful and important part of its business, has seen the company export to the United States, Japan and South Korea.<sup>93</sup> As a result, the company has (in the past six years) supplied or agreed to supply steel and/or alloy wheels to Chrysler, Chevrolet-Pontiac, Ford, Mitsubishi, Toyota, Daihatsu, Nissan, Honda, Hyundai and Isuzu. In addition, ROH has also embarked upon a significant technology transfer, joint venture and business acquisition program in several overseas

countries.<sup>94</sup> By 1994, ROH had established an international and export sales network which was contributing almost \$45m (annually) in export sales - a 50% increase since 1988.<sup>95</sup> However despite its success, exchange rate fluctuations, industrial relations concerns, distance factors and the company's reliance on waterfront stability and price competitiveness continue to have a considerable bearing on ROH's future viability.<sup>96</sup> Given these concerns, and to stay ahead of potential rivals, the company has placed an increasing emphasis on computer aided design work (ie CAD) and a total quality control regime.<sup>97</sup>

In the mid 1980s, and as a result of a management takeover of ROH, the Arrowcrest Group was formed. As a result, the Arrowcrest Group has become South Australia's largest privately owned company, with manufacturing plants in South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, the United Kingdom and the Philippines.<sup>98</sup> In terms of employment numbers, the company has maintained a level of around 430 workers at its Woodville North plant, which is complimented by an on-going apprenticeship program.<sup>99</sup>

(ix) *APAC Industries; Clyde-Apac Ltd.* <sup>100</sup>

APAC Industries, or Automotive Parts and Accessories Company, was founded by Mr Karl Englebrecht in 1923.<sup>101</sup> Following its establishment, and after a substantial period of growth, an additional factory was opened at Port Adelaide in 1929. Shortly after the war, and despite the economic upheavals of the period, APAC Industries decided to consolidate all of its operations at Finsbury.<sup>102</sup> As a result, the company moved into the No. 4 Case Factory (BN: 15), which comprised 129 000 square feet of factory space and an additional ten acres of vacant land. Whereupon the 'aim was to make the new factory one of the most modern, self-contained and efficient establishments in South Australia' (*Advertiser* 9 August, 1946: 11). Given these goals, the company spent around £70 000 on new equipment, worker amenities and office facilities to aid in the manufacture of a wide range of products - including hydraulic and mechanical jacks.<sup>103</sup>

Since its move to Finsbury, the company has specialised in a variety of lifting equipment - including palette trucks, engine protection systems, manual fork lift and sack

trucks, castors (eg all types and sizes), drum handling equipment, steam generators, hydraulic and mechanical jacks, safety stands, garage trolley's and numerous special or proprietary orders for government organisations and private businesses.<sup>104</sup> In 1989, Clyde-Apac purchased Selson International, which produced a range of patented pneumatic or 'Selson' air jacks, and became Australia's only remaining manufacturer of car jacks. And in 1996, the company's dust extractor business, previously based interstate, was transferred to Adelaide to produce a new line of environmental equipment.

In 1996, Clyde-Apac was based around two principal divisions: Air Filtration (eg dust extraction / ventilation equipment) and Materials Handling (eg balls, castors, conveying systems). These products are sourced to a large variety of industries (eg mining and construction), manufacturing companies (eg automotive sector) and public sector organisations (eg hospitals). Despite its success, Clyde-Apac was unable to completely withstand the competitive pressures associated with tariff reductions and imported componentry, while a number of products were increasingly imported or manufactured under license (eg air filtration equipment for Farr, steel based conveyors for Shuttleworth). This resulted in a reduction in staff numbers, principally within its Tool Room and Design Sections.<sup>105</sup> During the early 1970s, the company's work force reached a total of 480 workers, although this had declined significantly to just 120 in 1995.<sup>106</sup> In 1953, APAC Industries Ltd was sold to Clyde Industries Ltd, a New South Wales based engineering business, and became known as Clyde-Apac.<sup>107</sup> In 1996, Clyde Industries was itself merged with Evans Deakin Industries Ltd.

*(x) Richards Industries; Chrysler Dodge DeSoto Distributors Ltd; Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd.*<sup>108</sup>

T.J Richards & Sons, an Adelaide based carriage-building business, was established in 1885. By the early 1920s, the company (along with Holden's Motor Body Builders), was producing motor bodies for the Australian market. In that period, and despite its position as one of South Australia's largest (private) companies, it had already entered into a licensing agreement with Chrysler Corporation (USA) to manufacture and assemble its range of motor vehicles. During the Second World War, the company was involved in aircraft frame construction for the Royal Australian Air Force. In 1947, the decision was made to transfer its Aircraft Frame plant from Mile End to a larger, and more spacious site at Finsbury. A few

months later, and having already purchased a controlling interest, Richards Industries was sold to Chrysler Dodge DeSoto Distributors Ltd - the Australian subsidiary of Chrysler (USA). However prior to that time, Chrysler had already established its own presence at Finsbury, independent of Richards Industries, by leasing additional factory space to diversify its own operations.

The first plant was Steel Pressings Pty Ltd, a fully owned Chrysler subsidiary, which moved into the No.3 Case Factory (BN: 10) in 1951.<sup>109</sup> This plant, which was leased from the Commonwealth, was responsible for the manufacture of cabs, chassis', pressed body panels and automotive components.<sup>110</sup> The second factory, which was also leased by Chrysler, occupied the No.2 Machine Shop (BN: 9) and was converted to a general storage, assembly, maintenance, testing and distribution area for its range of air conditioners and industrial, outboard and marine engines.<sup>111</sup> Its range of inboard and outboard marine engines were sourced from Chrysler's Marine Division in the United States,<sup>112</sup> while its industrial engines were sourced from its European subsidiary, Rootes, based in the United Kingdom.<sup>113</sup>

The third plant, which comprised the Case Repair (BN: 22) and Storage Shops (BN: 23) was purchased by Chrysler, and was responsible for the manufacture of aircraft parts and frame construction for the Royal Australian Air Force.<sup>114</sup> As a result, Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd was involved in a variety of defence projects, from the modification of Lincoln bombers for reconnaissance purposes, to Sabre jet fighters (eg. fibre glass drop-tanks, cockpit components, ejector seats and the heat treatment of components), GE Canberra bombers (eg main ribs, wing tanks, cockpit components) and the Jindivik pilotless target aircraft.<sup>115</sup>

Following the success of its activities, the plant was eventually enlarged, through the acquisition of an adjoining property, to encompass a large storage area, paint shop and boiler room. A variety of other projects were also undertaken for the private sector (eg seat springs) and the Australian Army (eg grenades, shell canisters, tripwire flares, ammunition cases). The company's relationship with the RAAF, though drawing to a close by the late 1950s, was a significant source of employment and one of the more technically challenging and prestigious contracts ever undertaken at Finsbury.<sup>116</sup>

By the early 1960s, Chrysler's truck and light commercial operations had been transferred to Finsbury (from Mile End), and occupied the workshops and assembly lines of

the former airframe and accessories plant. From that time, and until the late 1970s, Chrysler manufactured its range of light trucks and commercial vehicles at Finsbury. In contrast to Mitsubishi (Aust.) Ltd, which imports and reassembles its own range of light commercials, Chrysler retained a dedicated production line which built the vehicles from 'scratch' (ie its chassis, cab, body etc.), with only incidental components (ie axles, transmissions) being sourced from independent suppliers.<sup>117</sup> Unfortunately, this production strategy also proved to be inefficient and extremely costly for Chrysler (Aust.).<sup>118</sup> The reasons for this, while reflecting an investment strategy that was completely out-of-date, can also be found in Chrysler's failure to respond to tighter margins, smaller production runs and improving quality control standards within the domestic market.

However the decline of Chrysler's Truck and Diversified Products Division, based at Finsbury, was also a story of changing sourcing strategies, consumer preferences and a worsening exchange rate - all of which led to a general loss of competitiveness.<sup>119</sup> The impact of these factors, while not confined to Chrysler, resulted in the retrenchment of 250 employees from its Mile End and Finsbury plants in 1972.<sup>120</sup> This problem was then exacerbated by Chrysler's reluctance to design a replacement model or to undertake the substantial retooling and investment program which was required to make the Finsbury plant more competitive. As it was, Chrysler (Aust.) only had the authority to make relatively minor modifications - which were largely 'cosmetic' - to its older range of vehicles, while Chrysler (USA) scaled down its own truck operations. These problems, which reached their climax in the late 1970s, culminated in a production process that had become completely inefficient, and left its Australian subsidiary with few sales and ever larger inventories. As John Mayers related,

We had 400 of the D5N's and D3F's in stock and we couldn't sell them ..... just sitting in the yard .... we couldn't give them away .... At that time it was only government support that kept us going .... it was the government buying our crew cabs ..... there weren't too many domestic or other buyer type truck sales, they were mainly government agencies that would buy them.

With the impact of the recession, and the continued competition for a diminishing share of the domestic market, Chrysler (Aust.) was forced into a second round of retrenchments, which resulted in the closure of its Keswick and Mile End plants.

In summary, Chrysler's Finsbury operations were undermined by a series of decisions which were imposed from above - either by the government (eg tariff reductions, a decline in fleet sales), its own parent company (eg sourcing strategies, indebtedness, rationalisation, declining investment) or the vagaries of market exchange rates and economic conditions (eg interest rates, inflationary concerns, industrial disputation).<sup>121</sup> To reinforce these problems, product divisions which were being awarded lucrative contracts, such as Chrysler's air-conditioning business (AIRTEMP), were being sold to improve its financial position.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, this was all too late for Finsbury, as its workforce was rapidly 'downsized', with the remainder of its staff transferred to Tonsley Park and the Finsbury plant closed in 1979.<sup>123</sup> As John Billinger, a Sales Manager at Finsbury remarked: 'There were changes galore at Finsbury ... as they were (Chrysler International) making changes to us .... they controlled the business'. By that time, Chrysler was itself in debt and out of time, with its Australian operations being sold to Mitsubishi. The Finsbury site, its land and buildings, was eventually sold by its new owner, Mitsubishi (Aust.) Ltd, to Visy Interpak (a Victorian based carton manufacturer) in 1983.

#### 4.4 Discussion

The industrial development of South Australia was not preordained or inevitable as is that of places rich in natural resources. It was a steady struggle to build and grow in the face of difficulties and deficiencies.<sup>124</sup>

The irony of this development for the South Australian economy is that, whereas infrastructural expenditure was provided in order to bring jobs to this state, monopoly capital is progressively utilising a smaller proportion of the established workforce.<sup>125</sup>

The parable of the Finsbury Industrial Estate serves not only as a textured historiography of South Australia's industrial development, but reminds us of how ephemeral and insecure were the investment decisions and economic circumstances that characterised a (seemingly) unbroken period of economic 'sunshine' (Plate 4.3). In the case of Finsbury, its record of post-war development and employment growth was largely dependent upon external factors - increasingly beyond the control of both state and federal governments. Although South Australia's economy, particularly its manufacturing sector, was influenced by the industrialisation policies of the Butler and Playford Governments, its post-war growth was



**Plate 4.3: Finsbury Industrial Estate (c1985)**

The former munitions complex is now part of the urban environment, with the suburbs of Pennington (background, left) and Athol Park (background, right) bordering the industrial zone.

*Source: Courtesy of Jack Wigley*

largely determined by: the benefits of decentralisation; the latent demand for consumer durables (which was sustained by significant inflows of labour *and* capital); the development of a branch plant economy ; and a supportive, though highly inefficient, federal industry policy based upon tariffs and import quotas for domestic manufacturers. As it turned out, these were to prove a mutually dependent, and ultimately unsustainable, set of growth enhancing factors which had originated from 'outside the [local] economy' and were equally susceptible to any future economic shocks or public policy reversals (Rich, 1986).

By the late 1950s, Finsbury had already reached its peak employment of around 5,500 workers, while its current work force stands at less than 1,500 - a seventy five percent decline. Notwithstanding a substantial capital outlay and on-going government support, Finsbury could not hold onto its industries or the employment it generated. While this can be attributed to a range of factors, the extent of the decline appears to be greater than other areas or industrial districts. This suggested that there might be other factors, specific to the development itself, that could be used to explain its 'reversal of fortunes'. What happened? By the late 1980s, each of the remaining and many of the original companies had either been taken over or sold *at least* once. To emphasise this point, it is worth remembering that each of the founding companies that had been responsible for the growth and development of secondary industry in South Australia had been lost to outside interests - either through takeover, merger or closure (Table 4.7).

**Table 4.7: Ownership Changes at Finsbury**

| Place of Origin | 1950 | 1995 |
|-----------------|------|------|
| South Australia | 7    | 3    |
| Victoria        | 1    | 1    |
| New South Wales |      | 5    |
| Overseas        | 5    | 1    |

Explanatory Notes: Totals exclude government organisations. Firms at Finsbury 1950: SA (Kelvinator, Appliances Ltd, Apac Industries, Fibreboard Containers, Steel Improvements, Ross A Schultz, Pope Products); Victoria (Watson Victor); USA (Chrysler, Steel Pressings); United Kingdom (Vactric, Tecalemit, ROK). Firms at Finsbury 1995: SA (ROH, Pope Electric Motors, Genie Headers & Mufflers); Victoria (Riverwood Cartons); NSW (Kelvinator, Simpson-Pope, AMCOR, Clyde-Apac, Email, Steel Improvement); United Kingdom (Tecalemit).



For instance, Richards, APAC, Pope, Simpsons, Holdens and Kelvinator had all been sold to interstate and overseas interests - and with it their control over employment, investment, marketing, research and sourcing strategies within the local economy. Remarkably, it was not a takeover by stealth or collusion, but a series of decisions - from managerial complacency to an abysmal record of re-investment - which helped to sacrifice three generations of industrial development. Unfortunately, the final result was that only a 'handful' of companies - such as ROH, which survived by re-equipping and exporting its product to the rest of the world and Tecalemit, which found a niche within a larger, more globally astute multi-national corporation - were found to be 'successful' by virtue of remaining solvent. However the lesson that was forgotten, or perhaps never learnt, was that manufacturing does *matter* and that its restructuring would have far reaching consequences - for the both the state economy and local work force (Cohen & Zysman, 1987).

Secondly, and related to the problem of ownership, was the mix of industries at Finsbury. Following its establishment, the majority of firms were based around three main industries, namely consumer electronics, whitegoods and automotive components, which proved to be highly susceptible to changes in the level of industry protection. At Finsbury, this was of particular concern, as the restructuring of the consumer electronics and whitegoods industries, impacted heavily on its branch plant structure. For example, Email Ltd's successful takeover of Kelvinator and Simpson-Pope, not only removed two of its strongest competitors, but enabled the complete rationalisation of their operations, which resulted in thousands losing their jobs, formerly profitable business units being sold and competing products discontinued or merged with interstate subsidiaries. And this process is still continuing, with an additional 111 workers being retrenched from Email's Dudley Park factory in September 1996.<sup>126</sup>

Thirdly, the gradual introduction of new technologies, from automated machines to the electronic office, required substantially fewer operators - particularly for those jobs that had been completed manually.<sup>127</sup> However even this had its contradictions, as according to a local scientist at the CSIRO, many of Finsbury's companies could be described as 'five minute wonders' - in that they only wanted the cheapest solutions to short term problems - while other firms persisted in the use of out-dated and inefficient equipment. Given these circumstances, it was often extremely difficult for technical staff to get basic improvements - such as a reliable quality control program or a commitment to basic research funding. According to Ray Donnon, an engineer for Pope Ltd, the prevailing philosophy was often not

'how good can we make it' but 'how bad can we get away with it' - particularly when relatively scarce resources were being devoted to reworking components or simply throwing them away.<sup>128</sup>

Fourthly, and in an effort to cut production costs, there was an increasing emphasis placed upon imported componentry to stay competitive. From the early 1970s, Simpson-Pope and Kelvinator were importing parts for their range of whitegoods and electrical appliances, while Chrysler was starting to assemble trucks - which along with their air-conditioners, marine and outboard engines - were all fully imported. In addition, the prevalence of imported products, along with those designed overseas and manufactured under license, proved to be disastrous for local engineering and design firms, as the incentive for Australian companies to develop and market their own products was severely restricted. While successful in the short-term, the failure to conduct local research and development programs, to update models or to improve production standards, were contributing factors to declining profitability, falling sales and eventual takeover.

Fifthly, the public sector had an important and often undervalued role at Finsbury. By the late 1960s, the South Australian Public Buildings Department and the Commonwealth Department of Supply had a combined staff of 850 at Pennington and Finsbury (respectively). By the mid 1990s, the Pennington workshops had been closed for a decade, while the Department of Administrative Services (having commercialised its operations) had not only experienced a prolonged period of work force decline, but a corresponding dispersal of its activities. In addition, government contracts and overseas aid programmes - which had become important sources of private sector employment (eg Chrysler's fleet sales) - proved to be vulnerable in a period of fiscal austerity.<sup>129</sup>

Unfortunately, the whole experience of government involvement at Finsbury only emphasised the general failure of successive industry policies to provide a supportive, coherent strategy to advance the interests of locally owned or operated enterprises, and resulted in the *hollowing out* of entire industrial categories (eg consumer electronics). In addition, the role of public or preferential purchasing schemes was similarly under-valued, particularly their ability to encourage the development of 'sizeable, export capable, indigenously owned firms' (Stewart, 1994: 76).

Within the Adelaide metropolitan area, the net effect of these changes was a manufacturing workforce which declined by almost 32,500 or 32% between 1971-72 and 1991-92. In the north-western suburbs, the bell-wether of the state's industrialisation program, 18 500 jobs were lost over the corresponding period. For industrial areas like Woodville, manufacturing employment fell by a precipitous 61%. At the level of the firm, these losses were even more localised. In 1973, Philips Electrical closed the majority of its Hendon operations with the loss of 1 800 jobs. In 1983, General Motors-Holden announced the closure of its Woodville plant involving the loss of 2 500 jobs.

And in 1991, Tubemakers (*formerly BTM*) announced the closure of its Tube Products and Automotive divisions with the loss of a further 550 jobs.<sup>130</sup> For the firms that remained, such as ACTIL, John Shearers and the Islington Workshops, their job losses were just as serious - with Australian National's work force falling from 2 500 in 1978 to 530 in 1995. In 1997, the decision was taken to close the Islington Railyards altogether, with the loss of hundreds of jobs, and the sale of its equipment and rolling stock to Clyde Industries. The final result, while reflecting the broader restructuring of Australian industry, was compounded by the multiplier effects felt throughout the service sector, public enterprises and the hundreds of small businesses that supplied products, either directly or indirectly, to the manufacturing sector.

In summary, Finsbury's decline was not simply a matter of declining tariff levels and import quotas, it was also about falling investment levels, out-dated production methods, and a decision-making structure which was, increasingly, beyond the control of the local community or national economy. Although several companies, such as Tecalemit and ROH were able to adapt to changing market conditions, the majority of Finsbury's firms have simply disappeared. For the Playford Government, which encouraged the attraction of foreign investment, the future ramifications of such an 'open door' policy were unexpected, as they were ultimately destructive to the local community. Foreign and interstate companies, which were lured by generous incentives and a protected domestic market, not only acted to undermine local businesses, but proved to be a significant 'stumbling-block' to a vibrant, export-orientated manufacturing industry.

Whatever the merits of overseas investment, the development of the Finsbury Industrial Estate reveals a different reality, in that decisions regarding technology transfer, capital investment, training schemes, research programs, marketing strategies and export preparedness were

(invariably) decided somewhere else. And if industry policy is to be defined as: 'collective action aimed at building new industries and firms, and restructuring old ones; at producing more growth by fostering industrial productivity' then we have clearly failed (Stewart, 1994: 15).

The South Australian Government, while restricted in its ability to counter the impact of economic change, still retained a commitment to industrial development, but it was increasingly a rearguard action. Despite some notable achievements, such as the need for diversification, value-adding and technological sophistication, the efforts of various State Governments (from Dunstan to Olsen) have always fallen short, while their own attempts at 'reforming' the public sector have often exacerbated the social and economic problems of an economy in transition. For instance, retraining initiatives, factory schemes, employment strategies, tax rebates, advisory services, infrastructure improvements, research studies, business parks and job subsidies are relatively powerless to address issues of: shifting investment patterns, foreign ownership, import competition, technological change and economic deregulation. In contrast, while some of the more notable initiatives, such as the Housing Trust's Factory Construction Scheme (which helped ROH) or the establishment of new industrial estates (at Wingfield and Regency Park) can be commended, they were also at the expense of the very communities they should have been helping - particularly when they provided employment for a completely different, more mobile workforce (that lived elsewhere) or exacerbated already heightened concerns over traffic congestion and industrial pollution.

And finally, Finsbury was more than just an industrial precinct, as it was just one component of the state government's industrialisation strategy, which also included a comprehensive building and immigration program. The Parks, through the involvement of the South Australian Housing Trust, was an early 'beneficiary' of these policies, with the construction of over 3,000 homes between 1938 and 1965. As Badcock observed,

Playford appears to have understood the symbiosis of the nineteenth century factory town, so that land for Trust housing was purchased nearby the main industrial zones in the north-western suburbs.<sup>131</sup>

And it was to be this link, between industry, housing and labour - interacting within the Parks community - that would help to define the future social, economic and political fortunes of its residents. For the Government, which embraced an industrial strategy that ultimately failed, Finsbury was an all too visible reminder, with its disused railway sidings, rusting ironwork and abandoned buildings, that the best laid plans - concerning the expansion of secondary industry or the development of public housing - will always be a product of their time, and whose achievements can never be taken for granted. The following chapters will examine the inter-relationship between industry, housing (Chapter Five) and labour (Chapter Six), and secondly, the ability of the local community to respond to issues of economic restructuring, social change, and physical redevelopment (Chapter's Seven and Eight).

- <sup>1</sup> Sheridan K., (1986) 'Economic and social development - industrialisation with consensus' in Sheridan K., (ed) *The State as Developer* Wakefield Press Adelaide p 57
- <sup>2</sup> Stutchbury M., (1986) 'State government industrialisation strategies' in Sheridan K., (ed) (1986) *The State as Developer* Wakefield Press Adelaide p 84
- <sup>3</sup> Robins P., (1981) 'The regional impact of structural change in Australian manufacturing industry: the case of South Australia' in Linge G., McKay J., (ed) (1981) *Structural Change in Australia* Research School of Pacific Studies Australian National University Canberra HG/15 p. 194
- <sup>4</sup> Holdens Motor Body Builders, is now known as General Motors-Holden Ltd, a fully owned subsidiary of General Motors in the United States. The company, Holden's, was sold in 1931.
- <sup>5</sup> For a discussion of early industrial development and factory expansion in the Woodville area see: Hardy M., (1970) *A History of Woodville* Corporation of the City of Woodville Woodville Volume II pp126-168
- <sup>6</sup> With the collapse of world commodity prices during the depression, and the consequent drop in domestic demand and new investment, the effect on secondary industry, particularly employment, was equally as devastating as it was in the rural sector.
- <sup>7</sup> As quoted in Connell R., Irving T., (1992) *Class Structure in Australian History* 2nd Edition Longman Cheshire Melbourne p. 447
- <sup>8</sup> Holden's, like many of its industrial counterparts, was established to meet the consumer and service needs of a local population far removed from the sources of general merchandise and machinery that had previously been available in Britain. James Alexander Holden, who founded the company in 1855, specialised in the manufacture and supply of harness and saddlery equipment to the local coach body and fittings market (Ward, 1983: 9). In 1878, the company moved from Gawler Place to new premises in Grenfell Street. By 1887, the firm of Holden & Frost (Saddlers, Ironmongers & Merchants), had diversified into coach building and by 1910 started to 'undertake body repair work on steam and petrol cars for wealthy Adelaide clients' (Ward, 1983: 9). Although many of these vehicles were fully imported and the process of reassembly was labour intensive, the First World War not only changed this situation, but brought about a remarkable transformation to the Australian motor vehicle industry. In 1917, and followed by the introduction of a general tariff in 1920, two American manufacturers - General Motors and Ford - decided to circumvent the temporary ban placed on (unassembled) imported vehicles by agreeing to assemble their own motor vehicles in Australia, under license, by using imported components on locally sourced motor bodies. Given these circumstances, Holden's Motor Body Builders was formed and, after securing a contract to build all of General Motors' car bodies for the Australian domestic market, the company decided to establish a new factory at Woodville in 1923. The company prospered and in 1926-27 a total 35 893 motor bodies were produced at its Woodville plant - a threefold increase since 1923. In addition, over 5 500 workers were now employed at Woodville, with a growing number of workers deciding to live and work in the local area (Marsden, 1977: 156-161). In 1931, due to the depression and severe financial difficulties, Holden's was sold to General Motors (Australia) Pty Ltd and became a fully owned subsidiary - General Motors-Holden Ltd. However the significance of General Motor's coup, given the imminent bankruptcy of Holden's, soon became apparent as the new company was able 'to buy Holden's for about 63% of its net worth and below ten times the average past four years' earnings' (Marsden, 1977: 199). By the mid-1930s the company had quickly returned to profit and 'could report that the whole of the losses incurred in the depression years had been recovered' (Marsden, 1977: 199). Although barely noticed at the time, one of South Australia's largest and most successful companies had been virtually given away.
- <sup>9</sup> The main problem, as it was perceived by GM-H Ltd, was the wharfage fees associated with the shipping and receipt of cargo. The company paid a duty on both incoming and outgoing cargo, which was measured by volume. They considered this, along with other company costs and state charges, as being a significant cost disadvantage in remaining in South Australia. The company suggested that, in the future, charges should be based only on incoming cargo. In addition, wharf charges should be based on the weight and not the volume of the motor bodies - particularly when 92% of the company's production was being shipped to the eastern states.
- <sup>10</sup> This was the basis of TJ Mitchell's thesis (ie. the threatened move of GMH as the catalyst for government action) entitled: Mitchell T J., (1957) *The Industrialisation of South Australia 1935-40* BA (Hons) Thesis University of Adelaide (unpublished).
- <sup>11</sup> Marsden S., (1977) *A History of Woodville* City of Woodville South Australia pp 200-201. Original sources are in Stubbs P., (1971) *The Australian Motor Industry* Melbourne p.11 and Hardy M., (1962) *History of Woodville, South Australia* Volume II p149
- <sup>12</sup> It was not only GMH that had threatened to move, but also its main competitor (at the time under contract to Chrysler) and rival - TJ Richards and Sons. As a result, Wainwright's report - *Report Upon the Possibility of the Motor Body Building Industry Being Transferred from this State to the State of Victoria (1935)* - attempted to analyse the entire industry and its importance to South Australia's economy.

<sup>13</sup> Wanna J., (1981) 'The economic development of South Australia: A Marxist Analysis' *Journal of Australian Political Economy* 9(3): 8.

<sup>14</sup> An agreement was also reached with local unions to form a closed shop, while in return an undertaking was given that a strike would only be called if a majority of workers agreed to the proposal by secret ballot (Mitchell, 1962). In later years it was also realised that Playford's willingness to grant concessions came at a future environmental cost. As Cockburn (1991) notes, 'the relevant Indenture Act [gave] the right for BTM to discharge used acid and steel scale into sewerage or storm water drains rather than force them to move such toxic waste to some settling pond' (Cockburn, 1991: 330). Furthermore, this practice continued into the 1960s.

<sup>15</sup> Cockburn S., (1991) *Playford: Benevolent Despot* Axiom Adelaide p. 90-91. The original source was the *Advertiser*, 27 February 1942.

<sup>16</sup> The government, as part of its agreement with ACTIL Ltd, had granted an enormous range of concessions ranging from the provision of subsidised building materials, to reduced wharfage rates for imported cotton, and finally to the provision of a pipeline and filtration plant at government expense.

<sup>17</sup> The Finsbury plant was situated on vacant land to the city's northwest. The Hendon plant was located on land set aside for the Hendon aerodrome, now the suburb of Albert Park. The Penfield plant was built at Salisbury (in Adelaide's northern suburbs) and became the base, after the war, for the Defence Science and Technology Organisation (ie weapons research and development). The Finsbury factory was used to manufacture brass shell casings, while Penfield was used as the main filling centre and for the production of explosives. Hendon, though manufacturing shell casings as well, was also used as a filling centre for small arms ammunition.

<sup>18</sup> Miles J., (1969) *A Richness of People* S.A. Chamber of Manufacturers Griffen Press Adelaide p111

<sup>19</sup> The Premier Sir Thomas Playford appointed Colin Branson secretary of the S.A. Industrial Advisory Committee in 1945. He became Chairman on the death of J.W. Wainwright in 1949 and served in that capacity until 1968. This is a small excerpt arising from an interview and summary paper prepared by Mr Branson in June and October 1995 for the purposes of this thesis.

<sup>20</sup> In the eastern states, this fee was set at 6% of \$2 per square foot, per annum. In South Australia, however, this was reduced to just 4%.

<sup>21</sup> Rubery Owen and Company Ltd, under the direction of Mr Hambleton and Mr Bill Gwinnett, established an automotive components and steel wheel plant at Finsbury. Shortly after its establishment, the company was known as Rubery, Owen & Kemsley (Australia) Ltd.

<sup>22</sup> Interviews were conducted with the following staff: Charles Clark and Alan Finch.

<sup>23</sup> Tecalemit, which is a UK based company, was a composite name derived from the founding "fathers" of automatic lubrication equipment (Tekler - Switzerland; Zerk - France; and Alemite [Stewart Warner] - USA) and was founded after WWI. The company then developed its own lubrication system, based on a hexagonal design, which was to prove both reliable and cost-efficient.

<sup>24</sup> Tecalemit's Board of Director's, after making the journey to Adelaide, had little hesitation in approving the transfer (Miles, 1969: 145). Despite a preference for an air-conditioned building, and having first been shown Penfield, the advantages of Finsbury largely outweighed this deficiency.

<sup>25</sup> After its arrival at Finsbury, the company utilised the services of several companies: CH Denton Engineers provided a flame-cutting service (eg vehicle hoist parts); Steel Improvement Pty Ltd provided a range of lubricants; CJ Engineering provided a range of smaller tools; while Steel Pressings were involved (for a short time) in the supply of pressed metal components. In addition, the company also utilised the services of the Defence Standards Laboratory (*aka CSIRO*), which was also located at Finsbury, for various measurement and metallurgical services.

<sup>26</sup> In addition, a number of mobile servicing units were sold overseas. These units were designed, specifically, to be mounted on vehicles for the RAAF, Highways Department and as a part of Australia's foreign aid commitments (eg Indonesia - Colombo Plan). And secondly, subcontracting work was also undertaken for a number of companies - including: Simmons Aero Accessories and International Harvester.

<sup>27</sup> The majority of its workforce, apart from a small number of engineering and management staff who arrived from Melbourne, were drawn from the surrounding area (eg Seaton, Woodville, Alberton, Pennington, Hindmarsh, Croydon). A daily or peak train service operated up until the late 1970s, although by that time the majority of workers had chosen to travel to work by car.

<sup>28</sup> Interviews were conducted with George Inkster and Reg Brown, with further assistance given by Richard Trott and Chris Sando.

<sup>29</sup> Prior to 1950, the cabinets for its refrigerators were still being made at Keswick. Wayne Pumps, a fully owned subsidiary of Kelvinator, manufactured petrol pumps. This included the manufacture of the panels and framework, whilst the internal pump and meter was imported from the United States. With the introduction of electronically based metering systems, the electronic components were sourced externally and assembled at Finsbury.

<sup>30</sup> This building was originally occupied by Appliances Ltd, a fully owned subsidiary of Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd. It originally manufactured absorption type refrigerators, both prior to and after the Second World War. The

company started production at Finsbury in 1946/47, the same year as Kelvinator. After the war, Appliances Ltd (at Keswick and Finsbury) continued to produce these refrigerators under the "Dominion" brand, and a less expensive refrigerator called the "Kelvinette". In 1952, Appliances Ltd was absorbed by Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd. At that time, Appliances Ltd was known as "Plant 7" at Finsbury.

<sup>31</sup> The Tool Room, until the early 1950s, was occupied by the CRTS. The Mess Room, until the early 1960s, was occupied by Watson Victor. Kelvinator, as previously described, also established a series of new buildings to the immediate east of Building's 1 & 2 during the 1950s.

<sup>32</sup> These were essentially the same refrigerators, only with a different badge and trim.

<sup>33</sup> In addition, and in relation to sealed compressors, the growing availability of low cost alternatives from countries such as Denmark the UK, Japan and Italy, resulted in the scaling down of production at Keswick and its eventual closure in the early 1980s.

<sup>34</sup> In 1989, and due a further acquisition, a small kitchen exhaust systems business was acquired and relocated to Finsbury.

<sup>35</sup> See: '200 jobs to go as Email cuts costs' *Advertiser* 8 June, 1993: 5,36

<sup>36</sup> As of June 1993, only 25% of Email's refrigerator line was actually being produced at Woodville. With the establishment of the Orange plant at a capital investment of \$34m, all of Email's refrigerator's could now be produced more efficiently at its interstate plant (500 000 units p.a). However due to installation problems, an additional \$13m was spent by the company in 1993/94 to cover non-recurring transfer costs and a seasonal downturn in the domestic market.

<sup>37</sup> In May 1999, Email Ltd announced its \$107m purchase of Southcorp's whitegoods division (Hoover, Dishlex & Chef), with the closure of its competitor's Meadowbank factory (Sydney, NSW) to create an additional 300 jobs across its South Australian operations.

<sup>38</sup> Interviews were conducted with Ken Creaser and Kelvin Kay.

<sup>39</sup> During this time, however, a number of additional staff were seconded from its parent company and specialist equipment was obtained and installed (eg lathes, presses etc.). For example, twelve women were brought to Australia (from Scotland) as electric motor specialists to aid in the training of personnel recruited locally.

<sup>40</sup> This total excludes administrative, stores and technical support staff.

<sup>41</sup> In addition, and despite the closure of its Finsbury operations, the manufacture of spray equipment continued (under licence) at another engineering firm, Century Products, at Beverley.

<sup>42</sup> The reason for this, as related by a former employee (Mr Kelvin Kay), was that the cost of production in Australia had, by the mid-1950s, exceeded that of the United Kingdom (ie it was now cheaper to import).

<sup>43</sup> Interviews were conducted with the following Pope Ltd, Simpson-Pope and Email Ltd staff: Frank Bugg, Ken Creaser, Alec Thomson, Matt Tiddy, Ray Donnon and Bert Byrne. Further information was obtained from Frank Bower and Mike Thomas.

<sup>44</sup> The No.2 General Store was opposite the Woodville North Railway Station (Audley Street).

<sup>45</sup> Vactric Electrical, a vacuum cleaner manufacturer, originally leased this building. When Vactric left in the 1950s, Pope Ltd took over its factory space and equipment. It used the building as both a warehouse and for its air-conditioning section. In addition, a number of specialist diecasting machines were obtained from a munitions factory in Maribyrnong, Victoria. The machines were then re-conditioned and installed at Finsbury.

<sup>46</sup> The diecasting section used two principal materials - aluminium and zinc. A number of products were produced, including gearbox casings, sprinkler parts, rotors and stators, agitators and a variety of children's toys (eg cap guns, aeroplanes).

<sup>47</sup> The first motor produced was a 3hp / 4pole 'industrial motor'. This expanded over the years to include motors up to 500hp. For its range of electric motors, technical advice and specifications was principally based on engineering personnel and designs obtained from Siemens (Germany). In terms of Australian products, this gave Pope Ltd a significant edge over its competitors in both quality and performance. As a result, they were favoured by Australian and overseas companies - particularly in mining and other heavy industries. In addition, smaller motors were produced for Pope Ltd's range of electrical appliances and whitegoods, such as 'Hermetic' motors for refrigerators and air conditioners. For some products, overseas licensing agreements were obtained (eg 'Emerson' - USA).

<sup>48</sup> By 1960, Pope Ltd was manufacturing refrigerators, wringer washers, Motorola TV receivers, motor mowers, sprinklers and sprayers, electric motors, air-conditioners and 'Flexalite' Field Irrigation Systems. Technical advice was obtained from Motorola, Borg-Warner, and the Defence Research Laboratory at Finsbury. By the late 1960s, Simpson-Pope Ltd established its Applied Research and Development Section (ARD) at Finsbury. This facility had an extensive array of testing and quality control equipment. It comprised a range of specialist laboratories (ie hot & cold rooms to simulate different weather conditions, atomic spectrometers and dynamometers to measure metallurgical qualities, ductile strength, tolerances etc..) and was also responsible for a highly commendable research and development program. Prior to that time, Pope Ltd had seconded a number of electric motor experts from Siemens in Germany (under a WWII Reparations agreement). An



'Alodine' processing plant was used as a conversion coating process to enhance paint durability and corrosion resistance. This was eventually discontinued, in favour of a large scale semi-automatic Anodising plant to improve properties gained from 'Alodine'. A number of visits were also undertaken to US and European based electronics and appliance companies (eg Bosch, Philips). Despite the prospect of a 'joint agreement', no action was ever taken to involve these companies in the company's Australian operations.

<sup>49</sup> Beaufort Engineering, based in Perth, employed between 250-300 staff and manufactured compressors - which had previously been sourced from Sydney (eg Kirby). The rotors and stators, for its compressors, were sourced from Finsbury (and assembled in Perth). The company was also responsible for the production of petrol motors (eg two & four stroke motors) for Pope's lawnmower range, which were returned to Beverley for final assembly and finishing. In the following year, the firm of Tom & Smith Pty Ltd was also purchased.

<sup>50</sup> By the late 1950s, AA Simpson & Sons had discontinued most of its tinware, galvanised and enamel hollow-ware business, while in 1962 it sold its can-making business. The company was now financially secure and, with its appliances division at Dudley Park, proceeded with a merger proposal.

<sup>51</sup> AA Simpson & Sons, while transferring its factory at Dudley Park (along with Pope Ltd's factories at Beverley and Finsbury) to the new company, retained ownership of its own land at Dudley Park.

<sup>52</sup> Pope Ltd's former plant at Beverley retained responsibility for Brass Extrusion and Toolmaking, while Simpson's Dudley Park plant gained responsibility for Metal Pressings and Grey Iron Mouldings (previously undertaken at Beverley). In addition, the Diecasting section was transferred to Beverley and Pope Ltd's compressor business in W.A. was sold.

<sup>53</sup> By the early 1970s a range of new products were released, including automatic dryers, clothes drying cabinets, dishwashers, kitchen disposal units and rangehoods. Twin-tub washing machines, in contrast, were obtained from Lightburn (Camden) and badged as 'Pope'. By 1976, however, conditions had changed and the company adopted a more aggressive pricing structure and a rationalisation of products - with refrigerators, gas cookers, twin-tub and semi-automatic washing machines being discontinued, which had previously comprised 30% of sales in 1971-72. This was partly reversed in the late 1970s, when Malley's was acquired, and Simpson-Pope re-entered the refrigerator field.

<sup>54</sup> By the late 1970s, Pope Ltd's former irrigation business had been sold to Hardie's. In addition, waste disposal production was similarly discontinued by the early 1980s.

<sup>55</sup> Email Ltd, which had previously taken over Kelvinator (Aust.) Ltd, has retained plants at Finsbury (electric motors, sales, service, spare parts, and administration), Beverley (washing machines and dryers), Dudley Park (cooktops, gas and electric ovens), Regency Park (dishwashers), Woodville North (room air-conditioners, kitchen exhaust systems) and Dry Creek (petroleum and electronics equipment).

<sup>56</sup> With the replacement and upgrading of its production lines (eg from hydraulics to electronics), the plant now produces 300,000 electric motors per annum.

<sup>57</sup> Interviews were conducted with the following CRTS, Architect-in-Chief's and Public Building's Department staff at Finsbury and Pennington: John Solly, Graham Betterson, Clarrie Johnson and Ken Coombe.

<sup>58</sup> The CRTS was originally based at 253 Grenfell Street, or what is now the Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute.

<sup>59</sup> This subsidy, which was based on a 'sliding scale', gradually declined over the two years of their initial training and employment.

<sup>60</sup> Before moving to Finsbury, a number of workers were sent to dismantle a former prisoner-of-war camp at Loveday, near Barmera, in the Riverland.

<sup>61</sup> The depot at Pennington was adjacent to the Migrant Hostel, Finsbury Stores, and a SA Police Reserve. It was accessed via King Street and Windsor Avenue, Pennington.

<sup>62</sup> In the late 1950s, and due to a non-architect being placed in charge of the Department, its name was changed to the Public Buildings Department. The Public Buildings Department was responsible for 'the design, construction, furnishing, equipment and maintenance of public buildings'. For further reference see: *Contact 7*(2) May 1990

<sup>63</sup> In 1962/63 the Public Buildings Department at Finsbury constructed a total of 494 buildings. This total included: general classrooms (152); art, science and craft rooms (26); and administration blocks, shelter sheds and toilets (148). Other government projects during that period were, the Port Pirie hospital and police station, and temporary shelters for the Queens visit. Source: *Public Buildings Department* (1968)

<sup>64</sup> Although of timber construction, the walls were made of weatherboard. This often caused problems, particularly from vandal attacks, whereupon a number were burnt to the ground. The SAMCON system partly alleviated this problem, with its walls being lined with asbestos.

<sup>65</sup> Although SAMCON was responsible for building complete schools, several timber framed schools were built (ie. Henley Beach High School, Vermont High School). SAMCON was based on a prefabricated steel framework, with asbestos used as the insulating material between non-load bearing wall panels. In the 1970s, and after the relocation of the Construction division to Netley, the DEMAC (Demountable Accommodation) model was adopted (eg Adelaide High School extensions). For a brief period, the ELCOM (Expanded Light Modular

Construction) model was used (eg Port Augusta High School), but it was soon replaced by SAMCON. Although, with the adoption of the SAMCON model, the cost of buildings increased by three to four times the cost of a temporary timber framed classroom.

<sup>66</sup> Police stations, courts and the renovation of Old Parliament House are three such examples. Although, as previously mentioned, the Joinery division was primarily involved in "second fixings".

<sup>67</sup> The opening of the Netley depot allowed the Maintenance division, previously based at Keswick, to be relocated to Netley. Although, in employment terms, the Pennington (*aka Finsbury*) branch employed more than three times as many people as Keswick and Netley in 1963. The Maintenance Division at Keswick was a rather large complex, which housed a joinery workshop, supply branch and salvage section - although it was best known to the staff at Pennington as the 'Keswick Joinery Workshop'.

<sup>68</sup> The Department of Building Management, which replaced SACON, has been the subject of considerable staff and funding cuts. For example, during the 1980s an average of 20-25 apprentices were taken on each year. This meant that close to 90 were in the system at any one time, with up to half being offered positions at the completion of their training. In 1994 the Department had seven apprentice vacancies, in 1995 it offered just four. In October 1994, given these circumstances, the Department's training facilities were disbanded and the Joinery division closed. With the reduction in staff and no training facilities, the responsibility of allocating training positions has been given to TAFE. They will fill any positions offered for a six month period. After that period, the apprentice / trainee will be transferred to another employer (either in the public or private sector). This has the advantage of teaching a range of skills and trades, and exposing the trainee to a variety of supervisors. However the absence of a career ladder and a degree of continuity which was previously offered by the public sector, could be seen as significant disadvantages. With the phasing out of the construction and joinery divisions, there are currently around 200 tradespeople based at Netley - all of whom are employed in a either maintenance and/or minor alterations role.

<sup>69</sup> The former Pennington Public Buildings depot is now the Pennington Aged Care Village.

<sup>70</sup> Interviews were conducted with the following Department of Supply and Department of Administrative Services (DAS) staff: Jack Wigley, Kevin Loffler, Alan Faggotter, Graham Tuffey and current staff of the DAS.

<sup>71</sup> These functions were first undertaken by the Department of Supply (Housing & Works, Stores & Transport) and in later years retained or dispersed under the Department of Administrative Services.

<sup>72</sup> These buildings also housed, for a short period, an Ammunition factory, an Army Inspection Service, a Commonwealth Rolling Mill, and Texas Instruments. The Department of Supply also took over office space in the Administration Block on Audley Street, until it was taken over by the Defence Standards or Research Laboratories in the 1950s. It is now used by the CSIRO. The Rolling Mill was in operation until the early 1950s, and supplied non-ferrous sheet and strip to private enterprise.

<sup>73</sup> This included all cars, commercial vehicles, trucks and heavy machinery used by Commonwealth Government Department's and the provision of specialist vehicles for royal, VIP and state visits.

<sup>74</sup> During the early 1950s, the Department of Supply gradually took over from defence force personnel at Woomera, while its involvement at Maralinga was limited to a relatively minor supporting role (eg provision of mechanics, vehicles, spare parts etc..). In summary, the Department of Supply's responsibilities included logistical support - mainly the provision and maintenance of housing and transport services. All of these operations were, in terms of their organisation, were handled by the Finsbury branch of the Department of Supply - which provided all the maintenance services on government vehicles, their modification or repair and general transport functions.

<sup>75</sup> At Finsbury, a total of 500 people were employed. This comprised 300 'industrials' (eg those involved in the transport, storage, warehousing and repair sections) and 200 office workers (eg administration, property services, accounts, payrolls etc...). A small number of personnel were also stationed at the WRE, at Salisbury.

<sup>76</sup> After 1948, there was a policy to support Australian motor vehicle manufacturer's (if practicable), except in those cases where a particular vehicle was needed (eg Range/Land Rovers for the Army, Rolls Royce/Daimlers for VIP visits).

<sup>77</sup> Instead of operating as a government department on a cost-plus basis, each of the DAS's functions was now commercialised - which, in reality, meant that they had to justify their existence. This process was based on the commercial rating of DAS premises, the introduction of user-pay's fees and charges, a rapid downsizing in staff numbers, the competition for (or retention) of market share, and the adoption of 'cost-efficient' management practices.

<sup>78</sup> DAS Removals is based in Audley Street, while DAS Distribution is in Glenroy Street (Athol Park).

<sup>79</sup> The 12 hectare site was divided into two 6 hectare sections. The southern portion was sold to Slipper's Nurseries - which have subsequently leased the site to AMCOR Fibre Packaging.

<sup>80</sup> In July 1995, the Federal Government announced that 700 jobs would be shed from the Department of Administrative Services, due to the failure of two of its commercialised operations (Asset & Australian Construction Services). The reason given was that they 'could not compete in the private market.' (*Australian* 5 July, 1995: 2).

<sup>81</sup> Interviews were conducted with Colin Houghton and Rex Jarman, while further assistance was obtained from Andrew Gwinnett and Noel Uren. (nb: In 1989 two subsidiary companies were formed: ROH Steel Wheel Co. and ROH Alloy Wheel Co.)

<sup>82</sup> South Australia, according to company representatives, was chosen as the preferred site due to the cooperation of the Playford Government, through the SA Industries Advisory Committee, and the state's lower wage and cost structure.

<sup>83</sup> Frank Hambleton, upon leaving ROK, managed S.A. Enamels - a bathroom accessories company also located at Finsbury. Hambleton, undoubtedly, brought with him a considerable expertise in this area as these products were manufactured by ROK's parent company in the United Kingdom. Prior to his arrival in Australia, however, he was a technical advisor on the 'Mulberry' portable harbours project - used successfully during the Allied landings in France (June, 1944).

<sup>84</sup> In addition, the company would also use part of the administrative block and laboratory sections - at least temporarily. At the time, the company also indicated its willingness to take over the No.3 Machine Shop (BN: 9) and the No.3 Case Factory (BN: 10) - which would have totalled over 200 000 square feet in factory space. However Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd used these buildings until 1979.

<sup>85</sup> ROK also revealed that it would consider other product lines - such as kitchen and bathroom fittings.

<sup>86</sup> The company had some difficulty in obtaining Australian steel which was properly 'finished'. As a result, this often meant that the steel had to be polished before it could be used in the rim making process. For a short period, and given these difficulties, alternative steel supplies were sourced from Japan. Secondly, the problems in establishing the rim line and press shop were overcome, in part, by procuring specialist equipment from either interstate or overseas suppliers.

<sup>87</sup> Its domestic market, since 1950, has included steel wheel sales to Chrysler, GM- Holden, Ford, Nissan, Mitsubishi and Toyota.

<sup>88</sup> This also included: bumper bars (Volkswagon, Chevrolet); backing plates (BAI), shelving (Kelvinator & Tecalemit); various automotive parts (International Harvester, Borg-Warner), car bonnets (Hartnett), tooling (David Shearer, Chrysler, Ford, Woomera) and tractor mudguards.

<sup>89</sup> During the 1960s, the company started to produce alloy wheels. By the late 1970s, the company started to invest heavily (in both materials and expertise) in the development of a pressed, 100% aluminium wheel. Given the difficulty of this task, an overseas visit was made and advice sought from the local office of the CSIRO (Materials Science - Finsbury). And finally, the ROH Steel Wheel Co. pours its own castings, and has extensive machine shop, foundry and paint facilities.

<sup>90</sup> This was due, in part, to wage and inflationary concerns, comparative rates of taxation (of its overseas competitors) and industrial relations problems. However ROH, in silencing these concerns, spent \$500 000 on upgrading its rim line and establishing a smaller plant in Victoria. The company was, by this time, manufacturing 60% of all steel wheels made in Australia (See: *Weekly Times* 26 January, 1972: 1).

<sup>91</sup> There were several problems faced by ROH. To remain competitive the company was faced with the prospect of relocation, not only to reduce freight charges but to also take advantage of Victoria's lower energy costs. In addition, these problems were exacerbated by Comalco being ROH's principal supplier of aluminium for its alloy wheels and, given its announcement, a potential rival for the company's business.

<sup>92</sup> In 1989, a \$5m expansion program was announced to increase ROH's production capacity to four million wheels per annum. In December 1994, ROH announced its decision to invest \$12m to manufacture (tubeless, light weight, demountable) truck wheels and a range of alloy components for local manufacturers. This program of expansion, while adding to local employment, also had other benefits in terms of reducing the need for imports, providing opportunities for local suppliers (eg capital equipment) and increasing its use of Australian made steel.

<sup>93</sup> One of its first overseas contracts was with the Nissan Motor Corporation in 1982. By late 1989, and as part of an on-going contract, over one million alloy wheels had been delivered to Nissan (Japan). Other countries, to receive ROH products, include: New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Singapore, France, Indonesia, Thailand, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia and Hong Kong. In summary, between 1947 and 1988 over 35m wheels have been produced by ROH for both domestic and overseas markets.

<sup>94</sup> In 1988, ROH undertook a joint venture with Mitsubishi to establish a manufacturing plant in Thailand. In 1990 Smith Wheels, a Birmingham based caravan and trailer wheel manufacturer, was acquired by ROH to spearhead a future sales drive into the highly competitive European market. In 1993, ROH purchased a 30% share in a Malaysian wheel plant. In addition, the company has also provided equipment and expertise to China, Thailand and Pakistan. For example, its deal with China was valued at \$4.2m and included a fully operational paint facility and two welding lines. In 1988, the company won a State Bank Export Development Award as recognition of its success in developing export markets.

<sup>95</sup> This is set to increase, with the recent announcement of a \$25m, three year contract, to supply 500 000 wheels (p.a) to Hyundai. In addition, the company has secured an additional contract with Honda.

<sup>96</sup> In 1990, the Vehicle Builders Employees Federation (VBEF) took ROH to the Federal Court over an alleged breach of award conditions (eg the dismissal of a shop steward, the role of permanency and the use of casuals). ROH was also faced with a spiralling exchange rate which, for a time, threatened to undermine its \$50m, 4yr deal with Chrysler. In addition, and given distance factors and shipping difficulties, four weeks supply of its wheels had to be en route at any given time - which not only represented a considerable delivery and production constraints, but considerable on-costs as well (eg interest repayments).

<sup>97</sup> See: *Advertiser* 27 September 1994:24

<sup>98</sup> The Arrowcrest Group also owns and operates John Shearer (South Australia), Kockums (Victoria), Unicast Diecasting (Sydney), Tusk and Smith Wheels (UK).

<sup>99</sup> In 1948, the company had around 50 workers. By the 1950s, employment levels had risen to around 200 and eventually reached between 400-500 by the 1960s. In 1981, however, employment had declined to around 370, but has improved significantly since that time. In terms of its apprenticeship program, this represents around 5-10% of its workers - who can be found in the press shop or as specialist fitter & turners.

<sup>100</sup> Further information was obtained from Mr HS Dredge, Ern Rieck and Craig Lumm.

<sup>101</sup> APAC was a South Australian business and was listed as a public company.

<sup>102</sup> The company had several smaller factories, based in the city (1923) and Port Adelaide (1929).

<sup>103</sup> APAC's products, though largely destined for the Australian domestic market, were also exported to several other Commonwealth countries (eg South Africa, New Zealand, India and Malaya). In addition, its subsidiary, Lemco Engineering Co., manufactured a range of hydraulic lift trucks (ie 'Lemcol') and materials handling equipment (eg castors, wheels etc...).

<sup>104</sup> In 1988, Clyde-Apac secured a \$2.5m contract to supply 200 000 mechanical or automotive scissor jacks to Mazda (Japan).

<sup>105</sup> At one stage, the company had a Drawing & Design Office comprising 14 draughtsmen and a specialist Toolroom with 18 toolmakers - principally fitters and turners by trade.

<sup>106</sup> This was mainly attributed to the influence of capital investment and technological change. For example, the Finance-Payrolls-Administration Departments, at one stage, had between 50-60 workers, whereas now a computer and less than ten staff complete the same work. On the shop floor, the introduction of automated machinery and handling equipment, such as forklifts, have similarly reduced staffing requirements. The observation was also made that, in the beginning, many of its employees were drawn from the immediate area, due to the relative absence of motor vehicles and the reliance on walking, bicycling, tram or train travel as the preferred (or only) method of transport available. Today, the majority of Clyde-Apac's workers are drawn from the northern and western suburbs, and not just from the local area.

<sup>107</sup> Clyde Industries Ltd is a diversified company, with interests in engineering (eg locomotives), manufacturing (eg Clyde-Apac), chemicals (Ajax Chemicals), and consumer products (B & D Roll-a-doors.)

<sup>108</sup> Interviews were conducted with John Billinger and John Mayers.

<sup>109</sup> This was known as the 'southern' plant at Finsbury, as it was located on the southern side of Burleigh Avenue. Its approximate position was located between ROK and Tecalemit / and opposite W. Watson & Co.

<sup>110</sup> The company also pressed, formed and painted the outer framework for Chrysler's room and industrial air-conditioning range.

<sup>111</sup> This building was also used as a storage area for its air conditioning units (commercial size) and as a spare parts area - all of which were fully imported. In Australia, its industrial and marine engines underwent a process of modification and testing before being stored and distributed to local suppliers. In addition, Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd was not responsible for servicing or undertaking work under warranty - that was the responsibility of its agents / suppliers.

<sup>112</sup> The inboard marine engines were, for a time, sourced through a Sydney based distributor - while their outboard counterparts were fully imported. Chrysler's range of outboard motors were introduced in August 1968, and ranged in size from 3.5hp to 105hp. Although these were made in Wisconsin (USA), a number of industrial engines were also sourced from Canada. Unfortunately, a problem that arose was over the availability and cost of spare parts. For example, in one such instance it was found that it was cheaper to obtain a similar part from JN Taylor's (Port Adelaide), which was made in Sweden, than it was to obtain the spare part from Chrysler International - which made and distributed its own branded products.

<sup>113</sup> Additional engines were also sourced independently from Canada and the United States.

<sup>114</sup> This plant, which was initially based at a Richard's plant at Mile End, was transferred to Finsbury in 1947. The RAAF, which was in need of specialist parts, also provided a range of equipment and specialist staff to Richards / Chrysler to provide components of suitable quality (See Hardy, 1970: 134). Finsbury's administrative block, which was shared with a number of companies, was located on an adjacent site on Audley Street, Woodville North.

<sup>115</sup> This included the secret B & C project, which was designed to fit a pilot into the Jindivik.

<sup>116</sup> To maintain quality standards, the Aeronautical Inspection Directorate (AID) of the RAAF had a permanent presence and, for Army matters, the Army Inspection Service provided liaison and engineering staff. For the GE

Canberra Bomber, executives and personnel of the Bristol Aircraft Corporation (UK) were seconded to assist in the project. In addition, this arrangement was also a profitable one, as all of the projects were contracted out on a cost-plus basis through the Government Aircraft Factory located at Fishermans Bend, Victoria. By the mid-1950s, employment numbers had reached 810. However due to a number of factors, its work force decreased to around 250-300 by the late 1950s.

<sup>117</sup> Truck models included the: AT4, Commer 'Commander', D3F and D5N Series and a variety of imported Japanese vehicles (eg Mitsubishi Canter and Fuso). For a brief period, a relationship was also established with the International Harvester Co. of Dandenong in Victoria for the supply of pressed truck panels for CAD (D & C series) vehicles and, during the 1960s, the two companies shared an order of 600 trucks for the Cambodian Government. In terms of production levels, the company's daily production was between 20-24 vehicles - depending upon current orders and the domestic market. In 1969, the demand for Chrysler's truck range increased by 10.3% or 5 165 units. The company also relied, to a large part, on Government contracts for its range of trucks and commercial vehicles (ie PMG, Highways, Defence Force etc....). For example, Chrysler manufactured a number of Ambulances and 4W-Drive Power Wagons for the Army.

<sup>118</sup> In comparison, Mitsubishi's range of light trucks and commercial vehicles, now produced at Tonsley Park, are fully imported. In other words, 'the heart of the truck' (ie engine, cab, chassis, body etc..) is manufactured overseas, imported and reassembled in Australia - with the remainder of its components (ie tyres, exhaust systems etc..) sourced from local suppliers. In terms of employment, Mitsubishi currently employs around 40 people in its Truck section, with around 8-12 vehicles completed per day. This compares with around 250 people employed at Finsbury's Truck plant and 20-24 vehicles completed per day. In terms of manufacturing, two thirds of the production process previously undertaken at Finsbury is now completed elsewhere.

<sup>119</sup> For example, when Chrysler International purchased its UK supplier of engines, Rootes, a decision was taken to close this product line and source the engines from either the United States or Canada.

<sup>120</sup> In contrast, and less than two years earlier, Premier Don Dunstan had visited the Finsbury plant to mark the announcement of a \$1m contract to supply air-conditioners to Parahurdoo, a mining town in Western Australia (*Weekly Times* 26 August, 1970: 2)

<sup>121</sup> Despite a strong sales year in 1969, government fleet sales declined by 40% in 1970. By 1977, Chrysler (Aust.) had returned a \$27.8m loss and recorded a 30% drop in sales since 1969.

<sup>122</sup> In October 1976, Chrysler disposed of its non-automotive air-conditioning interests to Dacorp Pty Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of Dunn Air Conditioning Pty Ltd for \$1.3m (Source: *Chrysler Annual Report* - 1976).

<sup>123</sup> At the time of its closure, Chrysler's employees were offered several alternatives: opting for early retirement, taking a redundancy package, given time off to find alternative employment or, if they wanted to stay with the company, a transfer to Tonsley Park.

<sup>124</sup> Miles J., (1969) *op.cit.*, 116.

<sup>125</sup> Wanna J., (1980) *op.cit.*, 19.

<sup>126</sup> See: '130 workers sacked by two major firms' *Advertiser* 16 September 1996: 2. In 1999, with the announcement of Email's purchase of Southcorp's Whitegoods division, the closure of its competitor's Meadowbank plant in Sydney would result in 400 jobs being lost, but only the expectation of 300 jobs (a significant number being in the form of a government factored 'multiplier effect') being created in SA [Ref: *Advertiser* 12 May 1999: 21]. Just twelve months later, however, the future of Email's entire whitegoods business has been placed in doubt with the actions of BHP and Smorgan in protecting their respective scrap supplies and metals distribution businesses.

<sup>127</sup> To give a few examples, Kelvinator's fridges were hand painted at one stage, while Pope used to employ around 70 women to hand wind copper wire in its electric motors.

<sup>128</sup> In many Australian companies, a 2% standard allowance was made for scrap or reworking. This was often far above their European counterparts, and tended to suggest that the 'fit' and 'finish' of assorted componentry was not internationally competitive (Source: Ray Donnon). However, Pope Ltd was one of the more out-standing South Australian companies of the period, particularly its excellent range of electric motors, which had been developed with the help of German engineers, trained by Siemens, and brought to Australia under a reparations agreement. In addition, Kelvinator's range of compressors, ROH's steel wheels, and the early development of the photocopying process by a DSL technician at Finsbury were notable exceptions.

<sup>129</sup> To highlight these changes, John Billinger related a number of events that occurred while he was working in Chrysler's Sales division. The first was a sales trip to Canberra in the early 1970s, when government fleet orders had started to decline. After a meeting, he was shown a fleet of Chrysler vehicles parked in a government depot. Upon examining the vehicles, and their odometer readings, he found that they had hardly ever been used. On another occasion, he was asked by a government supervisor why one of Chrysler's vehicles, a tip truck, had experienced an hydraulics failure. After reviewing his sales records, it was discovered that the truck had been bought three years ago - and having not been used - its hydraulic seals had perished. These instances seem to suggest a form of industry assistance or procurement policy was in place, yet the government

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was continuing to buy vehicles it didn't really need or could fully utilise. As a result, and when budget cuts had to be made, these were some of the first orders to be discontinued.

<sup>130</sup> Tubemakers of Australia Ltd announced the closure of its Automotive Division in August 1991, with the loss of 270 jobs. In October, the closure of the Tube Products Division was also announced, with the loss of a further 260 jobs. In addition, a further 100 employees had been retrenched or had left the company in the twelve months prior to these announcements. A total of 60 employees were given the option of redeployment. In this instance, to the company's other Australian factories based in Western Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. Source: '270 jobs to go at factory' *Advertiser* 20 July, 1991: 1/2; 'Major job losses hit SA industry' *Advertiser* 26 October 1991: 2.

<sup>131</sup> Badcock B., (1986) 'Land and Housing Provision' in Sheridan K., (1986) *The State as Developer: Public Enterprise in Australia* Wakefield Press Adelaide p169

## CHAPTER FIVE: HOUSING

To industrialise South Australia successfully, Playford knew that his Government had to see to it that plenty of energy, water, housing and road and rail transport was available on demand. For him, these became and remained his top political priorities.<sup>1</sup>

Stewart Cockburn

The Trust had always worked closely with the state government in siting housing near existing industrial areas, or as deliberate inducement in areas of potential industrial development.<sup>2</sup>

Susan Marsden

Playford appears to have understood the symbiosis of the nineteenth century factory town, so that land for Trust housing was purchased nearby the main industrial zones in the north-western suburbs.<sup>3</sup>

Blair Badcock

### 5.0 Housing

#### 5.1 Introduction

The South Australian Government, having gained a competitive advantage from munitions manufacture, was in an excellent position to capitalise on its industrialisation program. However, the growth of secondary industry was also dependent on the continuing support of the state; not only in the provision of business incentives, but in solving one of the more pressing issues of the time - a serious shortage of low cost rental accommodation. Although this was not a new problem, given a prolonged period of under-investment in the rental property market (in part due to rent control), the situation was exacerbated by the suspension of (non-essential) building activity during the Second World War. And secondly, the imminent return of overseas service personnel - many of whom expected a better deal, in both housing and employment conditions, than they had experienced during the Great Depression and the sacrifices experienced both at home and overseas during almost six years of war.

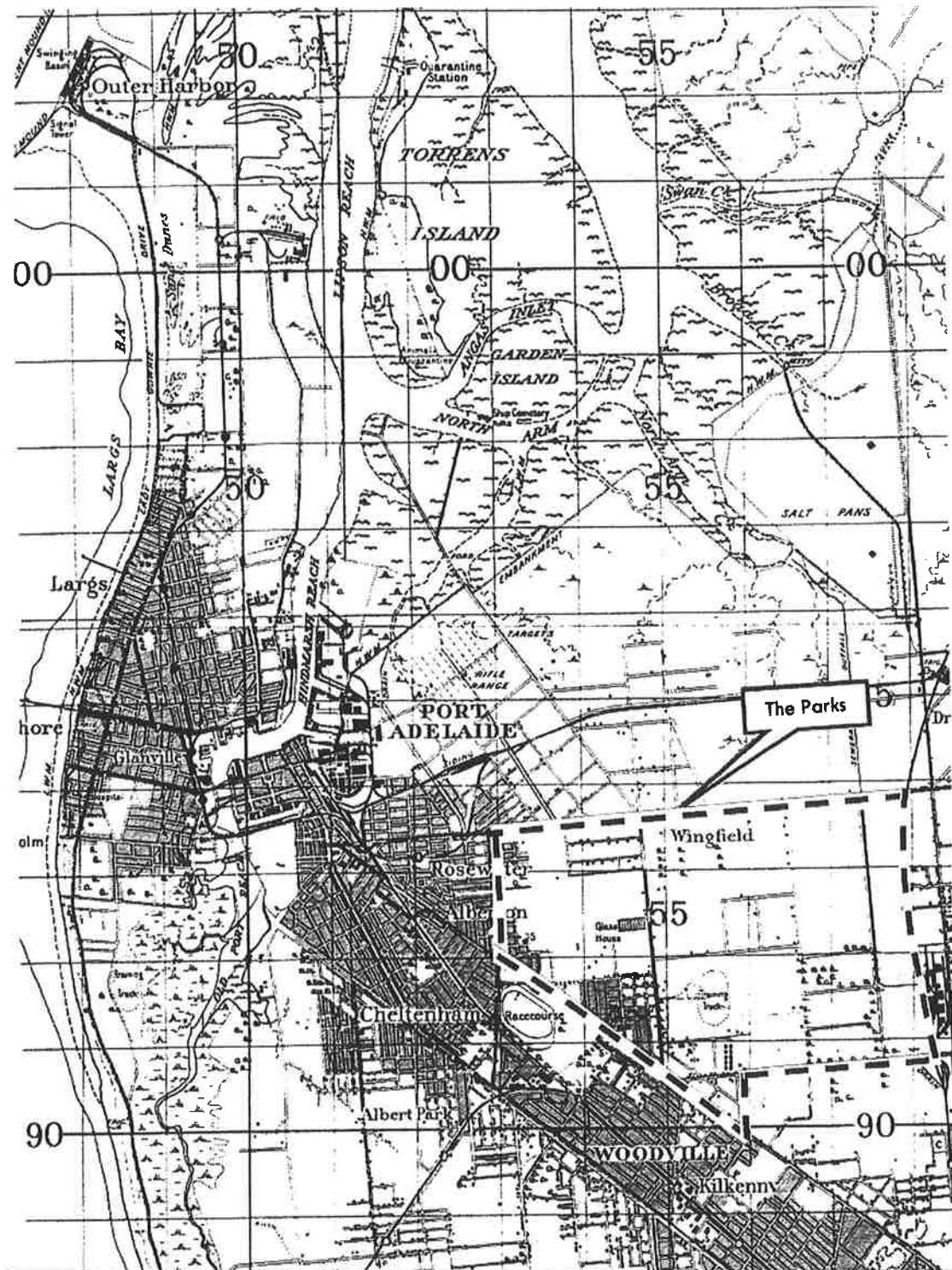
For its industry policy to be a success, the State Government would have to deal with the problem, not only as a humanitarian gesture, but to capitalise on a return to civilian production and to preserve its cost advantage over the eastern states. To achieve this last objective, however, the Government would also have to find a way of actively containing housing costs - either through its own building program or continuing with war-time restrictions, such as price and rent controls. The State Government's solution, while mindful of the concerns of local manufacturers (vis-a-vis the supply of skilled labour), was to implement a comprehensive, publicly funded housing program.<sup>4</sup> The South Australian Housing Trust, having been established in the mid 1930s, was given the responsibility of implementing the Government's housing strategy, and coordinating its residential and factory building programs.

## **5.2 Colonisation & Settlement: 1836-1937**

The north-western suburbs of Adelaide, with the exception of several villages adjacent to the Port Road, remained relatively under-developed - at least in terms of residential building activity - throughout the formative years of colonisation and settlement. In the meantime, alternative settlements - such as Norwood and Hindmarsh (ie that were closer to sources of fresh water, building materials and had more fertile soils) - were preferred over those areas that had few natural advantages, with the north-western suburbs (and The Parks area in particular) being relatively featureless and subject to periodic flooding. Although several settlements were established, most proved to be of transitory significance, whereupon a range of alternative land uses - such as primary production and infrastructure projects were favoured over more permanent settlements.<sup>5</sup>

As a result, The Parks area appears to have been used - almost exclusively - for various horticultural and farming activities such as dairying, lucerne fields, market gardens, grazing land or, in the case of community commons, the pastoralist's scourge of swampland and boxthorn. By the late 1930s, and given the pattern of development, there existed an opportunity for vacant land to the immediate north and west of Port Road to be developed for future residential, commercial or industrial uses (Figure 5.1). In the event, the specific





**Figure 5.1: The Parks and surrounding suburbs (c 1939)**  
**Source: Harris & Lea (1975)**

catalyst for change was the planning and development role of the South Australian Housing Trust, the state's premier economic development and planning agency.

### 5.3 The South Australian Housing Trust

The South Australian Housing Trust was established in 1936. Its role, as defined by its legislative provisions, was to initiate slum clearance (ie a general improvement in housing standards), help stimulate a depressed housing and construction industry (ie through the use of private contractors), assist prospective home buyers with low interest finance, and provide affordable rental housing to the 'lowest rank of employed workers' (Marsden, 1986: 69). However the Trust, defined by its 'economic' mandate, was also entrusted with a social responsibility - the elimination of slum landlordism. Concerns ranged from unsanitary conditions and over-crowding, to the inability (or unwillingness) of landlords to complete basic repairs or to even maintain their rental properties at a minimum standard.

As a result, the South Australian Housing Trust was - in its own way - planning for a better future, a future based on the investment and employment returns of industrial capital (Chapter Four). Jaensch (1986), in his study of the Playford era, remarked on the transparency of this strategy, in that 'Playford's emphasis on industrial development demanded labour, and labour demanded housing' (Jaensch, 1986: 251). And it was this aspect, more than any other, which would define the functional or economic role of the Trust, in that its homes were built for government or manufacturing workers who 'were [considered] essential to the industrial expansion of the state' (Marsden, 1986: 32).

However for this to happen, the Trust would have to be given a degree of independence, not only from the rigours of ministerial oversight, but also from the legislative and financial constraints imposed by the previous Parliament. This was solved, in part, with the passage of several amendments, most notably the Housing Improvement Act (1942), as a result of which the Trust became more flexible in financing its operations, improving its designs, varying its rental levels, creating larger estates, providing easier terms of finance and, during a period of rationing, changing the sources and types of materials used in its dwellings (Hogben, 1947). The Trust, having been granted the discretionary powers of a statutory

authority, was given the responsibility of providing the housing component of the State Government's industrialisation strategy.

In Adelaide's north-west, the physical attributes of The Parks - such as the relative ease of extending services and the featureless landscape - offered the development potential and, more importantly, the economic and locational advantages of its close physical proximity to existing centres of employment. As Parkin (1975) was to observe:

Its historical *raison d'être*, however, is located nearby. To the west is situated the Finsbury industrial area, containing some of Adelaide's largest manufacturing plants ... Immediately north lies Wingfield, where many smaller factories share what is possibly the metropolitan area's ugliest and dirtiest landscape ..... To the north and east, Dry Creek and Kilburn feature some [of the state's largest factories].<sup>6</sup>

For the Trust, establishing a presence - a foot hold - within the north-western suburbs was one of its first priorities. As a formula for success, the Playford Government's preparedness to use the public sector, with its superior resources and organisational ability, to raise the standard of living for an entire state, was a significant achievement. For the next thirty years, the development of The Parks was no exception.

## 5.4 Building The Parks

### 5.4.1 Early Endeavours: 1938-1948

In The Parks, the first Trust homes were built in Pennington (Tulloch Avenue, Arthur Street) in 1938 and, within the next two years, in both Woodville Gardens (First and Second Avenues) and Woodville North [Hanson Road, Stone, Farr and Edgecombe Streets] (Plate 5.1 & 5.2). By 1940, the Housing Trust had established a beach-head within The Parks, and despite their modest size - just 128 homes (in several locations) - each of these developments represented the first large scale or planned development 'north of Torrens Road' (Marsden, 1977: 208). However with the outbreak of hostilities, and the subsequent shortage of skilled tradesmen and building supplies, the Trust's residential building program was dramatically reduced, with a total of 328 dwellings completed between 1938 and 1942 (Table 5.1). No building activity was recorded in 1943.<sup>7</sup>



**Plate 5.1 (above):** Double Unit, First Avenue, Woodville Gardens c1940  
**Plate 5.2 (below):** Double Unit, First Avenue, Woodville Gardens c1940  
**Source:** *Simon Neldner, 1995*



**Table 5.1: South Australian Housing Trust - Housing Units Completed (1938-1972)**

*The Parks Area of North-Western Adelaide #*

| <i>Suburb / Year</i>    | <i>1938-39</i> | <i>1940-42</i> | <i>1944-48</i> | <i>1951-53</i> | <i>1954-56</i> | <i>1960-62</i> | <i>1963-64</i> | <i>1965-71</i> | <i>Total-1972</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Rosewater Gardens*      | 80             | 38             | 32             |                |                |                |                |                | 150               |
| Woodville Gardens       |                | 106            | 480            | 660**          | 226**          | 304**          | 5**            |                | 1960              |
| Woodville North         |                | 104            | 44             |                |                |                |                |                | 149               |
| Mansfield Park          |                |                |                |                |                | 180            | 424            |                | 603               |
| Athol Park              |                |                |                |                |                |                | 222            |                | 225               |
| Angle Park              |                |                |                |                |                | 38             | 20             |                | 58                |
| Ferryden Park           |                |                |                |                |                |                |                |                | 44                |
| <b>Sub-Total ***</b>    | <b>80</b>      | <b>248</b>     | <b>556</b>     | <b>660</b>     | <b>226</b>     | <b>522</b>     | <b>666</b>     |                |                   |
| <b>Cumulative Total</b> | <b>80</b>      | <b>328</b>     | <b>884</b>     | <b>1544</b>    | <b>1770</b>    | <b>2292</b>    | <b>2963</b>    |                | <b>3189</b>       |

**Notes:**

# The Parks Area, as described in this study, includes the suburbs of Pennington, Woodville Gardens, Woodville North, Mansfield Park, Athol Park, Angle Park and Ferryden Park. Other definitions may include the suburbs of Wingfield, Croydon Park, Prospect and Dudley Park. However these suburbs were not significant areas of Housing Trust development, as only 255 homes had been completed in these suburbs by 1972.

\* This area is now referred to as Pennington.

\*\* After 1951, the majority of these homes were built in the adjoining suburb of Ferryden Park.

\*\*\* This total represents the number of homes completed prior to the 30th June. They do not include numbers of home units, cottages or flats. Between 1962 and 1972 a total of 94 cottage flats were built in the suburbs of Angle Park (32), Athol Park (8), Ferryden Park (6) and Mansfield Park (48). A further 29 were constructed prior to 1978. At that time, no alternative housing had been built in either Woodville Gardens or Woodville North.

Source: South Australian Housing Trust *Annual Report (1950-1978)* South Australian Government Adelaide

In contrast, and given a pause in building activity, the Trust remained an active participant in land sales, and moved to increase its holdings (within The Parks) at every opportunity - with one sale securing 320 blocks of land at 'nine shillings a foot' in Woodville Gardens, Woodville North and Ferryden Park in 1941 (Marsden, 1986: 162).<sup>8</sup> In addition, the establishment of a large munitions complex at Finsbury, prompted the War Workers Housing Commission, a Commonwealth agency, to build 118 timber framed, asbestos lined homes in Woodville North (Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth Avenues) in 1941-42.

In July 1944, the Trust's building program resumed, with its largest single development, 206 homes in Woodville Gardens (Ridley Grove, Hanson Road, Eighth Avenue and Liberty Grove), effectively doubling its stake in The Parks. Over the next four years, the Trust was able to complete a total of 556 homes - in difficult circumstances - with new developments, from Hanson Road to Liberty Grove, consolidating and extending the reach of its building program (Plate 5.3). Despite these achievements, several problems remained - such as the size and availability of allotments, escalating wage costs and the scarcity of construction materials. However the greatest difficulty, and given the shortage in rental accommodation, was that as fast as the Trust could build its homes, it was almost impossible to meet the available demand, with ever-lengthening waiting lists for rental accommodation. As a result, the Trust was forced to consider a range of temporary measures, such as the use of imported and transportable homes.

This would have two advantages. As a *temporary* measure, an immediate increase in the Trust's rental stock would not only meet its social responsibilities but reduce the demand for rental accommodation - particularly from those families who found themselves without a home, or were living in sub-standard accommodation (eg, Nissen huts, tents, shipping crates). And secondly, with the majority of its temporary homes being imported from overseas or prefabricated for immediate delivery, the pressure on existing sources of building supplies - which were being used by the local construction industry - would be relatively unaffected.

#### 5.4.2. Emergency Dwellings: 1950-1953

In January 1950, the Emergency Dwellings Scheme was introduced. To join the scheme, an applicant was assessed on the basis of two criteria. For those in urgent need of shelter, the



**Plate 5.3** (above): Double Unit, Hanson Road, Woodville Gardens c1948  
**Plate 5.4** (below): Double Unit, Durham Terrace, Ferryden Park c1951  
**Source:** *Simon Neldner, 1995*



scheme was open to the homeless, and for those families living in substandard or make-shift accommodation (SAHT, Annual Report, 1958). According to the Trust, each emergency home was based on a standard design:

Timber framed with asbestos cement outer walling and lined internally, each dwelling is self-contained with bathroom, laundry and a large kitchen-living room and two or three bedrooms.<sup>9</sup>

Over the next three years, 2214 emergency dwellings were built in the metropolitan area, with a significant proportion, 668 homes, located in the suburbs of Athol Park, Mansfield Park and Woodville Gardens (Marsden, 1986: 169).<sup>10</sup>

However several problems emerged. Firstly, and given the recognition that its emergency dwellings were 'not regarded as permanent', the demand for the Trust's brick homes often resulted in 'a considerable delay for tenants wishing to be rehoused in the metropolitan area' (SAHT, Annual Report, 1958: 41-42). Secondly, those families placed in emergency homes, were often regarded as second-class tenants – in as much they were often ineligible for relocation regardless of the time spent on a waiting list. This situation, as described by the Trust, is summarised below:

In every large community there are families who, on account of misfortune or inefficiency, become homeless or are expecting to become so ..... The only rental accommodation which [the Trust] could conceivably make available at short notice in an emergency dwelling .... Moreover, the attributes of the applicants in some of the more pitiful cases brought to the Trust turn out to be such that no housing authority can with equanimity regard them as suitable tenants in its regular housing estates.<sup>11</sup>

For these families, an emergency home - a *temporary* measure during a time of crisis - became a semi-permanent arrangement, but without the official sanction or compensatory expectation of a modern brick residence.

As a result, the tenants of emergency homes had been marked as 'unreliable', were isolated from other residents, and had to experience the problems of living in a temporary dwelling - from unsewered allotments to periodic flooding - which were themselves given a low priority



for resolution or improvement.<sup>12</sup> In addition, many of the homes were without basic amenities, such as adequate heating, washing or cooking facilities.

The most serious problem, and one which was consistently ignored by the Trust, was the spate of fatal fires within its temporary dwellings, destroying sixteen homes and contributing to the death of ten people between 1956-1960 (Marsden, 1986). The worst incident, in which five children died, occurred in a Mansfield Park emergency home in July 1959 (Figure 5.2). This incident, which shocked the local community, was also a painful reminder of the limitations of emergency housing - particularly the continued use of substandard fittings - and prompted a review of the entire program. In June 1960, the State Government announced its intention to replace all its emergency dwellings, with the first permanent homes (on land previously set aside for temporary dwellings) completed in February 1961 (SAHT, Annual Report, 1963).<sup>13</sup>

#### *5.4.3 Mass Production: 1951-1965.*

In The Parks, the Trust's development activities continued, with an additional 886 double-units being completed in the suburbs of Woodville Gardens and Ferryden Park between 1951-1956 (Table 5.1). During the early 1960s, and following the removal of its emergency dwellings, the Trust's development program accelerated, with three suburbs - Angle Park (1960-62), Mansfield Park (1962-63) and Athol Park (1963-64) - being established by the Trust and a total of 1193 homes completed (Plates 5.4, 5.5 & 5.6).

However building activity in The Parks, whilst dominated by the Trust's estates program, was also influenced by the activities of various speculators, real estate interests and private home-owners. Despite extended periods of negotiation, for even the smallest parcels of land, significant areas of Woodville Gardens, Ferryden Park and Mansfield Park were eventually subdivided by private interests - with a significant number of privately owned, modern brick residences, offering recent migrants, many of whom were overlooked for public housing tenure, a chance to own their own home.

By the mid 1960s, and having exhausted its own land supplies, the Trust's double-unit estates were close to completion, with a large number of privately owned, modern brick residences

## Figure 5.2: Tragedy in Mansfield Park

*Edited Extracts from the Adelaide Advertiser, August 1959*

*Edited Extract from the Advertiser, 11 August, 1959*  
**FIVE CHILDREN DEAD IN HOUSE FIRE.**

Five children were burned to death and four others seriously burned when fire destroyed a five roomed asbestos house in Frederick street, Mansfield Park, at 11 o'clock last night. The victims were the children of two families - Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Myers and Mr. Myers sister, Mrs. Shirley Doreen Rogers, who had been staying in the house with the Myers family for about seven weeks. The fire is believed to have started in the kitchen in the middle of the prefabricated Housing Trust temporary home. The children were in the house on their own when the fire broke out, shortly before 11 o'clock. Mr. and Mrs. Myers and Mrs. Rogers had gone to the pictures. Early this morning the police said they believed the dead children were: HANS CHRISTIAN MYERS, 10 years; IVOR RICHARD MYERS, 5; MARYLIN JOYCE MYERS, 3; FRANCIS ROBERT ROGERS, 4; WAYNE STANLEY ROGERS, 1½ years. The injured are: Veronica Mavis Myers, 13; Stephen Kingsley Myers, 9; Ronald Henry Myers, 7; and Leonard Maxwell Myers, 2½ months.

Mr. Jack Maxwell Martin, a neighbour, said he was awakened about 11 o'clock by Veronica, who was carrying her baby brother Leonard. She said, 'Quick, the house is on fire and Marylin is trapped in the end room'. Veronica who had been awakened by smoke, had snatched her brother Leonard from his cot and dashed in her night clothes through the blazing second bedroom on the western wing and through the kitchen to open the door. Another neighbour, Mr. Joe Mitchell of Gateshead Street, Woodville North, and his wife, were two of the first on the scene. Mr. Mitchell said: 'If this has been caused by an electrical fault, I am going to push the case as far as I can. This is the fourth fire in 12 months in this district. It is very lucky that there was no loss of life previously during this period.'

*Edited Extract from the Advertiser, 12 August, 1959*  
**NO CLUE TO CAUSE OF FIRE.**

Police, firemen and officials of the Housing Trust and Electricity Trust were unable yesterday to discuss the cause of the fires which burned five children to death in a Mansfield Park temporary home late on Monday night. The sodden, black ashes of the house in which nine children and three adults had lived were sifted and examined without revealing a positive clue to the cause of the tragedy. It is certain, however, that the fire started in the centre of the house. The children's parents were at a picture show when the tragedy occurred. Four children are still in the Royal Adelaide and Children's Hospital. Their conditions are satisfactory.

Both parents wept when told that neighbours were rallying to raise money, clothing and furniture to help them. Mr and Mrs Myers searched the remains of their home yesterday, but found nothing salvageable except

some crockery and oddments. "We have nothing left", Mr Myers said.

The Housing Trust was investigating the desirability of refitting temporary homes with gas instead of wood stoves to lessen fire risk, the Premier (Sir Thomas Playford) said in the Assembly yesterday. The Premier said the investigations had no connection with Monday's tragic fire in which five children were killed and four others narrowly escaped death. The Premier was replying to Mr. Jennings (ALP) who had asked for an investigation of all Housing Trust temporary homes by a recognised fire authority, particularly in respect of electrical installations and the inflammable materials used. Four times in the past two years families have been burnt out in the Woodville area. In the two year period, 1957-58 fires have occurred in 12 temporary homes in their various locations.

*Edited Extract from the Advertiser, 13 August, 1959*  
**FAULTY WIRING IN TEMPORARY HOME.**

An examination of the Mansfield Park temporary home where five children were burned to death on Monday had disclosed faulty electrical wiring, the Premier (Sir Thomas Playford) said in the Assembly yesterday. The Premier said the chairman of the Electricity Trust had sent him a report of an examination by a trust engineer of the remains of the electrical installations at the home. The report which would be made available to the coronial inquiry read: 'There were no signs of over-heating due to overload or loose connections. A temporary flexible wire with two connectors had been run from a power plug in the kitchen near a wood stove through one bedroom into the end bedroom to connect a radiogram.

Three plugs had been mounted on a standard wooden block wired by means of a piece of flexible wire to a plug top, and plugged into the original power plug installed when the house was built. An extension had also been made from a switchboard in the laundry to a power plug from a washing machine situated in that room and the extension continued to provide a light over the backyard. An extension flex had also been connected into a junction box on this run to provide power supply in the backyard. None of this temporary wiring had been referred to the Trust for the necessary inspections and testing and we understand from the SA Housing Trust that approval had not been obtained for these reasons'.

The Premier told Mr. Ryan (ALP) the question of whether doors were necessary at each end of the house would be examined. He asked whether the Government would ask the Housing Trust to enquire into the advisability of having further doors. A general meeting of members of the Vehicle Builders' Union last night decided to support a full-scale enquiry into fire hazards associated with SA Housing Trust temporary homes.

Sources: The Adelaide Advertiser, 11-13 August, 1959



**Plate 5.5** (above): Double Unit, Montrose Street, Ferryden Park c1956

**Plate 5.6** (below): Double Unit, Ely Street, Mansfield Park c1963

**Source:** Simon Neldner, 1998 & 1996.



being established in neighbouring streets. After the completion of Athol Park, the Trust's building program was permanently halted, with the subdivision of existing land-holdings, helping to fragment the pattern of ownership, and undermine the Trust's ability to consolidate or to extend its land holdings within The Parks.<sup>14</sup>

## 5.5 Re-evaluation: 1966-1974

In contrast to the 'new-town' of Elizabeth, The Parks was never guided by any strategic blueprint or the creative synergies of a model community, as the objective 'was always the same: houses, houses and more houses' (Marsden, 1986). It was not surprising, therefore, that the Trust would have a significant, and in some suburbs, a *determining* influence over the design of its homes, the selection of its residents, and the provision of its services (Parkin, 1975: 111).

By the mid-1960s, the Housing Trust had largely completed its building program within The Parks, but its mass production model of home construction, combined with the false economies of cheaper building materials and inadequate services, contributed to a range of problems, such as escalating maintenance costs and a poor living environment. In many respects, the Trust's designs had outlived their usefulness, with each new compromise - from building materials to internal fixtures - contributing to an urban landscape, where uniformity was its 'overwhelming hallmark' (Parkin, 1975: 116). As Peacock (1974) observed:

The fact that it was a Housing Trust area is easily recognised. There is row after row of semi-detached brick homes in prescribed colours, each with a high galvanised iron back fence and low cyclone wire front fence.<sup>15</sup>

To the casual observer, The Parks was seen to be 'a monotonous, unkempt place, without distinction of any kind' (Martin, 1970: 308), while its social or community facilities were scandalously under-resourced (Knapman, 1974).

In addition, the poor state of the area's physical infrastructure (ie absence of kerbing, drains, footpaths, playgrounds, street-lighting and sealed roads) was often ignored - with the Trust

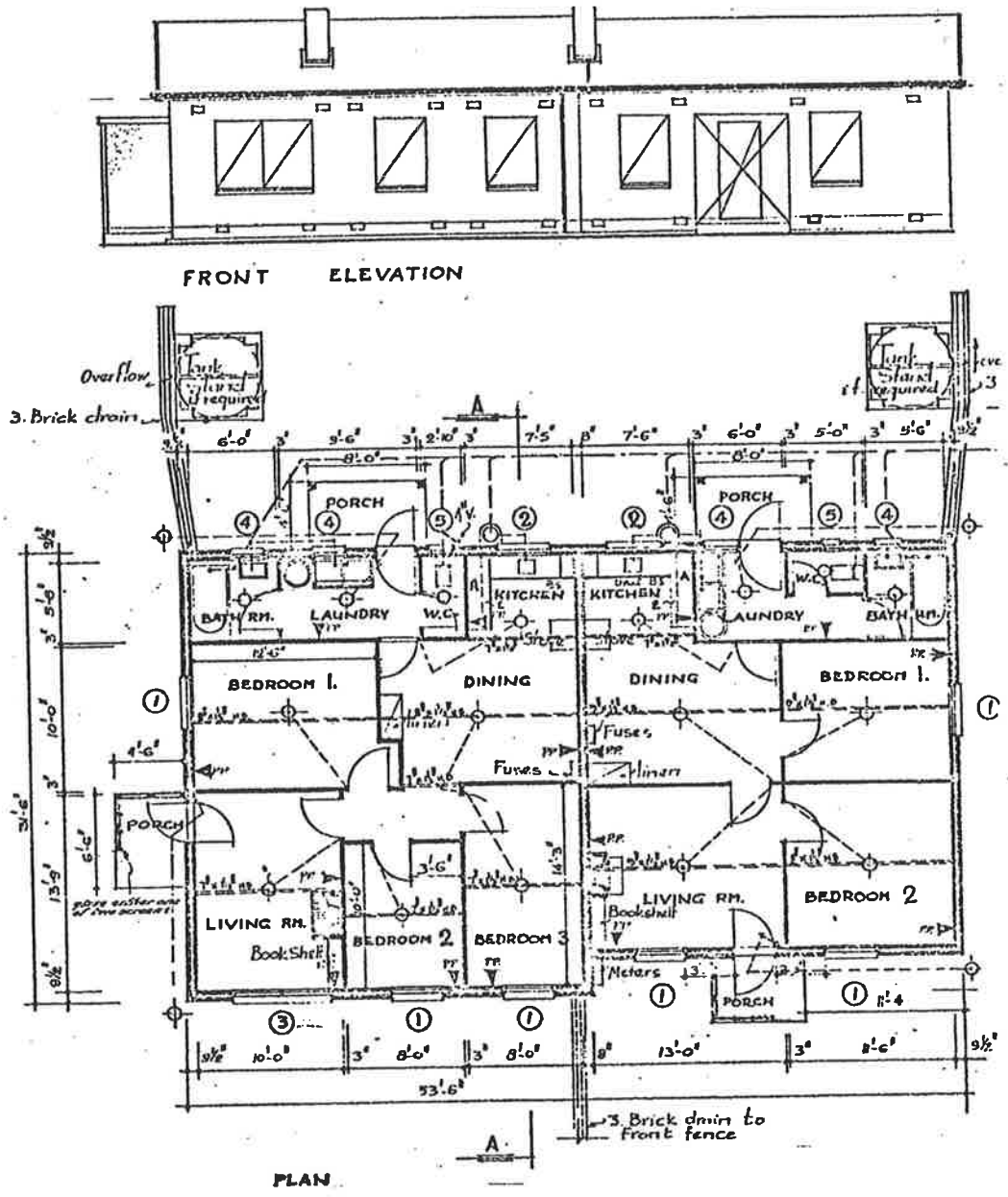
distracted by more important projects, while local authorities were often concerned with their own reputations or serving the interests of the more vocal ratepayers.<sup>16</sup> By the early 1970s, the Trust started to acknowledge that serious social problems were beginning to emerge within the Parks area - particularly the problems generated by 'establishing entire suburbs of a distinctive type and social character' (Marsden, 1986: 174). Of the contributing factors, which acted to reinforce 'disadvantage', several can be identified.

During the Second World War, the Trust had started to vary both the quality and type of materials used in its dwellings. Although this led to the gradual substitution of some building materials caused by rationing, scarcity and import restrictions, there was also the underlying philosophy of providing austere or fixed cost housing. The Trust's declared objective was to 'provide the maximum reasonable standard of convenience and comfort with the minimum expenditure of materials and labour' (Hogben, 1947: 35). But as Marsden (1986) notes, there was also a more subtle objective:

Although never publicly stated, the cost restriction must also have been intended to produce barely adequate houses; houses which would provide the minimum of comforts and the maximum contrast in appearance with private homes; houses which no working class family on an improving income, with aspirations to match, would choose if it could do better.<sup>17</sup>

By the 1960s, particularly in areas such as Athol and Angle Park's, the Trust was increasingly using cheaper building materials, such as fibrous-cement cladding and besser blocks in their homes, and where the 'inexorable increase in estate size reflected the victory of short-term financial savings over longer term social costs' (Marsden, 1986: 94).

Secondly, the internal characteristics and physical appearance of the Trust's double-unit residences often attracted strong criticism from its residents (Knapman, 1974: 37) (Figure 5.3). Trust 'double-units', designed and built from the 1940s, usually lacked any internal privacy (due to the absence of passageways) and were often uncomfortably noisy.<sup>18</sup> In summer, because of poor ventilation, many residents chose to sleep outside, while the homes themselves proved totally inadequate for larger families - particularly the modest room sizes and the absence of any significant storage or bench spaces (Knapman, 1974: 37). In addition, the need for quick completions, the absence of streetscaping (eg shady street trees),



**SOUTH AUSTRALIAN  
HOUSING TRUST**

CONTRACTOR MUST VERIFY  
ALL DIMENSIONS AT THE JOB  
BEFORE COMMENCING WORK

**Figure 5.3: Internal Schematics – Double Unit Residence**  
Source: Knapman (1974: 58)

and the lack of any three dimensional qualities in its architecture - often gave the impression that the area was 'simply hurled together, piece by piece' (Knapman, 1974: 35).<sup>19</sup>

Thirdly, many of the Trust's estates were often planned without any provision for recreational (eg tennis courts), community (eg public toilets, benches) or social venues (eg community centres) for its residents and if they were planned, they often remained as under-resourced community facilities or as poorly maintained recreational spaces.<sup>20</sup> As Knapman (1974), was to report:

A senior architect recalled that in the early years physical factors were the only planning considerations. There was no planning for job availability, balanced communities, transport and facilities, and it was just fortuitous in the Woodville Gardens case that the available land was close to existing industrial employment ... Today a number of Trust staff believe that many current problems stem from the original lack of planning, and initial layout mistakes. In particular, the lack of private homes and the construction of double unit housing is regarded as the worst feature of the area, exacerbating social problems and being the major contributing factor to the depressed, monotonous appearance which marks this area as physically the worst of all Trust estates.<sup>21</sup>

For the Housing Trust, physical or site planning was *the* only consideration (eg the extension of services), while social or community facilities, if provided, were 'usually tacked on in a somewhat haphazard pattern' without any accompanying community participation or feedback as to their usefulness (Marsden, 1986: 162).

Fourthly, the area's reputation began to suffer from the media notoriety given to reported instances of crime - usually underage drinking, theft and vandalism. Not surprisingly, this led to increasing problems of juvenile delinquency - more often than not caused by groups of 'kids left to their own devices' (*Adelaide Advertiser*, 21 November 1974: 5)<sup>22</sup>. Added to this problem, was the previous construction of temporary or emergency dwellings in the north-western suburbs during the 1950s and, after their removal in the early 1960s, the dispersal of many of its "problem families" into the Parks area - specifically Angle Park (Knapman, 1974: 27-33).

And finally, the deficiency of the Trust's physical or site planning was often exacerbated by the daily conflict between residential and industrial areas (eg noise and air pollution, heavy

vehicular traffic, inadequate waste disposal etc....) which reflected an equally poor understanding of urban or environmental compatibility and the problems of longer term exposure to industrial pollutants and hazardous building materials. In submitting her report, Knapman (1974) concluded that there 'was more than enough evidence that something can and should be done' to resolve the immediate, and long standing concerns of residents (Knapman, 1974: 73). In response, Alex Ramsay, the Trust's Chief Executive Officer, made a simple, but erudite observation: 'there comes a time when you have to shoot the artist' (Marsden, 1986: 165).

## **5.6 Regeneration: 1975-1993.**

Despite its problems, the Housing Trust was never to abandon The Parks, as it started the difficult process of redevelopment and physical improvement. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, a series of tree planting schemes and gardening competitions, combined with the upgrading of local reserves and parks, improved the area's streetscape and visual appeal. A total of 10 500 trees and shrubs, distributed free of charge, between 1975 and 1978. While in previous years, a series of gardening competitions were held, with several prizes awarded to local residents.<sup>23</sup>

And secondly, a modest construction program, involving the selective demolition or refurbishment of its double units, provided a range of housing options for both single parent households and the aged (ie cottage, townhouse and unit development). In October 1978, the Trust initiated the first of its regeneration programs, with the redevelopment of the former Mission Drinks Factory in Ferryden Park.<sup>24</sup> Built at a cost of \$814,000, this was one of the first projects which provided an alternative to double-unit housing, particularly for the aged and single parents, who could remain in the local area, but close enough to existing community networks, shopping facilities and local support services (Plate 5.7).

In addition, the success of 'Mission Court' - such as its unobtrusive design and landscaping features - provided the 'template' for future developments at Ferryden Park in 1982 and Pennington in 1983 (Plate 5.8).<sup>25</sup> The Trust, in summarising its redevelopment objectives, concluded:





**Plate 5.7** (above): Selective Infill, 'Mission Court', Ferryden Park (1979)  
**Plate 5.8** (below): Townhouse Development, Carlton Crescent, Pennington (1982)  
**Source:** *Simon Neldner, 1996*



The Trust considers this form of sensitive redevelopment to be an important tool in the provision of housing for the aged in totally developed areas. It must be emphasised, however, that the success of the Ferryden Park scheme was achieved only with the full cooperation of local government and the community - factors which must be present if the process is to be repeated successfully.<sup>26</sup>

Over the next ten years, the Trust continued its improvement program, with a total of 475 properties being refurbished, extensively upgraded or completed within The Parks (*The Parks Urban Renewal Project*, 1996: 155). The largest of these projects, the Brister's redevelopment in Angle Park, was completed in the early 1990s, and (for the first time) incorporated a community survey to determine the needs and preferences of local residents.<sup>27</sup>

## 5.7 Discussion

During the first twenty years of the Trust's activities, its building program was largely confined to city's north-western suburbs, and contributed to an urban form identified by its physical character and social composition. And although the area was generally regarded as poorly resourced and its residents under-privileged, its redeeming features were: the fixed or subsidised rental levels of public housing; access to modern shopping and hospital services; and local sources of employment. As Knapman (1974) remarked:

Although the catchment area may in some senses be seen as underprivileged, the fixed housing trust rents, and the demand for unskilled industrial labour ensure a measure of economic security for the majority of people.<sup>28</sup>

However the Trust, in constructing a landscape of double-units - reserved almost exclusively for its rental customers - had also created a 'massive fixed investment', which was dependent on local sources of employment for its economic survival (Badcock, 1986).

In *Good Times, Hard Times* (1995), Mark Peel, in recounting the history of Elizabeth, remarks on the importance of local knowledge and how a community can adapt to change: In any

locality, the plausible options, the shape of the future, will depend upon its history and how its history is understood (Peel, 1995: 206). For The Parks, which was developed without the financial resources, the planning expertise or the political patronage of Elizabeth, thinking about the *future* or what could be done in the way of improvements was never really considered. In the meantime, the political establishment and bureaucracy which had built The Parks, had not only been replaced, but had progressively lost its faith in the public sector's ability to build a better future.

Part of the problem, and given the current climate of historical revisionism, is that the perceptiveness of 'community' or sociological analyses, have been replaced with more fashionable pursuits - from soap-box commentaries to cultural critiques - which have proved to be of limited value, in both their methodological approach and intellectual depth. And it was in this modality, that the history of The Parks went largely unrecorded, confined to academic theses and unpublished reports, resulting in a progressive marginalisation, driven by media reporting and a succession of less-than-knowledgeable Housing Ministers (Chapman, 1996). What was forgotten, is that for many people, public housing in The Parks – while able to meet their basic *physical* needs – was also caught in the economic and social upheavals of the time, and where issues of welfare dependency and unemployment went largely unresolved.

Despite these problems, and the type of urban environment that had been created, residents must also be given the credit for transforming The Parks. For one simple reason: while every tenancy was a not success, the misfortunes of life and disadvantage being felt by too many households, it was always a place that people could call 'home'. And it is one of the few places that will constantly surprise, not simply because of its urban form, but because of those households who not only chose to stay, but through their actions – both in the home and in the community – made a positive contribution to its development.

Indeed, local residents were active participants in community forums, from the Progress Associations of the 1960s (that campaigned for better roads and footpaths), to the Preventative Health and Environmental Action Groups of the 1990s (that campaigned for a cleaner, healthier environment). These efforts, combined with the campaign to build a local swimming pool, not only provided a range of services and recreational facilities, but formed the basis for a broadly based residents' committee (Chapter Seven).

However the largest investment, which has often been under-valued, were the efforts of residents to improve their own homes and gardens - regardless of their length of residence or form of tenure (Plate 5.9 & 5.10). To these residents, The Parks was not a temporary stop-over, but a place to call home. The difference, between finding a home and building one, is in the definition:

A house: a structural arrangement of space, geometrically laid out to provide what are called rooms, these divided from one another by verticals and horizontals called walls, ceilings, floors. The house contains the home but is not identical with it. The house anticipates the home and will very likely survive it, reverting again simply to house, when home (that is, life) departs. For only where there is life can there be a home.<sup>29</sup>

To its credit, the Housing Trust was able to recognise this difference, with tenants being 'strongly encouraged to look upon the house allotted as *their home*' [my emphasis] (SAHT Annual Report, 1968: 22). This is a crucial point, as the mistake critics made, and which potential redevelopers would eventually overlook, was that for the majority of residents, a Trust home was their first home, the home in which their children grew up, the home in which they have invested a great deal, from home improvements to community relationships. As a result, the significance of 'place' often led to an enduring attachment, an emotive bond, reinforced by the presence of family and friends.

In addition, the development of a public housing system - with South Australia having the most comprehensive scheme - provided residents with one of the few opportunities of decent, self-contained accommodation - particularly when a majority of its original residents had experienced the worst of conditions - from the slums of the Great Depression, to the refugee camps of post-war Europe. To this generation, the chance of a new life, combined with the benefits of full time work and the security of public housing tenure - was a significant *improvement* in their standard of living. As one resident remarked, 'if you're desperate for a place, you're grateful for a roof over your head'.<sup>30</sup>

In summary, for a community which was poorly planned, serviced and maintained it was hardly surprising when its critics could only comment about its stereotypical streetscape, its



**Plate 5.9 (above):** Rehabilitation. Double Unit, Sutherland Road (Ferryden Park)  
**Plate 5.10 (below):** Split Personality. Double Unit, Coker Street (Ferryden Park)  
Both the Housing Trust and private homeowners have contributed toward the upgrading of double unit dwellings throughout The Parks.  
*Source: Simon Neldner, 1998 & 1996*



double-units, its prescribed paint colours, its lack of services, and its low cyclone fences. However for local residents, these were also every-day problems, but they could be solved - either collectively or individually. And the fact that people chose their homes, instead of middle-class pursuits (which they could not afford), to make a contribution, was not a nostalgic view of times past, but an opportunity to provide a decent environment, a place to raise their kids. For this generation, however, the achievements of their parents were largely overshadowed by changes within the local labour market, from workplace insecurity to long-term unemployment, and which they were relatively powerless to resist (Chapter Six).

<sup>1</sup> Cockburn S., (1991) *Playford: Benevolent Despot* Axiom Adelaide p95

<sup>2</sup> Marsden S., (1977a) *A History of Woodville* City of Woodville p 206

<sup>3</sup> Badcock B., (1986) 'Land and Housing Provision' in Sheridan K., (ed) (1986) *The State as Developer: Public Enterprise in South Australia* Wakefield Press Adelaide p 169

<sup>4</sup> In addition, a system of land management or 'banking' was also introduced. This decision, while acting to restrain the inflationary costs of land speculation, was also designed to counter the unwanted side-effects of 'urban sprawl' (ie unplanned developments, the costs associated with service connections etc.).

<sup>5</sup> Between 1838 and 1880, three 'villages' were established within the Parks area. These being: Mechanics Town, situated in present day Woodville North; Tam O'Shanter Village, situated in Regency Park; and the township of Islington, situated near Mansfield Park.

<sup>6</sup> Parkin A., (1975) *Participation in a Working Class Suburb* MA Thesis (Politics) University of Adelaide (unpublished) p115

<sup>7</sup> In the Parks, the Trust's building program did not recommence until July 1944, a period of twenty two months (SAHT, Annual Report - 1948).

<sup>8</sup> In addition, the collapse in land prices during the 1930s depression, provided the conditions for mass purchases - underwritten by the Government - whereupon some of the allotments were 'available for little more than the arrears in council rates' (Marsden, 1986: 150).

<sup>9</sup> SAHT (1958), *Annual Report* Adelaide South Australia p 8

<sup>10</sup> The Emergency Dwellings Scheme was also supplemented by a number of imported, timber framed homes, from Germany and the United Kingdom. [nb: Some of which, were assembled by Tecalemit in Woodville North - See Chapter 4). A total of 3,832 timber framed homes were purchased, with the last consignment arriving from the United Kingdom in January 1954. Each of these homes were detached, timber-framed dwellings with asbestos walls. All of their fittings, such as bathrooms and sinks, were all fully imported and reassembled on-site. By June of 1954, 732 homes had been sold, 2019 had been rented, while a further 224 had been purchased by the South Australian Railways and the Electricity Trust of South Australia. (SAHT *Annual Report* 1958:42)

<sup>11</sup> South Australian Housing Trust (1958) *Annual Report* Adelaide, South Australia p42

<sup>12</sup> For example, the Parliamentary Proceedings of South Australia or Hansard, list the following entries, with the repeated requests for improvements (by the local Member of Parliament), consistently ignored or the problem 'shunted' to Enfield Council.

**Table 5.2: Parliamentary Proceedings: South Australian Parliament**

| <i>Description</i>                         | <i>Date</i> | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Roads in Housing Trust Areas               | 24 May'55   | 34          |
| Emergency Homes                            | 30 July'57  | 173-177     |
| Fire Hazard in Temporary Homes             | 17 Sept.'57 | 629         |
| Fires in Emergency Homes                   | 18 Jun'58   | 36-37       |
| Sewering of Mansfield Park                 | 18 Jun'58   | 43          |
| Flooding of Septic Tanks in Mansfield Park | 16 Sept.'58 | 707-708     |
| Flooding of Septic Tanks                   | 30 Oct'58   | 953         |
| Roads in Housing Trust Areas               | 21 Jul'59   | 98          |
| Roads in Housing Trust Areas               | 28 Jul'59   | 185         |
| Fires in Emergency Homes                   | 12 Aug.'59  | 414-415     |
| Mansfield Park Fire                        | 13 Aug'59   | 444-445     |

**Source:** South Australia, *Parliamentary Proceedings* (Adelaide) 1955,1957,1958,1959.

<sup>13</sup> This decision, while welcomed by tenants, was also a *fait-accompli*, in that the rate of permanent construction had, by the early 1960s, started to approach the level of demand for rental accommodation (SAHT, *Annual Report*, 1963). In addition, the circumstances surrounding the replacement of its emergency homes are of interest, in that the Government had rejected the removal of these dwellings in November 1959. Reference: 'No plans for removal of temporary homes' *Weekly Times* 11 November, 1959-1.

<sup>14</sup> In 1971, a comparison of census collection districts reveals an interesting pattern: of the twenty seven collectors districts (within the Parks), owner-occupiers outnumbered tenants in 9/26 districts; with six of the remaining districts comprising at least one third of owner-occupiers. In addition, owner occupiers were represented in each collection district. In summary, 53% of residents rented from the Trust, 34% were owner-occupiers, 10% rented in the private sector, and 3% declined to record their situation (Reference: *Census of Population & Housing*, 1971). Owner occupiers were represented in each collection district.

<sup>15</sup> Peacock J., (1974) *Angle Park Community Centre: For the People or the Planners?* BA Honours Thesis Department of Geography University of Adelaide (unpublished) p 25

<sup>16</sup> In February 1961, due to the poor state of the Parks (ie unsealed roads, no kerbing, and the absence of recreational, social and community facilities), Woodville Council approached its northern neighbour, Enfield Council, to change the name of Woodville Gardens to something that could not be identified or associated with the similarly named Council. While Woodville Council had successfully partitioned Woodville North, to form the new suburb of Athol Park (and separating its Trust estates from private home-owners), Enfield Council politely refused their offer. Needless to say, services did not improve in either area. (Reference: 'Woodville Gardens will not be renamed' *Weekly Times* 8 February, 1961: 9)

<sup>17</sup> Marsden S., (1986) *ibid.*, p. 29

<sup>18</sup> The dividing wall, above the ceiling, was often left unfinished and, as a result, created an 'unsatisfactory [level of] acoustic insulation' (Knapman, 1974: 37).

<sup>19</sup> Further design problems, as noted by Knapman (1974), included issues of cracking, damp and mildew, too few power points, inadequate drainage, (un)natural odours, antique appliances, and a lack of basic facilities to ease the problems of house cleaning (eg tiling and better laundry facilities).

<sup>20</sup> In the early 1970s, the under-servicing problem cannot be overstated, particularly when a population of 38 000 - within a one mile radius of Mansfield Park - had access to just one oval, two tennis courts and 11 playgrounds. And to exacerbate matters, the area was without a swimming pool or cinema.

<sup>21</sup> Knapman C., (1974) *Mansfield Park Study: Progress Report* SAHT (unpublished) p. 34

<sup>22</sup> Their education was similarly inhibited by the use of temporary or pre-fabricated classrooms, unappreciated teachers and generally under-resourced school facilities.

<sup>23</sup> References: 'Free trees, shrubs in plan to beautify local suburbs' *Weekly Times* 16 April, 1975-1; 'Garden prize for Parks' *Weekly Times* 30 July, 1975-6; 'Free trees from Trust' *Weekly Times* 21 March, 1978-9; '7000 free trees given' *Weekly Times* 12 April, 1978-4; 'Parks area is looking better' *Weekly Times* 29 November, 1978-14; 'Stanislana's garden is the best' *Weekly Times* 25 November, 1981-1

<sup>24</sup> While this was the most significant redevelopment project since the completion of the Trust's double units in the mid-1960s, it was not the first - with a total of 94 cottage flats being built, in Angle (32), Athol (8), Ferryden (6) and Mansfield Park's (48) between 1962 and 1972. In addition, a further 29 cottage flats were constructed between 1972 and 1978. A total of 123 cottage flats for the combined period.

<sup>25</sup> The Mission Drinks Factory was purchased by the Trust, following the appointment of receivers, in 1973. At its opening, in February 1980, the project consisted of three 2-bedroom and ten 1-bedroom cottage flats, and ten 3-bedroom and six 2-bedroom maisonettes. The next development, was built on land previously occupied by market gardens in Ferryden Park (Cnr Glasgow & Nairne Streets), and comprised 57 cottage flats and 22 semi-detached homes. While the third development, on Torrens Road at Pennington, was built on land purchased from the South Australian Jockey Club, and announced in February 1983. References: 'Homes for elderly' *Weekly Times* 4 October, 1978-3; 'Attraction for young people' *Weekly Times* 28 February, 1979-4; 'Green light for housing project' *Weekly Times* 15 December, 1982-5; 'New cottages at Pennington' *Weekly Times* 2 February, 1983-1.

<sup>26</sup> South Australian Housing Trust (1981) *Annual Report* Adelaide South Australia p16

<sup>27</sup> References: 'Units, detached homes preferred: survey' *Weekly Times* 22 August, 1990; 'Old Trust homes to go on show' *Weekly Times* 18 August, 1993.

<sup>28</sup> Knapman C., (1974) *op.cit.*, p.4

<sup>29</sup> Oates C., (1996) 'They all just went away' in Ward G., (ed) (1996) *The Best American Essays - 1996* Houghton Mifflin Boston p268

<sup>30</sup> Field Survey Interviews, no.368



## CHAPTER SIX: LABOUR

Local labour markets are the crucial mechanisms through which workers are allocated jobs, which are in turn key determinants of rewards and life chances within a capitalist economy<sup>1</sup>

Steven Pinch

The plus of restructuring has been a substantial improvement in productivity, quality and so on. The downside is, what happens to all those poor bastards who were put out of work, many of whom were beyond retraining?<sup>2</sup>

Alan Handberg

Work just isn't about money Mr Wallis, it's about dignity. It's about treating people with respect.<sup>3</sup>

Spotswood

### 6.0 Labour

#### 6.1 Introduction

For the duration of the long-boom, there was an almost symbiotic relationship between public housing estates such as The Parks, and local industries that provided an important source of employment and income security (Badcock, 1982). By the 1960s, the economic fortunes and occupational rewards of local residents were largely determined by the profitability of its largest companies: General-Motors Holden Ltd (Woodville), Actil Ltd (Woodville), Simpson-Pope Ltd (Finsbury, Croydon Park & Beverley), Kelvinator (Mile End & Finsbury), Tubemakers (Kilburn) and Philips (Hendon). By 1971-72, manufacturing employment in Adelaide had reached 100 779, a majority being employed in the northwestern industrial corridor of Enfield, Woodville, Thebarton, Port Adelaide and Hindmarsh (52%).

However by the mid 1970s, the conditions which had underpinned the employment growth of the previous two decades had begun to unravel: rising inflation, falling tariff barriers, higher interest rates, technological changes, corporate takeovers, plant rationalisations and import competition began to erode the competitiveness of local manufacturers (Chapter 4). Between

1971 and 1991, manufacturing employment within the Adelaide Metropolitan area fell by 32 477. This loss was particularly severe in the emerging 'rust-belt' of the north-western suburbs, with Woodville (-12 441), Enfield (-3 040), Hindmarsh (-7828), Thebarton (-961) and Port Adelaide (-1 807) accounting for some of the most precipitous losses. In Woodville, manufacturing employment fell by 60.5%, with some of its largest companies and industrial jewels – such as GM-H Woodville – retrenching thousands of workers through a rationalisation of productive capacity or outright closure.

In The Parks, where over 40% of its labour force was employed in the manufacturing sector in 1971, and many more workers dependent on the business it generated (from transport to business services), the collapse in the local labour market was nothing short of a social and economic disaster. By 1981, the local unemployment rate in The Parks had reached 16.4%, spiralling to a record level of 30.4% in 1991. And what had originally been seen as a cyclical downturn, had rapidly become a problem of structural adjustment, industrial change and social polarisation. And while the area's all-too-visible housing problems and reputation of chronic under-servicing could be overlooked in a period of full employment, the onset of an almost permanent or 'rolling' recession throughout the 1980s and 1990s only highlighted the depth of the area's disadvantage. Throughout the northwestern suburbs, the costs of unemployment and structural change were effectively being 'shunted down the labour market hierarchy to those both least able bear it and powerless to resist' (Craig, 1985:120).

The social safety net, initially designed to provide *temporary* relief to those without work, was unable to cope with the defacto permanency of longer-term unemployment, where losing your job sometimes meant never finding one again. Indeed, the longer term consequences of permanently warehousing the poor within the state's public housing estates has never been effectively resolved, with the only option being considered (and in some places implemented) to redevelop public housing estates and disperse its tenant population.

## **6.2 Living and Working in The Parks**

The Parks has always been linked *economically* to the profitability of its largest employers and most successful post-war businesses, many of whom established additional factories in the vacant industrial spaces of Wingfield, Woodville North, Enfield and Port Adelaide. In

addition, the cluster of commercial and engineering establishments servicing the Port of Adelaide and its ship-building and repair yards, its storage and stevedoring operations, its processing and manufacturing activities and transportation infrastructure, all contributed to the creation of an interdependent economic structure. That is, where the effects of industrial and technological change (eg. the closure of noxious industries, the decline of the local shipbuilding industry and the introduction of bulk-handling and containerisation procedures) had a significant multiplier effect throughout the north-western suburbs in general and the Port of Adelaide in particular.

For the local workforce, the effects of these changes were often felt unevenly, in that not all workers were affected, some being able to retain their jobs, while others were retrenched or re-employed within the same industrial sector. In The Parks, the effects of these changes, at least on a quantitative level, have been difficult to measure – especially aspects like place of work and the duration of employment. In Table 6.1, the field work component of the community survey provided a qualitative snapshot of those workers who had since retired from the workforce, but whose residency status (of living in The Parks) had not changed. With this information, both in tabular (Table 6.1) and graphical form (Figure 6.1), it is possible to highlight the relative importance of the larger manufacturers and the Port of Adelaide as significant employers of local residents.

For example, a large number of respondents was employed in the immediate Woodville-Parks-Enfield area, in companies such as GMH-Woodville, Simpson-Pope, Kelvinator, Actil, Philips and Tubemakers. The Port of Adelaide was also a pivotal employment centre, with a significant number being employed in various wholesale, commercial, construction, industrial and maritime businesses. It is also apparent, from the list of company names, that a large number of businesses have since closed or seen their operations transformed through a process of rationalisation and acquisition. From a graphical perspective, the largest concentration of work places is within the north-western industrial corridor, centred on Port Road (Figure 6.1). It also suggested the existence of a spatially compact and relatively identifiable local labour market in the 1950s and 1960s, which was important in defining the employment and occupational profile of The Parks.

Indeed, the number of residents who were employed in manufacturing firms, often in multiple jobs, underscored the *interdependence* of public housing and employment opportunities:

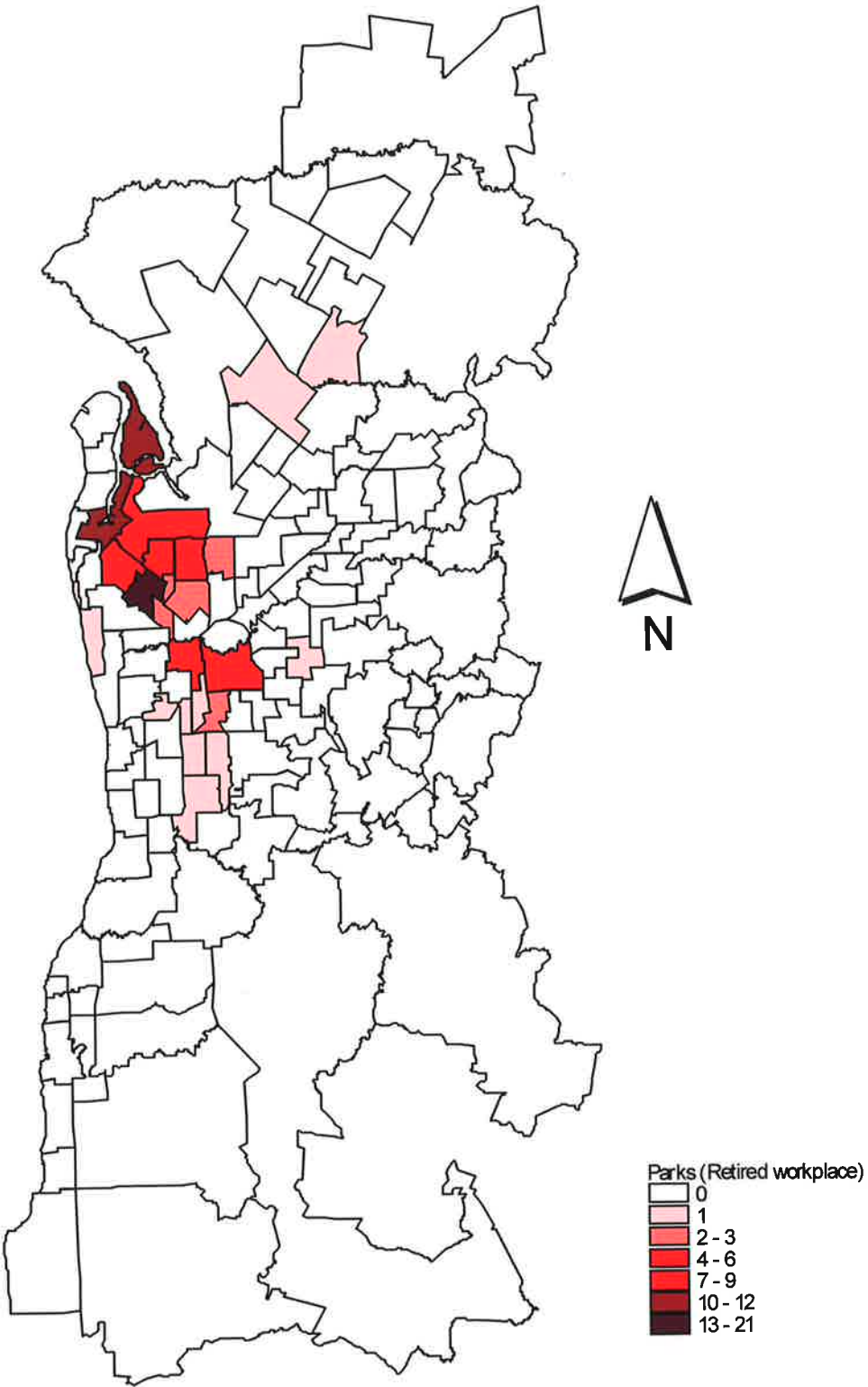
**Table 6.1 : Retired Workers, Community Survey (1993-94)**

## Employment History and Suburb of Employment

| Ref | Nationality      | Gender | Industry           | Suburb            | Company                     |
|-----|------------------|--------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 4   | Italian          | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 7   | Anglo-Australian | M      | Community Services | Port Adelaide     | Port Adelaide City Council  |
| 11  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville North   | (Engineering Firm)          |
| 24  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Petrochemicals     | Port Adelaide     | Shell                       |
| 28  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Transport          | Ferryden Park     | TNT                         |
| 31  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Transport          | Wingfield         | Adelaide Brake Service      |
| 38  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction       | Port Adelaide     |                             |
|     |                  |        | Community Services | Daw Park          | Repatriation Hospital       |
| 39  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Tonsley Park      | Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd        |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Woodville North   | ROH (Steel Wheels) Pty Ltd  |
| 51  | Italian          | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 59  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Transport          | Port Adelaide     | Australian Customs Service  |
| 65  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Rosewater         | (Engineering Firm)          |
| 73  | Anglo-British    | M      | Transport          | (South Australia) | Commonwealth Railways       |
| 84  | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction       | Port Adelaide     | (Timber Merchant)           |
| 125 | Italian          | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Construction       | Pennington        | Public Buildings Department |
| 128 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Retail Trade       | Athol Park        | (Service Station)           |
|     | Anglo-Australian | F      | Business Services  | Port Adelaide     | (Office)                    |
| 152 | Italian          | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 159 | Italian          | M      | Transport          | (South Australia) | Commonwealth Railways       |
|     |                  |        | Transport          | Ferryden Park     | TNT                         |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Kilburn           | Tubemakers                  |
| 160 | Anglo-British    | M      | Manufacturing      | Islington         | S.A. Railways               |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Port Adelaide     | Gibb & Miller               |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Kilburn           | Tubemakers                  |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Hendon            | Phillips                    |
|     |                  |        | Transport          | Regency Park      | State Transport Authority   |
| 175 | Finnish          | M      | Manufacturing      | Keswick           | Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd        |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      |                   | (Transport Equipment)       |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing      | Dudley Park       | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
| 194 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | Actil Ltd                   |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | Actil Ltd                   |
| 201 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | Actil Ltd                   |
| 211 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Transport          | Mile End          | S.A. Railways               |
| 213 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction       | (Adelaide)        |                             |
| 216 | Anglo-Australian | F      | Manufacturing      | Athol Park        | Jon Preserving Co.          |
| 218 | Greek            | M      | Agriculture        | Ferryden Park     | (Market Garden)             |
| 219 | Yugoslavian      | M      | Manufacturing      | Albert Park       | Finsbury Pumps              |
|     |                  | F      | Retail Trade       | Adelaide (CBD)    |                             |
| 220 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction       | Henley & Grange   |                             |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing      | Hendon            | (Munitions)                 |
| 227 | Greek            | F      | Manufacturing      | Edwardstown       | Hills Industries            |
| 239 | Greek            | M      | Manufacturing      | Thebarton         | Coca-Cola Bottlers          |
| 240 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | Actil Ltd                   |
| 243 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Port Adelaide     | W Thomas & Co.              |
| 245 | Yugoslavian      | M      | Manufacturing      | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Transport          | Port Adelaide     | HMAS Encounter              |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing      | Leabrook          | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
| 254 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Hendon            | Phillips                    |
| 264 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing      | Dudley Park       | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |

Table 6.1: (cont.)

| Ref | Nationality      | Gender | Industry              | Suburb            | Company                     |
|-----|------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 264 |                  | F      | Manufacturing         | Kilkenny          | DOW                         |
| 265 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction          | (SA Country)      |                             |
| 267 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 271 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 272 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction          | (Adelaide)        |                             |
| 278 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Transport             | Port Adelaide     | (Stevedoring)               |
| 279 | Anglo-British    | M      | Electricity           | Angle Park        | Electricity Trust of S.A.   |
| 301 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Wingfield         | (Skin & Tallow Factory)     |
| 302 | Polish           | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         | Goodwood          | Kelvinator Ltd              |
|     |                  |        | Transport             | Woomera           | Department of Supply        |
| 304 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Transport             | Athol Park        |                             |
| 306 | Italian          | M      | Manufacturing         | (Adelaide)        | (Bakery)                    |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing         | Alberton          | (Clothing Factory)          |
| 311 | Yugoslavian      | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         | Elizabeth         | GMH-Elizabeth               |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | Actil Ltd                   |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         |                   | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
| 312 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Construction          | Millswood         |                             |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
| 332 | Polish           | M      | Manufacturing         | Dudley Park       | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Pennington        | Public Buildings Department |
| 333 | Polish           | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  | F      | Manufacturing         |                   | Kelvinator Ltd              |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         |                   | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         |                   | Chrysler (Aust.) Ltd        |
|     |                  |        | Manufacturing         | Hendon            | Philips                     |
|     |                  |        | Property Services     | Adelaide          | Dom Polski Centre           |
| SC3 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Mile End          | Farmers Union               |
| 368 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Mining                | Stenhouse Bay     | Australian Gypsum           |
|     |                  |        | Transport             | Gillman           | Boral                       |
|     |                  | F      | Community Services    | Woodville Gardens | Goodwill                    |
|     |                  |        | Retail Trade          | Pennington        | (Delicatessen)              |
| 369 | British          | M      | Manufacturing         |                   | Simpson-Pope Ltd            |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Pennington        | Public Buildings Department |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Adelaide (CBD)    | John Martin's               |
|     | French           | F      | Retail Trade          | Adelaide (CBD)    | John Martin's               |
| 372 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Petrochemicals        | Birkenhead        | Shell                       |
| 374 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Thebarton         | Southwark Breweries         |
| 376 | Anglo-British    | M      | Construction          | Woomera           |                             |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Whyalla           |                             |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | (Adelaide)        | Department of Works         |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Pennington        | Public Buildings Department |
| 381 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Wholesale Trade       | Port Adelaide     | Cowell's                    |
|     |                  |        | Wholesale Trade       | Port Adelaide     | Lloyds                      |
| 382 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | Woodville         | GMH-Woodville               |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | (Adelaide)        |                             |
| 391 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Manufacturing         | (Adelaide)        | Kelvinator Ltd              |
|     |                  |        | Construction          | Netley            | Public Buildings Department |
| 392 | Anglo-Australian | M      | Public Administration | (Adelaide)        | Administrative Services     |
| 394 | Anglo-British    | M      | Defence               | Salisbury         | DSTO                        |
|     |                  |        | Electricity           | Torrens Island    | Electricity Trust of S.A.   |
| 395 | Anglo-British    | M      | Construction          | (Adelaide)        | Department of Works         |
|     |                  | F      | Community Services    | Woodville         | Spastic Centre              |



**Figure 6.1:** Workplace Postcode of Retired Workers

particularly for male, manual workers in local industries.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the personal mobility of local residents, while supplemented by a tram service on Torrens Road and daily passenger train services through Woodville and Finsbury, was relatively limited. The low level of car ownership, the poor state of the suburban road network and the sheer necessity of having to 'live on your feet' (to access shops, services and inevitably workplaces) restricted the movement of local residents.

### **6.3 The Parks in Transition: 1971-1996**

In terms of its local labour market, The Parks experienced a dramatic reversal of fortunes between 1971 and 1996, not only through rising unemployment and industrial restructuring, but a relative inability of local residents to secure alternative work in the places where jobs had been created. This skills gap and/or spatial mismatch, is particularly self-evident in those post-Fordist commercial and light industrial spaces, such as Regency Park, whose corporate function was not to manufacture new or existing products, but to sell, distribute and service them. Generally, this required a different basket of skills, where repetitive work on the assembly line was replaced with fewer, more highly skilled workers, supplemented by a growing cadre of clerical, sales, technical and administrative staff. These workplaces, collectively referred to as 'back-office' functions, always had one defining characteristic: the product(s) they sell, distribute or service were manufactured somewhere else.

A fundamental change had occurred, through two decades of product rationalisation and industrial restructuring, where components are routinely sourced or assembled overseas, and then marketed and distributed in Australia. By comparison, places like Finsbury and the companies which were associated with its post-war development, routinely designed, manufactured, marketed and serviced their own products. This soon became an unsustainable strategy for a relatively small and insular manufacturing sector, where innovation and technological change, combined with the comparative advantages of cheaper labour and mass production, consigned a large number of Australian companies and foreign owned subsidiaries into an endless round of mergers, takeovers or forced closures.

In The Parks, the economic reorganisation of productive capacity, particularly in the electrical, whitegoods and automotive sectors, had an immediate and irreversible employment effect. The loss of unskilled and semi-skilled production line jobs, not only removed one of the major sources of local employment, but also undermined the ability of larger companies to continue with apprenticeship schemes and cadetships. In addition, the large reduction in manufacturing employment, particularly in an area with such a high degree of dependence, was that the informal job network also began to degrade. As Hansen and Pratt (1992) explain, an:

Individual's knowledge of the universe of jobs available to them, their expectations about wages and benefits, and the gendering and radicalisation of jobs all are shaped locally, within the milieu of local employment, the neighbourhood and local community.<sup>5</sup>

For example, while heavy engineering and production line jobs (as defined by the Finsbury Industrial Estate) continue to provide an important source of employment for local residents, they represented a *declining* segment of the overall labour market (both in percentage and absolute terms). In contrast, in those places where jobs were being created, such as Regency Park, more employees were actually travelling from *outside* the Adelaide Metropolitan area than were being secured by local residents who lived less than five minutes away. These factors, combined with a 40% reduction in the overall size of The Parks labour force between 1971 and 1996, meant that with fewer people actually employed, the ability of friends, work colleagues and family members to successfully access informal job networks was also greatly diminished.

### 6.3.1 Overview

At the 1971 Census, The Parks recorded an unemployment rate of just 3.1% - a figure that was almost certainly an *overestimate* (Table 6.2).<sup>6</sup> And while full employment was to prove a largely unsustainable and illusory goal, as many workers experienced periods when they were laid-off or retrenched during the 'long-boom', there was always the expectation that 'something would turn up.'<sup>7</sup> Finding a new job or even waiting for your old one was not considered to be a problem.



**Table 6.2: Labour Force Status, The Parks (1971-1996)**

|                   | 1971 | 1981  | 1991  | 1996  |
|-------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Labour Force      | 8903 | 6768  | 6240  | 5345  |
| Employed*         | 8626 | 5663  | 4345  | 3978  |
| Unemployed        | 277  | 1105  | 1895  | 1367  |
| Unemployment Rate | 3.1% | 16.3% | 30.4% | 25.4% |

The number of employed includes: employers, wage earners, self-employed and unpaid helpers. Unpaid helpers included the following: 17 (1971); 33 (1981); 24 (1991); 0 (1996).

Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing (1971-1996)

However by the late 1970s, there was a realisation that structural changes were underway, from the globalisation of the world economy to the future labour requirements of the firm. Between 1971 and 1981, manufacturing employment within the Adelaide Metropolitan Area fell by 18.3%. In the same period, the number of manufacturing workers living in The Parks declined by 44% or 1 525 (Table 6.3).

And while the rate of decline has slowed since 1981, the overall labour force strength has fallen by over 3 500 since 1971, with the actual number of employed persons being *less than one half* of those recorded at the 1971 Census. Similarly, those classified as 'unemployed' had increased five fold, while the overall strength of the labour force had declined by over 25%. (Table 6.2).

While at an historical low in the early 1970s, unemployment re-emerged to become a major problem, with the rate of unemployment increasing to 16.3% in 1981 and 30.4% in 1991. And despite an improvement in labour market conditions, following the recession of 1991-92, The Parks was maintaining an unemployment rate two to three times greater than the metropolitan average over the same period (Figure 6.2). By 1996, with a substantially reduced labour force and a rate of unemployment caught in a holding pattern of around 25%, there have been few signs of a noticeable improvement.

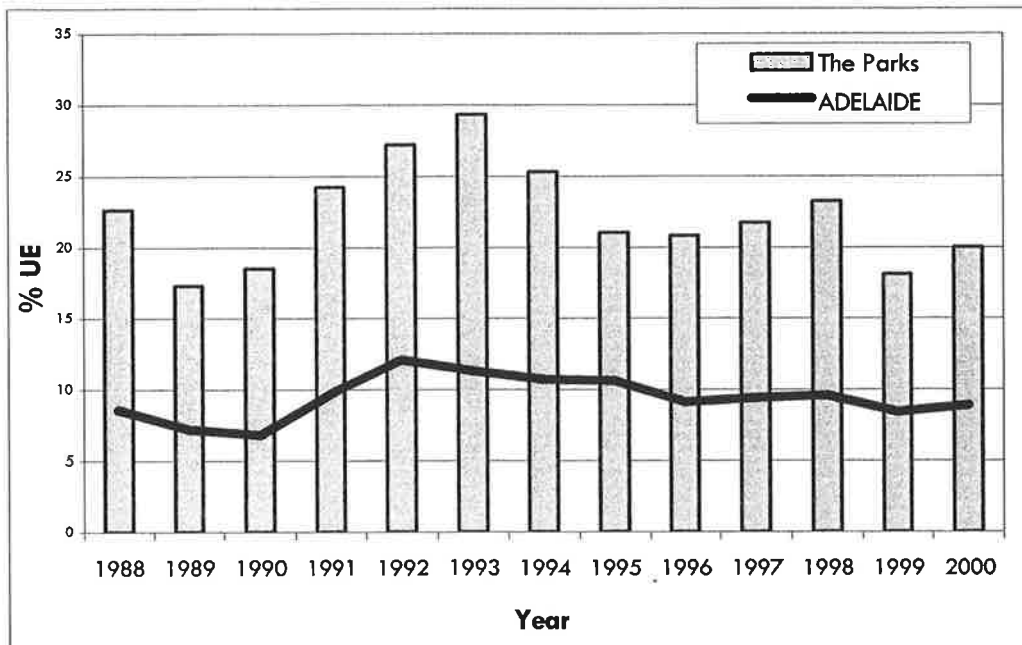
**Table 6.3 : Sector of Employment, The Parks 1971-1996**

[Source: ABS Census of Population &amp; Housing]

| <u>Sector of Employment</u>              | <u>1971</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1991</u> | <u>1996</u> | <u>Change</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing          | 26          | 18          | 18          | 49          | 23            |
| Mining                                   | 19          | 19          | 9           | 12          | -7            |
| Manufacturing                            | 3476        | 1951        | 1279        | 1203        | -2273         |
| Electricity, Gas & Water                 | 214         | 143         | 46          | 24          | -190          |
| Construction                             | 561         | 260         | 142         | 154         | -407          |
| Wholesale & Retail Trade                 | 1731        | 986         | 794         | 721         | -1010         |
| Transport & Storage                      | 573         | 390         | 214         | 167         | -406          |
| Communication                            | 93          | 72          | 48          | 76          | -17           |
| Insurance, Financial & Business Services | 332         | 250         | 261         | 295         | -37           |
| Public Administration & Defence          | 279         | 223         | 139         | 108         | -171          |
| Personal & Community Services*           | 536         | 600         | 578         | 454         | -82           |
| Entertainment & Recreational Services*   | 406         | 302         | 256         | 405         | -1            |
| Other / Not Stated                       | 375         | 489         | 560         | 273         | -102          |
| <b>Total:</b>                            | <b>8621</b> | <b>5703</b> | <b>4344</b> | <b>3941</b> | <b>-4680</b>  |

\* The final two categories 'Personal & Community Services' and 'Entertainment and Recreational Services' are a varying combination of sub-categories, broadly grouped, which have varied considerably in definition and classification since the 1971 Census. For example, 'Personal & Community Services' combines the 1996 Census sub-categories Personal & Other Services, Education, Health & Community Services. Similarly, 'Entertainment & Recreational Services' combines Cultural & Recreational Services and Accommodation-Cafes & Restaurants. These groupings should be understood as an estimate only, as there can be a considerable degree of overlap between more broadly defined categories, particularly in the services sector.

**Figure 6.2: Unemployment in The Parks & Adelaide, 1988-2000**



Source: DEETYA (1988-2000), *Small Area Labour Market Statistics* (various).

Secondly, one of the more disturbing trends revealed by the DEETYA estimates (Figure 6.2), is that even in such a robust period of economic activity and labour market growth, The Parks was only able to achieve a modest reduction in the overall rate of unemployment by June 1989. There still remained the problem of double-digit unemployment throughout the 1980s, and any noticeable improvement was quickly reversed with the onset of the 1991-92 recession. Not only was The Parks one of the first area's to record an increase in unemployment, but it was also one of the last to experience a decrease in the overall rate of unemployment - well after the rest of Adelaide had achieved some positive employment gains.

This trend also reinforces the view that significant sections of the labour force within The Parks are quite vulnerable to even a marginal deterioration in national economic performance. Of the occupational groupings within The Parks labour force, the most significant comprise lower skilled clerical, sales and production line workers, where the risk of retrenchment is considerably heightened if a deterioration in investment levels, product orders and sales

Although there has been a gradual increase in those occupations classified by the ABS as involving administrative, managerial and professional tasks, rising from a relatively low base of 7.7% in 1971 to 17.4% in 1996, they are well below comparable figures for Adelaide (ASD) of 18.4% and 36.8% respectively.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, there remains a dependence on those jobs within more broadly defined labouring, trade, transport, and production related occupations.

In The Parks, these types of jobs accounted for over 62% of all workers in 1971 and 53% in 1996, well above comparable figures for Adelaide (ASD) of 40% and 30.1% respectively.<sup>9</sup> And while the growth of personal service, sales and (advanced) clerical related occupations is indicative of employment trends in western economies more generally, the situation in The Parks is more ambiguous, with around 25% of jobs being classified within a broadly constituted services sector. However within the 'Advanced Clerical and Service Worker' classification from the 1996 Census, just 1.4% of workers in The Parks fall within this category, compared to 4% across the Adelaide Statistical Division. In addition, there was also a growing *feminisation* of employment, with an overall decrease in male employment from 66.5% in 1971 to 58.6% in 1996. This trend was reflected in manufacturing, a traditional sector of male full-time employment, and in management and professional occupational categories. In the service sector, women *increased* their employment advantage over men – particularly in clerical and sales positions since the early 1970s (Table 6.4).

And finally, the level of education, job experience, language proficiency and formal qualifications have a direct influence on a person's ability to secure a job or to find alternative employment following retrenchment. In The Parks, a significant minority of residents have either never attended school (Parks 3.5%, Adelaide 0.7%) or left before their sixteenth birthday (Parks 41.2%, Adelaide 33.3%). In addition, the overwhelming majority of residents do not have a tertiary or post-secondary qualification (Parks 76%, Adelaide 62%), with a smaller number holding 'skilled and basic vocational' certificates (Parks 8%, Adelaide 13.6%).<sup>10</sup>

As a result, workers in The Parks tend to be *less* skilled and *less* qualified than the metropolitan average, which influences the bundle of skills and qualifications a person brings to a job, their position within the firm and the level of remuneration they are likely to receive.

**Table 6.4: Occupational Profile, The Parks (1971 & 1996)**

[Source: ABS Census of Population &amp; Housing]

| <b>1971</b>   | <b>Male</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>Persons</b> |
|---|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Managers &amp; Administrators</i>                      | 214         | 53            | 267            |
| <i>Professionals</i>                                      | 78          | 45            | 123            |
| <i>Para-Professionals</i>                                 | 167         | 106           | 273            |
| <i>Tradespersons</i>                                      | 2431        | 504           | 2935           |
| <i>Clerks</i>   | 463         | 790           | 1253           |
| <i>Sales &amp; Personal</i>                               | 258         | 550           | 808            |
| <i>Plant &amp; Machine Operators</i>                      | 576         | 12            | 588            |
| <i>Labourers &amp; Related Workers</i>                    | 1185        | 652           | 1837           |
| <i>Other / Not Stated</i>                                 | 345         | 172           | 517            |
| <b>Total:</b>   | <b>5717</b> | <b>2884</b>   | <b>8601</b>    |
| <b>1996</b>   | <b>Male</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>Persons</b> |
| <i>Managers &amp; Administrators</i>                      | 80          | 36            | 116            |
| <i>Professionals</i>                                      | 165         | 185           | 350            |
| <i>Associate Professionals</i>                            | 128         | 116           | 244            |
| <i>Tradespersons &amp; Related Workers</i>                | 508         | 92            | 600            |
| <i>Advanced Clerical &amp; Service Workers</i>            | 9           | 46            | 55             |
| <i>Intermediate Clerical, Sales &amp; Service Workers</i> | 182         | 398           | 580            |
| <i>Intermediate Production &amp; Transport Workers</i>    | 550         | 154           | 704            |
| <i>Elementary Clerical, Sales &amp; Service Workers</i>   | 101         | 241           | 342            |
| <i>Labourers &amp; Related Workers</i>                    | 474         | 314           | 788            |
| <i>Other / Not Stated</i>                                 | 124         | 54            | 178            |
| <b>Total:</b>   | <b>2321</b> | <b>1636</b>   | <b>3957</b>    |

Source: ABS Census of Population &amp; Housing, 1971-96

Even a relatively minor reversal in domestic consumption can have an immediate and dramatic impact in places like The Parks, where a significant proportion of its workforce remain on the margins of paid employment, and would be some of the first workers to be retrenched in an economic downturn.

#### 6.4.2 Community Survey

The results of the community survey confirmed the findings of the 1996 Census (Table 6.5). Of the major labour market changes between 1989-1994, a total of 201 current and 73 former labour force participants were interviewed. In general terms, there was a high degree of labour mobility (ie those moving between jobs) in a period of high and sustained unemployment. Of those employed, a significant minority (34%) had changed jobs, at least once, in the previous five years. In part, this reflected the economic aftershocks of the 1991-92 recession, with the majority of job losses reflecting the concentration of employment and occupational groupings within the manufacturing industry (ie labourers, tradespersons, plant and machine operators).

For those unemployed, the majority of respondents had been without a job for over 12 months, with a smaller number having already completed a job program. Mobility issues were identified as a major problem for unemployed residents, with job search distances and the expectation of finding work being largely confined to the Port Adelaide-Enfield-Woodville area.<sup>11</sup> And while there was a majority of unemployed respondents who owned or had access to a car, the practicalities and cost of running a vehicle often restricted their use in either searching for work or applying for jobs in outlying areas (eg Marion, Glenelg, Noarlunga, Norwood, Elizabeth, Gawler). In addition, an individual's preparedness to move was often limited by family, educational and lifestyle factors, with the problem of securing a suitable transfer within the public housing system of greatest concern. This was not to express an endorsement of their current accommodation, but rather a fear (either real or imagined) of being transferred into an inferior dwelling or suburban environment with fewer facilities and community services.<sup>12</sup>

Overall, the majority of residents were untroubled by the recession, maintaining or changing their job in difficult economic circumstances. A small number of respondent's (17) also expressed a willingness to work fewer hours (even with a proportionate reduction in their pay

**Table 6.5: Labour Force Characteristics**

Community Survey, 1993-94

General Overview*a. Labour Force Status*

|                      |       |
|----------------------|-------|
| Employed             | 151   |
| Unemployed           | 50    |
| Not in Labour Force  | 307   |
| Rate of Unemployment | 24.9% |

*b. Health Problems which limit type of work*

|      |     |
|------|-----|
| Yes: | 11  |
| No:  | 185 |

Previous Employment*c. Changed job in last five years*

|      |     |
|------|-----|
| Yes: | 47  |
| No:  | 139 |

*d. Average length of previous job*

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| 1-5 years          | 24 |
| 6-10 years         | 7  |
| More than 10 years | 7  |

*e. Industry of Previous Job*

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Manufacturing            | 16 |
| Wholesale & Retail Trade | 6  |
| Other                    | 20 |

*f. Occupation of Previous Job*

|              |    |
|--------------|----|
| Labourer     | 11 |
| Salesperson  | 9  |
| Tradesperson | 8  |
| Other        | 15 |

*g. Reasons for Leaving*

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| Retired         | 9  |
| Made Redundant  | 7  |
| Business Closed | 5  |
| Health Reasons  | 5  |
| Other           | 17 |

Currently Unemployed*h. Months Unemployed*

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Less than 6 months | 5  |
| 6-12 months        | 6  |
| Over 12 Months     | 19 |

*i. Undertaken a Job Program*

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| Yes | 10 |
| No  | 15 |

*j. Preparedness to Move for Work*

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| Yes | 9  |
| No  | 19 |

*k. Own or have access to a Car*

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| Yes | 20 |
| No  | 8  |

Currently Employed*l. Length of Employment*

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Less than 12 months | 23 |
| 2-5 years           | 40 |
| 6-10 years          | 35 |
| 11-20 years         | 13 |
| 20+ years           | 2  |

*m. Industry of Employment*

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Manufacturing               | 37 |
| Community Services          | 29 |
| Wholesale & Retail Trade    | 12 |
| Finance & Property Services | 10 |
| Other                       | 25 |

*n. Occupation*

|                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Labourer & Related Worker         | 34 |
| Plant & Machine Operator          | 20 |
| Salesperson & Personal Service W. | 19 |
| Tradesperson                      | 17 |
| Clerical Worker                   | 15 |
| Para-Professional                 | 10 |
| Other                             | 5  |

*o. Type of Employment*

|               |    |
|---------------|----|
| Wage Earner   | 99 |
| Salary Earner | 3  |
| Self-Employed | 15 |
| Other         | 2  |

*p. Condition of Employment*

|           |    |
|-----------|----|
| Full-time | 89 |
| Part-time | 18 |
| Casual    | 12 |

*q. Hours per week*

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Less than ten      | 2  |
| 10-20 hours        | 12 |
| 21-30 hours        | 9  |
| 31-38 hours        | 53 |
| More than 38 hours | 27 |

*r. Weekly Wage (before tax)*

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| Less than \$250 | 10 |
| \$250-\$350     | 14 |
| \$351-\$450     | 28 |
| \$451-\$550     | 14 |
| Over \$550      | 14 |

*s. Trade Union Membership*

|     |    |    |    |
|-----|----|----|----|
| Yes | 46 | No | 55 |
|-----|----|----|----|

*t. Satisfaction with Hours Worked*

|     |    |    |    |
|-----|----|----|----|
| Yes | 66 | No | 27 |
|-----|----|----|----|

[10 respondents would have liked to work more hours; and 17 respondents less hours].

and conditions). However a significant number of people were unable to re-enter the labour market (or gain their first job) during this period, with the majority being unemployed for at least twelve months. But while the community survey provided a qualitative basis to understanding the depth of the unemployment situation and the experience of individual workers in The Parks, there remained the problem of how to describe the regional or spatial dynamics of the local labour market. Secondly, there is the related issue as to why the rate of unemployment has remained at such an unacceptable level and for such a prolonged period of time.

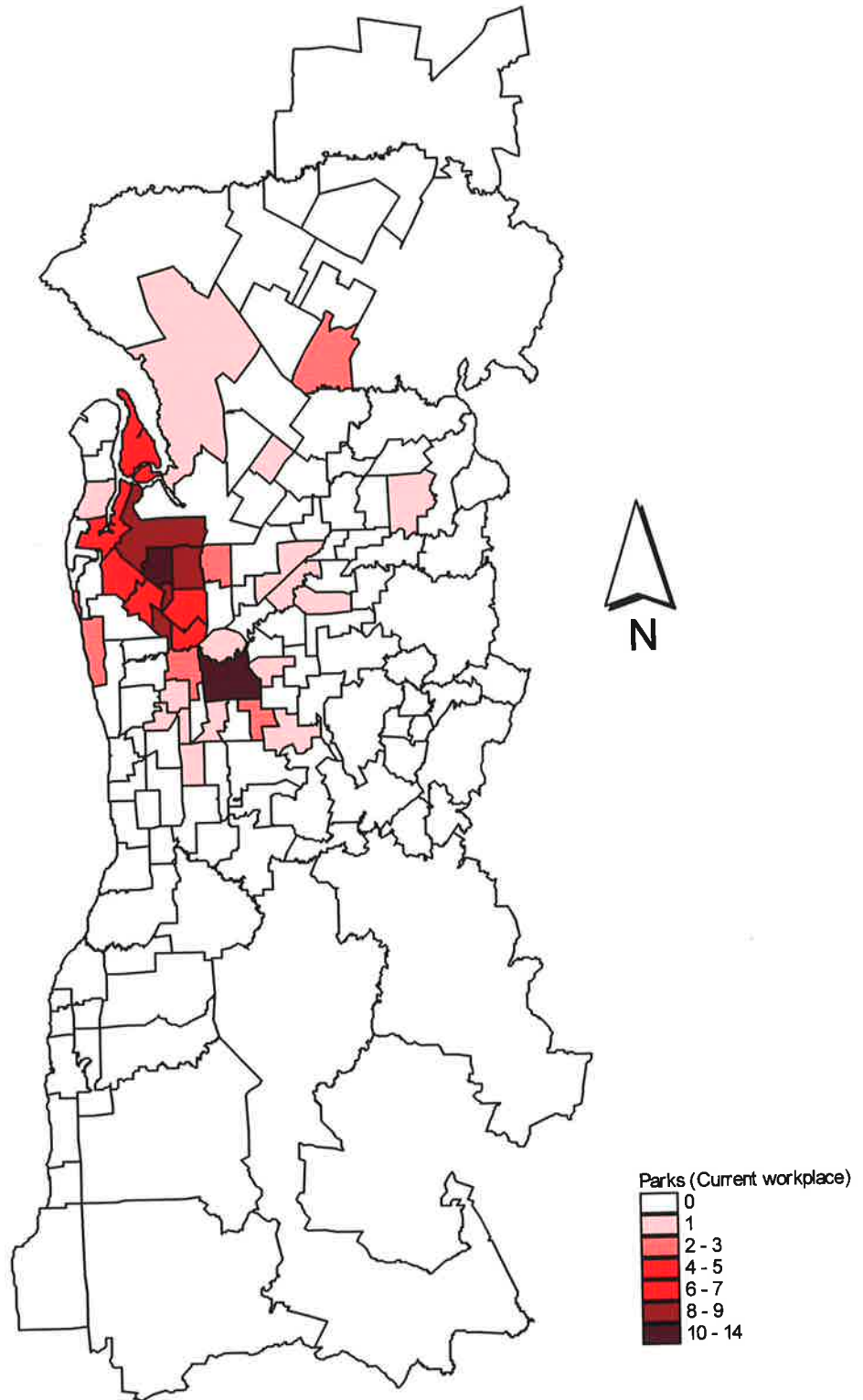
#### 6.4.3 Employment Centres Survey

The results of the Employment Centres Survey were obtained from a survey of five major centres of employment within The Parks, which would help to contrast retail, government, industrial and commercial enterprises through a journey-to-work profile of their employees. The Community Study had indicated a spatially compact local labour market, with the majority of residents being employed in the northwestern suburbs: 66% of workplaces being within a distance of five kilometres from their homes (Figure 6.3 & 6.4). In contrast, the employment centres survey revealed the existence of a more extensive *regional* labour market, which completely overshadowed the local labour market centred on The Parks.

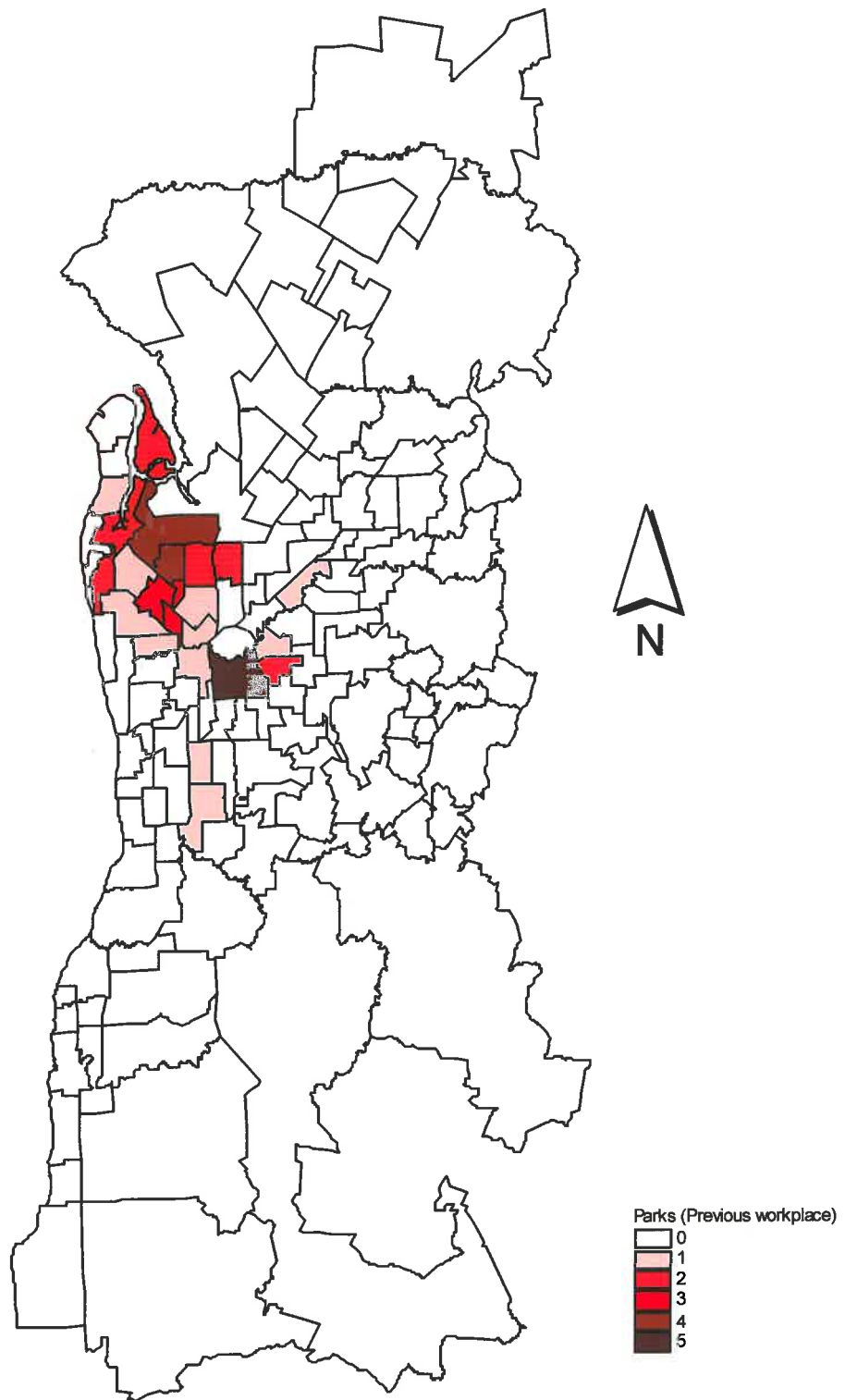
Despite the limitations of the community survey, there remained an overwhelming consistency in the findings – particularly the results from current, retired and previously employed workers (Table 6.5). In each of the three cases, one quarter of the workforce had found work within The Parks, no more than a five-minute journey from their place of residence. Of the remaining cases, the majority of workers were employed in the northwestern suburbs. In contrast, the results from the Employment Centres survey revealed a more complex picture, based on the payroll figures of 49 firms and 4 178 employees (Table 6.6).

(a) The Arndale Shopping Centre had the highest concentration of workers from The Parks (10.7%). Opened by the Westfield Group in the mid 1960s, Arndale remains the focal point for retail activity in the north-western suburbs, offering a wide variety of discount and specialty shops, including Harris Scarfe (formerly *John Martins*), Big W, Woolworths and





**Figure 6.3:** Workplace Postcode of Currently Employed Workers (1993-94)



**Figure 6.4:** Previous Workplace Postcode of Currently Employed Workers (1993-94)

**Table 6.5: Journey-to-Work: Percentage of those Living & Working in The Parks, Community Survey (1993/94)**

|                               | The Parks  | Adelaide*  | SA Country |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Current place of employment   | 27.9% (31) | 72.1%(80)  | 0% (0)     |
| Previous place of employment* | 25% (10)   | 75% (30)   | 0% (0)     |
| Last place of employment**    | 25% (22)   | 75% (66)   | 0% (0)     |
| <b>Total:</b>                 | <b>63</b>  | <b>176</b> | <b>0</b>   |

Nb: \*For those workers currently in the labour force, but who had lost or changed their job in the period 1989-1994 (not including current employment); \*\* Workers who had retired, but still lived in The Parks.

**Table 6.6: Journey-to-Work: Percentage of those Living & Working in The Parks at selected employment centres, 1995**

|                                      | The Parks         | Adelaide*           | SA Country        |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Arndale Shopping Centre              | 10.7% (62)        | 88.9% (515)         | 0.34% (2)         |
| Finsbury Industrial Estate           | 10.5% (143)       | 87.5% (1194)        | 1.9% (27)         |
| Regency Park Light Industrial Estate | 3.3% (54)         | 91.8% (1488)        | 4.8% (78)         |
| Islington Rail Workshops             | 1.3% (7)          | 90.8% (489)         | 7.8% (42)         |
| Regency Park Freight Terminal        | 0% (0)            | 94.8% (73)          | 5.2% (4)          |
| <b>Total:</b>                        | <b>6.4% (266)</b> | <b>89.9% (3759)</b> | <b>3.7% (153)</b> |

\* Adelaide Metropolitan Area (less The Parks).

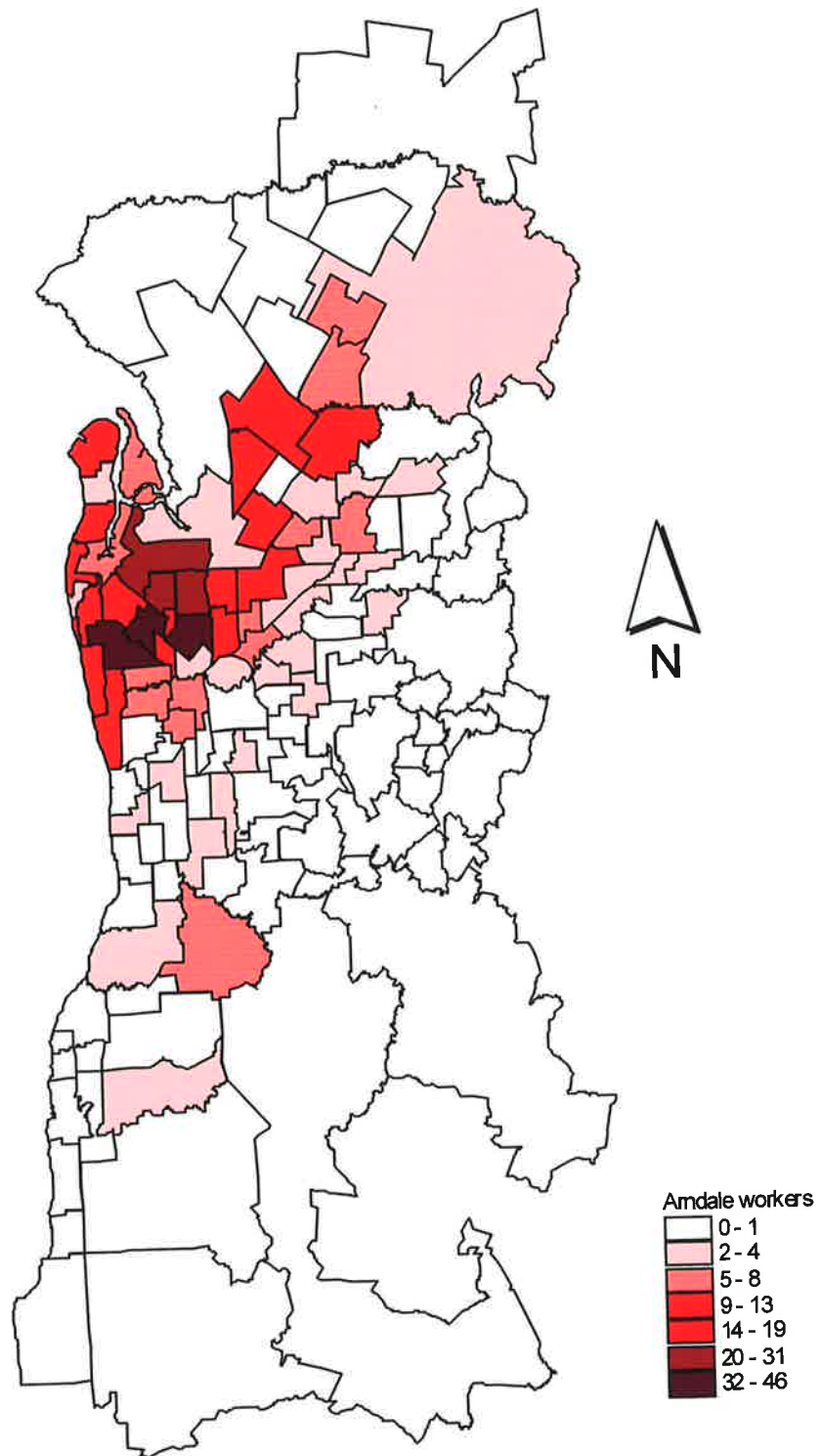
Coles. In addition, the complex provides a convenient contact point for the major banks, health funds and insurance companies (Figure 6.5)

(b) The Finsbury Industrial Estate (Chapter 4) had the second highest concentration of workers from The Parks (10.5%). Established by the Commonwealth Government as a munitions complex during World War Two, the return to civilian production provided the ideal facilities for the manufacture of automotive components, whitegoods and consumer electronics. Of the remaining companies, the majority of workers are employed in just three firms: Tecalemit, ROH and Kelvinator (Figure 6.6).

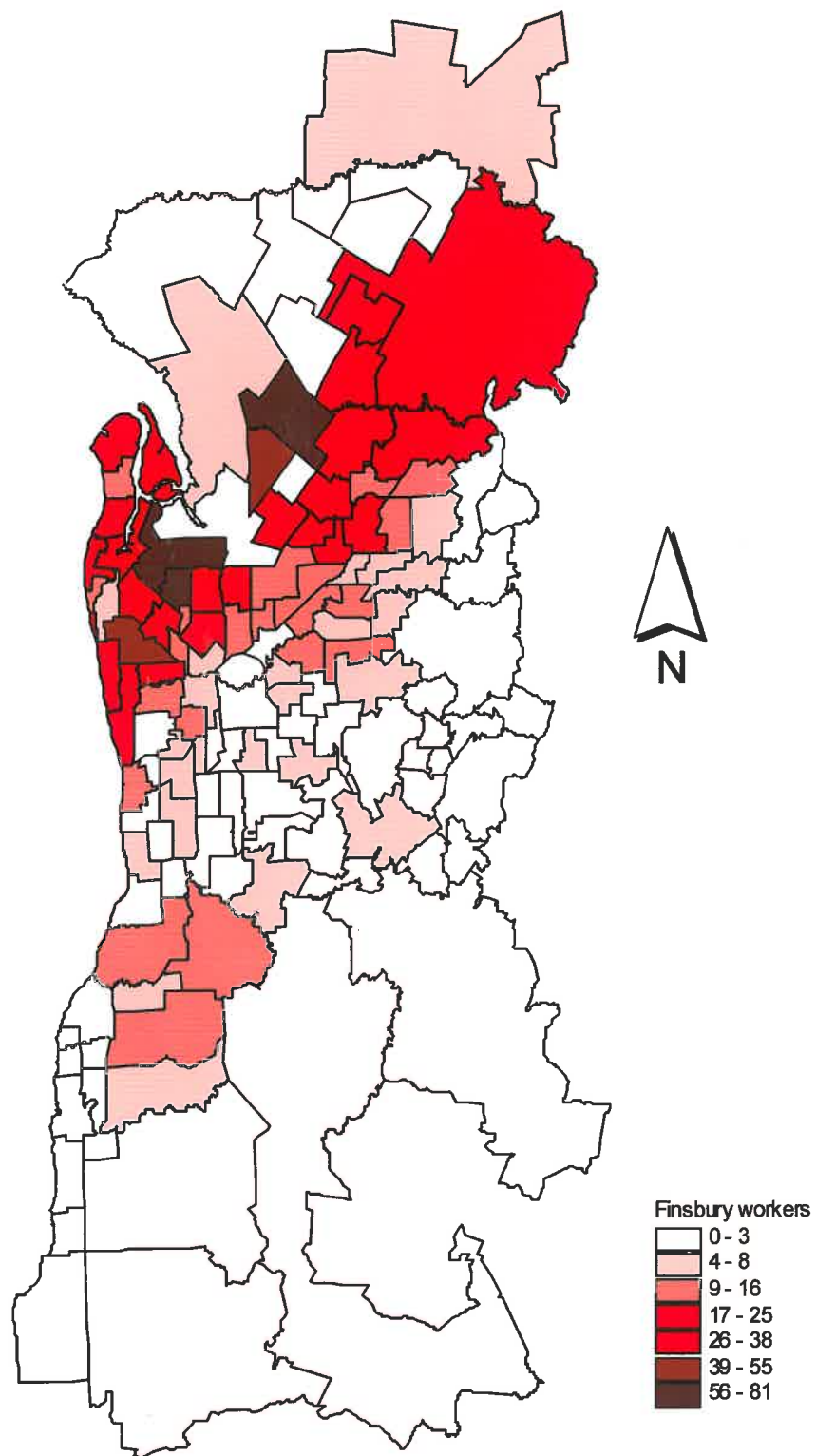
(c) The Regency Park Light Industrial Estate recorded a significantly lower employment total than either Finsbury or Arndale (3.3%). Redeveloped after the closure of the Islington Sewage Farm in 1966, the suburb of Regency Park comprises a wide range of community facilities, recreational spaces and a light industrial precinct.<sup>13</sup> Although the majority of firms could be classified as performing 'back-office', sales, commercial, transport and warehousing functions, a smaller number of enterprises are engaged in light manufacturing activities (Metal Spinners, Woodroffe, Corinthian Industries, Email, Grundfos, Smiths, Blackwoods, Nippy's) (Figure 6.7).

(d) The Islington Rail Workshops were relocated from the city centre to Kilburn in 1891. As the state's main rail maintenance centre and heavy lifting facility, the large complex of workshops, tool rooms and repair facilities were acknowledged as some of the finest in Australia. However a number of changes, such as the transfer of interstate freight and passenger services to Australian National in 1978, the ongoing program of track standardisation and the superior cost competitiveness of road transport (with the support of fuel subsidies), forced the closure of countless branch lines, regional depots and maintenance centres throughout the 1980s.

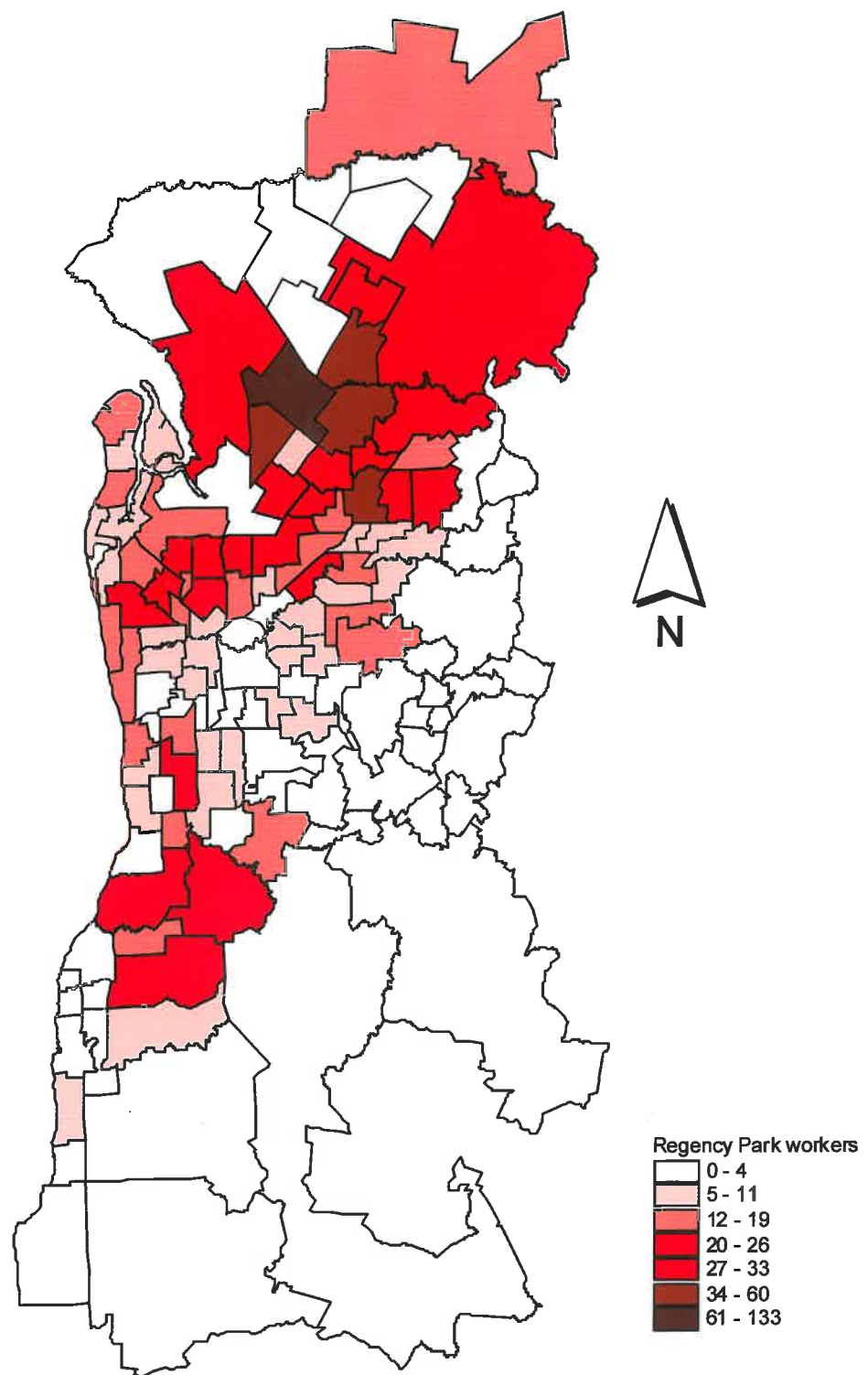
By 1995, a total of 538 workers remained at Islington, with another 872 being employed at the Port Augusta Workshops. Following the release of the Brew Report in 1996, a decision was made to privatise Australian National, with the new owners (Great Southern Railways) electing to close the Islington Workshops, retrench the majority of its workforce and consolidate the remainder of its operations at Dry Creek and Port Augusta. After 106 years, the Islington Workshops were closed in 1997, with the site to be redeveloped under a \$5



**Figure 6.5:** Residential Postcode of Ardale Workers (1995)



**Figure 6.6:** Residential Postcode of Finsbury Workers (1995)



**Figure 6.7:** Residential Postcode of Regency Park Workers (1995)

million Federal Government remediation program. Less than 2% (7) of its workforce were residents of The Parks in 1995 (Figure 6.8)

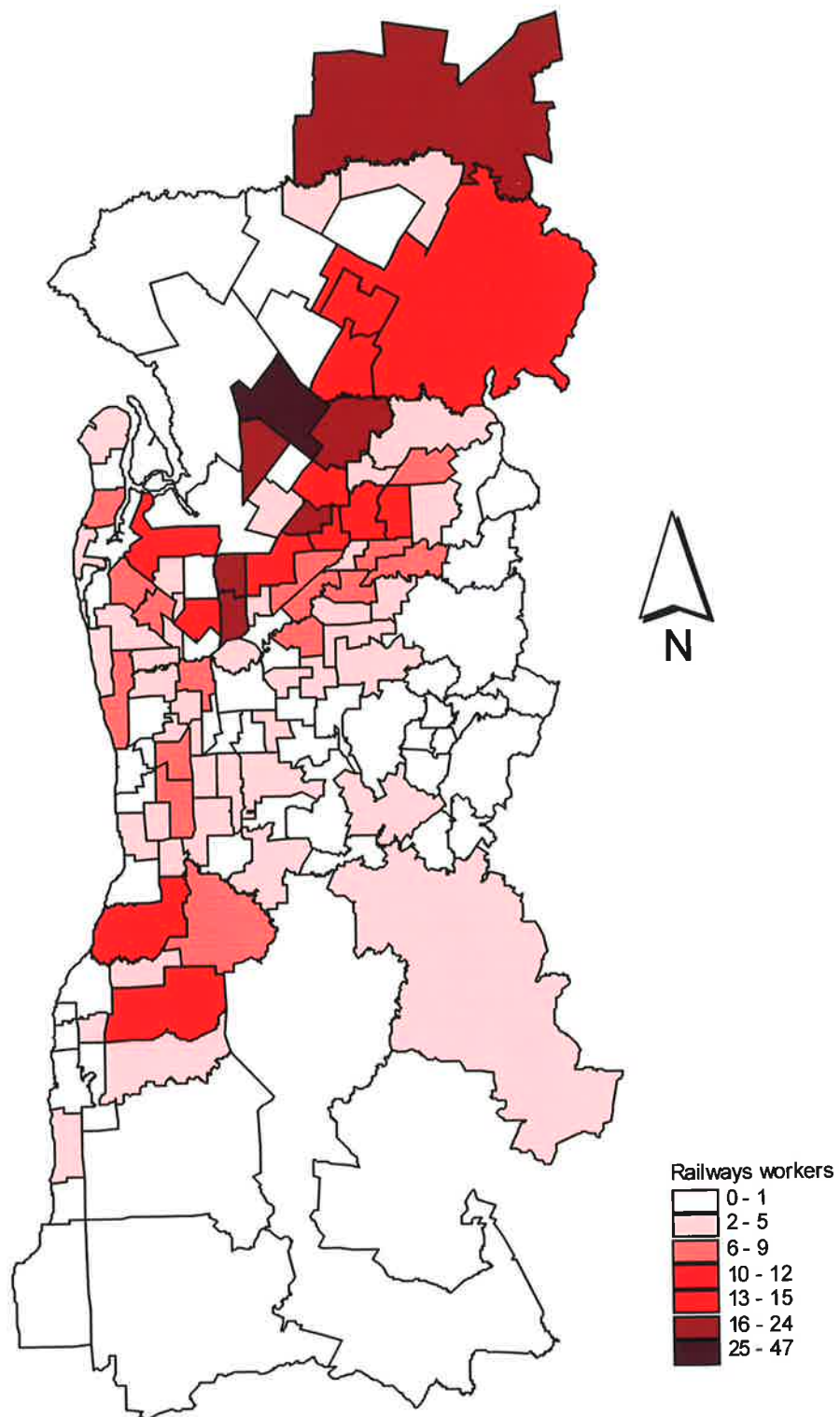
(e) The National Rail Freight Terminal was built in the 1980s to serve as the major freight centre and distribution point for interstate rail services in South Australia. Established on land adjacent to the Regency Park Light Industrial Estate, its large storage areas, extensive rail sidings and loading bays enable the efficient movement and transport of goods to Perth and the eastern seaboard. Due mainly to the mechanisation of freight handling, the workforce was relatively small with a total of 77 employees. No workers employed at the terminal in 1995 lived in The Parks.

From the Employment Centres Study, three distinct employment clusters were found in the northeastern, northwestern and southern suburbs. The largest cluster of employees was found in the northeastern suburbs, particularly those areas of the mortgage belt covering both established and recently developed subdivisions: Parafield Gardens, Paralowie, Salisbury, Salisbury Downs, Salisbury East, Salisbury North, Ingle Farm, Pooraka, Para Hills and Wynn Vale (Table 6.7). The second cluster was centred on Morphett Vale and the surrounding suburbs of Happy Valley, Hackham, Woodcroft and Reynella. And the third cluster was centred on Woodville and the surrounding suburbs of Findon, Croydon, Albert Park, Seaton, Rosewater and The Parks (Ferryden Park, Woodville Gardens etc.). Of the remaining suburbs, smaller concentrations were centred on Marion, Prospect and North Haven.<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, there were some marked differences between the employment centres, with Arndale having a distinctively northwestern locus of employment, while the Finsbury and Regency Park workers were concentrated in the northeastern suburbs. There may be a number of explanations for this, most notably the differences in skill level, working hours, occupational groupings and industry of employment. Unfortunately, no additional information was available to determine the age, gender, remuneration or marital status of workers and this has created a problem in further interpreting the results.

For example, as a centre of retail trade, Arndale was probably more dependent on its part-time workforce, the majority of whom were women, whose own domestic responsibilities tended to shorten travel distances and create a more flexible working environment based on evening and weekend shift work. In contrast, those workers employed at Finsbury and





**Figure 6.8:** Residential Postcode of Railway's Workers (1995)

**Table 6.7: Top Ten Suburban Residences by Employment Centre**

*Employment Centres Study, 1995*

| <u>Employment Centre</u> | <u>Rank</u> | <u>Suburb</u>     | <u>P/C</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Employment Centre</u> | <u>Rank</u>     | <u>Suburb</u>     | <u>P/C</u> | <u>Number</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Regency Park</i>      | 1           | Parafield Gardens | 5107       | 60            | <i>Railways</i>          | 1               | Parafield Gardens | 5107       | 20            |
|                          | 2           | Paralowie         | 5108       | 50            |                          | 2               | Prospect          | 5082       | 19            |
|                          | 3           | Salisbury         | 5108       | 40            |                          | 3               | Ingle Farm        | 5098       | 18            |
|                          | 4           | Ingle Farm        | 5098       | 33            |                          | 4               | Paralowie         | 5108       | 18            |
|                          | 5           | Salisbury East    | 5109       | 31            |                          | 5               | Salisbury East    | 5109       | 15            |
|                          | 6           | Salisbury North   | 5108       | 25            |                          | 6               | Salisbury         | 5108       | 12            |
|                          | 7           | Para Hills        | 5096       | 24            |                          | 7               | Kilburn           | 5084       | 11            |
|                          | 8           | Wynn Vale         | 5127       | 24            |                          | 8               | Blair Athol       | 5084       | 11            |
|                          | 9           | Pooraka           | 5095       | 21            |                          | 9               | Willaston         | 5118       | 11            |
|                          | 10          | Kilburn           | 5084       | 20            |                          | 10              | Morphett Vale     | 5162       | 10            |
|                          |             | Morphett Vale     | 5162       | 20            |                          | Salisbury Downs | 5108              | 10         |               |
| <i>Finsbury</i>          | 1           | Parafield Gardens | 5107       | 55            | <i>Arndale</i>           | 1               | Seaton            | 5023       | 33            |
|                          | 2           | Paralowie         | 5108       | 37            |                          | 2               | Ferryden Park     | 5010       | 19            |
|                          | 3           | Pennington        | 5013       | 33            |                          | 3               | Pooraka           | 5095       | 16            |
|                          | 4           | Ingle Farm        | 5098       | 30            |                          | 4               | West Croydon      | 5008       | 16            |
|                          | 5           | Seaton            | 5023       | 28            |                          | 5               | Woodville         | 5011       | 15            |
|                          | 6           | Salisbury North   | 5108       | 26            |                          | 6               | North Haven       | 5018       | 13            |
|                          | 7           | Ferryden Park     | 5010       | 25            |                          | 7               | Croydon           | 5008       | 12            |
|                          | 8           | North Haven       | 5018       | 25            |                          | 8               | Findon            | 5023       | 12            |
|                          | 9           | Rosewater         | 5013       | 25            |                          | 9               | Prospect          | 5082       | 12            |
|                          | 10          | Pooraka           | 5095       | 24            |                          | 10              | Woodville Gardens | 5012       | 12            |
|                          |             | Mansfield Park    | 5012       | 24            |                          |                 |                   |            |               |

Regency Park were *more likely* to have a full-time job which combined with overtime payments and a relatively *higher* rate of base pay (compared to sales assistants), helped to extend the catchment area for both current and prospective employees.

Thirdly, the demand for labour had changed. In the new industrial precinct of Regency Park, the incentives being offered by the State Government were more likely to attract a smaller, more specialised manufacturing firm or distribution centre than the larger, multi-national branch plants of the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>15</sup> By the late 1980s, the Regency Park Industrial Estate had secured a wide variety of businesses, due to its cost competitive leasing arrangements, modern service connections and readily accessible transport infrastructure (eg South & Grand Junction Roads, Interstate Freight Terminal).<sup>16</sup>

However the types of businesses attracted to the Regency Park site, with the exception of the larger manufacturers (eg Woodroffe, Smiths Snack Foods, Simpson-Pope and Grundfos) were predominantly warehousing, distribution, transport, sales and service enterprises. These required a far more *specialised* workforce, where sales representatives, independent contractors, technicians and skilled tradespersons *outnumbered* the traditional blue-collar workers and process workers on the factory floor. Although a number of local residents was employed in Regency Park firms (54), the majority of these workers was actually found in just one business: a snack food manufacturer (30).

**Table 6.8: Employment in Regency Park by Firm Size**

| <u>Firm Size</u> | <u>Number of Firms</u> | <u>Parks / Total</u> | <u>%</u> |
|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 0-10             | 8                      | 0/53                 | 0.0%     |
| 11-50            | 11                     | 2/313                | 0.6%     |
| 51-99            | 7                      | 15/429               | 3.5%     |
| 100+             | 4                      | 37/750               | 4.9%     |

Source: *Employment Centres Study, 1995*

The results from Regency Park also revealed a marked difference in employment by firm size (Table 6.8). Of the smaller firms (with between one and ten employees), no workers were found to be from The Parks. In firms employing between 11 and 50 employees, less than 1% of their workers were found to live in The Parks. It was only in the larger firms (with over fifty employees), that there was a marked increase in the number of local residents on the company payroll (3.5% and 4.9% respectively). Of the four largest firms, all were involved in the manufacturing industry, specialising in the production of automotive components, electrical appliances, defence equipment and snack foods. In medium-sized firms, there was a mix of enterprises, specialising in automotive (commercial sales, crash repairs), transport (interstate freight), perishable goods (confectionary, health foods) and warehousing (storage and distribution) activities.

In contrast, the smallest firms (less than 10 employees) were all involved in 'back-office' functions, particularly as sales and service points for electrical, automotive, chemical, photographic, construction and pharmaceutical companies. Within the smaller enterprises, the employment profile usually comprised an owner or manager, secretarial and clerical staff, sales and marketing assistants and (at nominated service points) specialist technicians or repair personnel.<sup>17</sup> In the larger firms this pattern was repeated (and multiplied), with the inclusion of warehousing (forklift drivers) and distribution (truck drivers) sections.

Overall, the changing employment structure in areas like Regency Park and the commercial districts bordering Grand Junction Road appear to have been a disappointing substitute for those jobs lost in the more traditional metal fabrication, electrical and transport industries. As Taylor (1992) observed:

Theoretically at least, jobs lost in one sector will be compensated for by gains in another sector that is more able to cope with international pressures. Whether this outcome is achieved, however, depends on the mobility of both labour and capital within the economy. Neither are perfectly mobile, and at the regional and local labour market levels it can be contended that labour mobility depends very largely on the alternative industries, sectors and enterprises that are available locally to absorb the labour released from inefficient and uncompetitive industries.<sup>18</sup>

In The Parks, the number of jobs lost within the large automotive, electrical and whitegoods manufacturers were largely replaced by jobs which required a greater basket of skills.

Second, the jobs created in places like Regency Park had the effect of blurring the more formal occupational classifications, where a greater degree of specialisation in smaller manufacturing enterprises and the growth of a business services sector to support the *importation* of products became more visible. And finally, the decline in manufacturing employment was both spatially (Table 6.9) and sectorally uneven (Table 6.10). The northwestern (-22,099), western (-11,797), northern (-9,494) and central-Adelaide (-8,059) districts were experiencing a contraction in manufacturing jobs, while outlying or green-belt suburbs such as Noarlunga, Willunga, Tea Tree Gully, Campbelltown and Munno Para recorded an increase in manufacturing employment (4,833) between 1971 and 1991.

The exception to this trend was Enfield (PtB), which was the only statistical division in the western and northwestern suburbs to record a positive employment gain (and which also covers a significant portion of The Parks region). However the employment opportunities being created in the new industrial spaces of Wingfield, Regency Park and Dry Creek were often beyond the reach of residents just five minutes away in The Parks. Meanwhile, in the more traditional manufacturing industries comprising the Finsbury Industrial Estate, the emphasis was on improving the skills, experience and training of its *existing* workforce (*Weekly Times*, 22 May 1996). For example, investment decisions were often based on the acquisition of the latest equipment and labour-replacing technologies to improve a firm's overall productivity and export competitiveness – without having to hire new staff (Plate 6.1 & 6.2).

Meanwhile, for those companies which had decided (or were forced) to leave Finsbury, the rusting industrial and warehouse spaces they vacated were often transformed into an entirely different land use. On Torrens Road (Woodville North), the conversion of industrial space has not only reinvented the Finsbury Industrial Estate, but has also weakened the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled industrial labour. For example, in the saw-toothed buildings that had been home to Pope Ltd, the warehouse space has been converted by Evans & Clarke (Government Auctioneers) and a Mini-Storage company. In addition, the car park and railways platform adjacent to the Pope factory have also been transformed, with the establishment of the Islamic Arabic Centre, complete with sky piercing minaret. In Athol Park, the vast storage spaces of the Department of Administrative Services have been transformed into a garden nursery and storage complex for AMCOR packaging. While across the road, a former fruit-packing company has been converted into a Woodlands Sporting Complex and

**Table 6.9: Manufacturing in Adelaide: 1971-1991***Employment by Suburb, 1971-1991 [ABS]*

| LGA                  | 1971-72       | 1981-82      | 1991-92      | Change 71-91  |             |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
|                      |               |              |              | No.           | %           |
| Adelaide             | 8641          | 6573         | 3050         | -5591         | -64.7       |
| Brighton             | 2103          | 586          | 362          | -1741         | -82.8       |
| Burnside             | 529           | 263          | 307          | -222          | -42         |
| Campbelltown         | 558           | 851          | 844          | 286           | 51.3        |
| Elizabeth            | 8725          | 7832         | 7108         | -1617         | -18.5       |
| Enfield Pt A         | 7976          | 6907         | 3998         | -3978         | -49.9       |
| Enfield Pt B         | 3618          | 3888         | 4566         | 938           | 26.2        |
| Gawler               | 233           | 103          | 156          | -77           | -33         |
| Hindmarsh            | 11229         | 3951         | 3401         | -7828         | -69.7       |
| Kensington & Norwood | 2060          | 1373         | 819          | -1241         | -60.2       |
| Marion               | 10805         | 6839         | 7052         | -3753         | -34.7       |
| Mitcham              | 3877          | 3312         | 1773         | -2104         | -54.3       |
| Munno Para           | 288           | n.a.         | 326          | 38            | 13.2        |
| Noarlunga            | 2573          | 3961         | 5455         | 2582          | 112         |
| Payneham             | 852           | 674          | 558          | -294          | -34.5       |
| Port Adelaide        | 5408          | 4240         | 3601         | -1807         | -33.4       |
| Prospect             | 627           | 337          | 156          | -471          | -75.1       |
| Salisbury            | 2014          | 915          | 5442         | -3428         | 170         |
| St Peters            | 713           | 559          | 355          | -358          | -50.2       |
| Tea Tree Gully       | 509           | n.a.         | 1501         | 992           | 194.9       |
| Thebarton            | 3184          | 3095         | 2223         | -961          | -30.2       |
| Unley                | 1465          | 1121         | 890          | -575          | -39.2       |
| West Torrens         | 9780          | 7572         | 5581         | -4199         | -43         |
| Willunga             | 112           | 126          | 147          | 35            | 31.3        |
| Woodville            | 20562         | 15189        | 8121         | -12441        | -60.5       |
| <b>TOTAL:</b>        | <b>100779</b> | <b>82354</b> | <b>68302</b> | <b>-32477</b> | <b>-32%</b> |

**Table 6.10: Manufacturing in Adelaide: 1971-1991***Employment by Industry Subdivision [ABS].*

| Industry Subdivision                   | 1971-72       | 1981-82      | 1991-92      | Change 71-91  |             |
|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
|  |               |              |              | No.           | %           |
| Food, Beverages & Tobacco              | 11943         | 9627         | 8295         | -3648         | -30.5       |
| Textiles                               | 2184          | n.a.         | 1919         | -265          | -12.1       |
| Clothing and Footwear                  | 4194          | n.a.         | 3153         | -1041         | -24.8       |
| Wood, Wood products & Furniture        | 5937          | 5154         | 4423         | -1514         | -25.5       |
| Paper, Paper Products, Printing & Pub. | 5626          | 6317         | 5189         | -437          | -7.8        |
| Chemical, Petroleum & Coal Products    | 2763          | n.a.         | 2311         | -452          | -16.4       |
| Non-Metallic Mineral Products          | 3716          | 3077         | 2536         | -1180         | -31.8       |
| Basic Metal Products                   | 4349          | n.a.         | 2087         | -2262         | -52         |
| Fabricated Metal Products              | 11254         | 7706         | 6039         | -5215         | -46.3       |
| Transport Equipment                    | 24128         | 17190        | 14162        | -9966         | -41.3       |
| Other Machinery and Equipment          | 19271         | 15910        | 12076        | -7195         | -37.3       |
| Miscellaneous Manufacturing            | 5414          | 5710         | 6325         | 911           | 16.8        |
| <b>TOTAL:</b>                          | <b>100779</b> | <b>82354</b> | <b>68515</b> | <b>-32264</b> | <b>-32%</b> |

Notes: \* Sub-totals exclude the following suburbs: Onkaparinga, Gumeracha, East Torrens, Mount Barker, Walkerville, Meadows, Colonel Light Gardens, Glenelg, Henley & Grange, Stirling. Figures for 1981-82 and 1991-92 involve changes to the collection of statistics and the inclusion of smaller firms, however totals include all figures for the entire ASD. This series was not published after 1991-92.

Source: *Small Area Manufacturing Statistics, 1971-1991* (various) ABS Cat/No. 8230.4



**Plate 6.1**(above): The 'old economy'. The abandoned Kelvinator factory (Finsbury)  
**Plate 6.2** (below): New industrial spaces. Spicers Paper (Regency Park)  
*Source: Simon Neldner, 1997*



Indoor Recreation Centre. Even the area's most prominent feature, the water tower on Torrens Road, was sold and converted into commercial premises (*Weekly Times*, 24 July 1996). This trend will almost certainly continue, with former manufacturing plants providing an ideal environment for commercial storage and distribution activities, but without the labour requirements of the heavy industrial and production complexes they have replaced.

#### **6.4 Managing the Crisis?**

From the onset of the unemployment crisis in the mid-1970s, both State and Local Government's were unprepared for the impact of economic restructuring and industrial change in the northwestern suburbs. The depth of the problem was not only under-estimated, but also the unemployment relief schemes that were offered at each tier of Government proved to be completely inadequate for the task. Although The Parks had recorded an unemployment rate of just 3.1% in 1971, the local manufacturing sector was also being shaken by a series of layoffs, company relocations and industrial disputes.<sup>19</sup>

In 1972, the first of a series of Unemployment Relief Schemes were established, with Woodville and Hindmarsh Council's receiving a \$100 000 State Government grant for local job creation projects.<sup>20</sup> However the short duration of these schemes, between three and six months, was unable to provide the job security, dedicated training or work experience to improve the employment prospects of the schemes participants. By 1975, the unemployment situation had deteriorated to such an extent, that additional relief funds were requested just to meet the day-to-day living expenses of retrenched workers in the 10-day period before the receipt of unemployment benefits (*Weekly Times*, 19 February 1975).

In September 1975, the Mansfield Park Office of the Salvation Army hired an additional social worker to coordinate charitable work within The Parks, while the local community centre project (Chapter Seven) focussed attention on the area's inadequate provision of legal and health services.<sup>21</sup> In the following year, Woodville Council received another \$65,000 grant from the State Government, for a four month program of capital works projects (eg landscaping, playground repairs, car parks and coastal restoration). In addition, The Parks was also benefiting from Federal Government grants, particularly those funds distributed



under the Australian Assistance Program, and a \$3.2m grant towards the development of The Parks Community Centre in Angle Park.<sup>22</sup>

However the *ad hoc* provision of unemployment relief schemes, support groups and temporary assistance measures, was largely ineffective in providing longer-term solutions to the local unemployment problem – particularly the rising level of youth unemployment.<sup>23</sup> With formal job creation initiatives being largely ineffective, a number of community based groups was established, providing a range of activities and self-help programs for local residents. However these groups, starved of resources and reliant on informal community networks (eg private homes for meetings, the charitable sector for financial support), were completely overwhelmed by the depth of the unemployment problem.<sup>24</sup>

By the early 1980s, Australia was experiencing a second round of industrial restructuring, centred on the most heavily protected sectors of the Australian economy: the automotive, steel and textiles, clothing and footwear industries. However the industrial reforms identified by a series of Industry Assistance Commission (IAC) Reports, such as the removal of import quotas and protective tariffs, were not welcomed in those places and regional economies dependent on branch plants and foreign investment in the textiles, clothing and footwear (TCF) and automotive sectors.

In Adelaide's northwestern suburbs, Actil and GM-H were immediately recognised as potential victims of the Federal Government's industrial reform agenda, where (for a relatively brief period) Woodville Council became one of the nation's most vocal and active critics of the IAC and what came to be known as *economic rationalism*. The local Mayor, John Dyer, and the Council's long-serving Clerk, Doug Hamilton, campaigned alongside Trades Hall (and its affiliated unions) to prevent the closure of the GM-H Woodville plant.<sup>25</sup>

Although it was ultimately an unsuccessful campaign, with over 2 500 jobs lost and the plant closed in 1986, the council's campaign highlighted not only the futility of reversing a purely financial decision made in a Detroit boardroom, but also the extent to which both State and Federal Government's were unprepared to *reconstruct* the local economy. That is, in the same way that the Playford Government had utilised the public sector in the 1940s and 1950s. Indeed, Mayor Dyer was acutely aware that a plant closure would inevitably 'tear the backside off Woodville's pants', and that every possible alternative - short of outright closure

– had to be fully explored. And if the plant were to be closed, some consideration would have to be given to a comprehensive assistance package, from retraining schemes to attracting new businesses. Kevin Hamilton, the area's representative in State Parliament, was prompted to ask:

Will the Government assure the House and the people in the Woodville region that people will not be left high and dry while GMH, the major employer in the area, cuts back its operations?<sup>26</sup>

No such assurance was ever supplied, while the promise of a detailed economic analysis of the closure was never undertaken. In contrast, job creation became a creature of economic growth, where the public sector was to eventually abandon even the possibility of direct employment measures in favour of *facilitating* private sector investment. Discretionary spending, which may have helped to arrest the downward spiral of those forgotten places and abandoned regional economies, was instead sacrificed on the alter of national economic policy, where getting the 'fundamentals' right (ie debt reduction, wage restraint, tax reform) became a bipartisan obsession.

For Woodville, there was a terrible price to be paid, with the loss of some of its largest (and oldest) manufacturing firms and its industrial workforce halved.<sup>27</sup> The collapse of manufacturing employment not only impoverished lower-skilled workers in terms of wages, but removed many of the 'local, easily accessible job opportunities that had existed in the heavy industrial areas close to traditional working class neighbourhoods' (Knox, 1995: 183). Meanwhile, the GM-H Woodville site became a corporate millstone, with several property developers (eg. Hooker Corporation, Emmanuel Group) forced into an undignified fire sale of its remaining assets. In the end, the small collective of entrepreneurial firms, the brief occupancy of the Australian Submarine Corporation and the jointly funded *South Australian Centre for Manufacturing* fell well short of the prediction of a 'vibrant resurgence' in 1984.<sup>28</sup>

With the disappearance of GM-H Woodville as the region's largest single employer, combined with the economic aftershocks of the 1982-83 recession, the incoming Hawke Labour Government proposed a *Community Employment Scheme* (CEP) to provide a more structured program of capital works and unemployment relief. In Woodville, a variety of community projects, from renovating the local Museum to building several tennis courts, were

undertaken with a \$260,000 CEP grant. A total of 32 jobs was created, ranging from a minimum of four weeks to a maximum of six months employment. Across the municipal border, Port Adelaide received a \$140,000 CEP grant to provide a number of positions in the local Coast Guard, Tourism and Community Service sectors for a maximum of twelve months (10).<sup>29</sup>

Two additional grants were also made in the northwestern suburbs. In 1984, a \$132,000 study was commissioned to document the recreational needs of the local unemployed, while a \$92,000 grant was provided to The Parks Resident's Committee for its Angle Park community garden in 1985. Both projects provided employment for a total of five people over a period of twelve months. Not surprisingly, the results of the Western Region Recreation Awareness Study (from the earlier CEP grant) were entirely predictable, with the 'primary concerns' of unemployed people categorised as 'getting food, shelter and in general, just trying to survive' (*Weekly Times*, 29 May 1985).

Two problems emerged with the Community Employment Program. First, there appeared to be 'no relationship' between the level of funding received and those communities in greatest need (Rance, 1984: v). With the announcement of the \$250m package in July 1983, the distribution of the funds was to have occurred 'on a population basis for the purpose of job creation' (Rance, 1984: 3)<sup>30</sup>. With the establishment of a state-based consultative committee, South Australia's CEP funding allocation of \$21.739m was distributed to a range of successful applicants.<sup>31</sup> However, the introduction of a cost-sharing arrangement, where project sponsors would have to contribute twenty percent of the overall cost, and the failure to adequately consult local communities on the program's implementation started to create some disturbing anomalies.

For example, the City of Adelaide (CBD & North Adelaide) not only achieved a spectacular success rate in the application process, but also monopolised the distribution of CEP funds to such an extent that a number of higher unemployment areas – particularly in the northwestern suburbs – were unable to secure similar funding. Such was the City of Adelaide's dominance, it was able to capture 30% of the approved projects and fully 20% of the overall CEP allocation, but with less than 2% of the citywide unemployment total. In contrast, the entire northwestern suburbs (Enfield, Port Adelaide and Woodville) with an unemployment problem eleven times greater, could only capture 18% of the approved projects and just 16% of the overall CEP allocation (Table 6.11).<sup>32</sup>

**Table 6.11: Overview of the Community Employment Program**  
*Selected Metropolitan Centres (1.10.83 – 5.10.84)*

|   | City of<br>Adelaide | Enfield | Port<br>Adelaide | Woodville | <b>Overall</b> |
|---|---------------------|---------|------------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Projects Approved</i>                                | 142                 | 34      | 26               | 26        | <b>471</b>     |
| <i>Jobs Created</i>                                     | 550                 | 217     | 131              | 116       | <b>2708</b>    |
| <i>Total Labour Force</i>                               | 6486                | 30031   | 15498            | 35179     | <b>429764</b>  |
| <i>Number Unemployed</i>                                | 705                 | 3348    | 1918             | 2955      | <b>35659</b>   |
| <i>% Unemployed (LGA)</i>                               | 10.9                | 11.3    | 12.4             | 8.4       | <b>9.1</b>     |
| <i>Proportion of Unemployed<br/>on CEP Projects (%)</i> | 78.0%               | 6.4%    | 6.8%             | 3.9%      | <b>11.4%</b>   |
| <i>CEP Funding (per capita)</i>                         | 529                 | 28      | 46               | 14        | <b>43</b>      |

**Source:** Adapted from Rance (1984)

As a result, a 'small proportion' of metropolitan Local Government Areas were receiving *disproportionately* high levels of funding, such as Adelaide, Burnside, East Torrens, Happy Valley and Unley, while 'those areas receiving the least funding contained considerably fewer households in the highest income category' (Rance, 1984: 33). In contrast, those council's without the financial wherewithal, administrative staff or the expertise to manage and sponsor projects were effectively excluded from the process, while at the same time compromising the goals of the program by diverting funds from those area's in desperate need of job creation measures. And secondly, the types of projects being adopted in the northwestern suburbs (and throughout Australia), were often compromised by the short-term nature of the projects (no more than twelve months) which provided few opportunities for continued training and the acquisition of the requisite skills to find alternative employment.

In The Parks, the seriousness of the unemployment problem was recognised with the official opening of a *Community Youth Support Scheme* Office within The Parks Community Centre in February 1984. Specifically targeted at the young unemployed, aged between 15 and 24

years, the scheme provided a mix of training programs and 'life skill' workshops.<sup>33</sup> In the first period of its operation, '154 females and 134 males were assisted with courses and services offered by the project' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1984-85).

For those disadvantaged in the labour market, such as recent migrants, young offenders, young women and the long-term unemployed, the CYSS Office was the only labour market service provider based in The Parks. By 1987, ninety five percent of course participants were from the local area and fully 50% were now classified as 'long-term' unemployed (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1986-87). The CYSS project was also responsible for developing links with both local and regional providers, such as Croydon and Regency TAFE, Croydon CES, Johnson Sheet Metal and the Parks Community Centre (eg. Health Service, Computing Centre, Parks Art and Craft).

In December 1988, The Parks CYSS was restructured, following a Federal Government decision to amalgamate its three community based employment and training schemes, and became known as Parks Skill. Under the nationally accredited, but community based and operated SkillShare Program, the program was required to assist all long-term unemployed persons (regardless of age) and to provide 'services relevant to the local labour market'.<sup>34</sup> In the first twelve months of the program, a total of forty eight percent of Skillshare participants 'gained a training placement, employment or further education' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1989-90: 31). In 1990, a joint initiative was undertaken between Parks Skill and The Parks Community Centre to establish a comprehensive work experience program and a local industry database.<sup>35</sup> Despite these achievements, however, a funding requirement of the Skillshare program was for fifteen percent of the Commonwealth grant to be secured (ie community sponsorship). Parks Skill met this requirement with the support of The Parks Community Centre subsidising its rental and service costs.

With the impact of the 1990-91 recession being 'severely felt' in the western suburbs, Parks Skill 'increased the scope and doubled the number of courses previously provided' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1990-91: 34). A vocational training course for recent migrants experiencing language difficulties was also provided through specific numeracy and literacy modules. This was of special importance to The Parks, which had experienced a rapid increase in the number of overseas migrants, particularly Vietnamese refugees.

In 1971, twenty six percent of Parks residents were born overseas, the majority from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and post-war refugees from eastern and southern Europe (Table 6.12). By 1981, a noticeable shift had occurred, with the number of residents born in the United Kingdom and Ireland being halved, and a six-fold increase in Asian migration - almost exclusively Vietnamese refugees. In the next fifteen years, the proportion of local residents born overseas had risen to just over forty percent (from one quarter in 1981), with the largest single migrant group being from Vietnam (or just under 18% of the resident population). However labour market conditions had also changed.

**Table 6.12: Birthplace of Parks Residents**

*Top Five Overseas Birthplaces & Overall Statistics*

|                              | 1971         | 1981         | 1996        |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| <b>UK &amp; Ireland</b>      | 2485         | 1296         | 664         |
| <b>Poland</b>                | 503          | 484          | 284         |
| <b>Italy</b>                 | 448          | 392          | 279         |
| <b>Germany</b>               | 333          |              |             |
| <b>Yugoslavia</b>            | 300          |              |             |
| <b>Vietnam</b>               |              | 676          | 2774        |
| <b>China</b>                 |              |              | 160         |
| <b>Greece</b>                |              | 307          |             |
| <i>Total Overseas Born</i>   | <i>5407</i>  | <i>4662</i>  | <i>6369</i> |
| <i>Total Australian Born</i> | <i>15159</i> | <i>12175</i> | <i>8845</i> |

Source: ABS, Census of Population & Housing, 1971-1996

Vietnamese migrants, caught in a period of rising unemployment and the collapse in unskilled work (a traditional entry point for migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds), experienced an unemployment rate of 31% in the mid-1990s (*Weekly Times*, 5 April 1995). And while the migration pattern was *qualitatively* different, with the first wave of refugees composed of more skilled and educated migrants, the problem of having qualifications recognised and the challenges of starting a new life, resulted in many doctors, teachers and public servants finding jobs on the production line. For those arriving in the late 1980s and 1990s (under refugee and family reunion programs), many of these manufacturing jobs had disappeared, while a more complex picture of Vietnamese community life began to emerge in The Parks.

On the one side, there was the commercial success of Hanson Road, with the concentration of Vietnamese owned businesses, while in the adjoining residential areas a large number of former Trust and private homes had been purchased by Vietnamese households.<sup>36</sup> On the other, there was an equally significant group of migrants for whom there was no prospect of work and a modestly appointed Trust double-unit to call 'home'. This polarisation of the Vietnamese experience may reflect no more than the benefit of time and establishment, both in labour and housing markets, or it may signal a shift in the pattern of rewards in an economy no longer reliant on cheap and expendable labour. Unemployment had now become a familiar and unwelcome companion in The Parks, with the need for Government action more urgent than ever.

In 1992-93, the Federal Labour Government – in the lead-up to the 1993 election – introduced the Local Capital Works Program (LCWP) to provide a \$345m stimulus package to revive the economic fortunes of the most disadvantaged regions and to improve their overall level of community infrastructure. And in an effort to correct the earlier failure of the CEP allocation, only those councils with an above average unemployment rate were to be considered for funding. One complication became immediately apparent: the actual participation of the unemployed started and ended with the program's announcement and the statistical allocation of the Commonwealth grants.<sup>37</sup>

The LCWP was not only a tremendous 'gift' for Local Government, but the complete 'lack of red tape', which in previous schemes had restricted the application of funding to the unemployed (eg CEP, Wage Pause Program), allowed scores of projects to be completed in record time.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the number of bikeways, carparks, playgrounds, kerbs, drains, roads, footpaths and landscaped gardens constructed or the range of community facilities built and tourism facilities renovated would make any council works manager's resume a glittering jewel.

However the concentration of resources at the community level, where the Federal Treasurer acknowledged the 'despair is the deepest' and the 'pain hurts most', was also one of the more cynical pieces of budget night salesmanship (*Advertiser*, 19 August 1992). In the Federal Budget papers, it was stated that:

Funds will be provided for specific projects nominated by Local Government which will *directly create jobs in the local area* (my emphasis) and which have the capacity to provide worthwhile benefits to the local economy and community.<sup>39</sup>

However the 'grass-roots' application of these funds was often absorbed within the capital works budgets of the participating councils and undertaken by preferred contractors or council staff (who may or may not have lived locally). But while the fine print of the 'Working for the Future' document escaped a more detailed analysis in the national print media, the initial euphoria of the post-budget headlines was not taken for granted by the editorial columns of the 'give-away' newspapers at the local community level.

In the northwestern suburbs, Enfield, Woodville and Port-Adelaide Council's received a total of \$7.25m or 26% of the Adelaide Metropolitan LCWP allocation.<sup>40</sup> And while these funds were universally welcomed, with claims that the LCWP would 'soften the blow of recession' and 'create long-term jobs', Woodville Council was forced to make a clarification when over 500 written and totally unsolicited applications were received for its eighteen 'job creation' projects. It soon became apparent that the unemployed were largely wasting their time, particularly when the majority of councils were making substantial inroads into the backlog of their 'long-term roadworks, drainage and footpath' programs (Table 6.13).

Indeed, a brief summary of the capital works projects undertaken by Enfield, Woodville and Port Adelaide Councils reveals a consistent pattern of community infrastructure that was aimed at improving the amenity values of those citizens and tourists with the time and money to enjoy the improvements. As Donna Dunbar, charged with the administration of the South Australian LCWP, remarked to the *Weekly Times*, the 'footpathing skills taught would be very limited', while for those on the dole queues the chances of securing even these labouring jobs appeared to be non-existent (*Weekly Times*, 9 September 1992).

Between 1993 and 1996, the *Weekly Times* newspaper provided an informative commentary on the labour market problems being experienced in the northwestern suburbs of Adelaide.<sup>41</sup> However predictions by the Employment Minister, Bob Such, in March 1994 of lowering the western suburbs' unemployment level to the state average within three years failed to eventuate. It was, in the Minister's words, a 'disaster'. It was also a disaster without end. There were no relief plans to evacuate the unemployed or assistance packages to



**Table 6.13: Summary of Local Capital Works Program  
Funding in Selected Locations**

|                               |                                      |           |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Woodville</i>              | Brick Kiln Museum                    | \$118,400 |
|                               | Clubrooms & Changerooms              | \$73,600  |
|                               | Council Reserves                     | \$152,290 |
|                               | Streetscaping                        | \$108,368 |
|                               | Landscaping (Woodville Road)         | \$79,250  |
|                               | Roads (Valetta Road)                 | \$270,227 |
|                               | Brick Paving                         | \$556,934 |
|                               | Recycling Facility                   | \$60,172  |
|                               | Infrastructure Restoration           | \$269,439 |
|                               | Town Hall Refurbishment              | \$76,318  |
|                               | Seaside Tourist Railway              | \$55,000  |
|                               | Port Road Plantation                 | \$69,000  |
| Feature Tree Reserve Planting | \$18,000                             |           |
| <i>Port Adelaide</i>          | Demolition of Direlict Buildings     | \$250,000 |
|                               | Old Port Canal Beautification        | \$130,000 |
|                               | Street Sign Project                  | \$100,000 |
|                               | PA Steam Riding Restoration          | \$100,000 |
|                               | Drain Construction                   | \$185,000 |
|                               | Port Adelaide Reserve                | \$85,000  |
|                               | Taperoo Skid Kids Facility           | \$35,000  |
|                               | Old Port Canal Amenities             | \$75,000  |
|                               | Pedestrian Facilities                | \$99,962  |
|                               | Flower Farm Extension                | \$182,900 |
| Cycle Paths                   | \$212,500                            |           |
| <i>Enfield</i>                | Sunnybrae Farm Restoration           | \$462,000 |
|                               | SES Building                         | \$199,000 |
|                               | River Torrens Linear Park            | \$231,000 |
|                               | Road Rehabilitation (Dry Creek)      | \$544,000 |
|                               | Footpath Upgrading                   | \$589,000 |
|                               | Scour Protection & Upgrading         | \$367,000 |
|                               | Parks Upgrade & Recreation Facilitie | \$421,000 |

**Source:** Local Capital Works Program - Approvals (Rounds 1-3)  
SA Local Government Association

rebuild their lives. There was simply nothing. After twenty years, double-digit employment had become a fact of life for local residents, every adjective had been used and every sensational headline had been exhausted. In the end, there was simply nothing else that could be said, and probably explained the disappearance of the unemployment 'disaster' from the pages of *Weekly Times* after 1996.

What was missing from the debate was a solution, or at least the appearance of one that offered a degree of hope. From the earliest stages of the increase in unemployment, there was general agreement on the nature of the problem. Inadequate education, low skill levels, fractured job networks and low literacy levels were seen as the principal causes of long-term unemployment in The Parks (*Weekly Times*, 7 June 1995). As Cass (1997) noted more generally:

Since the mid-1970s economic and industrial restructuring, particularly in older industrial areas, has resulted in substantial falls in employment in manufacturing, which usually affects the supply of jobs in the whole community. This is reflected in the high average rates of unemployment, low average household incomes, housing disadvantage, a relatively high proportion of children with no parent in employment, lower than average labour force participation for women, higher rates of early labour force withdrawal for men, a relatively low proportion of young people attending higher education and high unemployment among young people. Where parents, neighbours and friends have few labour market contacts because they are themselves without jobs, most likely to occur where the employment base of the local region has declined, young people's informal job networks are seriously impeded.<sup>42</sup>

It was also the point at which the state – from the local council to the Commonwealth Government – effectively 'washed its hands' of the problem. Potential solutions were transformed into vision statements and industry 'blueprints', while scarce resources were being consumed at an alarming rate by international consultants and government sponsored focus groups.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, at the 'coal-face' of service delivery, the local Skillshare Office in The Parks, there was never enough money to expand the facilities, hire the trained supervisors or provide the experienced case-workers for a comprehensive training and employment program.

In 1995, the funding formula for the Skillshare program was changed from the number of enrolled jobseekers to the number of unemployed people finding work (for at least 13 weeks) after completing a Skillshare course. While the emphasis on matching course

participants to employment outcomes was accepted as a more efficient method, the Skillshare program was now being judged and resourced on its statistical merits, as opposed to the difficulties of training a client base that was exclusively composed of the long-term unemployed. In 1996, the Howard Government – on the recommendation of the Employment Minister – discontinued the Skillshare program and Parks Skill was closed. The centre's entire staff of experienced workers, its employer database, its thirteen-year track record and the only local contact point for the unemployed in The Parks was erased in the small print of the Federal Budget.<sup>44</sup>

## 6.5 Discussion

The factors that were consistently ignored in the discussion of The Parks and its unemployment problem, were the changing nature of the local labour market, the overall level of labour demand and whether the skills of the resident labour force necessarily matched the needs of local employers. Clearly, the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled industrial labour had changed from the 1950s and 1960s, where basic numeracy and literacy skills (learnt on-the-job by thousands of European migrants) were now considered to be an essential prerequisite for even a production line job in the 1990s.

At the enterprise level, the workplace culture had also changed, with smaller work teams, the introduction of new technologies and the development of a flexible and multiskilled workforce transforming the shop-floor environment. In particular, in the new competitive environment a consistent quality of product was required and export margins were tight. In contrast to the long-boom, employers could now afford to be more selective in their hiring intentions, with the emphasis being placed on finding the most experienced and qualified candidate from potentially hundreds of applications. Quality had displaced quantity (Peel, 1995: 173).

In The Parks, the labour force was placed at an immediate disadvantage, with the unemployed displaying the all-too-familiar characteristics of being too old or too young, too inexperienced or too unskilled when being considered for a job. For more recent migrants, the absence of basic numeracy and literacy skills, from writing a resume to attending an

interview, were additional barriers to be overcome. For others, the public education system had failed them, unable to understand or sympathise with their own dreams or household circumstances, while a previous work related injury or the responsibilities of being a carer were equally powerful barriers to those re-entering the labour market. As Mark Peel (1995) remarked of Elizabeth: 'too many, far too many, combine these disabilities in a place that only makes them worse' (Peel, 1995: 36).

In addition, the role of the Housing Trust, both in the selection of tenants and the location of its rental stock, helped to corral and entrap residents in areas often poorly serviced and where many of the jobs had all but disappeared (Forster, 1983). The introduction of means testing, while ensuring the poorest and most disadvantaged tenants were reserved a place, also helped to erode the crucial role of informal job networks by narrowing the social and economic base that had underpinned the development of the public housing system (Badcock, 1997). That is, with every new or prospective tenant being 'poorer than the ones who came last year', often without a job, the requisite skills or previous work experience, one of the main avenues of finding and securing a job in the local labour market was severely undermined (Peel, 1996).

Meanwhile, government programs, from the inadequate state-based efforts of unemployment relief to the 'magic-bullet' solutions of *Working Nation*, were unable to provide a structured or coherent plan for helping those regional communities and forgotten places that had already been crippled by private sector disinvestment. However *Working Nation*, unable to acknowledge the depth or complexity of the unemployment problem, was reduced to viewing its unemployed citizens as unwelcome 'impediments' to economic growth. The Job Compact, the program's centrepiece, was supposed to deliver a more flexible, productive and efficient workforce. In contrast, there were few measures to create employment opportunities in disadvantaged communities, with only the Federal Government's \$150m infrastructure fund helping to supplement the unpredictable and uneven benefits of 'economic growth' (which the employment policy was relying upon). According to McLaughlin (1992), in the firmament of our current political leadership,

Growth and unemployment are ceasing to be seen as objectives of policy, but rather as natural events, like hurricanes or snow, which are news, but which the government can neither predict nor control.<sup>45</sup>

The Labour Government had thrown in the towel. In contrast to earlier reports, which had hinted at a more interventionist agenda, the Keating Government was completely reliant on the private sector and the (untested) entrepreneurial abilities of local leaders to create the jobs.<sup>46</sup> Brian Howe, one of the few senior Cabinet Ministers to be critical of the "hands off" approach to regional policy, was unable to secure the support for a comprehensive program of national infrastructure and job creation projects. Though supported by mounting evidence that a growth formula applied to the poorest and most disadvantaged communities would be highly problematic (Gregory & Hunter, 1994), a meagre diet of 'seize-the-day' mantras and elaborate flow diagrams were the preferred options for the regional development component of *Working Nation* (AFR, 19 July 1994). However this 'strategy', more suited to the growth corridors of the Gold Coast than the industrial wastelands of Broadmeadows and The Parks, scarcely mentioned the unemployment concentrations within the nation's largest cities or the reasons behind their dramatic reversal and decline. Instead, the Government's single most important statement on employment, industry and regional development failed to recognise, as Fagan and O'Neill (1995) observed, that:

.... there is a major difference between identifying regions bearing an inequitable burden of the costs of economic change and attributing to communities within these regions the power or responsibility to address these economic problems at their source ... *Working Nation* assumes that successful regional economic development will directly correlate with desirable social outcomes [but] there is no guarantee that mechanisms can be established to ensure that income and jobs are distributed equitably.<sup>47</sup>

In summary, for those areas which had the most to lose, Canberra's intention to restructure inefficient industries rang increasingly hollow, particularly when it was realised that no alternatives were being offered and even fewer jobs would be available for those displaced. The message from Paul Keating was clear: communities like The Parks would have to be 'quick out of the holes' (Age, 18 March 1994: 4) to take advantage of the opportunities created by a new breed of 'change' leaders and local entrepreneurs (*Lead Local Compete Global*, 1994). For those without the means or the opportunity to embrace the realities of the marketplace, the strategy of 'progressive competitiveness' embraced by Federal Labour was a 'kinder road to hell' - particularly when a more aggressive reform agenda arrived (Wiseman, 1996: 113).

Following the election of a Coalition Government in 1996, the coordinating efforts and modest regional policy initiatives of the Hawke-Keating years were brought to a conclusion, with the Department of Urban and Regional Development abolished and its programs terminated. And while several *de facto* regional initiatives have emerged, such as the grant distributions arising from the Federation (eg Alice Springs-Darwin Railway) and National Heritage Trust Funds, these have all involved large, often single-year allocations for capital intensive infrastructure and landcare restoration projects in regional areas (ie non-metropolitan).

In 1997, the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) was also abolished, with job placement and training services transferred to the private sector and charitable institutions in May 1998. Although several large contracts, such as those providing intensive assistance to the long-term unemployed, were secured by Employment National (*formerly the CES*), the second round of Job Network tenders, announced in December 1999, reduced their share of the intensive assistance contracts to just one percent.<sup>48</sup>

In the northwestern suburbs, Employment National had established two centres, offering both job matching and intensive assistance services in Woodville and Port Adelaide. Both centres were unsuccessful in the second round of contracts, with contracts for intensive assistance in the northwestern suburbs being awarded to 'Employment Plus', operated by the Salvation Army.<sup>49</sup> In February 2000, two charitable institutions, the Salvation Army and Mission Australia, will become Australia's largest providers of employment services, further eroding the public sector's involvement in finding jobs for the unemployed.

In conclusion, there have been many terms used to describe what has happened in The Parks, from multiple deprivation to social exclusion, but what remains is a living testament to what happens when the market fails and governments are reluctant to intervene. This was not always the case. The Parks was built *because* the market failed. Through the efforts of the Housing Trust and the industrial policies of the Playford Government, thousands of South Australian families were provided with a new deal. A suburban life, complete with a modest home and factory job, was a tremendous improvement on the privations of war and depression.

However living and working in The Parks was still a struggle. Even in the 1960s, a factory job was never taken for granted, with even a small decline in consumer spending or production levels leading to redundancies and layoffs. Working conditions were often difficult, and for many residents – suffering the familiar respiratory, heart and muscle-fatiguing injuries from decades of often repetitive and dangerous work – have been shunted into a painful and sometimes premature retirement.

At home, a scandalous period of under-servicing and non-existent community facilities left increasing numbers of kids with nothing to do, while the reputation of their area went from bad to worse.<sup>50</sup> Gradually, improvements were made, a new community centre was built and the two constants of life in The Parks: 'the fixed housing trust rents and the demand for unskilled industrial labour ensured a measure of economic security for the majority of people' (Knapman, 1974: 4).

Two decades of industrial change and economic restructuring have contributed to an emphatic reversal, with a heightened sense of insecurity for those in public housing tenure and the total collapse in unskilled work completely redefining the community dynamics of The Parks. While the Federal Government may believe in a *social coalition*, no community, even with a formidable reserve of resourcefulness and patience, can continue to function with one quarter of its labour force unable to secure some form of paid employment and the rewards, opportunities and life chances that it provides.

Interviewed by Susan Marsden in her history of the South Australian Housing Trust, *Business, Charity & Sentiment* (1986), a resident of Athol Park observed:

The original Housing Trust tenants, although they were materially poor, probably had a relatively stable family life. And they had work. They were not too different from many people in the state. Whereas now they are a more specific group of people and the pressures are very great. I can't think of anybody here who has work, the job situation is appalling. Most people live on a pension. And they feel different. It's very difficult to set up a community which hasn't a purpose outside of itself.<sup>51</sup>

In The Parks, the role of the local labour market was consistently misunderstood and ignored – particularly by State and Federal Governments. Factors relating to job accessibility (eg public transport), relative knowledge (eg informal job networks), employer discrimination (eg

public housing tenants) and the underlying *demand* for labour (across both skill and occupational categories) were largely absent from the employment debate, and resulted in a national response to unemployment which bypassed questions of local specificity and structural inequality (Peel, 1995).<sup>52</sup>

With the current plan to redevelop The Parks, a 'final solution' has been implemented to dilute and relocate the 'ghetto' of Minister Oswald's imagination, but without the social and economic policies to ensure that those displaced would be starting a new life and not simply moving their old one. The employment crisis in The Parks will be solved, but it will come from a process of removal, relocation and repackaging. The previous concentration of disadvantaged job seekers will be gradually diluted through the wholesale demolition of public housing and the sale of private dwellings to presumably *employed* homebuyers. Similarly, Housing Trust tenants will be relocated within the public housing system or provided with a rental subsidy in the private rental sector. A minority will remain in The Parks (Chapter Eight).

And finally, the accelerated 'roll back' of the welfare state will inevitably repackage the problem, with the demand that welfare recipients not only find work faster, but keep it longer and perform it as a condition of aid (ie work-for-the-dole). Indeed, a dead-end job is seen as preferable, where the system of benefits introduced by the Chifley Government has been completely subverted, with charitable institutions and private sector agencies given the responsibility for solving market failure. What remains to be understood is how effective a system based on the private delivery of employment services, without the support of public sector investment in regional programs or a more equitable distribution of wealth, will manage when the economy slides into recession.

In the Federal seat of Port Adelaide, the electorate has remained solidly behind the Australian Labor Party (ALP), with the five polling stations of The Parks providing both a popular plurality and absolute majority for the incumbent, Rod Sawford (MHR), in the 1998 election. Indeed, the electoral support for the ALP within The Parks was so great, that the polling stations in Ferryden Park (70%), Woodville Gardens (70%), Angle Park (67%) and Pennington (64%) provided an absolute majority to the ALP candidate on *first preference* votes. They were also the strongest of the 42 booths for the ALP on Election Day. In contrast, the support for Pauline Hanson's *One Nation*, whose anti-immigration and protectionist



message was expected to find widespread support in the area's left behind, attracted just 7.8% of the vote amongst the electors of The Parks. This was less than both the overall votes in Port Adelaide and throughout the State (9.1% & 9.8% respectively) for *One Nation*.<sup>53</sup>

However the continuing support for the Australian Labor Party, and the failure of *One Nation* to create an electoral beach-head in one of the more identifiable 'stressed-out' urban communities, remains a conditional one. There is a number of reasons for this: the calibre of the local members (and their own exclusion from positions of influence in the Labor machine); the retention of a comprehensive system of welfare and health benefits (though means-testing and administrative restrictions have eroded these); and the ability of The Parks community to successfully integrate its large Vietnamese population (fully one quarter of the state total). However the political message of *One Nation* – challenging both the economic and cultural orthodoxies of the major parties - cannot be so easily dismissed.

As the recent Victorian State Election revealed, regional and rural Australia can turn against its traditional political base, the National and Liberal Party Coalition, with a vengeance. In more disadvantaged urban communities, however, the methods of electoral protest are more subtle, with traditional Labor and working class seats being retained by the ALP, but where support for the party leadership can evaporate in spectacular fashion. For example, a 'yes' vote at the November 1999 Republican referendum – though supported by both the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) – was defeated in each of the ALP held seats in South Australia.<sup>54</sup>

The defeat of *One Nation* has not been a victory for the major parties or the 'battlers' they claim to represent. The sense of political alienation, the absence of 'place' in public sector initiatives and the avoidance of capacity building at the local level has created a powerful undercurrent of resentment and insecurity (Badcock, 1998). As Lake (1994) reminds us: 'the urban problem never went away; both the left and the right simply declared it politically irrelevant' (Lake, 1994: 206). It is a case of 'out of sight, out of mind', which will only be exposed when a deeply recessed and unresponsive economy demands more of its elected representatives. After two decades of economic and social dislocation, it is remarkable that there have been no major civil disturbances in places like The Parks. It is to their immense credit, and the system of governance which underpins Australia, that these area's have not simply exploded or been seduced by the political message of *One Nation* or similar party.

This situation cannot continue indefinitely. Because if nothing is done, and the fundamental inequalities and distributional rewards of a flawed economic system remain unchecked, the social conditions for a major political realignment become more favourable and the longer-term consequences completely unpredictable.

<sup>1</sup> Pinch S., (1987) 'Labour-market theory, quantification, and policy' *Environment and Planning A* 19(11): 1477

<sup>2</sup> Porter I., (1996) 'Where the chill wind still blows' *Australian Financial Review* 11 November 1996

<sup>3</sup> Dann M., Knight A., (1992) *Spotswood* Currency Press Sydney p58.

<sup>4</sup> For example, in Table 6.1 (Retired Workers), a number of workers were employed in multiple, full-time positions within the north-western suburbs (eg. 39, 125, 160, 302, 369).

<sup>5</sup> Hanson S., Pratt G., (1992) 'Dynamic dependencies: a geographic investigation of local labour markets' *Economic Geography* 68(4): 404

<sup>6</sup> Of the 277 individuals classified as 'unemployed', a significant minority (81) were actually residents of the Pennington Migrant Hostel.

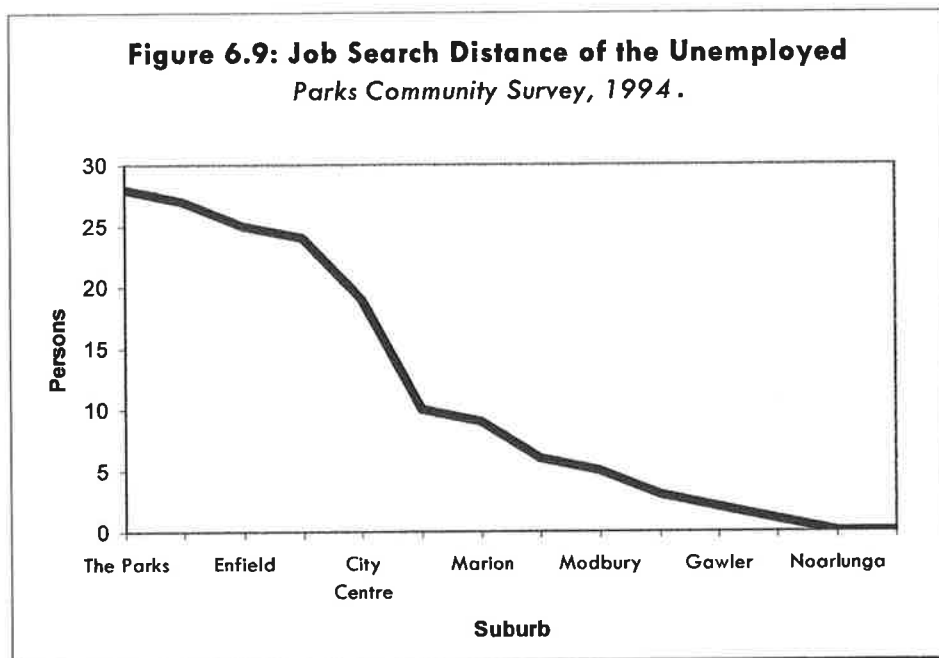
<sup>7</sup> For example, the 1960-61 credit squeeze resulted in Pope Ltd having to retrench 1000 employees from its Adelaide-based plants (Pope Ltd, *Annual Report*, 1961).

<sup>8</sup> The figures for The Parks have been aggregated from the original 1971 Classification codes (by occupation) that were individually listed for each collection district. The following distributions were made: Managers & Administrators [14, 15, 22]; Professionals [1-5, 7-11, 33, 69]; Para-Professionals [6, 12, 13, 31, 37, 62, 68, 70]. The Adelaide (ASD) data used for 1971 were based on the final (aggregated) figures released, covering a reduced number of occupational classifications, listed only as 'professional' and 'administrative'. For 1996, the figures are directly comparable (without qualification) using CDATA96.

<sup>9</sup> Using the 1971 Classification Codes (as explained above) the following distributions were again made: Tradespersons [41-54, 56, 66]; Plant & Machine Operators [34-35, 59]; Labourers and Related Workers [23-30, 32, 36, 40, 55, 57-58, 60-61, 63, 65, 67]. Similarly, with the Adelaide (ASD) data for the 1971 Census, the occupational classifications had been aggregated to just 'transport workers' and 'craftsmen'.

<sup>10</sup> In The Parks, bachelor degrees, undergraduate and associate diplomas rated 3% (Adelaide 10.9%), while 13% were categorised as 'unstated' or 'inadequately described' (Adelaide 11.3%). Source: 1991 Census of Population & Housing.

<sup>11</sup>



<sup>12</sup> In 1998, the Federal Budget expanded the definition of 'suitable work to cover out-of-area jobs.' Newstart Allowance recipients who 'seek and are offered suitable work outside of their local area will be required to accept work, or will be subject to an activity test breach'. This may involve a travel time up to and beyond 90 minutes (in lieu of an appropriate exemption).

<sup>13</sup> The government first acquired the land in 1878, with work beginning in the following year to establish the Sewage Farm and a Manager's Residence, Sunnybrae. By the mid 1930s, the Sewage Farm was already starting to become hopelessly overloaded, with increasing volumes of untreated and partly treated effluent

being discharged into the sea (via the North Arm Creek). After a particularly damning report by the E&WS in 1960, the Islington Sewage Farm was officially decommissioned in 1966 (following the opening of a new treatment works at Bolivar). In deciding its future land-use, a Government sub-committee was convened in 1965 by the Playford Government, comprising the Commissioner of Highways, the Engineer-in-Chief and the Railways Commissioner. Although the site had been re-zoned as 'residential' land by Enfield Council in 1956, the interim report submitted to State Cabinet recommended that certain lands should be set aside for a proposed freeway (South Road), a possible railway line and 100 acres of recreational space [*Parliamentary Hansard*, 1964: 25, 173]. Residents were particularly concerned about adding to the area's significant (and unresolved) pollution problems, an increase in heavy vehicular traffic and the desperate need for more parks and recreational spaces [Ref: *Weekly Times*, 7/14/21 July 1971]. Following extensive consultations, a major recreational and industrial development was planned, with land being set aside for light industry (84 acres), recreational space (50 acres), a TAFE college (30 acres) and a Crippled Children's Centre (20 acres). The Regency Park Centre for Physically Handicapped Children was officially opened by Premier Don Dunstan in November 1974 and a TAFE College the following year. In 1977, the Recreation Park was opened, featuring a nine-hole golf course, BBQ facilities, oval, tavern, skateboard rink, cafe and boating lake [*Weekly Times*, 16 November 1977].

<sup>14</sup> North Haven was one of the largest single suburban contributors, with 62 workers being employed in the 5 employment centres surveyed.

<sup>15</sup> In 1980, the State Government and the Housing Trust agreed to purchase a parcel of land and factory space in Dudley Park from Simpson-Pope Ltd for \$1.5m. In return, Simpson-Pope Ltd established a dishwasher plant in Regency Park employing 100 people. In 1982, the Danish pump manufacturer, Grundos, also established a manufacturing plant in Regency Park with the help of a \$482,000 State Government Grant. And in 1987, the ACT Plastics Plant received a \$67 000 Government loan. The state's public sector also invested heavily in Regency Park, with the State Transport Authority and Motor Registration establishing maintenance and road safety centre's (respectively). In 1978, the State Transport Authority established its maintenance workshops on a 10-hectare site at a cost of \$18.5 million. In June 1997, thirty five bus maintenance workers at the Regency Park depot lost their jobs, when the maintenance contract was put out to public tender.

<sup>16</sup> There was also a determination by the State Government (through both the Lands Department and Enfield Council) to have some stringent planning guidelines in place that would avoid the mistakes of previous industrial parks. In particular, there was a requirement to *develop* purchased land within three years (or risk compulsory acquisition) to limit the possibility of land speculation.

<sup>17</sup> Due to the number of employees, the owner or manager of the smallest firms was often prompted to personally phone through the information, which allowed for a more detailed analysis of both their operations and employment requirements.

<sup>18</sup> Taylor M., (1992) *The Regional Impact of Changing Levels of Protection in Australian Industries* Office of Local Government AGPS p8

<sup>19</sup> In 1971-1972, a number of companies announced changes to their operations: (1) GH Michell & Sons moved from Adam Street, Hindmarsh to a new \$5m and 30 acre site in Salisbury after 100 years; (2) GM-H Woodville retrenched 370 tradesmen from the die manufacture, electrical trades & fixtures department; and (3) Chrysler (Aust.) retrenched 250 employees from its Woodville and Finsbury plants. In addition, ROH (Finsbury) and Philips Electronics (Hendon) were at the centre of trade union and State Government concerns about possible closure and/or relocation to the eastern states (*Weekly Times*, 10 March 1971; 8 September 1971; 22 September 1971; 26 January 1972; 2 February 1972).

<sup>20</sup> A total of 49 unemployed people were involved in these projects (between November 1972 and January 1973). Ref: *Weekly Times*, 4 October 1972; 8 November 1972.

<sup>21</sup> The Mansfield Park office distributed a total of 400 Christmas food and gift parcels in 1976.

<sup>22</sup> The Australian Assistance Program (AAP) provided \$23 000 for six projects in The Parks. This included funding for Focus One; the Mansfield Park Salvation Army Office; the Ferryden Park Educational Experiment; Parents Without Partners; Parks Community Centre Residents Association and the Ferryden Park Football Club (*Weekly Times*, 11 June 1975; 16 July 1975). In August 1976, additional funding of \$36 450 was provided to Focus One, Parents Without Partners, the Mansfield Park Salvation Army Office and the Parks Community Centre Residents Association (*Weekly Times*, 25 August 1976). This was also the final year of funding, with financial support for both the AAP and Social Development Councils being withdrawn by the Fraser Government (*Weekly Times*, 16 March 1977). In 1977, the State Government provided an \$11 000 grant to Mansfield Park Primary School under its Disadvantaged Schools Program – one of 18 such schools in South Australia (*Weekly Times*, 26 January 1977).

<sup>23</sup> Reverend George Master, the Head of the Port Adelaide Central Mission, remarked that the growing number of young unemployed persons could be viewed as the 'seeds of perpetuating poverty in Australia' – particularly if nothing was done to improve the situation. In November 1973, the number of young unemployed people in Adelaide numbered 2,932 persons. By November 1976, the figure had reached 8,625 persons - a 294% increase (*Weekly Times*, 5 January 1977).

<sup>24</sup> While some of these unemployment and job creation schemes did involve public funds, such as the \$31 000 grant to establish a community garden in Angle Park, other initiatives were developed locally to meet the recreational and daily needs of residents (eg a toy library, a food cooperative etc).

<sup>25</sup> A local campaign was organised, in conjunction with the union movement, to save the GM-H plant. A number of tactics were adopted: direct representations to Federal Parliament and GM's Detroit Headquarters; IAC submissions, a bumper sticker campaign and the establishment of an official tent city protest outside the factory gates.

<sup>26</sup> *South Australian Parliamentary Debates* (Hansard) Official / Reports 1979-80 House of Assembly 3 June, 1980: 2172-2173. A question asked by Kevin Hamilton MP (Albert Park) to the Premier, on the future of GM-H Woodville's automotive plant in his electorate.

<sup>27</sup> In the 1982-83 period, Kelvinator Ltd (Mile End & Finsbury) retrenched between 400-500 workers from their refrigeration and whitegoods plants (*Weekly Times*, 28 July 1982; 16 March 1983).

<sup>28</sup> A similar prediction was also made in 1989. Less than six months later, the much-vaunted 'Manufacturing Park' (with just six tenants) was placed in the care of an administrator, with Westaways Corporation facing huge debts. Meanwhile, the Manufacturing Park's railway station, established to serve the GM-H plant in 1928, was closed several months later due to low patronage (*Weekly Times*, 11 January 1989; 7 June 1989; 22 August 1990).

<sup>29</sup> Two additional grants were also made in the northwestern suburbs. In 1984, a \$132,000 study was commissioned to document the recreational needs of the local unemployed, while a \$92,000 grant was provided to the Parks Resident's Committee for its Angle Park community garden in 1985. Both projects provided employment for a total of five people over a period of twelve months. Not surprisingly, the results of the Western Region Recreation Awareness Study (from the earlier CEP grant) were entirely predictable, with the 'primary concerns' of unemployed people categorised as 'getting food, shelter and in general, just trying to survive' (*Weekly Times*, 29 May 1985).

<sup>30</sup> There were four main objectives: to assist those individuals identified as disadvantaged in the labour market; to provide those persons with work experience and/or training; to provide work and services of public and community benefit; and to alleviate (economic and employment) disparities between regions. (Rance, 1984: 3).

<sup>31</sup> Project applicants were judged on the labour component of the project, the level of work experience provided and the level of community benefit. In addition, the State and Territory consultative committees were obliged to give priority to those projects in high unemployment areas and to strike a balance between both city and country locations (Rance, 1984: 10-12).

<sup>32</sup> In her analysis, Rance (1984) calculated that 16 Local Government Areas – on a hypothetical basis – received less than their CEP entitlement (measured against the actual level of unemployment and CEP funds received). The City of Adelaide and East Torrens received 11.5 and 5.7 times (respectively) above their hypothetical entitlement, while Hindmarsh and Willunga received 44.3 and 22 times (respectively) below their hypothetical CEP entitlement. In many instances, this amounted to an *under-funding* of CEP schemes in the hundreds of thousands of dollars in high unemployment areas (Rance, 1984: 29).

<sup>33</sup> These included: computer awareness, aerobic fitness, photography, cooking and catering, basic welding, metalwork and other trade related courses (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1984/85 p55). In addition, these structured programs were 'bundled' with relevant 'work experience and job search skills training' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1987-88: 25).

<sup>34</sup> To accomplish this task, Skillshare offices regularly involved 'local representatives from businesses, Government Departments and the unemployed in the design and implementation of the projects activities' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1988-89: 24).

<sup>35</sup> This was one of the major recommendations of a Social Justice Strategy undertaken by the Parks Community Centre, involving the local community, local government and centre components. Several initiatives included work experience and training placements program with the Enfield Council, the CES, local unions and businesses; and 'the development of a casual employment policy giving preference to workers who live in The Parks area' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1989-90: 11-12).

<sup>36</sup> The reason for this concentration is probably due to two factors. Firstly, the location of the Pennington Migrant Hostel (located within The Parks) as the main reception centre in South Australia for overseas migrants. Secondly, the concentration of Trust homes and low-cost rental accommodation in the north-western suburbs.

<sup>37</sup> In the official guidelines and application form, *Local Capital Works Program: Eligible Regions and Councils, Guidelines, and Proposal Form* [Commonwealth Office of Local Government, 18 August 1992], there was no mention of the words 'unemployed' or 'unemployment' after the second introductory paragraph (which described how the funds had been allocated). Instead, the document provides a wealth of detail on improving 'accessibility' to industrial areas and retail precincts, upgrading the 'presentation' of tourist attractions and must be completed with 13 months (1/12/92 to 31/12/93).

<sup>38</sup> In July 1992, a short time before the release of the Federal Budget, the Australian Local Government Association produced a document entitled 'Strategies for Local Employment Creation'. This was just one aspect

of a concerted Local Government lobbying campaign to secure a large slice of the employment budget in the lead-up to the August Budget. While the \$800m requested by the ALGA was never to materialise, the \$342m LCWP was a tremendous consolation prize, and met the general guidelines of the initial ALGA submission. According to Graeme Fricker, the ALGA President, this was not the provision of 'make work projects' but 'infrastructure important to Australia's economic recovery' (*Advertiser*, July 1992: 2).

<sup>39</sup> *Working for the Future*, Commonwealth Government AGPS August 1992: 51

<sup>40</sup> In addition, the councils' combined contribution to the LCWP was \$1.51m. A major advantage of the LCWP for participating councils was the ability to determine their own spending priorities and this often resulted in a wide variation in the respective sponsor contributions to the Commonwealth grants. For example, Enfield, Port Adelaide and Woodville Councils contributed 11.7%, 32.4% and 24.2% of the overall funding package (respectively). This provided a great deal of flexibility when fast-tracking projects: whether they were already under-way or still in the final planning stage. As a result, the speed of the application and approval's process was greatly enhanced with the ability of participating councils to take projects 'off-the-shelf'. The labour component was never really considered, particularly by the Federal Government, which demanded and received a short-term fiscal stimulus package for the most disadvantaged (and usually ALP voting electorates) to relieve the pressure on existing employment. That is, the package was probably more effective in temporarily preserving employment levels in the construction and building industries that had been hardest hit by the recession and high interest rates. The Office of Local Government, in its report to the Federal Government, arrived at an estimate of 1 643 jobs created in SA and 17 000 nationally. This is well short of the number needed, even accounting for the indirect or multiplier effect of job creation, to make a serious inroad into the unemployment situation in South Australia in general or The Parks in particular during 1992-1993.

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**Table 6.14: Coverage of Labour Market Issues in The Parks**  
*Weekly Times, 1993-1996*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| West's jobless rate above average                         | 21-Jul-93 |
| Figures reflect high number of 'disadvantaged groups'     | 21-Jul-93 |
| Jobless have their say on curing problem                  | 1-Dec-93  |
| Unemployment is not our problem: western councils         | 19-Jan-94 |
| Jobs clubs lead the west's unemployed out of wilderness   | 23-Feb-94 |
| Government funds to help tackle west's high jobless level | 16-Mar-94 |
| Jobless rate still highest at Parks                       | 1-Feb-95  |
| Ethnic groups high on jobless list                        | 5-Apr-95  |
| Skills count for nothing in John's job search             | 5-Apr-95  |
| Parks Jobless plagued by other woes                       | 7-Jun-95  |
| Making training ripples in the pool of unemployment       | 14-Jun-95 |
| Leaders offer work woes ideas                             | 21-Jun-95 |
| Jobs training centres face funds crisis                   | 5-Jul-95  |
| Parks jobless drop no cause to celebrate: skills workers  | 29-Nov-95 |
| 400 jobless could lose training                           | 12-Jun-96 |
| The Parks is jobless capital of Adelaide                  | 19-Jun-96 |
| Skills centres face cuts as jobless lines grow            | 14-Aug-96 |
| Migrant jobless warning                                   | 28-Aug-96 |

**Source:** *The Weekly Times*

On a more general level, *The Advertiser* usually featured articles on the latest DEETYA figures released on a quarterly basis (*Advertiser*, 24 July 1993).

<sup>42</sup> Cass, B (1997) 'Youth income support: the cure is as bad as the disease' *Australian* 26 June 1997: 13

<sup>43</sup> For example, the detailed planning studies by the MFP-Local Government Focus Group (MACK Study), the Northwest Adelaide Strategic Plan, the Metropolitan Adelaide Industrial Land, Development and Employment Study (Department of Environment & Planning) the 1996 Planning Review. The budget for the MFP/Mack Study was \$165,000. See: *Weekly Times*, 12 May 1993; 5 August 1993; 1 November 1995.

<sup>44</sup> In May 1996, funding for the national Skillshare program was cut by one third from July 1. At Parks Skill, a one third reduction in funding forced nine staff (from a payroll of 20) to be made redundant and fully fifty

percent of the courses to be discontinued. In the previous twelve months, a total of 600 people had undertaken courses through Parks Skill, this would be reduced to only 200 long-term unemployed if the cuts remained in place after 30 September 1996. Following the August Budget, Parks Skill, and two other centres at Welland and Croydon Park, were closed, and replaced with two new centres at Woodville Park and Kilkenny. A further three Skillshare centres were closed in Port Adelaide. The final report on the Skillshare Program recommended that only seventeen of the thirty-four Adelaide based centres should remain, but all would eventually be replaced with the introduction of the privatised Job Network. See: *Weekly Times*, 12 June 1996: 1; 14 August 1996: 3.

<sup>45</sup> McLaughlin E., (ed) (1992) *Understanding Unemployment* Routledge London p5

<sup>46</sup> The Employment White Paper, entitled *Working Nation*, became the Government's collective and definitive response to employment, industry and regional issues. *Working Nation*, while a combination of reports, ideological arguments and cabinet manoeuvring's, was principally based on just three: the Industry Commission's Report on Impediments to Regional Adjustment; the Bureau of Industry Economics report on regional development; and, the McKinsey & Co Study on Emerging Exporters. There was no room for the more interventionist and high-cost policies of the Kelty Inquiry on Regional Development or the scarcely mentioned findings of the independent Inquiry into Tariffs and Industry Development chaired by Senate Democrats and reporting in April 1993. Instead, unemployment was seen as a source of economic inefficiency, which implied that the unemployed themselves were a large part of the problem, who needed to be more flexible and productive citizens. In contrast, a number of newspaper articles and research reports were released in the 1995-96 period advocating a more interventionist policy direction. See: *Advertiser*, 27 April 1995, 25 May 1995, 14 March 1996; *Financial Review*, 27 April 1995; *Australian* 26 July 1995. In November 1999, the same issues of wealth inequality, unemployment, poverty and concentrated economic disadvantage attracted national media attention, with the release of the AHURI report, *Community Opportunity and Vulnerability in Australia's Towns and Cities*, at the National Housing Conference (Sydney). See: *Australian*, 29 November 1999: 1,4-5,12-13.

<sup>47</sup> Fagan B., O'Neill P., (1995) 'The new regional policy' *Australian Quarterly* p56, 61

<sup>48</sup> This was a dramatic and unexpected reversal for Employment National, with the first round of contracts in 1997 providing the former CES with forty percent of the intensive assistance contracts. The second round of contracts, while providing an increase in Employment National's share of job matching services, will also prompt a reorganisation of services and staffing levels, with its forty percent (and lucrative) share of the intensive assistance contracts being cut from 40% to just 1%. See: *Australian*, 4-5 December 1999: 5

<sup>49</sup> The announcement of the successful tenderers also created some confusion, in that current and prospective candidates for intensive assistance (ie the long-term unemployed) may be placed at a disadvantage with funding being withdrawn from some agencies and increased in others (with the changes not to come into effect until February 2000).

<sup>50</sup> In 1973, of the 211 suburbs ranked by a Flinders University Study, Athol Park was 187<sup>th</sup>, Ferryden Park 199<sup>th</sup> and Wingfield and Mansfield Park were equal last on 210.

<sup>51</sup> Marsden S., (1986) *Business, Charity and Sentiment* Wakefield Press Adelaide p383.

<sup>52</sup> In The Parks, car ownership levels still lagged well behind the metropolitan average, while changes to public transport routes and timetables created their own problems for those without access to a car (Table 6.15).

**Table 6.15: Car Ownership by Household, The Parks (1971 & 1996)**

|                               | 1971        | 1996        |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| None                          | 1455        | 1623        |
| One Car                       | 2908        | 2788        |
| Two or more Cars              | 1232        | 1485        |
| Not Stated                    | 109         | 411         |
| % of households without a car | 25.5%       | 25.7%       |
| <b>TOTAL:</b>                 | <b>5704</b> | <b>6307</b> |

Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing

<sup>53</sup> In the five polling booths within The Parks, the overall vote was as follows: ALP 5702, LIB 993, HAN 687 and DEM 544 (Total votes cast = 8734). There is also some evidence to suggest that the majority of *One Nation's* support was from the disenchanted ranks of former Liberal Party voters. For example, Table 6.16 reveals that support for the Liberal candidate in Port Adelaide fell by 11.12%, with independents and *One Nation* appearing to have benefited. Meanwhile, the ALP seems to have gained some support, but only from the non-appearance of a Greens or Natural Law Party Candidate and a drop in the Democrat vote (which would have been used as 'protest' vehicles in the 1996 poll result). However the swing of 4.68% to the ALP was still well above the state wide average of -0.35%.

**Table 6.16: Seat of Port Adelaide, Federal Election Results 1998**

| <u>Candidates</u> | <u>Party</u> | <u>Votes</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Change from 1996</u> |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|----------|-------------------------|
| BAWDEN, Matilda   | DEM          | 6696         | 9.01     | -0.55                   |
| SAWFORD, Rod      | ALP          | 39449        | 53.1     | 4.68                    |
| PERTH, Michael    |              | 801          | 1.08     | 1.08                    |
| HILL, Rick        | IND          | 1527         | 2.06     | 2.06                    |
| POWELL, John      | HAN          | 6731         | 9.06     | 9.06                    |
| CAVUOTO, Romeo    | LIB          | 19083        | 25.69    | -11.12                  |
|                   | GRN          | 0            | 0        | -4.56                   |
|                   | NLP          | 0            | 0        | -0.64                   |

Source: Australian Electoral Commission

<sup>54</sup> In South Australia, each of the ALP held metropolitan seats – Bonython, Port Adelaide and Kingston – voted 'no' to the republican model on offer (67%, 52% and 58% respectively). Of the five remaining metropolitan seats, all held by the Liberal Party, three returned a 'yes' vote (Adelaide, Sturt and Boothby), while a fourth required a swing of less than 0.3% (Hindmarsh).



## CHAPTER SEVEN: COMMUNITY

Whatever it is, says the local member, Mick Young, contemplating a can of beer, this electorate has more of it than anywhere else. Old people, kids on bonds, migrants, unmarried mothers, divorced wives, you name it.<sup>1</sup>

Mungo MacCallum

If you start unpicking the very concept behind the Parks Community Centre, which is community access to a high school, you start to seriously question the capacity of the centre to offer social justice outcomes.<sup>2</sup>

Hans Pieters

It is plain that the policies (which the Coalition supports) can be simplified to these: governments should own less, tax less, spend less and do less.<sup>3</sup>

Don Dunstan

### **7.0 Community**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

In The Parks, a succession of public policies - initiated at each level of Government - has been significant factors in its development, from the establishment of secondary industries to the residential building programs of the South Australian Housing Trust. However by the 1960s, and with the completion of the Trust's double-unit estates, the north-western suburbs had also earned the reputation of being 'on the wrong side of the tracks' - with two decades of neglect contributing to a multiplicity of problems, from undeveloped recreational spaces to substandard schools and community facilities. With the situation at crisis point, a window of opportunity was created with the election of Labour Governments - at both State and Federal levels - who were able to coordinate several policy measures, such as social welfare and infrastructure projects, to redress social and economic disadvantage at the local level.

The most important of these initiatives, was the emphasis on 'community' development programs, which would not only have a local or regional focus, but would encourage

neighbourhood and regional organisations to take a more active role in the development and management of local institutions and community facilities. The Commonwealth Government, through the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) and administered by the Social Welfare Commission, promoted a radical solution to urban problems, with an emphasis on community sponsored and independently managed social justice projects in the early 1970s (Dickey, 1986: 297-288). However to achieve these objectives, and given the cooperation of local residents, the role of State Government's would also have to change, not only empowering local community groups, but in providing the political skills and financial independence for them to be a long term success.

In this Chapter, a case study will be presented of the events leading up to and surrounding the establishment and operation of the Parks Community Centre. And more specifically, how the local community was involved and then ultimately betrayed by a series of policy decisions, which at first promoted a sense of 'community' and then abandoned the process, having found the on-going political and monetary support too difficult and too expensive to sustain.

## **7.2 Neglecting the Basics**

For most of its life, living conditions in The Parks were appalling. Not only were its roads and footpaths in a state of disrepair, but basic services - such as sewerage and storm water connections - were frequently delayed or never even completed. Similarly, resident concerns about environmental conditions (eg. industrial pollution) and the scandalous lack of provision of social and recreational facilities were invariably overlooked. A review of the local paper, the *Weekly Times*, reveals a disconcerting pattern of neglect from the late 1950s through to the early 1970s - particularly the extent to which problems were identified, but rarely corrected by the relevant State and Local Government authorities.

For its part, the Housing Trust (See Chapter Five) - as the principal developer and landlord - was frequently confronted with the deficiencies of its own planning decisions, particularly when the 'criteria determining eligibility for residence, the availability of supporting services and facilities, the proximity to employment and the actual layout of houses, shops, parks and streets' were all determined by the Trust (Parkin, 1975: 111). However the Housing Trust -

having built The Parks - was unable to maintain the place, not only having to concentrate its resources elsewhere, but reliant on other State and Local Government authorities to provide additional resources for road maintenance and storm water diversion.

**Table 7.1: Conditions in The Parks: 1958-1968**

*As Reported by the 'Weekly Times' Newspaper*

|   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| Ashes to Ashes                                    | 13 March 1958-3    |
| Woodville Gardens will not be renamed             | 8 February 1961-9  |
| Quagmire's in winter, dustbowls in summer         | 17 May 1961-4      |
| Playgrounds problem 'extensive, complex'          | 27 February 1963-1 |
| Anger at pruning of bus service                   | 14 August 1963-10  |
| They live in a mudbath                            | 22 July 1964-7     |
| More public telephones soon?                      | 26 May 1965-1      |
| Bid to confine skin works to 'noxious' zones      | 2 March 1966-1     |
| Ratepayers complain of neglect in their street    | 26 October 1966-1  |
| Rubbish tip authorities deny local smoke nuisance | 25 January 1967-1  |
| Ridley Grove still in poor tradition              | 29 November 1967-2 |

**Source:** *Weekly Times: 1958-1968*

Not surprisingly, in most new housing developments it could be expected - as either a developer's responsibility or a local authority's function - that an all-weather road be constructed and maintained, while the effect of winter rains would be mitigated by a reliable system of storm water drainage. In contrast, The Parks was regularly subjected to intermittent flooding, poorly maintained roads, overflowing septic tanks and the total absence of street level improvements (kerbing, guttering, footpaths).<sup>4</sup>

Capital works budgets, jealously guarded by Enfield and Woodville Councils, were rarely spent maintaining (let alone improving) The Parks, with its assorted problems being 'hand-balled' back to an unresponsive State Government. For example, a plan to install a common effluent and storm water drainage system for Athol Park and Woodville North, was delayed for ten years due to the estimated £1m cost and the failure of Woodville and Enfield Councils to agree on an overall plan for the entire Parks area (*Weekly Times*, 8 October 1958; 27 January, 1960; 13 March 1968).<sup>5</sup>

In Athol Park, the Trust's emergency dwellings were often marooned, either from periodic flooding or unsealed roads exposed to winter rains - with no expectation of permanent improvement or even the temporary relief of a Council grader to fill in the pot-holes (*Weekly Times* 22 July 1964: 7).<sup>6</sup> While in the summer months, the situation was scarcely different, with open drains and raised dust - combined with the noxious odours from local tanneries - creating a poisonous atmosphere, particularly on those hot summer days with a northerly wind (*Weekly Times* 17 May 1961: 4).

For those tenants placed in 'temporary' accommodation, living conditions were not only austere, but due to severe shortages in the availability of construction materials, were often established in areas without electricity or sewerage connections (Plate 7.1). And the price of such blatant economising could also be gauged in human terms, with a significant number of 'emergency' dwellings, once connected to the power supply, simply burning to the ground. In the most tragic incident, several children were burnt to death in Mansfield Park in 1959, with poor designs, faulty connections and the use of flammable materials being identified as the primary causes.

Not surprisingly, it must have been difficult for residents to contain their anger - given the extent of the infrastructure 'gap' - to not only have their complaints ignored, but to then be criticised for their own 'lack of pride and effort' when it came to improving The Parks.<sup>7</sup> But aside from their own homes, what could residents reasonably accomplish if either the Housing Trust or the local council was unable or unwilling to fund basic infrastructure improvements? Unfortunately, the options for protest were even more limited, with the retention of a property franchise reducing Housing Trust tenants to second class citizens, unable to even vote in municipal and Legislative Council elections until the mid-1970s (Robbins, 1986: 406-7).

In most instances, the *under-servicing* issue was rarely seen as a question of priorities, but more often than not a chance to 'blame-the-victim'. In this instance, the residents of The Parks not only found themselves on the 'wrong side of the tracks', but gained a reputation for being an area 'that should be given a wide berth' (Knapman, 1974: 9). This view was then reinforced by various health professionals and social workers who described the community as 'deprived, fragmented and suffering from anomie' (Healy & Parkin, 1980: 194), a noted



**Plate 7.1:** Grand Junction Road, Athol Park c1962  
*Source: Courtesy of Doug Hamilton, Woodville Museum.*

breeding ground for 'major social problems' (Knapman 1974: 4) and 'a low class district with low class people' (Martin 1970: 319).

Taken together, all of these images - from media reporting to academic studies - only seemed to confirm the prejudices of non-locals and, more importantly, succeeded in *delaying* any effort to rectify the area's problems (i.e. why bother?). Indeed, the situation was so acute and the reputation of The Parks so unfavourable, that the City of Woodville even suggested that Woodville Gardens - which was within the administrative boundaries of neighbouring Enfield Council - should actually change its name (*Weekly Times*, 8 February 1961).<sup>8</sup>

### 7.3 Nothing to do, Nowhere to go

*Interviewer:* What sort of reputation do you think this area has with people who live outside it?  
*Respondent:* They reckon it just stinks.<sup>9</sup>

To even the most casual observer, there 'was a general consensus of opinion that facilities for social, cultural and communal activities for all age groups in the [Parks] are minimal' (Knapman, 1974: 10). However there was one issue - despite the multiplicity of social problems and the absence of recreational facilities - which caught the imagination of the community: a swimming pool on the Wilson Street Reserve. From the mid-1960s, the campaign for a local swimming pool had gathered its own momentum, gaining the support of residents, local teachers and the watchful eye of aspiring Local Government representatives.<sup>10</sup>

But for almost ten years, the swimming pool proposal remained a pipe-dream, unable to secure the financial backing from the State Government or Enfield Council - which at the time was supporting an alternative proposal for a recreational and sporting complex at Northfield (*Weekly Times* 9 November 1966). However this proposal, which would have included a swimming pool, was ultimately defeated by the same forces which stalled the Wilson Street proposal: a general reluctance, on behalf of local ratepayers (and expressed through their elected members), to spend any of *their* money on recreational or sporting facilities.

Indeed, the defeat of the Northfield proposal - by a margin of 20 000 votes in 1968 - mitigated against any *future* funding proposal for a swimming pool on the Wilson Street Reserve. What was required, at least from a rate-payers perspective, was a substantial monetary contribution from local residents which would help to meet the estimated \$107,000 cost of the project. In response, local residents, with the support of the local High School, held their own referendum and voted overwhelmingly to support the construction of a local swimming pool (798 to 42). Local parents were then asked to pledge a cash contribution. After a concerted effort, a total of \$532 was raised – less than 0.5% of the total cost - but a significant amount from households in The Parks.<sup>11</sup>

The response of Enfield Council, while predictable, was nonetheless an astonishing counter-offer: a 25 metre pool at half the cost ! Not surprisingly, a farcical situation had developed, where the financial realities of raising \$107 000 or \$53 500 hardly mattered to a community which was clearly unable to meet even a fraction of the capital cost. With the outcome in the balance, the Headmistress of the Angle Park Girls Technical High School – noting that the area ‘had no recreational facilities what-so-ever’ – offered to approach the Education Department with a joint funding proposal (on behalf of the four local primary and secondary schools in The Parks).<sup>12</sup>

The request for a pool subsidy was rejected. Not because of any ideological or economic objection, but an obscure departmental guideline which precluded the joint submission and funding of facilities. That is, because the problem of under-servicing was so acute, and the level of disadvantage so unique to The Parks, there was no allowance for providing facilities which could be used by students from *different* schools. Indeed, the stated policy was to fund ‘stand-alone’ facilities, located within the boundaries of existing educational institutions and which would remain the property of the Education Department. As a result, the final decision on the future of the Wilson Street proposal rested with Enfield Council. The situation was not promising.

By 1970, the swimming pool proposal was at the crossroads - as not only had a great deal of effort been expended and every funding avenue explored, but there had been no definitive decision as to when or if the pool would ever be built. In addition, the refusal of the State Government to contribute towards the cost had placed - for the time being - the

responsibility for building and maintaining community facilities in the hands of Local Government. For Enfield Council, which had been accused of 'stone-walling' on the issue, it also provided an opportunity to bring the matter to a close, with a differential rating system being proposed to underwrite the cost of the pool.<sup>13</sup>

On the surface, this appeared to be an act of perverse genius, as not only did it avoid the mistakes of the Northfield proposal - by quarantining the majority of Enfield ratepayers from additional revenue measures - but instead placing the financial burden of building the pool on local residents. Of course, the fate of the pool proposal had been effectively sealed, with local ratepayers (while agreeing with the concept) refusing to contribute a cent, holding a protest meeting and gathering 1100 signatures against the proposal (*Weekly Times* 8 April 1970). The campaign to build a local swimming pool had reached an impasse, with local residents being confronted with a Hobson's choice: contributing a substantial part of the pool's cost (which they could never afford) or to walk away with nothing after a five-year campaign (which was soul destroying). The campaign was lost. But to local residents, the swimming pool issue was a watershed event, and became 'symbolic of all the broken promises and discriminatory measures which they had experienced' whilst living in The Parks (Knapman, 1974: 11)

And the depth of the problem to be addressed - namely the poor state of recreational, cultural and social facilities - cannot be underestimated. For instance, within a one-mile radius of Regency Park in 1971, the combined population of 38,000 residents had to share a total of eleven parks and playgrounds, one oval and two tennis courts. In contrast, the Tubemakers plant at Kilburn - a privately owned tubing and automotive components manufacturer with around 2000 employees - built and maintained recreational facilities and sporting fields totalling 14 acres, half an acre less than for the for entire Parks area.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, the extent of the under-provisioning was even more scandalous, in that the metropolitan standard (for the mid-1970s) was 3.5 acres per thousand residents for public parks and playgrounds and 4.0 acres for sporting grounds and ovals (Knapman, 1974: 74). However in the north-western suburbs, there was just 0.21 and 0.17 acres per thousand residents for Parks and Ovals (respectively) or between sixteen and twenty three times less than the metropolitan average.<sup>15</sup> As Parkin (1975) noted, The Parks had a:



...severe shortage of adequate recreational facilities for the large number of children and teenagers. Only some of the open spaces [were] developed: others bare and lifeless.<sup>16</sup>

While Peacock (1974) observed:

Reserves still remain in some cases as open paddock, are ill-maintained, and often show the signs of random dumping of household refuse. This was the extent of recreational facility planning that went into the area.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, it was a truism that there was 'nothing to do and nowhere to go' for kids growing up in The Parks. For local residents, the sense of betrayal and abandonment must have contributed to an overwhelming sense of frustration with their elected representatives. Yet the defeat of the pool proposal, while a severe blow to the hopes and aspirations of local residents, was also a defining moment, in that there was more than enough evidence that '*something can and should be done*' to improve living conditions in The Parks (Knapman, 1974: 73). The only problem was persuading government and institutional stakeholders to support and fund a comprehensive social justice strategy for The Parks.<sup>18</sup>

## **7.4 The Parks Community Centre: 1973-1997**

### *7.4.1 Basic Services, Utopian Dreams*

Although the recognition that '*something can and should be done*' was a tentative first step in redressing the infrastructure 'gap' within The Parks, it fell well short of an absolute commitment to financing a range of improved and upgraded services. By the early 1970s, a political circuit breaker was needed, as the situation could only deteriorate, with the 'generational peaks' (and problems) of the post-war boom delivering a large number of families with young children, all living in an area where the nearest public swimming pool was in North Adelaide and the nearest indoor cinema in the city centre. In addition, there was also the widespread concern from local police officers, teachers and social workers concern

about escalating rates of juvenile delinquency and the dilapidated condition of local educational facilities.

The breakthrough came in 1973, when the South Australian Education Minister, Hugh Hudson, proposed a comprehensive strategy to 'link the rehabilitation of the schools with the provision of community facilities' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report* 1981: 1).<sup>19</sup> It was hoped that this would not only solve the area's underservicing and infrastructure problems, but with the election of the reform-minded Whitlam Government, was positioned to attract both State and Commonwealth funding in the provision of a wide range of services and community facilities.

With the formation of an inter-departmental committee, comprising representatives from the Department's of Community Welfare and Education, Enfield Council and the Public Buildings Department, a grant of \$93 000 was provided for a community survey to be undertaken, a film to document the process ('Somewhere to Go'), and architectural sketches to be commissioned. The South Australian Education Department was then given a 'watching brief' to guide the project and, with the formation of a broad-based community consultative committee, helped establish the trust 'for a longstanding and essential association between residents and centre management' (Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report*, 1981: 1).<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the Deputy Director of Education went further, by indicating that the 'proposed community centre must truly belong to the people, and should exist to serve *the people* (my emphasis)' (*Bulletin*, 3 August 1974: 31).

The most revealing of the consultative processes employed, was the distribution of 12,000 reply-paid postcards to the Parks community, of which 342 (3%) were returned to the Survey Team. The top ten replies were as follows: Meeting or Cabaret Hall – 280; Air Conditioning – 277; Childcare Centre – 264; Swimming Pool – 179; Sports Complex – 162; Shady Trees or Landscaping – 151; Licensed Restaurant – 68; Lounges – 68; Library – 46; and a Cinema or Theatre – 35. The results of this survey demonstrated the acute understanding residents had of the under-servicing issue, by highlighting every deficiency from the absence of recreational facilities to the difference a few trees and shrubs would make in a professionally landscaped setting. In the end, the survey team was able to recommend the following facilities be provided: a swimming pool, a theatre, a licensed restaurant, a playground, an

indoor sports complex, an art and craft centre, an oval, a youth centre, and a childcare centre in a fully air-conditioned complex. It was no coincidence that:

The facilities incorporated are those which received highest priority from the community, those which were deemed essential from various state departments and those which could be afforded as a result of funds at present available.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the Government's decision to actively encourage the community in the centre's design and management was to ensure that:

.... *ultimate* responsibility for education, recreation and other community services should rest with the people in the community, and that administration and control should place a *premium* on community involvement and participation (my emphasis).<sup>22</sup>

With the completion of the initial consultation process, a funding submission was received and (after further community comment) forwarded to the Commonwealth Government for its consideration. In April 1975, a grant of \$3,196,000 was approved by the Whitlam Government, and with matching contributions from the State Government, the Brown-Falconer Group were appointed the supervising architects and Fricker-Carrington the Building Managers in 1976.<sup>23</sup>

However the funding issue was to be far from resolved, with the election of a Liberal-Country Party Government in November 1975 reversing many of the social programs and funding priorities of the out-going Whitlam Labour Government. As a result, any request for *additional* resources to complete the Centre would face considerable opposition. This proved to be the case, as the Commonwealth quickly rejected the State Government's appeal for supplementary funding. A major problem then arose, as the initial funding estimates had been based on 1973-74 costings, and with wage and inflationary pressures impacting on the domestic economy, building the centre had become a very expensive undertaking by the late 1970s. The following table (Table 7.2) neatly illustrates the problem, with Federal Government funding pegged to \$3.196m, the cost increases were increasingly being borne by the State Government.<sup>24</sup>

**Table 7.2: Parks Community Centre Funding**

| <i>Institution / Organisation</i> | <i>1975</i>     | <i>1978</i>      |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
|                                   | \$              | \$               |
| Federal Government                | 3,196,000       | 3,196,000        |
| South Australian Housing Trust    | 250,000         | 300,000          |
| Enfield Council                   | 400,000         | 400,000          |
| Public Buildings Department       |                 | 635,000          |
| Health Commission                 | 300,000         | 879,000          |
| Department of Community Welfare   | 360,000         | 1,200,000        |
| Kindergarten Union                |                 | 220,000          |
| Department of Education           | 5,090,000       | 8,380,000        |
| State Government Subsidy          | 200,000         |                  |
| University of Adelaide            | 50,000          | 50,000           |
| <b>Total:</b>                     | <b>\$9.846m</b> | <b>\$15.260m</b> |

**Source:** Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 1976;  
Healy & Parkin, 1980

In the end, the State Government was meeting almost 80% of the costs, and with little or no money budgeted to actually furnish and staff the centre upon its completion.<sup>25</sup> As a result, the Commonwealth, which had encouraged local communities to be proactive, 'ended up with a minor role in funding the capital cost and virtually no role in the [Centre's] operation' (Parkin & Healy, 1980: 239). Meanwhile, the unexpected defeat of the Corcoran Government removed the vital political support to ensure that the centre's original charter, as contained in the 1976 *Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works*, would be honoured when the centre was officially opened (Table 7.3). The new Minister responsible for its operation, Murray Hill, quickly revealed his displeasure at the entire concept, by stating that 'at \$16,000,000 it was one of the most wasteful projects in Australia' (Hansard, 1981: 275). For local residents, it became apparent that the fight to complete the centre was only half the battle, as it now became a matter of keeping the place open and salvaging its reputation from the armchair critics of Parliament House.

**Table 7.3: Parks Community Centre - Philosophy**

- (1) Where possible, and where it is proved to be desirable, community facilities should be planned for multiple use by the people. There should not be unnecessary duplication of facilities representing large investments of public funds.
- (2) Community facilities, and schools in particular, should be open whenever there is a known demand or need for such facilities and whenever this is practicable. Schools should be open at night, on weekends and during normal vacation time, if the need has been demonstrated.
- (3) The life of the school and the life of the community should be integrated. A major objective of this centre is to break down traditional barriers which have existed between school and community.
- (4) The community centre is based on a truly open philosophy of education, acknowledging that learning goes on in places other than schools and under the tutelage of others than teachers. It aims to provide educational opportunities for all who seek it and it seeks to promote learning in all sectors of the community.
- (5) Ultimate responsibility for education, recreation and other community services should rest with the people in the community. Administration and control should place a premium on community involvement and participation.
- (6) Since the communities are continually evolving, the centres should be designed on the assumption that interest and needs will change and grow. Spaces, should, where possible, be flexible, adaptable and capable of extension.
- (7) The following points illustrate other important guidelines:
  - (a) Accessibility to all is a key objective. Facilities should provide for the whole spectrum of ages and interests.
  - (b) Education is a continuing process.
  - (c) Sporting, social and recreational facilities in a community should be provided rationally on the basis of multi-faceted surveys.
  - (d) The community must be given the opportunity and the power to affect developments in the planning stages.
  - (e) While the ultimate objective might be to bring about the regeneration of community spirit and initiatives, initially the facilities will be provided because they are needed. Eventually, given appropriately enthusiastic and skilled staff, higher ideals of integration, cooperation and dynamic community self-help may be achieved.

### 7.4.2 Defending The Parks

From its initial opening, the Parks Community Centre was subjected to a barrage of negative publicity, particularly from the Liberal members of the Legislative Council, who were openly contemptuous of the costs involved in building the centre and the level of control promised to local residents.<sup>26</sup> With political support for the concept evaporating, and the centre barely open for business, the incoming Liberal Government moved to formalise the Centre's management through the establishment of a Statutory Authority. And it was on the issue of local control and board representation, that the first battle to preserve The Parks was fought and lost.

Since 1973, the State Labor Government had encouraged the community to be an active participant in both the development and management of the Parks Community Centre.<sup>27</sup> From the earliest stage of the consultation process, through to the establishment of the Interim Board of Management in August 1977, local residents occupied a prominent place in the management team, working alongside a dedicated group of public servants and government representatives.<sup>28</sup> This policy was also continued with the creation of the Parks Network Project, whose aim was to establish a 'working communications network', with residents encouraged to be involved in grass-roots activism and information sharing at the local level. By 1979, with the help of a twelve month grant from the Department of Community Welfare, a total of 55 network volunteers were actively working within a catchment area of 3,800 households.

It was in this environment, that a decision to reverse the process of community development was taken, with the release of the draft Parks Community Centre Bill. Far from supporting the concept of collective responsibility, the proposal to reduce the community's representation on the new Board to just three of twelve seats, not only placed the centre's management firmly under Ministerial control, but also required that the community representatives be elected under a complicated voting procedure.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, Government representatives would be appointed at the Minister's discretion. An Opposition Amendment to increase local representation was defeated, whereupon the Minister remarked that:

The reason why the Government objects to reducing its nominees from four to one [of a twelve member board] is that an underlying principle for a board like this is to be successful, is that one must achieve some objective thinking and discussion on that board. If one has boards of this kind with people who have a sectional interest to promote, who represent sectional interests in that area, one will not get wise and proper discussion at board level, nor will one get discussions that reflect broad objective thinking.<sup>30</sup>

In his own words, the Minister had revealed that the community, which had helped design and manage the centre, could not be trusted with its future operation. However noble or misguided the attempt at community empowerment had been, its removal as an objective to be pursued was a devastating indictment of 'representative' democracy. Having resolved the issue of control, pressure was also being applied to implement a range of cost recovery and efficiency measures to substantially reduce the \$1.55m operating budget. Various proposals were discussed, including the lease, transfer or sale of certain components to either the private sector or Local Government.<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, the Centre had been targeted by the Liberal Opposition in 1975, which had discussed the possibility of a substantial increase in Local Government involvement (Hansard, 1975: 1673-1674). This position was then reaffirmed in Government (Hansard, 1981: 273-275). The 'politics of envy' also played a role, with Liberal Members of Parliament openly questioning the future of the centre, the level of financial support, and whether the local community even deserved such a complex (Hansard, 1981: 1617-2575). A depressing situation had developed, where the financial statements of the Parks Community Centre were routinely examined for any signs of vandalism, declining patronage, cost overruns or community disinterest merely to damn its existence.

Another problem, which became apparent during the development of the Centre concept, and commented upon by a Ministerial Advisory Group (MAG) Report in the late 1970s, was establishing an overall management framework that was both coherent and would not be compromised by divided loyalties and inter-Departmental power plays (See Parkin, 1982). Despite these concerns, the problem was never effectively resolved, with Centre Management retaining responsibility for the overall management of the facilities (e.g. Youth Centre, Library, Theatres, Art & Craft Centre, Focus One), while the centre's components were run independently by various Government Department's and non-government agencies (NGO's) (See Table 7.4).

**TABLE 7.4: Centre Components & Controlling Authority**

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| Parks Board of Management    | Minister for Local Government            |
| Health Centre                | SA Health Commission                     |
| Parks High School            | Minister for Education                   |
| Welfare Office               | Minister for Community Welfare           |
| Tertiary & Further Education | Croydon TAFE, Minister for Education     |
| Computing Centre             | Minister for Education                   |
| Parks Legal Centre           | Independent, Legal Services Commission   |
| Printing Office              | Minister of Lands, via Services & Supply |

Source: Parks Community Centre, *Annual Report* (1981)

As a result, the entire community centre concept had been established on a bureaucratic 'house-of-cards', with no clear lines of authority or overall Ministerial responsibility to coordinate the activities of its various components. The Centre Manager was effectively turned into a landlord, responsible to a Minister with no influence over social policy, while the position itself provided no real power or budget flexibility to implement local programs. As Fallon (1992) was to note ten years later: 'a late qualification in the Parks Community Centre legislation ensured that the centre board and management could not interfere in the operation of the components' (Fallon, 1992: 21). In the words of John Mitchell, the Centre's third General Manager, the place 'was doomed from the start.'<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, Enfield Council – which had effectively been sidelined during the consultation phase – re-emerged to pursue its own agenda: the management of facilities which it regarded as the traditional preserve of Local Government. Just as the Whitlam Government's experiment with Regional Development Organisations had unnerved State and Local Government Authorities in the mid 1970s, any proposal which empowered local residents to design and manage their own community facilities was almost guaranteed to provoke a negative reaction. Mindful of the precedent, Enfield Council – and perhaps sensing the displeasure of the State Government – moved to increase its representation on the Interim Board of Management and, if possible, to undermine the Board's credibility by attacking its independence. The Mayor of Enfield, Roy Amer, not only claimed that the centre's staff were running a vendetta against Enfield Council, but with only two representatives on the Interim Board the place was 'top heavy with residents and management staff.' (*Weekly Times*, 28 November 1979: 1 & 4).



Needless to say, residents were angry and upset that the Mayor's comments were even reported, particularly when it emerged he had attended few of the meetings and had no real idea of centre operations or its guiding philosophy (*Weekly Times*, 5 December 1979). Yet the Mayor's outburst was symptomatic of the forces aligned against the Community Centre concept and the operational flexibility which it had been promised. By the time the new Parks Community Centre Act had been proclaimed in January 1982, it was no accident that the centre's founding philosophy had not only been dismantled, but the community's ability to influence centre operations had been completely subsumed by a series of administrative decisions. The result was a substantial increase in State Government control, but a corresponding decrease in the Centre's ability to implement or coordinate programs at the local level. In addition, the Centre was also compelled to make a monetary contribution towards some of its own running costs, through the imposition of fees and charges for the hire and use of its facilities. The dream had turned into a nightmare.

For the print media, who reported on these events, there was also a noticeable change in emphasis, from an enthusiastic supporter to being a vocal critic of the Community Centre concept. What had once been labelled a 'suburban oasis' (*Advertiser*, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1979) and a 'place to call home' (*News* 31 July, 1979) was gradually transformed into a den of gang violence, vandalism, under-age drinking and its facilities over-funded and under-utilised by an unappreciative community (*Weekly Times* 18 March 1992: 3). This led to the widespread – and unfounded perception – that the Parks Community Centre was having 'little impact on people's lives', where the only evidence to be presented was the picture of the odd graffiti tag or the throwaway sentiments of a patronising headline (*Weekly Times* 19 August 1992: 1). The bold vision of the 1970s had given way to the hard-edged cynicism of the 1980s.

#### 7.4.3 'A Decade of difficulties': 1982-1991

With the return of a State Labour Government in 1982, the Parks Community Centre was afforded some breathing space, with the new Premier John Bannon being an active supporter of the Centre, a previous Minister and its local Member of Parliament.<sup>33</sup> However with the Parks Community Centre Act being proclaimed in January 1982, there was no real attempt – on behalf of the Government – to change the legislation until 1985, when a minor

amendment was passed increasing Board representation from twelve to thirteen members. Somewhat surprisingly, given the Labour party's objection to 'stacking' the Board whilst in Opposition, the new appointee would be nominated at the discretion of the Minister for Ethnic Affairs.<sup>34</sup>

The community would have to wait another six years, with the passage of the Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) Amendment Bill in 1991, for the number of 'registered users' to be increased to four members, with total Board representation being reduced from thirteen to eleven members. In addition, the on-going review of Centre operations remained a permanent fixture, and culminated in the appointment of Maureen Fallon in 1991 to head a major Government Agencies Review Group (GARG) study.<sup>35</sup>

During the 1980s, there was also a noticeable change in the way public funds were to be allocated, with an increasing emphasis on what came to be termed 'economic rationalism' (Pusey, 1991). In its applied form, this amounted to the real-world application of market economics (e.g. free trade, labour market deregulation) and the adoption of corporate business practices (e.g. privatisation, user-pays charges) in the management of public assets. At the coal face of social service delivery, the public sector was often asked to 'do more with less', and 'reduce as far as possible their central management and support costs' (Fallon, 1992: 42). The situation at the Parks was no different, with pressure being applied at Departmental level to improve revenue measures and deliver a 10% reduction in administration and support costs. Although a specific rental fee was not charged, a complicated formula was used to impose a levy or cross-charge to cover various utility charges and basic operating and support services provided to its components.<sup>36</sup>

However, the cross-charge – in recognition of the Centre's community service obligations – was always subsidised by the Government, with the Skillshare Office and Childcare Centre having their fees waived completely (as a contribution towards their operation). But the overall level of charges, as a percentage of costs recovered, had also started to increase, from 65% in 1986/87 to 75% in 1991/92 (Fallon, 1992: 42-43). In effect, the value of the subsidy was gradually diminishing over time, while new measures were being considered: such as a system of proportional cost recovery and the outsourcing of cleaning services (Cudmore, 1988). The impact of these changes resulted in the revenue stream from facilities

hire, entry fees and cross charging arrangements rising from \$760,000 in 1983/84 to \$1.361m in 1993/94 (Table 7.5).

**Table 7.5: Funding Sources – Parks Community Centre (1983-1994)**

|         | State<br>(\$'000) | Federal | Enfield<br>Council | Cross<br>Charge | Hire<br>& Fees | Sundries<br>Interest | Trust<br>Fund | Total | State %<br>Total |
|---------|-------------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------|-------|------------------|
| 1983/84 | 1672              | 49      | 76                 | 332             | 428            | 69                   | 210           | 2838  | 58.91            |
|         | 2010              | 47      | 93                 | 354             | 482            | 87                   | 171           | 3244  | 61.96            |
| 1985/86 | 1969              | 50      | 105                | 634             | 466            | 89                   | 161           | 3474  | 56.68            |
|         | 2434              | 47      | 124                | 462             | 376            | 93                   | 215           | 3751  | 64.89            |
| 1987/88 | 2817              | 50      | 150                | 491             | 418            | 74                   | 105           | 4105  | 68.62            |
|         | 2949              | 62      | 184                | 567             | 424            | 106                  | 139           | 4431  | 66.55            |
| 1989/90 | 3042              | 26      | 199                | 642             | 470            | 142                  | 145           | 4666  | 65.2             |
|         | 3198              | 0       | 204                | 714             | 523            | 104                  | 132           | 4875  | 65.6             |
| 1991/92 | 2851              | 0       | 205                | 785             | 613            | 121                  | 102           | 4677  | 60.96            |
|         | 2533              | 0       | 208                | 888             | 623            | 55                   | 154           | 4461  | 56.78            |
| 1993/94 | 2384              | 0       | 153                | 938             | 423            | 52                   | 883           | 4833  | 49.33            |

**Source:** Parks Community Centre, *Annual Reports* (various)

A breakdown of the cross-charges revealed the importance – at least to the overall balance sheet – of both the High School and the Health Centre (Table 7.6). The rate of increase was also significant, with the overall level of charges rising between 5-13% per annum from 1986/87. Not surprisingly, this was becoming a source of concern for Centre components, as with State Government funding starting to decline, the curious situation had developed of a Government Statutory Authority charging other Government Departments and Agencies to provide publicly funded services on Government owned premises. Whatever the reasons for this accounting madness, the decision to charge the High School a servicing fee of \$672,000 in 1993/94, placed it in the unique position of being the only secondary school in South Australia to be subjected to such an impost.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 7.6: Parks Community Centre: Cross Charging Arrangements**

|         | <b>Total<br/>(\$'000)</b> | <b>Parks<br/>High</b> | <b>SA Health<br/>Commission</b> | <b>DETAFE</b> | <b>DCW<br/>&amp; DFCS</b> | <b>State<br/>Print</b> | <b>Parks<br/>Legal</b> | <b>Parks<br/>Skill</b> | <b>City of<br/>Enfield</b> |
|---------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1983/84 | <b>332</b>                | <b>258</b>            | <b>46</b>                       | <b>9</b>      | <b>5</b>                  | <b>3</b>               | <b>10</b>              | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
|         | <b>354</b>                | <b>281</b>            | <b>51</b>                       | <b>10</b>     | <b>6</b>                  | <b>4</b>               | <b>3</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
| 1985/86 | <b>634</b>                | <b>492</b>            | <b>95</b>                       | <b>27</b>     | <b>10</b>                 | <b>7</b>               | <b>3</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
|         | <b>462</b>                | <b>362</b>            | <b>65</b>                       | <b>21</b>     | <b>7</b>                  | <b>5</b>               | <b>2</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
| 1987/88 | <b>491</b>                | <b>382</b>            | <b>72</b>                       | <b>22</b>     | <b>8</b>                  | <b>5</b>               | <b>2</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
|         | <b>567</b>                | <b>428</b>            | <b>85</b>                       | <b>22</b>     | <b>19</b>                 | <b>9</b>               | <b>4</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
| 1989/90 | <b>642</b>                | <b>487</b>            | <b>95</b>                       | <b>24</b>     | <b>22</b>                 | <b>10</b>              | <b>4</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
|         | <b>714</b>                | <b>539</b>            | <b>107</b>                      | <b>27</b>     | <b>24</b>                 | <b>12</b>              | <b>5</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
| 1991/92 | <b>785</b>                | <b>587</b>            | <b>123</b>                      | <b>28</b>     | <b>28</b>                 | <b>13</b>              | <b>6</b>               | <b>0</b>               | <b>0</b>                   |
|         | <b>888</b>                | <b>673</b>            | <b>139</b>                      | <b>26</b>     | <b>4</b>                  | <b>12</b>              | <b>8</b>               | <b>18</b>              | <b>8</b>                   |
| 1993/94 | <b>938</b>                | <b>672</b>            | <b>167</b>                      | <b>27</b>     | <b>4</b>                  | <b>25</b>              | <b>11</b>              | <b>24</b>              | <b>8</b>                   |

**Source:** Parks Community Centre, *Annual Reports* (various)

The irony was obvious. Because not only was the land originally owned by the South Australian Education Department – having been home to the Angle Park Girls & Boys Technical High Schools of the 1960s – its facilities would never have been built without the support of Hugh Hudson, a former Education Minister and Deputy Premier. For the State Government, faced with the State Bank financial disaster and an urgent need to cut spending and sell assets, the Parks High School had, through an unfair cross-charging arrangement and an administrative change to land tenure records, been exposed to the unthinkable: potential closure.

An additional problem, was implementing a preferential employment strategy that would allow the recruitment of local residents into a range of cleaning, security, maintenance, clerical and administrative positions in the new centre. While a jobs strategy was stated as an objective of the State Government during the construction phase of the project (*Weekly Times* 29 October 1975: 1), the relevant Public Service and Equal Opportunity Act's helped

to undermine the good intentions of the Centre's management in achieving this goal. By the mid-1980s, this promise had been substantially diluted, amounting to little more than a 'casual employment policy which gave preference to workers who live in The Parks area (when it is possible and consistent with the requirements of the position)' (Parks Annual Report, No.9: 12).

Despite this failure, John Mitchell's tenure as General Manager was marked by a genuine attempt to hire local people, through the implementation of a social justice strategy which provided valuable job experience and wage income in an area of high unemployment.<sup>38</sup> However many of these jobs were often casual or temporary positions, which the change to competitive tendering quickly erased, rewarding larger firms and outside contractors with the majority of the centre's cleaning, security and maintenance work.<sup>39</sup>

Even the use of volunteers was resisted, with union concerns over unpaid workers and the subsequent adoption of user-pays charges reducing the number and overall effectiveness of its network of volunteers. In the end, the implementation of a preferential employment policy was ineffective, with the number of permanent and part-time positions being cut due to budget cuts and service changes. A total of thirty-two full-time equivalent (FTE) positions being lost between 1988 and 1992 (Plate 7.2 & 7.3).

#### *7.4.4 The Fallon Report*

In 1992, Maureen Fallon presented her Government Agencies Review Group (GARC) report to the State Government, which provided both a cogent diagnosis of the Centre's problems and a series of administrative changes to revive the moribund patient. Fallon's report correctly identified all of the administrative and management problems which had plagued the Parks Community Centre, from the overlap and duplication of services to the structural and legislative difficulties which undermined the authority of both the General Manager and the Board. It was found there was:



**Plate 7.2** (above): The Parks Community Centre, Angle Park

**Plate 7.3** (below): Service Directory. Since 1995, the following components or services have left 'The Parks': the computing centre; TAFE; Printery; the Childrens House; Parks Skill; FACS; and the High School.

*Source: Simon Neldner, 1995*



... no one Minister, no one piece of legislation, no single management or administrative policy directive governing the design, delivery and evaluation of the range of community services offered on the Parks site. There is no corporate identity, limited cooperation and coordination between service providers and no clear sense of purpose or direction within the centre (Fallon, 1992: 27). [Furthermore] ... the problems of the Parks Community Centre can be sheeted home to essentially the inability of political and bureaucratic processes to successfully translate the bold, or variously warm fuzzy, vision into a useful, manageable entity by transcending narrow sectional interests. The original idea could be likened to a grand vision but the failure of nerve or powerlessness of those charged with making it work has provided a legacy of confusion and ineffectiveness (Fallon, 1992: 31).<sup>40</sup>

According to Fallon (1992), the solution was to rationalise the existing service structure into four groups: a Community, Cultural and Recreation Centre (managed by Enfield Council); an Education, Employment and Training Group (to coordinate services for the unemployed); a Building and Property Services Office (to manage tenancy and maintenance issues); and a Social Services Support Group (to coordinate health, social and welfare services). It was hoped that this would lead to a more productive use of facilities, increase efficiencies in operating and maintenance functions, and improve accountability through the full recovery of service charges from Centre components.<sup>41</sup> It was also estimated that these changes would result in annual savings of \$650,000 and the loss of 14 (FTE) positions (Fallon, 1992: 2-5).<sup>42</sup>

However Fallon's report, while welcomed by most 'stake-holders' within the Parks, was only selectively implemented, with some of its most important findings being allowed to pass without critical comment. For instance, Fallon's assertion that it was 'questionable to what extent the quality of life in that community has improved' (Fallon, 1992: 20) or that there was 'little evidence in social justice indicators of substantive improvements' (Fallon, 1992: 22) seriously misrepresented the functional role of the Parks. Having adjudged the community development role an ineffectual one, due to the practical realities and legislative constraints of the time, the Centre can hardly be blamed for something that was never seriously implemented. As Briers (1980) noted after its construction:

Did the Parks achieve the benefits that were perceived by the different groups involved? Overall it did achieve an increase in the number of facilities and services .... However, will this be able to overcome the other disadvantages that residents in the area suffer – low grade public housing, low incomes and a generally poor quality environment? ..... The major problem in evaluating the Parks is that for many involved it was perceived as the solution to social problems in the area. However, it cannot be shown to be a causative factor in overcoming social problems, and in any other circumstances would not be expected to do so.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, the social dislocation and economic fall-out of the next two decades was a completely unknown factor in 1973, where the over-riding aim for those involved in building the Centre was to raise the level of service provision to something approaching the metropolitan average (*Women's Weekly*, 7 November 1979: 28-29). Even at the time of the Centre's proposal, the unemployment rate for The Parks was just 3%, with most of the unemployed being recently arrived migrants at the Pennington Hostel. And because unemployment was still viewed as a *cyclical* problem, a dedicated service to help the unemployed was never even considered an option – by either the Government or the local community – during the 1970s. It would not be until five years *after* the Centre's opening, that a local branch of the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) was established at the Parks (February, 1984).

In contrast, Fallon was to contend that the Centre had 'failed to have any significant impact on the key issue facing the community – unemployment' (Fallon, 1992: 47). Despite a recognition of the depth of disadvantage, Fallon failed to adequately account for the underlying *structural* causes that had 'made the place poor', such as factory layoffs and closures, a changing tenant mix, the growth in single parent families and the reliance on social security payments just to survive.<sup>44</sup> To even begin to solve these problems, the responsibility of providing comprehensive industry, employment and social security strategies were in the realm of State and Federal Government social justice programs, not a relatively minor Statutory Authority with limited resources, no real power and even fewer jobs to share around.

Nevertheless, the value of Fallon's report was also its recognition of the need to target resources more effectively, coordinate programs at the community level, and improve service delivery to disadvantaged groups.<sup>45</sup> The centrepiece of this strategy, the formation of the Parks Education, Employment and Training Group (PEET), would have coordinated each of the educational, employment and training services based at the Parks. This 'loose' confederation of public service providers and NGO's, supported at the chief executive level of the public service, would have been responsible for devising and implementing strategies to counter a spiralling local unemployment rate, estimated to be 31% at the 1991 Census.



And finally, there was a belated recognition that because of the diffuse ministerial and agency structures operating at the Parks there needed to be a single Minister to oversee the management of the Centre and to act as an advocate for Parks-wide issues at Cabinet level. To achieve this, the source of the original problem – the original Parks Community Centre Act (1981) – would be repealed, the board disbanded, management staff redeployed and centre components restructured into four service orientated groups. Following the release of the report, and with broad acceptance from the local community, centre staff and Board members, the Government was asked to implement its recommendations (*Weekly Times*, 27 May 1992: 10).

#### 7.4.5 'Reinventing' The Parks

I can say clearly that there will not be a reduction in services at the Parks Community Centre and it will definitely remain open.<sup>46</sup>

While Ministerial statements are often designed to reassure a skeptical public, John Oswald's comments deserve to be highlighted, as they actually foreshadowed a dramatic exodus of services from the Parks Community Centre. Yet the reduction of services was – in many respects – the objective of Liberal Party policy, and reflected all the tired complaints and corrosive rhetoric expressed by Legislative Council members during the brief tenure of the Tonkin Government. Indeed, these arguments were routinely dusted off and used by a new generation of Liberal Party members to dismantle the Community Centre concept once and for all.<sup>47</sup>

Despite these criticisms, there was much to commend the work of the Health Centre and Parks Skill, two of the centre's most active components. The Health Centre, which opened in 1974 (with temporary facilities), was first formed as a teaching facility, but was later to evolve into an important community resource.<sup>48</sup> The gradual move to a more comprehensive health service resulted in a pro-active stance in regard to dietary and preventative health care programs by the late 1980s (Anderson, 1994). In addition, the principles of community participation and social justice were actively promoted by Health Centre staff, and helped in the campaign

to rejuvenate the Wilson Street Reserve and provided valuable support to the Parks Residents Environmental Action Group (PREAG).

The local unemployment centre, Parks Skill, was also a community based service 'providing flexible and innovative training courses whilst offering personal support, job search training and a referral service' to the unemployed (Parks Annual Report, 1988: 24). Local businesses, community groups and Government representatives were involved in program design, with the establishment of an employer database, adult literacy programs and work experience initiatives helping to increase the chances of local job seekers. The centre's focus on the long-term unemployed, after moving to the nationally accredited Skillshare program in 1988, often resulted in a success rate of over 45%, which exceeded the national average for similarly funded programs (*DEET Job Report*, February 1993).

However with the release of the GARG Report, and the passage of an amendment bill to alter Board Representation in the final days of the Bannon-Arnold Government, the future of the Parks Community Centre was again a topic of discussion in Parliamentary debates. Several Liberal Members of Parliament were quick to express their views:

The Parks Community Centre services an area of high need ..... However, I must say, even if the Parks establishment was born out of necessity in 1981, it should not – leaving the school aside – be an economic drain on the taxpayers of South Australia and Australia for ever (*my emphasis*).<sup>49</sup>

I have some difficulty in coming to terms with a complex where everything is provided by the Government, although admittedly there is an element of user-pays.<sup>50</sup>

Will the Minister collect statistics from the community section of the Parks regarding the frequency of use of the pool and the gymnasium, according to age, sex and place of residence?<sup>51</sup>

In contrast, Fallon's report was able to refute many of these criticisms, by noting that: 'the perception in some circles that the Parks Community Centre has been an ever increasing drain on the State is not borne out by the facts' (Fallon, 1992: 38). It soon emerged that the overall level of funding had actually been reduced through savings and efficiency cuts, while cross charging as a percentage of revenue had risen from 11% in 1986/87 to 14% in 1993/94. Indeed, the combined total of its cross charge, entrance and hiring fees provided 28% of its

operating budget in 1993/94. Unfortunately, attendance figures by place of residence were unavailable, with the Minister observing that 'passports or visas' were not required to enter the facilities at the Parks: as everyone was welcomed (Hansard, 1991: 4131).<sup>52</sup> Despite these 'minor' skirmishes, opposing ideologies and differences of opinion, there was general agreement that Enfield Council, which had recently referred to the Parks as a 'regional monolith' (Forster, 1991), should be given greater responsibility in managing the Centre's sporting and community facilities.<sup>53</sup>

In August 1993, the Parks Community Centre (Repeal and Vesting) Bill was presented to Parliament, formalising Fallon's recommendations, centralising its financial and administrative functions under the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and transferring its assets and financial liabilities to the Department of Recreation and Sport. The Bill was passed with bipartisan support, and proclaimed on the 31 January 1994. In the intervening period, the Arnold Government had been defeated, and the incoming Liberal Government – through the new Housing Minister (John Oswald) – had moved to formalise a relationship with Enfield Council, and installed the Council as Agent-Managers under a twelve month interim agreement in April 1994 (Hansard, 1994: 582).<sup>54</sup>

However the changeover was not without incident, with staff losses, award changes, leaner departments and the streamlining of services causing a series of stop-work meetings and industrial disputes at the centre (*Weekly Times*, 11 April 1995; 19 April 1995; 26 April 1995; 31 May 1995; 7 June 1995). In the end, these were often minor difficulties, as opposed to the rapid and successive departure of components from the Parks Community Centre. Within a two-year period, the Centre's childcare centre (The Children's House), Skillshare Office, Printery, Computing Centre, two Departmental Offices (DETAPE & DFCS) and its High School had been closed.<sup>55</sup> Of these, the closure of the Parks High School resulted in an extraordinary ten-month campaign by staff, students and local residents to have the decision reversed.

The Minister of Education's announcement to close the school in March 1996, against the advice of his own Department and the findings of an independent review, was met with disbelief and anger within the local community (*Weekly Times*, 20 March 1996: 1). The Minister provided two reasons for his decision. The first, was that with a trend of declining enrolments, the closure of the school would allow for scarce educational resources to be

redirected to neighbouring High Schools in Woodville and Enfield (*Weekly Times*, 16 March 1996: 11).<sup>56</sup> And second, the cost of keeping the school open was seen to be prohibitively expensive, given the expected increase of the inter-departmental cross-charge and servicing fee to \$800,000 in 1996/97.

While the first argument, one of falling enrolments for Year 8 students, was often accepted by a school community facing closure, the 'special status' of the Parks High School was seen to be a mitigating factor. The Parks had earned a reputation for providing a unique and sympathetic learning environment for multi-ethnic, disadvantaged, adult re-entry and disabled students in an 'open plan' setting. Furthermore, an analysis of the enrolment figures revealed the attendance of 517 students, of whom the majority were full-time (327), with an eclectic mix of part-time, adult-re-entry, special education and disabled students (190) constituting a sizeable minority. Of particular concern, was the large number of female part-time students (92), which reflected issues relating to childcare arrangements, access to public transport and time management, and where a transfer to Thebarton Senior College or Le Fevre High School might disrupt or prematurely end their studies (Hansard, 1996: 1130-1132).

The second argument was far more problematic, in that the Government's use (or abuse) of the cross-charging formula, had created a farcical situation where a public school was faced with an annual bill of \$800,000 for using publicly owned facilities.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the Minister went on to claim that the Government could not possibly reduce this fee, because it was facing the prospect of a higher charge if (sometime in the future) it ceded control to Enfield Council. In effect, the closure of the High School was being driven by economic factors, which Mark Brindal, the Minister's spokesperson in the Lower House confirmed:

It is a classic case of declining enrolment offset by a very large investment ... That is the reason for closing the Parks High School. It is because it is *no longer economically viable* (my emphasis).<sup>58</sup>

Local residents reacted angrily, sending petitions and student delegations to the Minister's office, organising student rallies and community protests, forming the Parks Education Action Group and even developing an alternative plan to transform the Parks into a senior secondary school for Years 10-12 (Figure 7.1).<sup>59</sup> And in a move reminiscent of the PEET

# Help Save Parks High School



**How ???**

**Join the action at the School on  
Monday, 23 September  
11.30 am - 1.30 pm  
(A Sausage Sizzle will be provided.)**

**As we surround The Parks High School in a  
circle of people including students, parents,  
local Parks residents, and workers.**

**Why??**

**To show Mr. Lucas that we do care and that the  
school is important to our community.**

**For more information contact Jack O'Connor on  
8243 5614**



**Figure 7.1: Mobilising the Community (1996)**

Group, it was proposed that the Parks High School should act as 'a district focus for vocational education and training services' by forming 'collaborative links' with other schools, training providers and industry groups within the north western suburbs.<sup>60</sup> Rob Lucas, the Education Minister, who had refused to visit the school and explain his decision, rejected each proposal. Two hopes emerged for a last-minute reprieve.

The first was a review of the Minister's decision by the new State Premier, John Olsen, in December 1996 (*Advertiser*, 14 December 1996: 6). The second, was a commitment by the Opposition Leader, Mike Rann, to reopen the school if the Labour Party was to win the next election (*Advertiser*, 21 December 1996: 4; *Advertiser*, 1 October 1997: 6). The Premier's review – which he promised to table in Parliament – amounted to nothing more than a conversation between himself and the Minister, while the Opposition Leader went on to narrowly lose the October 1997 election. Although a censure motion was passed against the Minister by Opposition parties in the Legislative Council on the 24 July 1996, no review of the Parks closure was ever tabled in State Parliament (*Hansard*, 1996: 1080; 1997: 37). The fight to save the school was over.

What had begun as an Australian first, a multi-purpose complex based around a community school, had ended in bitter recriminations and the forced departure of its founding and most enduring component (*Advertiser*, 21 December 1996: 4). Although the Parks High School was not the perfect learning environment, it did offer an alternative to the 'mainstream' by providing specialised teaching services to mature age, adult re-entry and disabled students. And while any school closure is an obvious source of disappointment, the decision also contradicted the findings of the United States based Casey Institute, whose research had recommended the 'integration of services for children and families' based around smaller schools with a strong emphasis on family participation (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5<sup>th</sup> May 1997: A13). The Parks seemed to be ahead of its time.

The biggest losers in the rationalisation of services, were undoubtedly local school students and the unemployed, while the promised support in forming the PEET Group never materialised.<sup>61</sup> Within three years of Fallon's recommendations being accepted – by both Houses of Parliament – the Parks Community Centre had lost all three of its educational, training and employment service providers through closure or rationalisation. The Department of Technical and Further Education had closed both its Parks office and affiliated campus at

Croydon, the Minister of Education had closed the Parks High School, and Federal budget cuts had forced the closure of the local Skillshare office for the long-term unemployed. The tragedy, was that the community – still experiencing a 25% unemployment rate – was effectively denied any local contact point for higher education, further training or services for the unemployed. If these services were to be accessed in the future, local residents would have to travel to Woodville, Enfield, Port Adelaide or the city centre.<sup>62</sup>

The final indignity was a Government proposal to convert the rapidly emptying spaces of the Parks Community Centre into the new home of the South Australian Sports Institute (*Advertiser*, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1997).<sup>63</sup> An initial budget of \$21m was allocated, with almost half the centre to be converted into administration, training and residential facilities for the State's elite athletes.<sup>64</sup> It was then revealed that the 'primary use' of the centre would focus on athlete training, with only the promise that a strategy would be developed (at some later date) to allow residents the use of no more than 50% of the sports centre, theatre, function rooms and aquatic centre.

Not only would half the centre be off limits, but access to the remaining community facilities would be restricted. Although 'exhaustive community consultations' were promised, the Minister of Recreation and Sport's announcement was little more than executive decision making in action, with the plan only being halted due to 'insufficient funds' in the 1997 State Budget (*Weekly Times*, 30 July 1997: 1).<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, this may be the type of compromise the community – if ever the Sports Institute or a similar plan reemerges in the future – may have to accept, if only to safeguard the future viability of its remaining services.

## 7.5 Discussion

How do relatively powerless communities develop the political skills, capacities and vision necessary for them to become more equal partners in public governance?<sup>66</sup>

From the perspective of Parks residents, or any community in similar circumstances, there needs to be an honest and genuine commitment to community consultation, based on power-sharing and transparency in the application and maintenance of public sector programs. In contrast, residents of The Parks were often denied the opportunity to be active participants in

the planning process, while basic infrastructure improvements and community services were consistently viewed as either too expensive or too difficult to deliver for such an 'undeserving' population. For a twenty-year period, resident concerns were routinely ignored, from the scandalous lack of provision of recreational facilities to the unfinished and poorly maintained road network. Instead, the 'duty of care' principle had been replaced with the smug complacency of elected office and a collective failure to accept responsibility for what had been created in The Parks. But what should have been a shameful period in the state's urban history, was also a revelation for what was accomplished, against the political flow and without the financial support of Government.

Not to be deterred, local residents continued to campaign for a better deal, a Progress Association was formed, letters were written, petitions signed and questions asked in State Parliament.<sup>67</sup> And for those not involved in an active way, there was also the passive protest of home improvement, where the 'sweat equity' of human endeavour transformed even the most desolate of suburban landscapes. Yet not everyone was happy to stay, as some used The Parks as a stepping stone to a better life, while others were resentful that fate had dealt them a poor hand. Of course, the majority had no choice, such as recent migrants whose financial circumstances had been decided for them, while for those who had survived the privations of the Great Depression, the offer of a factory job and a new home was embraced without reservation.

In the end, women had the hardest time of all, managing the family budget on a modest wage and caring for children in an area noted for its substandard services, but somehow accomplished without the mobility of a car or the reliability of public transport. As Mark Peel (1996) remarked of Elizabeth, the women of The Parks 'lived on their feet'. But human effort, either through enlightened perseverance or sheer bloody-mindedness, is not a limitless supply to be squandered, but something to be encouraged and protected as a matter of good governance.

In contrast, the Parks community was often asked to 'do without', having to campaign for even the most basic of improvements, such as a local health service, a decent playground or the installation of public telephones. But in the 1970s, the level and depth of consultation during the development of the Parks Community Centre, allowed local residents (for the first time) to be valued contributors in the design and management of a significant public asset.



However the community's involvement in such a nationally recognised project, was also used against it, when economic circumstances forced a change in the funding and maintenance of welfare programs, and reforms to the public sector removed or anaesthetised its social conscience. The Parks Community Centre was subjected to these same forces, where doing 'more with less' became a political mantra, and the universal provision of basic social services reduced to 'targeted outcomes' and 'operational efficiencies'. Given these circumstances, the establishment, operation and subsequent rationalisation of the Parks Community Centre provides a unique snapshot, where problems were never really solved, merely shifted down the economic divide for the charitable and welfare sector to solve.

As a social 'experiment' the Parks Community Centre proved to be 'controversial, expensive, problem-prone and difficult to evaluate' (Dickey, 1986: 301). From its inception, the PCC found it increasingly difficult to adapt to changing circumstances, where the fragmentation of responsibilities and the reliance on several individuals invariably determined the speed, direction and relative fortunes of the community centre concept. In addition, the influence of competing interests and personality clashes, unwieldy management structures, funding problems, political reversals and an uncooperative municipal authority ensured a hostile and unpredictable policy environment.<sup>68</sup>

Secondly, there was the uncertainty of building and operating an idea that had never been attempted before, and which would require a constant flow of committed, experienced and interested people to make it a workable reality. This was not without difficulties, as position and control were resolutely defended by some elements within the public service, while budget problems and cost overruns required a constant vigil to ensure that the Government's support did not waver (*Weekly Times*, 19 July 1978).<sup>69</sup> In addition, design faults and staff shortages had to be overcome, while air-conditioning and lighting systems were found to be substandard (and the source of on-going problems) and significantly delayed the official opening.

Thirdly, the Centre's philosophy could not be implemented without the political will to do so, and it could not be managed without the cooperation of the public service. For Ralph Middenway, the Centre's inaugural General Manager, the development and subsequent management of the centre was often mired in confusion, with a constant battle between the

stated objectives and what the system would allow.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, the completion of the Centre in 1979 was still a remarkable achievement in inter-governmental cooperation, but it was also 'unlikely there will again be such a favourable climate, the motivated personnel, or the money to carry out [a similar] project' (Briers, 1980: 102).

Fourthly, the promotion of the community development model by the Centre's strongest advocates may have been a successful pitch to Canberra bureaucrats, but it also had the effect of burdening the Centre and the community with having to achieve nothing short of a social transformation of The Parks (Parkin & Healy, 1980). As Parkin & Healy (1980) noted:

It is significant that the [Parks Community Centre] was proposed by bureaucrats in the Department of Education, initially supported by politicians from outside the area seeking to erect a monument to their government's reformist policies, sustained as a future possibility within the community through the work of a small group of residents on a committee sponsored by the Department for Community Welfare and finally funded through the political leverage exerted by a new Member of Federal Parliament.<sup>71</sup>

As a result, it can be argued that local residents - enmeshed in a process variously described as 'monumental' planning and 'socio-therapy' for the deserving poor - were effectively co-opted into the community development model and, as a reward for their participation, promised a role in its operation. This proved to be a major disadvantage, with the expectation that the 'centre would alleviate and prevent social problems in the area' (Briers, 1980: 41), an impossibly high standard for which the place would almost certainly be 'found wanting' (Parkin & Healy, 1980: 186). Indeed, a more objective assessment would have been to assume that complex social and economic problems would need to be 'resolved over and over again' (Briers, 1980: 103).

And finally, the decision to close a range of services at the Parks Community Centre appeared to contradict the findings of several research studies into income distribution, health problems, unemployment and welfare indices in the Adelaide Metropolitan area. For example, the north-western suburbs were shown to have the lowest PES Scores (*Advertiser* 15 January 1997: 2; *Weekly Times*, 10 September 1997: 3), the highest unemployment rates (*Advertiser* 23 October 1993: 18), the greatest concentration of single parent families (*Advertiser* 7 December 1996: 27), the highest percentage of housing Trust tenants

(Advertiser 7 December 1996: 27), the unhealthiest community profile (Weekly Times, 20 October 1993: 1), and the lowest household incomes within the metropolitan area (Advertiser 5 November 1994: 9; Weekly Times, 6 March 1996: 5; Advertiser 22 July 1996: 8). Indeed, the taxable income of Park's residents had occupied the lowest four positions on the Australian Taxation Office's annual index of taxable individuals within the 129 postcodes of metropolitan Adelaide since its inception in 1977/78 (Table 7.7). The Parks was unique, in that it was the one area to maintain a consistent position on the index over this period, as the inner western suburbs of Mile End, Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Brompton were redeveloped and gentrified for those households wanting a stake in homeownership or private rental accommodation. In contrast, those areas featured so predominantly in the 1997/98 index were almost exclusively those places where significant concentrations of public housing had been located: The Parks, Elizabeth, Salisbury, Christies Beach and Port Adelaide.

Each of these research findings indicated that a significant increase in funding was required, not the reduction or withdrawal of existing services. But as Seabrook (1995) was to lament:

We are living at a time when the shared, the collective, the solidaristic, the pooled resources are being overtaken, invaded by the market, whose function is and always has been to enclose, and expose for sale, all the extraordinary, wonderful and ultimately irreplaceable things that human beings are capable of doing for themselves and each other.<sup>72</sup>

Was the history of the Parks Community Centre any different? In the end, the Parks had not only lost a range of services and experienced the aftershocks of a recessed economy, but the announcement of a general redevelopment plan in November 1994 and changes to the institutional security of public housing tenure were threatening to finish the place (Chapter Eight). Not without a sense of humour, the local community – to celebrate the opening of the Centre – had the presence of mind to satirise the entire development in Sue Morrison's play *Up-the-Parks*, whose defining epitaph was: 'All we wanted was a swimming pool and the mugs built this place'. Perhaps the promise of a better deal was too good to be true.

**Table 7.7: Lowest Average Earning Postcodes (1977/78-1997/98)**  
**Adelaide Statistical Division**

**1978/79**

| <i>Rank</i> | <i>Postcode</i> | <i>Taxable<br/>Income</i> | <i>Suburbs</i>                                       |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1           | 5007            | \$8,661                   | Hindmarsh, Welland, Bowden, Brompton                 |
| 2           | 5031            | \$8,737                   | MileEnd, Thebarton, Torrensville                     |
| 3           | 5010            | \$8,834                   | Angle Park, Ferryden Park, Regency Park              |
| 4           | 5012            | \$8,906                   | Mansfield Park, Woodville Gardens, Athol Park        |
| 5           | 5084            | \$9,087                   | Blair Athol, Kilburn                                 |
| 6           | 5008            | \$9,139                   | Croyden, Croyden Park, Devon Park, Renown Park       |
| 7           | 5013            | \$9,143                   | Ottoway, Pennington, Rosewater, Wingfield, Gillman   |
| 8           | 5033            | \$9,207                   | Hilton, Marleston, Richmond, Cowandilla              |
| 9           | 5009            | \$9,282                   | Kilkenny, Allenby Gardens, Beverley                  |
| 10          | 5014            | \$9,308                   | Queenstown, Royal Park, Alberton, Hendon, Cheltenham |

**1997/98**

| <i>Rank</i> | <i>Postcode</i> | <i>Taxable<br/>Income</i> | <i>Suburbs</i>                                     |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1           | 5010            | \$23,339                  | Angle Park, Ferryden Park, Regency Park            |
| 2           | 5012            | \$24,307                  | Mansfield Park, Woodville Gardens, Athol Park      |
| 3           | 5113            | \$24,717                  | Elizabeth Downs, Elizabeth Field, Elizabeth North  |
| 4           | 5121            | \$24,939                  | MacDonald Park, Penfield, Penfield Gardens         |
| 5           | 5165            | \$25,362                  | Christies Beach                                    |
| 6           | 5164            | \$25,664                  | Christie Downs                                     |
| 7           | 5174            | \$25,979                  | Sellicks Beach, Sellicks Hill                      |
| 8           | 5084            | \$25,999                  | Blair Athol, Kilburn, Kilburn North                |
| 9           | 5166            | \$26,104                  | O'Sullivan Beach                                   |
| 10          | 5013            | \$26,109                  | Pennington, Rosewater, Ottoway, Gillman, Wingfield |

Source: Australian Taxation Office (1999) *Taxation Statistics 1997-98* AGPS

- <sup>1</sup> MacCallum M., (1975) 'The Electorate Game' *Nation Review* April, 1975: 676
- <sup>2</sup> Lloyd N., (1996) 'Protesters vow to save school' *Adelaide Advertiser* 24 September 1996-5
- <sup>3</sup> Dunstan D., (1996) 'The uncaring society' *Adelaide Review* July 1996
- <sup>4</sup> There seems to a considerable weight of anecdotal evidence - from local residents to newspaper articles - to suggest that the stories of footpaths and kerbing advancing only so far as the first rented dwelling or why a particular council's road sealing program was unable to accommodate even the most demanding of cases, such as Ridley Grove in Ferryden Park, were either an unlucky coincidence or a blatant case of discrimination.
- <sup>5</sup> The overall storm water plan for the north-western suburbs was not approved until 1968, when the first stage was announced at a cost of £1,000,000.
- <sup>6</sup> See: Appendices: *Selected Extracts (Parliamentary Hansard)*.
- <sup>7</sup> A review of the Parliamentary Hansard during the 1950s, reveals that several of these issues were raised in State Parliament by the local member, Mr Jack Jennings M.P., who reported on the flooding of septic tanks in Mansfield Park (Hansard, 18 June 1958: 43; 16 September 1958: 707-708; 30 October 1958: 953; 20 February 1964: 2044-2045), fire hazards in temporary homes (Hansard, 17 September 1957: 629; 18 June 1958: 707-708; 12 August 1959: 444-445), and the continuing poor state of the area's road network (Hansard, 25 May 1955: 34; 21 July 1959: 98; 28 July 1959: 185). In addition, it was also revealed that several emergency homes in Islington were without power for over twelve months due to shortages in copper wire and ETSA's capital works program.
- <sup>8</sup> Despite Enfield Council's subsequent refusal, Woodville Council had already perfected the process of residential partition, with the unsightly concentration of 'emergency dwellings' and commercial premises in Woodville North being cartographically excised, to form the new suburb of Athol Park. However for local residents, this was the limit of Woodville Council's initiative, as it was to be another twenty five years before its drainage, footpath and road sealing programs were completed in Athol Park.
- <sup>9</sup> Knapman C., (1974) *Mansfield Park Progress Report* South Australian Housing Trust p64 (unpublished).
- <sup>10</sup> In the 1965 elections, both candidates for Enfield Council standing in the Parks, promised the following: a local library; a swimming pool (Wilson Street); more reserves and playgrounds; better roads and footpaths. Reference: 'Enfield Council elections' *Weekly Times* 30 June 1965-11
- <sup>11</sup> See: 'Hoping for subsidy on pool' *Weekly Times* 19 November 1969: 2
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p2
- <sup>13</sup> See: 'Deputation on swimming pool' *Weekly Times* 18 February 1970: 3; 'Ratepayers unhappy over pool proposal' *Weekly Times*, 8 April 1970: 1; 'Council scraps rates idea for pool cash' *Weekly Times*, 15 April 1970: 1/16.
- <sup>14</sup> An additional 19.85 acres was classified as 'undeveloped' space (Knapman, 1974: 74).
- <sup>15</sup> The current situation is little better - with 6.7% of the residential area of the Parks being recreational space, but still well short of the 12.5% statutory provision for new subdivisions (Parks Urban Renewal Project).
- <sup>16</sup> Parkin (1975) *Participation in a Working Class Suburb* Master's Thesis University of Adelaide (unpublished) p 124
- <sup>17</sup> Peacock J., (1974) *Angle-Park Community Centre: For the People or the Planners* Honours Thesis University of Adelaide (unpublished) p 22
- <sup>18</sup> The social and economic statistics of the period provided a disturbing picture. It was characterised by substandard educational facilities, few social or recreational spaces, and a heavy welfare case-load. For example, the area had the greatest concentration of juvenile offenders in the state (*Advertiser* 20 September 1973: 3), half the population didn't own a car, only 12.5% finished 4<sup>th</sup> year, its children received the highest quota of free-books and a Flinders University Study ranking 211 suburbs in 1973 placed Mansfield Park equal last (with Wingfield) and Ferryden Park 199<sup>th</sup> (*News*, 23 July 1973: 26-27). A secondary campaign was also launched by local students from Ferryden Park Primary School, who lobbied to have the old Islington Sewage Farm (currently known as Regency Park) to be given over to recreational and sporting facilities following its decommissioning (*Weekly Times*, 7 July 1971: 1/9; 14 July 1971: 2). Although this would take almost a decade, the Government did provide for recreational facilities, open spaces, community facilities and a light industrial estate in the late 1970s and early 1980s.
- <sup>19</sup> The development of closer links between schools and their surrounding communities was first advocated in the Karmel Report of 1971 (Parkin, 1982).
- <sup>20</sup> The Department of Community Welfare was also involved in the process, first through the Angle Park Project Team, and then from September 1973 through a Joint Planning Committee (with representatives from the DCW, Education Department, Enfield Council and the National Fitness Council). Its role was to promote the concept of a community centre, record and assess suggestions and instigate a genuine process of consultation. The consultation and survey teams were supported by 2 half-time workers (employed for 20hrs per week for six weeks), and 1 full-time coordinator employed for a period of ten weeks. Local schools were approached, pamphlets distributed, and information displays were located at Arndale shopping centre, which were manned three

mornings a week for two weeks. A total of 12,000 postcards were distributed throughout the Parks, whereupon a total of 342 pamphlets were eventually returned. Meetings were also held with local community groups, while neighbourhood discussion groups were formed and sponsored by the Consultation Team. In January 1974, a random block survey of 248 homes was conducted to gather information about the consultative process and the selection of facilities. A total of 211 replies were received, 59% of them from female respondents (which demonstrated their pivotal role in the consultative process), while the responses themselves confirmed the findings of previous surveys.

<sup>21</sup> *Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works* (1976) South Australian Parliament Adelaide SA p3-4

<sup>22</sup> *Lumen*, 25 June 1976: 1

<sup>23</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of the under-servicing issue, the consultation process and the establishment of the centre, see: *Community Participation in School-Based Community Centres*, 1974; Peacock, 1974; Parkin 1975; *Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works*, 1976; Briers, 1980; Healy & Parkin, 1980.

<sup>24</sup> See: Appendices: *Selected Extracts (Parliamentary Hansard)*.

<sup>25</sup> Personal conversation with Ralph Middenway, appointed Manager in March 1977. In 1978, the local Member for Port Adelaide, the Hon. Mick Young M.P, took an additional funding submission to Canberra for a grant of \$3.2m to complete the centre. This was rejected. No additional funds from the Commonwealth were forthcoming, despite an accompanying petition of 4,000 signatures from the Parks Community. By the late 1970s, the ratio of Commonwealth to State funding had slipped from 1:2.6 in 1975 to 1:5 in 1978 (Healy & Parkin, 1980: 240). State finances were stretched to the limit in the late 1970s, with over half the money for the centre (\$8.4m) having to be found from the Education Budget. This represented 'over 60 percent of the Department's total capital commitments' or 'virtually the cost of two new conventional high schools' in the 1970s (Parkin, 1982: 223).

<sup>26</sup> See: Appendices: *Selected Extracts (Parliamentary Hansard)*.

<sup>27</sup> See: 'Resident's idea's will shape centre' *Standard* 16 January 1974:3; 'Public can have say in plans for centre' *Weekly Times* 16 January 1974: 3; 'Discussion on welfare centre' *Weekly Times* 23 April 1974:2; 'Schools to boost community life' *Weekly Times* 29 May 1974: 1/23; 'Centre closer' *Weekly Times* 17 July 1974: 1. A local competition was also held to choose a name for the centre, which in October 1974 was officially recognised as the 'Parks Community Centre' with the announcement of the winning entry ('Welfare centre named' *Weekly Times* 2 October 1974: 3).

<sup>28</sup> The Interim Board of Management, which oversaw the centre's operations from August 1977 to January 1982, contained 25 members. Representation was as follows: 3 from the Parks Residents Committee, 3 staff representatives, 4 Ministerial staffers, 1 from the Housing Trust, the Centre Manager and two co-opted members. Thirteen members were to be drawn from the local community, of which the majority were from the Mansfield Community Council for Social Development. Secondly, the initial proposal for the new Board recommended a total of nine members: an independent Chairperson; three State Government Representatives, one from Enfield Council and four community representatives (*Weekly Times*, 28 June 1980). In contrast, the Board of Management plan that finally emerged had a completely different emphasis, downgrading community representation and ensuring that Government representatives were in charge. This situation was not unexpected, as the Interim Board of Management – an organisation outside the control of the state's public service – was required to continually 'establish its 'legitimacy in an already crowded "interorganisational" field' (Parkin, 1982: 227). This led to friction between the PCCB and the Public Service Board over appointments – particularly the administrative, maintenance and recreational jobs – where pay scales, job classifications and procurement matters seemed to rule out the employment of local residents.

<sup>29</sup> Only 'registered users' could be elected to the Board, having satisfied the litmus test of being a 'genuine' user and a local resident.

<sup>30</sup> Hansard (1981) *Parliamentary Proceedings* 18<sup>th</sup> November 1981 [Hon. CM Hill] p 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Ralph Middenway was instructed - in a confidential memorandum - by the Director General of the Education Department to investigate options for the sale, lease or transfer of Centre facilities to either the private sector or Enfield Council in 1981.

<sup>32</sup> Personal conversation with John Mitchell, Centre Manager from 1987-1992.

<sup>33</sup> During the legislative crisis of 1981, John Bannon (Leader of the Opposition) was the most active and eloquent critic of the Tonkin Government's, and Minister Hill's, handling of the Community Centre fiasco, giving one of the best defences of its original charter in a Parliamentary speech on 9 December 1981. Ref: Hansard (1981) *Parliamentary Proceedings* House of Assembly 9 December 1981: 2549-2551.

<sup>34</sup> In some respects, this situation was to be expected, with the Bannon Government trying to make a fresh start after the Dunstan years and reflecting Premier Bannon's own conservatism on social and economic issues. However the Australian Labour Party, even with the support of the Australian Democrats, was not in a position to pass legislation without amendment or the support of the Liberal Party until the State election of 1985. Although the return of community control was a far more problematic issue (at any time), the Labour Party may have decided to take a more pragmatic path by appointing Ministerial representatives that were sympathetic to the

Centre's founding philosophy. However this could only work if the political patronage and financial support for the Centre remained, and that the Board itself could exert some control over centre components (which was far from guaranteed).

<sup>35</sup> While the most significant, the GARG report was only one of a series of reports, following on from operational, maintenance and financial reviews in 1982, 1986 and 1988. It would also not be the last. In 1994-95, a Joint Facilities Study was commissioned by the Building and Property Services Office (BAPSO) and Enfield Council. Woods-Bagot Pty Ltd completed the Facilities Structural Review in 1996.

<sup>36</sup> The value of the cross-charge, while not specifically a 'rental fee', was based on the value-per-square-metre-per-annum assessed by the Valuer-General's Office. A fair 'gross-rental' was then arrived at, from which a percentage of the rental value was used to cover the outgoings, namely fuel, power, cleaning, security, grounds, maintenance and sewerage charges).

<sup>37</sup> During the debate to close the Parks High School, it emerged that there was one school, Hallet Cove Primary School, which was sold and then – under a leasing arrangement – rented back by the Government.

<sup>38</sup> A Social Justice Strategy was identified as a priority in the 1990 Annual Report, with emphasis placed on a redistribution of resources to disadvantaged families in the Parks area and an employment and training for local people (Annual Report, Parks Community Centre, 1990).

<sup>39</sup> Refer: 'Cleaning of Buildings to be privatised' *Advertiser* 4 October 1996: 4 In 1996, the State Government announced that the cleaning and maintenance of Government buildings would be privatised.

<sup>40</sup> Fallon M., (1992) *Review of the Parks Community Centre for the Government Agencies Review Group* Report to the South Australian Treasury by Maureen Fallon, Consultant to the Public Sector January 1992: 27,31 (unpublished)

<sup>41</sup> At the top of the list, was extracting the full-cost of supporting (commercially operated) Government agencies, such as State Print and the Angle Park Computing Centre. For the other components, the recommendation was for a gradual 'phasing out' of subsidies for operating expenses and an improved level of accountability.

<sup>42</sup> One of the casualties of this cost-cutting philosophy was the local community newsletter, the ParksXpress, which in one form or another (Signpost: 1974-1985; Parks Press 1985-1988) had been in operation since August 1974. It's final issue marked the end of the collaborative link between the Parks Residents Committee and the centre which had done so much to promote, to develop and – in a more limited way – to represent the community's interests at the local level.

<sup>43</sup> Briers J., (1980) *The Parks Community Centre: A Planning Experience* University of Adelaide Masters Thesis (unpublished) p 105 & 110

<sup>44</sup> It wasn't only Fallon, but the local media also joined in the chorus of condemnation, claiming that the Centre was a loser and, of all things, had failed to lift the morale of local people (*Weekly Times*, 'Parks Centre fails to lift local morale' 19 August 1992: 1).

<sup>45</sup> The following groups were identified: people from a non-English speaking background; aboriginal people; the unemployed; those with local education levels; and youth at risk (Fallon, 1992: p A3).

<sup>46</sup> 'Parks Centre funding secure; Govt' *Weekly Times* 5 July 1995: 5 A Quote from Minister John Oswald.

<sup>47</sup> See: Appendices: *Selected Extracts (Parliamentary Hansard)*.

<sup>48</sup> See: 'Temporary Health Centre for Parks' *Weekly Times* 21 August 1974: 2

<sup>49</sup> *Hansard* (1991) *Parliamentary Proceedings* 4<sup>th</sup> April 1991 [Jamie Irwin, MLC-Liberal] pp 4031-4032

<sup>50</sup> *Hansard* (1991) *Parliamentary Proceedings* 10<sup>th</sup> April 1991 [Ivan Venning, MP-Custance] p 4300

<sup>51</sup> *Hansard* (1991) *Parliamentary Proceedings* 9<sup>th</sup> April 1991 [Bernice Pfitzner] p 4130.

<sup>52</sup> In 1990, a community survey of 600 local residents revealed that 78% had used the centre at least once in the previous 12 months. (Ref: 'Survey shows local people use centre' *Weekly Times* 29 May 1991: 1).

<sup>53</sup> Enfield Council had also been experimenting with an alternative community centre's strategy, based around smaller centres at the neighbourhood level. A total of three centres were planned, with \$190,000 being allocated for a neighbourhood centre in Ferryden Park (*Weekly Times*, 2 December 1992: 11).

<sup>54</sup> This was not without problems, with complex negotiations revolving around the centre's assets, liabilities and the future of Government funding. The Centre was also facing a major maintenance or dilapidation audit – being undertaken by Woods Bagot – which eventually concluded that \$6m was needed to rectify air-conditioning problems (which had plagued the centre), and comply with occupational health and safety guidelines (e.g. installation of fire equipment, sprinkler systems and emergency lighting).

<sup>55</sup> 'Exodus may kill Parks' *Weekly Times* 27 March 1997: 1/9; 'Family unit shattered as cuts bite' *Advertiser* 24 June 1997: 1-2. On July 1, 1997 the operational subsidy for community childcare centres was withdrawn by the Government, with most centres facing a \$40,000 - \$50,000 drop in their funding. At the Parks Community Centre, the 'Children's House' was forced to close with the loss of 12 jobs. The centre had previously catered for 55 families and 64 children, the majority of families receiving the top rate of Government assistance. Despite running at full capacity, the loss of the Government operating subsidy and the inability of parents to meet the difference, resulted in the closure of the Centre. The loss was all the greater, as community child care centres

encouraged the maximum participation from parents, as unpaid volunteers and as members of their boards of management.

<sup>56</sup> Enrolment figures for 1992/93 were 580 students. The 1995/96 enrolment figure was 360. The School was originally built to accommodate the former students of the Angle Park Girls & Boys Technical Highschool's, whose combined enrolment in 1974 was 709 students. The retention rate for Year 11-12 students in 1976 was estimated by the Department to be 30 percent.

<sup>57</sup> The Government was also to use the cross-charge to calculate the overall cost-per-student of keeping the school open, which amounted to \$7 965 per student. Not surprisingly, the fact that the Parks was in a unique situation of paying such a large rental fee wasn't even considered, even though the Parks High School had been transformed – by a paper cross-charge – into the most expensive school in the metropolitan area. (Hansard, 1996: 1629)

<sup>58</sup> Hansard (1996) *Parliamentary Debates* 4<sup>th</sup> July 1996 (Mark Brindal, MP-Unley).

<sup>59</sup> See: 'Students vow action over school closure' *Advertiser* 26 March 1996: 4; 'Parks school may get rent cut' *Weekly Times* 10 April 1996: 10; 'Big names invited to help save Parks school' *Weekly Times* 15 May 1996: 14; 'Closure of The Parks High condemned' *Weekly Times* 31 July 1996: 6; 'Circular protest at school' *Advertiser* 12 September 1996: 17; 'New move to keep high school open' *Advertiser*, 17 September 1996: 4; '500 to protest at school closure' *Advertiser* 21 September 1996: 18; 'Protesters vow to save school' *Advertiser*, 24 September 1996: 5; 'School's grungy musical finale' *Weekly Times* 4 December 1996: 4; 'Parents angry as schools face axe' *Advertiser* 21 December 1996: 4;

<sup>60</sup> A report in February 1996, one month before the Minister's announcement, recommended that western suburbs job seekers were 'losing out on trade jobs in their region because of inadequate trade training in schools' ('Schools failing to gear up youths for local youths for jobs' *Weekly Times* 14 February 1996: 1). This seemed to point to the benefit of a cooperative scheme, linking schools, training providers and local businesses (i.e. the type of group recommended by Fallon for the Parks in 1992).

<sup>61</sup> See: 'Parks students still mourning' *Weekly Times* 16 April 1997: 8 & 'School closure leaves its scars' *Advertiser* 4 October 1997: 16. During the campaign to close the school, there was some concern that students may drop out of the education system if the closure went ahead. Although there is no conclusive evidence to support this, there does seem to have been a drop in the number of students transferring to neighbouring schools. This was confirmed in October 1997, when it was revealed as many as 66 students under a school transition program had either not re-enrolled or had subsequently dropped out of school in 1997. The Minister's reply to this information, was that since The Parks already had a high drop-out rate, the research findings made no difference to his decision (*Advertiser*, 4 October 1997: 16). Secondly, the PEET Group was never formally constituted, with just two groups – the Building and Property Services Office (BAPSO) and the Community Cultural and Recreational Centre (CCRC). The former managed on an interim basis by the South Australian Housing Trust and the later managed by Enfield Council. The most important groupings, employment and welfare, disappeared into a policy blackhole.

<sup>62</sup> With the establishment of the Federal Government's Job Network, a series of independently operated employment providers (replacing the Commonwealth Employment Service), employment and training services would have to be accessed at either Woodville, Enfield or Port Adelaide (depending on the employment status of the individual and the availability of Flex 1,2 or 3 contracts).

<sup>63</sup> Scott Ashenden, the Minister for Recreation and Sport, also released two press releases on the proposed redevelopment (February 24, 1997 and February 27, 1997).

<sup>64</sup> A point of coincidental interest, is the that the buildings and land had been vested with the Minister of Recreation and Sport following the repeal of the Parks Community Centre Act (1981) in 1994.

<sup>65</sup> The proposed consultation procedure was: the release of an information pamphlet, a one day display at Arndale Shopping Centre, a two day phone-in and one community information session. There was no indication that the community would be given a right-of-veto or have any influence over the plans, accept to be told what was happening and when it would take place.

<sup>66</sup> Boyte H, (1995) 'Book Review' *Journal of the American Planning Association* Winter 1995: 118. Book Review of Krumholz & Clavel's *Reinventing Cities*.

<sup>67</sup> See: *Weekly Times*, 19 April 1961-2; 17 May 1961-4; 27 February 1963-1; 13 March 1963-1; 22 July 1964-7; 30 June 1965-11; 26 October 1966-1; 29 November 1967-2; 5 February 1969-5; 5 November 1969-1; 19 November 1969-2; 18 February 1970-3; 8 April 1970-1; 15 April 1970-1/16; 7 July 1971-1/9; 14 July 1971-2; 14 March 1973-5.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Ralph Middenway, Centre Manager from 1977 to 1982. For example, a public service freeze resulted in the absence of a catering manager, a chef or a manager for Focus One, while maintenance and cleaning staff were in short supply. ([N.B.: Focus One: name given to the building that houses the theatres, cafeteria, restaurant, convention rooms, coffee lounge, music suites and meeting rooms and the youth drop-in centre or 'Cellar').



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<sup>69</sup> See: 'Centre must not suffer funds drought' *News* 19 July 1978; 'Centre has brought residents together' *Weekly Times* 19 July 1978. The protests were not merely confined to a future Liberal Government, but the State Labour Government and Minister Hopgood were faced with a 2,000 signature petition and protestors outside Parliament House when possible spending cuts were leaked to the community. As a result, the Government agreed to an emergency cash injection of \$400,000 to complete the centre.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Ralph Middenway.

<sup>71</sup> Healy J., Parkin A., (1980) *The Parks Community Centre: An Evaluative History* School of Social Sciences Flinders University of South Australia July 1980 p 186

<sup>72</sup> Seabrook J., (1995) 'Values for money' *New Statesman & Society* 8 December 1995: 18

## CHAPTER EIGHT: REDEVELOPMENT

The trick is to *keep* doing outrageous things. There's no point in passing some scandalous piece of legislation and then giving everyone time to get worked up about it. You have to get right in there and top it with something even worse, before the public have a chance to work out what's hit them.<sup>1</sup>

Jonathon Coe

In any locality, the plausible options, the shape of the future, will depend upon its history and how its history is understood.<sup>2</sup>

Mark Peel

The Government is committed to a great outcome in the Parks Redevelopment.<sup>3</sup>

Stephen Baker

### 8.0 Redevelopment

#### 8.1 Introduction

For over fifty years, The Parks has provided a place to live for many people, from the displaced migrant families of the 1940s and 1950s, to the single mothers, the unemployed and the Vietnamese migrants of the 1980s and 1990s. Community, if one can ever be defined, revolved around the shared experiences of establishing a home in often difficult circumstances, and then securing a future in the factories and assembly plants of the surrounding suburbs. And while the streetscape was singularly unattractive, dusty tracks linking continents of brick monotony, and did nothing to enhance the area's reputation, The Parks was also a place to call home. For some this was only a temporary stop, a breathing space to reconstruct their lives following the privations of war and depression, while for others The Parks was an opportunity to cement a foothold in suburbia and to raise a family. For most it was the chance of a new life.

The Housing Trust, an institution that represented the aspirations of a previous era of *public service*, and whose charter was directed towards the creation of a modern industrial society, was concerned with the practicalities of building more and more homes for an expanding (and gradually more demanding) population. However once an estate had been

built and the energies of the Trust directed elsewhere, the management of its estates often entered a holding pattern, where problems were easily identified by tenants, but solutions fell victim to a series of inter-governmental turf battles and bureaucratic stalemate. For example, the continuing emphasis of the Trust on 'new builds', was often at the expense of adequately funded maintenance programs and environmental measures to renovate its existing double-unit estates.

In The Parks, residents were often left to organise and campaign on their own, which for many was a lonely and difficult exercise rarely attracting the publicity, local support and financial assistance to further their cause. Because while 'community' has often been used to symbolise a sociological emblem of solidarity, in many places 'resilience and vitality coexisted with apathy and decline' which made the process of achieving change more difficult and the victories achieved all the more meritorious. And it is here, in the living rooms and kitchens of the ubiquitous double-units, that the 'pioneer tales' of not only the first residents, but the most recent of Vietnamese migrants, reflect both a determination and a satisfaction in having survived and made a difference.

For local residents, the future of The Parks has always been contested, from the campaign to build a local swimming pool in 1970s to the environmental protests of the 1990s. However the burdens of social activism were often left to the women of the Parks, who volunteered, organised and campaigned for 'somewhere to go' and whose patient efforts were rewarded with the construction of the Parks Community Centre in the late 1970s. Indeed, the stories of community resistance are familiar themes throughout rural and urban Australia, where 'generations of citizens [have] contributed to local facilities such as hospitals, schools, helping services and sporting and recreational clubs' (People Together Project, 1998).

As a result of these campaigns, and the time and effort expended, local residents have earned their stake in The Parks, as opposed to inheriting a position of influence through public election or executive position, and deserve to be actively involved in its future management. For public housing tenants, their sense of 'ownership' is also embedded within the financial interest of the *state*, whose housing assets are managed by the South Australian Housing Trust on behalf of the Government (and its citizens). However, with the move towards the demolition and redevelopment of ever-larger tracts of public housing, the ultimate value or worthlessness of this relationship (between tenant and landlord) will be determined.

## 8.2 Redeveloping 'Problem Estates'

For the Housing Trust, the reversal in its economic position, from an unsustainable level of rental subsidies to the withdrawal in Commonwealth funding, forced a change in emphasis. New construction, which had sustained the local building industry, was dramatically scaled back, while the redevelopment of its existing housing stock became a priority (Arthurson, 1998). In Adelaide, the first significant redevelopment of public housing was in Elizabeth North, or what came to be known as Rosewood Village, a joint initiative of the Commonwealth Government (Better Cities Program), the South Australian Housing Trust and the Delfin Property Group. In contrast to the Trust's previous activities, Rosewood was the first attempt at involving the private sector in the management and redevelopment of public housing in South Australia.

Following its commencement, however, concerns were raised as to what the social objectives of an ideal development should be, and whether a range of housing options and a more diverse tenant profile were an acceptable (or equitable) trade-off for significantly reduced levels of public housing (Peel, 1993/94; Stevens, 1995). Despite these concerns, Rosewood provided both the precedent and the opportunity for private sector involvement, while at the same time significantly reducing the ability of the Trust to design, manage or redevelop its own housing stock. This was reinforced, albeit indirectly, with the establishment of a Commission of Audit, which was asked to review the state's financial liabilities, with specific reference to the operational efficiency and performance of the state's public sector instrumentalities.

The Audit Commission Report, which was released in April 1994, outlined a number of recommendations. The most important were: to reduce the number of Trust homes (eg sales, redevelopment); commercialise its operations (eg outsourcing, staff reductions); and rationalise its service delivery and asset management activities (*Charting the Way Forward*, 1994: 299-317). To compound matters, the incoming Liberal Government was faced with the underlying debt problems of the State Bank financial disaster, and changes to the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement, which not only restricted the Trust's building program, but focussed attention on its own longer-term debt problems and cost-recovery measures (Badcock, 1997a: 11). As a result, the future management of the Trust's older,

predominantly double-unit estates, would be reviewed under a significantly different funding formula, with redevelopment proposals having to satisfy the litmus test of financial viability and market attractiveness. Given these factors, the private sector, through either a fee-for-service (Rosewood) or 'alliance' partnering arrangement (The Parks), would be negotiating from a position of strength - particularly if the majority of the capital, if not the risk, were to be its contribution to any redevelopment proposal (National Capital Planning Authority, 1994). In contrast, the emasculation of the Housing Trust had the potential to create a policy vacuum within the public sector, while relieving the private sector from the strictures of financial accountability, civic responsibility and legislative transparency (eg freedom of information requests). Given these circumstances, the ability of the Trust to equitably balance its social and commercial responsibilities may be an increasingly difficult, if not impossible task.<sup>4</sup>

### 8.3 Consulting the People?

In November 1994, the Minister for Housing and Urban Development, John Oswald, announced that the South Australian Housing Trust was 'to investigate options for redeveloping public housing' within The Parks. However the Minister's media release, while avoiding specific recommendations, revealed that any prospective plan would inevitably involve a 'significant level of demolitions', while the Trust's rental stock would be reduced to around half its current level (Penberthy, 1994). This would, in the Minister's words, reduce the 'ghetto' type of public housing, offer a 'variety' of housing options, and provide significant opportunities for private sector involvement. Not surprisingly, these comments angered local residents, because apart from the implication of the term 'ghetto', their own homes, social relationships and community networks were now at stake (Moore, 1994; Hodge, 1995).

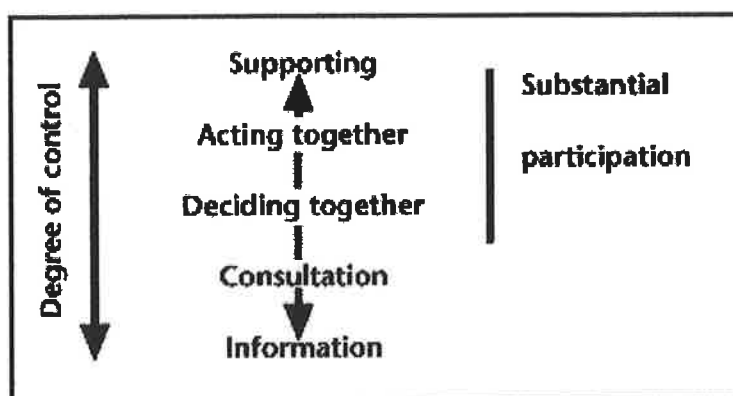
Despite the Minister's *faux-pas*, and a backlash from residents, the announcement was at least a *recognition* that something had to be done, while serving to highlight the social and economic problems of an area which had been 'made poor' (Peel, 1993/1994).

Unfortunately, the redevelopment proposal, while concentrating predominantly on housing issues, was compromised, not only by the Trust's inability to provide up-to-date information, but an acknowledgment that the underlying objectives of the project had been determined in

advance of the consultation process. These objectives, listed in Table 8.1, often appeared to be a study in contradiction. For example, concern was expressed that each of the project's social priorities appeared to be contingent upon the financial viability of the project, particularly when issues of marketability, investment capital, value adding and 'appropriate' returns appeared to be more important than retaining public housing, creating employment opportunities or preserving valuable community services.<sup>5</sup>

To implement these objectives, the tendering agreement required each applicant or 'development consortium' to provide detailed information on its business history, financial capability, planning experience and management expertise. In December 1995, Pioneer Projects Australia (now known as Urban Pacific Pty Ltd) was selected as the Preferred Development Partner (PDP).<sup>6</sup> Following this announcement, a Project Office was opened, while attempts were made to formalise a consultative framework or Partnering Charter with the local community. In addition, seminar presentations, household surveys, information displays, reference groups and advisory panels were used (at various times) to provide a range of opinions, 'expert' advice and community feedback on the redevelopment proposal. However the process of consultation, from March to September 1996, was never to be an exercise in empowerment. As the following diagram (Figure 8.1) reveals, the levels of participation and control can vary considerably, from providing basic information (ie telling people what is planned) through to empowering the local community (ie local groups provided with the resources and independent advice to develop their own policies) [JRF, 1994].

**Figure 8.1: Levels of Participation**



Source: Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1994c)

### **Table 8.1: Paramount Objectives - Parks Urban Renewal Project**

*The Project shall be structured to meet the following paramount objectives in a responsible, viable and sustainable urban renewal program which will:*

- create a living environment which improves residential amenity and environmental quality and is supportive of a variety of lifestyles and aspirations,
- be a positive force for local community development which respects the existing and future potential cultural diversity for the community within and adjacent to the Project Area and aid local economic development,
- increase the quality, variety and density of housing in the area and provide a comprehensive and diverse range of allotment sizes and housing types,
- enhance the asset value and financial performance of the retained public housing stock,
- achieve a better balance and distribution of public and private dwellings,
- increase the market attractiveness of the area,
- provide opportunities for a range of affordable housing alternatives, and
- build on best practice procedures and information and become a benchmark for urban renewal in Australia.

*These Paramount Objectives are linked to and support the overall strategic direction of the Trust which is to:*

- reduce debt
- facilitate sales (principally to tenants and public housing applicants)
- redevelop ageing housing estates, and
- upgrade retained stock

*and are consistent with the provisions of the South Australian Housing Trust Act, 1995, inter alia Sections 5 and 21.*

On the 'five-rung ladder of participation', the consultative effort in The Parks was situated somewhere between the first and second levels of the consultative model: providing basic information and listening to resident feedback. Substantive changes to the project's (previously announced) objectives, such as those allowed in consultative frameworks containing elements of shared control and resident empowerment, were not considered.<sup>7</sup> As a result, the consultative effort became an opportunity to 'mine' the community for sources of relevant information, as opposed to a mechanism to substantively change the objectives or scope of the project. Why?

Firstly, the feasibility study gave the impression of a 'closed shop'. This perception was reinforced, when several of the consultancies were awarded on the basis of Pioneer's original submission, and were not subject to any selection or tendering process. In addition, the establishment of four Community Advisory Committees (Community, Public Housing, Urban Planning, Economic Development), while providing a 'voice' for local community groups and residents, were often weighted in favour of government, business and institutional representatives. It was almost impossible for local residents to negotiate on a 'level playing field', if they lacked the financial, organisational and political resources to compete with the principal 'stakeholders' or to secure independent advice on the redevelopment proposal. As Stevenson (1998) observed:

Consultation is about power and its distribution. In all consultative processes some views and interests are invariably privileged over others.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast, the Elizabeth-Munno Para Social Justice Project, which had traversed a similar path, actively involved the local community at every stage of the consultation and decision-making process (Elizabeth / Munno Para Project Strategic Plan, 1993).

For example, the Economic Development Advisory Panel, which was asked to identify local economic development and employment issues, became a vehicle for local, regional and State Government representatives to recommend their own programs, economic philosophies and management skills, while precluding a more thorough discussion of alternative or non-market solutions (Stoecker, 1996). Meanwhile, the withdrawal of training infrastructure and expertise, such as the closure of Parks Skill and the restructuring of job placement services, only highlighted the contradictions of developing a local economic development strategy, if



the sources of funding, principally State and Federal Government agencies, were unable to provide the administrative or financial support for community based programs.

Secondly, the community was often left out of the planning process, with no real power to influence decisions. In response, a local community group – the Parks Voice Redevelopment Action Group – was formed to represent the interests of tenants and secure the *best possible* outcome in negotiations with the Housing Trust and the private sector partner. However, the consultation process was also clearly defined in the official planning document, as residents were informed that since The Parks was at the 'crossroads', it had to embrace the redevelopment, because:

If no action is taken, The Parks will miss the benefits of that change, including new investment in alternative housing forms and property upgrades.<sup>9</sup>

However there was no choice or public debate on alternative models. Instead, what was presented to the residents of The Parks was a single model for urban renewal, involving a massive program of demolition and forced relocation. There would be no negotiations over the extent of the redevelopment, the number of tenants to be re-housed, or the establishment of a publicly accountable, democratically elected renewal authority. As Rubin (1994) noted, the limits of 'public consultation' had been clearly defined: 'participation is being at the table, but empowerment is having a choice' (Rubin 1994: 416).

In The Parks, what was offered in the form of consultation also managed to stretch the definitional boundaries of the concept. In the final planning report, *Investing in People, Housing & Land (1996:132)*, the benefits of community participation were stated to include the following:

- 1) providing important relevant information which can only be gleaned from living in the area;
- 2) meeting the democratic needs of citizens to be informed about and influence decisions which affect them;
- 3) mobilising local resources towards the development of the local community; and
- 4) utilising and recognising the importance of existing community networks in disseminating information.

Taken together, these 'benefits' were basically an admission that residents would only be informed of important decisions as and when required, and then (of all things) asked to transmit these meagre offerings through the community grapevine. Not surprisingly, this falls well short of Nick Origlass's definition of 'maximum democracy' (Greenland, 1998).

For residents of The Parks, this generated a great deal of confusion and anger, because while the language of consultation stressed the benefits of partnership, the substance of the negotiations often reflected the strength of entrenched positions rather than the opportunity for compromise. And no matter how often the flow diagrams of the 'integrated planning process' were re-drawn, it was the residents who were being shunted into policy dead-ends and overwhelmed with lengthy reports and countless minor revisions. Meanwhile, continual delays, fuelled by legal concerns, company takeovers and political indecision, then led to a growing sense of frustration and outright hostility.<sup>10</sup> By the time of the announcement, many residents had reached a stage of complete disinterest (*Weekly Times*, 10 February 1999).

Having accepted that some form of redevelopment project was a fait accompli, the local resident's group focussed on the practicalities of relocating a large number of residents, and trying to improve the Trust's tenant relocation, compensatory and conciliation processes.<sup>11</sup> By comparison, Greg Black (the Housing Trust's Chief Executive Officer) asserted that:

.... what we've done [in the Parks] is to a very large degree work with that community to establish the project so there's a fundamental commitment from the community, the community is part of it and feels some sense of ownership.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, for local residents it was unclear to which 'community' Greg Black was referring, as almost 2,000 households currently living in The Parks will have to be permanently relocated during the life of the project. Indeed, the 'sense of ownership' will probably be as short-lived as the project's community consultation effort, which provided few resources (either monetarily or administratively) to the local residents group, used 'outside' consultants for its planning workshops, and whose legal and financial arrangements were well hidden from public or community oversight.<sup>13</sup> As Sue Crafter, the public face of Urban Pacific, was to remark:

We made it very clear, we haven't pretended with the particular community group, about the level of influence they have. It's always been made very clear that they will not have access to, nor influence commercially sensitive information between the two partners and even though they clearly wanted that initially they now accept and understand that.<sup>14</sup>

Not surprisingly, the community were never to be considered genuine 'stakeholders', as the only two voices that really mattered were the Housing Trust and Urban Pacific P/L : the former with the land and housing assets to be redeveloped, the latter with the capital resources to invest. Residents, while factored into all the equations of financial viability, were informed that 'not all who currently live in The Parks will be able to return as the numbers of public housing dwellings will be reduced' (*Parks Urban Renewal Project*, 1996: 164).<sup>15</sup> Promises of constructive 'engagement' and reciprocal 'obligation', while anchoring the community consultation process, also acted to obscure the scale of the relocation effort, with a significant number of tenants being given a one-way ticket out of The Parks. While the potential for personal loss could be identified, such as losing one's home or social support network during the relocation process, there was a fair degree of scepticism as to what the Trust or Pioneer Projects (Urban Pacific) would be offering in return for such a trade-off. <sup>16</sup>

From the announcement of the redevelopment project in November 1994, a series of community meetings were called, with a local advocacy group - the Parks Community Voice Redevelopment Action Group (PCVRAG) - being formed in February 1995. With a core group of members, the adoption of a constitution and the election of office bearers, the PCVRAG embraced a pragmatic philosophy, with information distribution, consensual decision-making and proactive policy initiatives amongst its principal objectives.<sup>17</sup> And although stopping the project was never a realistic option, the local residents' group was prepared to publicly withdraw their support - particularly if tenants were to be treated unfairly or were inadequately compensated for a lifetime of improvements.

Thirdly, the State Government, which had promised a 'whole-of-government' approach, was compromised by its own policy decisions. Successive budgets, at both the State and Federal level, led to a gradual withdrawal of funding, and started to impact heavily on those institutions, programs and personnel that had provided important, and highly valued community services to local residents. In addition, the Trust's redevelopment agenda was undermined by a series of ministerial directives, such as the closure of the Parks High School,

the rationalisation of services at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, and the Government's continuing support for a waste management plant at Kilburn. In many respects, it would seem that a 'whole-of-government' approach to the redevelopment was almost impossible, as various Ministers competed to restructure, downsize and out-source services within their own Departments - regardless of the local area effects.

For instance, the 'hollowing out' of the Parks Community Centre, has seen its autonomy eroded, its services downgraded, while staff numbers and funding levels have been similarly reduced. The culmination of this process, has seen the transfer of its management responsibilities to Enfield Council, and the introduction of market-based rents and service charges to commercialise its operations (Fallon, 1992). The last of these decisions, introduced by the former Labor Government, has only exacerbated the Centre's problems, by contributing to the recent departures of the Computing Centre, the local TAFE and FACS offices, and its State Print office.

These losses, combined with the Minister of Education's decision to close the local High School, have since been matched by the Commonwealth's subsequent Budget cuts, which have led to the closure of the local SkillShare and Childcare centre, and a reduction in funding to its Legal Aid Centre (Chapter Seven). To highlight the inconsistency of these cuts, and the Government's promotion of self-provisioning, it must be disconcerting to find that the latest service to be provided is Pay Television, following Optus' decision to start its overhead roll-out in Mansfield Park - one of Adelaide's most disadvantaged suburbs in 1996.

Fourthly, the Parks Urban Renewal Project, while aspiring to be a 'benchmark for urban renewal', appeared to be enamoured with its own rhetoric, with several competing development philosophies having a significant influence on its recommendations. In addition, many of the project's claims were often impossible to substantiate, with inattentiveness to detail and the disregard of minimum standards being replaced with visioning statements and statistical misrepresentations. As a result, a major deficiency of the feasibility study was its saturation with planning jargon, with terms such as 'image enhancement' and 'sensitive interventions' used to describe the redevelopment process, while tenants were transformed into customers with a 'choice', and government support reduced to a 'judicious blend'. At its conclusion, the period of consultation was little more than a one-way communications channel, with few guarantees that even the objectives that were announced would be fully

implemented. And it was on the subject of delivering promises, that Twelvetrees (1989) critically observed:

...the story of urban renewal and redevelopment [in the United States] indicates, government and the private sector tend to run roughshod over local communities in the name of a progressive urban plan which sometimes never becomes a reality, or if it does, incurs increased financial and social costs for the already disadvantaged residents.<sup>18</sup>

And finally, the project failed to acknowledge the concerns of local residents or to recognise the potential consequences of the redevelopment proposal. For instance, what would be the effect on local businesses? How many people would be asked to move? And would the services which had supported residents, such as the Parks Community Centre, be retained? Unfortunately, many of these questions were left unanswered, conveniently reclassified as the 'next level of detail' to be determined by some other process or consultative strategy (The Parks Urban Renewal Project, 1996).

However with most complex negotiations, the 'devil is in the detail', and despite the Project Team's reluctance to admit the obvious, it became clear that people will have to leave The Parks. And it is here, on the issue of dispersal, that the project is compromised, trapped within the cul-de-sac of its own objectives. Because if people are forced to move, it would seem to be highly improbable that the informal networks, shared values and social services, which underpin a vibrant, ethnically diverse community, can be preserved.

Similarly, if the Trust decides to rehouse older tenants or the 'genuinely needy', the remaining tenants may end up being more isolated, while the services which had supported them, such as local self-help groups, may have themselves disappeared or been replaced by 'user pays' services or a stressed-out non-profit sector. Ultimately, the project may compromise its own sales pitch, having dissolved the community networks and cultural identities which it sought to promote, while at the same time creating an environment where tenants feel short-changed and increasingly frustrated with a conciliation process that will find it difficult to offer them a better home (Fuller, 1995; Penberthy, 1995).

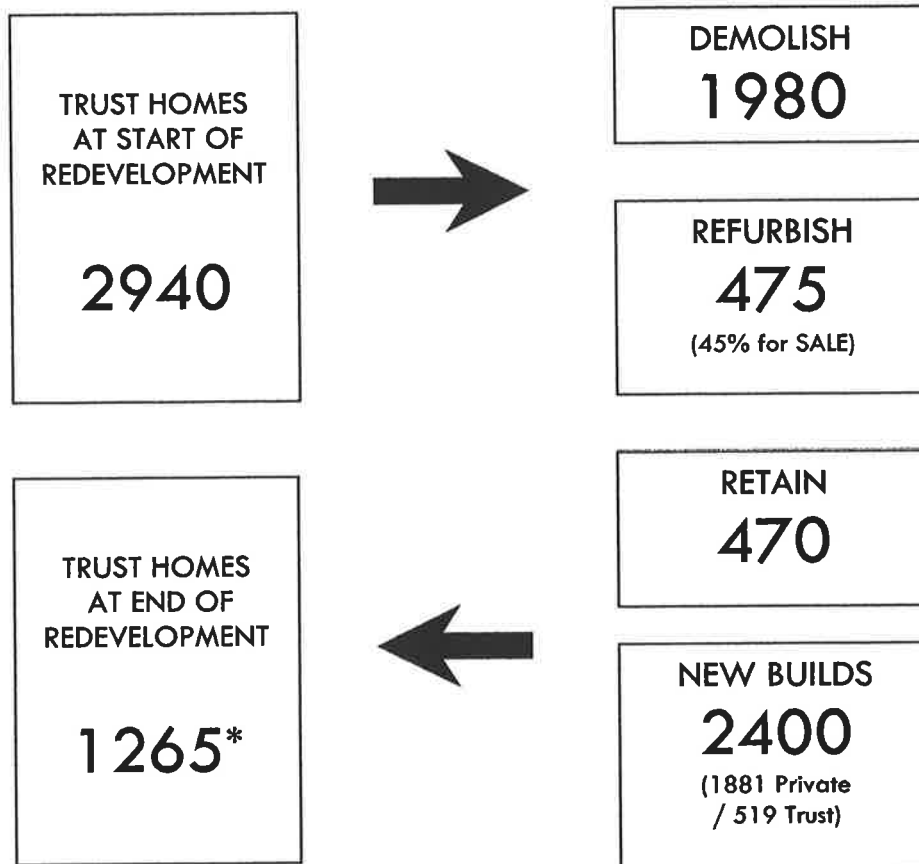
## 8.4 Re-evaluation

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1999, after four frustrating years and the departure of three State Housing Ministers, the Government finally gave its approval to the \$340 million Parks Urban Renewal Project (*Advertiser* 5 February, 1999: 5).<sup>19</sup> At the project's official launch, the objectives and scope of the redevelopment were restated: a total of 1,980 homes demolished; 2 400 new homes constructed (the majority for private sale); and less than 750 of the Trust's existing homes to remain in public ownership over a ten to fifteen year period (*Premier of South Australia*, 4 February 1999) (Figure 8.2). For those tenants who were able to remain, a 'new living environment' would be created, with an emphasis on enhancing 'recreational options', providing a greater choice of housing types, and rejuvenating its physical infrastructure (eg roads, footpaths) and dilapidated streetscape (eg tree planting, landscaping).<sup>20</sup> With the commencement of the project, a significant opportunity has arisen to measure its initial claims of international 'best practice' against the findings of more recent urban redevelopment, renewal and regeneration strategies in Europe and the United States. For the purposes of this evaluation, the issues identified by MacLennan (1998) – proposed as the benchmarks for implementing a successful urban renewal project – appear in contradiction to the stated objectives of The Parks redevelopment.

### 8.4.1 *Understanding Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods*

The first mistake that was made, aside from the unfortunate announcement of the project by Ministerial Press Release and the identification of The Parks as a 'ghetto', was the failure to act on the everyday concerns of local people, such as inadequate household incomes and the high rate of local unemployment. Although these problems remain the principle responsibilities of the Federal Government, in terms of taxation, employment, industry, welfare and education policies, there was also a responsibility on State and Local Government not to compound or exacerbate the (widely recognised) level of social exclusion in The Parks. These concerns, while reflected in every major statistical indicator, were often lost in the rush to emphasise the poor physical environment and lack of housing 'choice' experienced by Housing Trust tenants. As a result, a large-scale program of demolition and forced relocations

**Figure 8.2: The Parks Urban Renewal Project**



\* This figure is based on the following calculation: 2940 (existing homes) minus 1980 (demolished) leaves a residual of 960 homes. From this base figure, the addition of refurbished stock (retained by the Trust) and new builds leaves a post-redevelopment figure of 1265. Total homes prior to redevelopment = 5100 [58% TRUST] Total homes after redevelopment = 5500 [23% TRUST].

*NOTE: Estimates have been based on publicly released information and the Trust's intention for not more than 25% of 'Westwood' to be public housing. Latest indications suggest a revision downwards to not more than 23% of the homes being retained by the Trust at project completion.*

was presented as the only realistic alternative to a series of complex and structurally related problems. And while the more difficult questions of social polarisation and exclusion were beyond the resources, expertise and legislative responsibilities of a state based housing agency, their continued acknowledgment, in both the Trust's statistical profiles and in official planning documents, holds the same agencies accountable to any (additional) adverse outcomes from its redevelopment projects (Table 8.2).

As previous chapters have highlighted, the problem was not so much the physical decay of its housing stock, but the reversal in economic fortunes and where every tenant who arrived was 'poorer than the last' (Peel, 1998: 8). Indeed, the Trust's stock improvement and refurbishment programs had achieved some notable successes in The Parks, selectively demolishing older stock and replacing it with unit and multi-storey townhouse accommodation, while a number of double-units had been completely refurbished for sale or public tenancy. The problem was that an incremental, intensive program of stock improvement and ongoing maintenance was proving to be very expensive and unsustainable: due to the fiscal squeeze imposed by the State Bank debacle and funding decisions in Canberra.

However the dangers of fast-tracking a redevelopment program, without first understanding the history of an area, the causes of its problems or incorporating the views of local people have been extensively documented – particularly in the United Kingdom (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1994a, 1994c, 1995d, 1996b, 1998f, 1999d, 2000a, 2000c; Fordham, 1995; Thake 1995, Power 1996). And while Urban Pacific, through its Managing Director Russell Thompson, openly acknowledged a willingness to learn (NURS, 1998: 65), there was also a contractual limit to its involvement in The Parks redevelopment. As a *private* sector partner, with its own shareholder and financial concerns, the ultimate responsibility for any unintended social costs would rest with the State Government (Badcock, 2000). Indeed, the decision to embrace a model of urban redevelopment that *specifically requires* the transfer of real estate assets, may eventually force a reassessment of the contractual terms to ensure the continued profitability of the joint venture. That is, the risks and profits associated with 'alliance contracting' may eventually be distributed unevenly, with the state trading off the interests of residents (via their homes) to a third party (Badcock, 1997: 12).<sup>21</sup>

This leaves two specific problems: the initial decision to pursue a policy of demolition and dispersal; and a contractual model that appears to compromise the state's role, by



Table 8.2: Tenancy Statistics (1977/78-1998/99)

South Australian Housing Trust

## (a) New and Existing Tenants Receiving a Rent Rebate

|                      | 1977 | 1981 | 1985 | 1989 | 1994 | 1999 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| New Tenants (%)      | 10   | 52.6 | 53.5 | 72.9 | 86   | 91.1 |
| Existing Tenants (%) | 18.1 | 51.3 | 61   | 67.4 | 78.9 | 82.9 |

## (b) Household Income of New Tenants

|                              | 1977 | 1981 | 1985 | 1989 | 1994 | 1999 |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Household Income (\$)        | 125  | 158  | 195  | 235  | 248  | 249  |
| Average Weekly Earnings (\$) | 188  | 276  | 388  | 514  | 619  | 745  |
| Tenant Income as a % of AWE  | 67   | 57   | 50   | 46   | 40   | 33.4 |

## (c) Labour Force Status (Rental Applicants)

|             | 1977 | 1981  | 1985  | 1989  | 1994  | 1999  |
|-------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Working     | 4884 | 5198  | 6348  | 5178  | 2282  | 1251  |
| Non-Working | 4483 | 7921  | 11139 | 10271 | 12116 | 12741 |
| TOTAL       | 9367 | 13119 | 17487 | 15449 | 14398 | 13992 |

## (d) Main Source of Income (Rental Applicants)

|         | Wage &<br>Salary | Age<br>Pension | Invalid<br>Pension | Sickness<br>Benefit | Support.<br>Parent | UE<br>Benefit | Other | Total |
|---------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------|-------|
| 1977-78 | 52.2             | 8.6            | 3.1                | 0.8                 | 17.1               | 10.3          | 7.9   | 9367  |
| 1983-84 | 30.9             | 10.6           | 5                  | 1.7                 | 20.4               | 24.4          | 7     | 15649 |
| 1989-90 | 33.5             | 5.7            | 5.5                | 2.3                 | 17.3               | 25.5          | 10.2  | 15449 |
| 1994-95 | 15.8             | 7.6            | 5.6                | 2.9                 | 14.7               | 29.4          | 24    | 14398 |
| 1998-99 | 8.9              | 5.4            | 10.6               | 1.1                 | 16.8               | 29.5          | 27.6  | 13992 |

## (e) Housing for Single Parents &amp; Unemployed Persons

|         | Single Parents |      |             |      | Unemployed   |      |             |      |
|---------|----------------|------|-------------|------|--------------|------|-------------|------|
|         | Applications   |      | New Tenants |      | Applications |      | New Tenants |      |
|         | Total          | %    | Total       | %    | Total        | %    | Total       | %    |
| 1977-78 | 2470           | 26.4 | 1469        | 28.4 | 969          | 10.3 | 301         | 5.8  |
| 1983-84 | 3874           | 24.8 | 1874        | 26.2 | 3817         | 24.4 | 1129        | 16.9 |
| 1989-90 | 3196           | 20.7 | 2183        | 25.3 | 3936         | 25.5 | 1847        | 21.4 |
| 1994-95 | 3165           | 22   | 1965        | 24.3 | 4232         | 29.4 | 2282        | 28.3 |
| 1998-99 | 3466           | 24.8 | 1275        | 26.1 | 4122         | 29.5 | 1091        | 22.3 |

Source: The South Australian Housing Trust, *Annual Report* (various)

embracing commercial objectives alongside its ongoing social responsibilities. On the first issue, the adoption of a demolition and dispersal strategy, international evidence is largely unresponsive of the project's claims to be an example of 'best practice'. Since the destruction of working class areas in Boston in the early 1960s, a block redevelopment scheme which inspired Herbert Gans' *The Urban Villagers* (1962), there has been an emphasis on community participation and neighbourhood rehabilitation in the United States (Gans, 1965; Dreier, 1995). In one of the more progressive of the state-based housing agencies in Australia, New South Wales, only as a last resort have places like the Villawood Estate in East Fairfield been completely demolished, and only then due to exceptional local circumstances (Randolph & Judd, 1999).

In recent years, poverty research has been overshadowed by a new concept of 'social exclusion'. Originating in the social policy debates of France and the United Kingdom, the term offered a much broader level of analysis, by including all of those processes through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. Exclusion referred to the 'dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems, which determine the social integration of a person in society' (Levitas, 1998: 11). In contrast to poverty research, which focussed on distributional issues (ie a lack of resources), social exclusion was more concerned with relational issues, such as inadequate social participation and the lack of power in public decision-making. This opened up the research agenda, to consider issues of both labour and housing market disadvantage (Paccione, 1992), and which policies could contribute towards the economic and social integration of the least privileged groups (*National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*, 2000).

The majority of this research has covered six main themes: poverty, citizenship, inequality, solidarity, difference and place (Jones & Smyth, 1999). While the concept has not escaped criticism, it has provided an accepted platform – both in academic and political circles - for the analysis and public discussion of familiar issues (eg multiple deprivation, locational disadvantage). In addition, social exclusion offers a more flexible analysis, moving beyond the material aspects of disadvantage (ie low incomes) to provide some 'understanding of the interconnectedness of the problems disadvantaged people, families and communities face and the need for an integrated and holistic policy response' (Randolph & Judd, 2000: 92). Having learnt how to destroy communities, the explanatory power and morally persuasive

arguments of the social exclusion concept have begun to provide some comparative answers on how these areas can be rebuilt (Fleming, 1997; Power, 1997).

The Parks Redevelopment had none of these ambitions. From the start, the problems faced by local community were of secondary importance. For the Housing Trust, the level of high-interest debt, the burden of rental subsidies, rising maintenance costs and falling grant allocations forced a change in emphasis from new home construction to estate redevelopment and debt retirement through asset sales. For Urban Pacific, the opportunity to be involved in a joint venture, where its project management, community consultation and marketing skills could be refined, offered a renewal program of national significance to establish its credentials within the redevelopment industry and a contractual fail-safe to protect its bottom line. For the local community, two decades of change had left it with a multitude of problems, of which refurbished homes, better services and job creation initiatives were at the forefront of resident demands.

During the consultation process, a number of workshops, information displays and public meetings were used to obtain and (hopefully) incorporate community views into the planning process, 'generate a sense of ownership' and provide a better 'understanding of the constraints' of the project. A public document was then prepared, entitled *Community Views* (October 1996), which provided a useful summary of the diversity of community ideas and the overall reaction to the Local Area Plan.<sup>22</sup> A range of opinions was recorded, covering a variety of issues: housing redevelopment, relocation procedures, safety and security measures, environmental improvements, shopping and community services, traffic and transport concerns, education and employment opportunities. Residents also provided information on what an 'ideal' Parks should look like, their level of attachment to the area, and any (future) inclinations toward homeownership.

However the major problem with the consultation strategy, was not the quality or diversity of the feedback received, but the interpretation and use of that information in the formulation of a Local Area Plan. The fact that almost 2 000 homes would be demolished, and just over 1 200 retained in the new development <sup>23</sup>, meant that a large slice of the public housing stock would be removed (and not to be replaced) and only a minority of existing tenants rehoused in the new and improved Parks.<sup>24</sup> However it must also be acknowledged that the longer-term impact of the project – particularly for those tenants living in the final stages of the

redevelopment – is far more problematic. Because of the ten to fifteen year development window, combined with the annual turnover of the housing stock, the number of long-term tenants (or those living in The Parks at the time of the original announcement) is going to be substantially reduced.<sup>25</sup> In terms of the development alternatives, the views expressed during the preparation of this research (and just before the project's announcement), appeared to support the development of a 'regeneration' as opposed to a 'renewal' program (Table 8.3: Living in The Parks).

**Table 8.3: Living in The Parks**

| <u>Advantages:</u>                   |            | <u>Disadvantages:</u>                  |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|--|------------|
| Close to Shopping (eg Arndale)       | 98         | Crime (eg breakins, vandalism)         | 48         |
| Quiet                                | 48         | Public Transport                       |            |
| Close to Public Transport            | 41         | (eg frequency, services, routes)       | 24         |
| Parks Community Centre               |            | Local Council Services <sup>26</sup>   | 22         |
| (eg Library, Health Service)         | 29         | Pollution (eg dump, local factories)   | 22         |
| Close to Schools                     | 28         | Social Problems / Mix                  | 22         |
| Close to Work                        | 28         | SAHT (eg homes, tenants, maint.)       | 18         |
| Close to City                        | 27         | Traffic (eg speeding, congestion)      | 13         |
| Local Council Services <sup>27</sup> | 24         | Poor Publicity / Reputation            | 12         |
| Close to family, friends             | 22         | Asian Influence                        | 11         |
| Good Neighbours                      | 15         | Shopping                               |            |
| Local Recreational Area's            |            | (eg lack of variety, no "local" shops) | 10         |
| (eg Regency Park, playgrounds)       | 13         | Poorly Planned                         | 8          |
| Parks Area (eg facilities, location) | 13         | Lack of local reserves / parks         | 6          |
| SAHT (eg rent, tenure, large block)  | 12         | Noisy                                  | 6          |
| Homeownership / Affordability        | 11         | Lack of Professional Services          | 5          |
| Close to Beach                       | 10         | Unsafe / Poor lighting                 | 5          |
| Close to Port Adelaide               | 9          | No work / Unemployment                 | 4          |
| Close to Professional Services       | 6          | Lack of Community Spirit               | 3          |
| Close to Place of Worship            | 4          | Lack of Childcare places               | 3          |
| Multicultural Area / Diversity       | 4          | Local Schools (eg class sizes)         | 3          |
| Redevelopment of Trust Homes         | 4          | No car                                 | 3          |
| Safe Place to Live                   | 4          | Removal of Local Letter Boxes          | 3          |
| Slower Traffic                       | 4          | Hard to get Insurance                  | 2          |
| Good Place to raise children         | 3          | Lower Property Values                  | 2          |
| Local Support / Social Groups        | 3          | Multi-Function Polis                   | 2          |
| Queen Elizabeth Hospital             | 3          | No night life, restaurants, cafe's     | 2          |
| Mature Area (eg older residents)     | 2          | Social Isolation for Older Residents   | 2          |
| Clean                                | 1          | Poor Drainage                          | 1          |
| Climate                              | 1          | School Closures                        | 1          |
| Close to Airport                     | 1          |  |            |
| Local MP                             | 1          |  |            |
| <b>Total:</b>                        | <b>469</b> |  | <b>263</b> |

Source: Community Survey, 1993-1994

The results of this survey, while reaffirming the place-specific and service attributes of living in The Parks, was also a clear indication that most residents were in favour of remaining in their own homes (a fact subsequently confirmed by Pioneer's own marketing research). The locational advantages of living in the north-western suburbs were made clear: local schools, shops, recreational spaces and employment centres were situated within easy reach of residents. In contrast, the problems of unemployment, crime, under-servicing, substance abuse, de-institutionalisation, planning mistakes and low incomes are principally social and economic problems unrelated to the type of housing, but directly related to the funding commitments and development philosophy of public institutions and political elites. That is, the conditions seemed to demand the implementation of a comprehensive social justice strategy, and not a redevelopment plan based on large-scale demolitions and the forced removal of tenants.

A comprehensive inventory of community resources, though referred to in the project brief, and incorporated into the Strategy plan (as physical assets, community services, client groups and key stakeholders) did not extend to involving the community - at least in a direct sense - in the redevelopment project. And while there was an acknowledged need and 'expectation' for continued community participation in the 'revitalisation' of The Parks, there would be no role in actively shaping the redevelopment strategy. The reason, which could not have escaped the private sector partner, is that many of the current residents will be living somewhere else at the completion of the project. Terms such as 'continued participation' or 'participatory processes' do not mean a great deal for those residents relocated to Taperoo, Kilburn, Elizabeth or Christie's Beach.

#### *8.4.2 Bringing Residents to the Centre*

One of the most important lessons from the regeneration experience in the United Kingdom, was that considerable resources - from training programs to local skills audits - needed to be provided to a local community well *before* a project was due to start. In the proposed Parks Redevelopment, one of the main problems with the community consultation process, was the inability of the Parks Community Voice to obtain dedicated funding for support staff (such as a part-time secretary), independent social research, or access to office and communications

equipment. Although some funding was eventually obtained, from the Parks Community Health Centre, the Housing Trust and the Department of Human Services, the annual budget of the group was limited to a few thousand dollars.<sup>28</sup> As a result, a small network of volunteers has been left to organise meetings and run the organisation from within their own homes.

In contrast, the Housing Trust and Pioneer received \$167,974 for its nine-month public consultation strategy (February-October 1996).<sup>29</sup> These funds were directed towards meeting a range of costs, from salaries (\$76,425) and consultants fees (\$9,200) to refreshments (\$600) and paid advertising (\$400). However the single largest item of expenditure, \$63 600, was devoted to renovating the Project Information Centre - one of the area's ubiquitous double-units - which was occupied for several months and then promptly closed down. The remainder of the budget, a total of \$17 749 was spent on briefing the local community, the hire of interpreters, and associated printing and accommodation costs.<sup>30</sup> There was no attempt made to train or directly involve the community in the oversight and management of the consultation strategy or in the negotiations between the State Government and Pioneer Projects.

#### *8.4.3 Strengthening Communities and Services at the Local Level*

Throughout the consultation phase, the Project team were quick to stress the benefits of the redevelopment project, particularly the overall 'change in image', the improvement in 'quality of life' factors and the strength and generosity of the local community. Unfortunately, local services will be one of the first casualties, with a changing tenant mix and the consequent fall in patronage, likely to force a reassessment of the level of service provision within some welfare agencies. While there have been promises to 'monitor' the rate of residential development and population growth by a Human Resources Planning Forum, it falls well short of an on-going funding commitment to maintain current service levels.

Secondly, there is also considerable doubt as to the level of influence the Project Team can exert on public-sector agencies, particularly when The Parks community was unable to stop the closure of its local High School, FACS office and Skillshare provider during the initial

consultation period. While following the official announcement in February 1999, specialist services at the only major hospital in the western suburbs, the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, are under constant threat of rationalisation or closure. Similarly, the Federal Government's push towards self-provisioning and user-pays services, from health to education, tends to reinforce the conclusion that any *additional* provision of services may have a price tag attached to its delivery. Indeed, if the majority of new residents are to swell the ranks of the existing home-ownership base, then not only will the mix of services change, but the demand (and ability to pay) for those services will undoubtedly change as well.

And finally, while a dispersal strategy will allow some residents to 'escape', there must be some doubt over the relative provision of services for relocated households, particularly for the large Vietnamese community, which have established both cultural and economic networks within The Parks. Through its establishment of a commercial district along Hanson Road, the Vietnamese small business community has invested heavily in building a client base and providing employment for local residents. Given the number of residents involved (2774 individuals or 18% of the population base in 1996), and the role of Vietnamese shops in providing a bilingual service and contact point, there must be some concern about the impact of the relocation process on their client base. While some local interest was expressed about the development of an 'Asian style market' (as a feature of the proposed village square), the expansion of the Arndale Shopping Centre will place some restrictions on the opportunities for neighbourhood retailing ventures or even the stand-alone corner shop.<sup>31</sup> Notwithstanding the number of residents who have purchased their homes, the younger population profile of the Vietnamese community (ie second-generation outflows) and the scale of the project may combine to undermine the profitability of some these businesses.

As a result, one of the more problematic issues for the Parks Urban Renewal Project will be preserving the status quo, with respect to the financial viability of existing small businesses within the redevelopment area. The majority of these businesses, such as the corner shop or delicatessen, have established a personal relationship with their clientele - characterised by lower than average incomes and restricted mobility. The profitability of small businesses can be extremely susceptible to even temporary disruptions to trade, which combined with the slender margins of competition, can be the difference between profit and loss (Wilson, 1966).<sup>32</sup> While over the longer term, changes to property rates and rental fees can be just as damaging to businesses trying to re-establish customer relationships in a market that has

changed substantially. In effect, the local business and employment structure may also be 'gentrified' (Hartman, 1980).

The relocation experience can also disrupt family routines, from work to school commitments, and place considerable stress on older tenants (See Fuller, 1995). However the greatest insult, apart from the devaluation of community knowledge, was the thoughtless portrayal of 'community' spirit – projected through self-help groups and informal networks – as if poverty was nothing more than 'being short of money'. Like all the other forgotten places and 'stressed-out' communities, The Parks remains on the edge, and while the vast majority of tenants have managed to 'hold the line', for those on the poverty line there is no enjoyment in the op-shops, the bargain hunting, the cheap food and the hand-me-downs. As Davies (1998) noted:

There is a terrible temptation, to which many on the left have succumbed, to pretend that the poor of the 1990s are still holding their heads amid adversity and struggling heroically – a temptation, in other words, to tell pretty lies about the poor, for fear the truth is too damaging to their reputation.<sup>33</sup>

And while most 'investigations' of the urban poor 'share the same language and the same cast of characters', from street gangs to the tenants from hell, the real story is that a significant proportion of the population do not enjoy the benefits of our 'comfortable and relaxed' society. Instead, the myth of the heroic 'Aussie battler' has been politically repackaged, even though residents of The Parks would *rather* not have to worry about the weekly ritual of how to feed the kids or find the rent money. However the legislative and funding requirements to strengthen income support measures remain a Commonwealth responsibility. Unfortunately, reform of the welfare system is currently seen as a political status symbol, based around liberal ideology and moral philosophies, where even the extent of poverty in Australia remains a victim of 'frame alignment' and benign neglect. Urban problems cannot continue to be seen in isolation from the broader macro-economic context in which 'wealth has been extracted and little returned' to all those forgotten places (Rubin, 1994: 411).<sup>34</sup>



#### 8.4.4 Target Economic Development Services in Disadvantaged Localities

A range of initiatives was considered by the Economic Development Advisory Committee, and incorporated into the Local Area Plan. But from the start of the consultation process, an emphasis was placed on wealth generation and job creation measures that were – in large part – determined by the background of committee members, so that the promotion of various schemes, infrastructure projects and business initiatives (within their own areas of expertise) formed a central component of the Economic Development agenda.<sup>35</sup>

While Business incubators, Cast Metal Precincts, Sports Institutes, the Adelaide-Darwin Rail Link, Exporters Clubs, elaborate SWOT / GAP analyses, small business networks and ethnic festivals were all suggested as viable options, their benefits were often visualised at a state-wide or macro-economic level. Adopting a familiar (and more conservative) regional focus, the emphasis was firmly on hallmark projects (underpinned by larger State and Federal Government Grants) which would be administered by 'outside' agencies such as WINNER, GNARDO and the Port-Adelaide Enfield Council. Locally based initiatives, funded and administered within The Parks, were generally overlooked, while programs designed to force employers (contracted during the project) to train and hire local labour were seen as unworkable.

However this decision, and the process that considered or rejected alternative strategies, cannot fault the commitment of the Housing Trust staff or urban professionals involved, many of whom have been asked to sell flawed or unpalatable policies in difficult circumstances. In many instances, the deficiencies of current programs are recognised, but without the funding or political resolve, the only alternative open to those at the 'coal face' is to inject 'a few scraps of social justice into a leaner and meaner public policy' (Peel, 1998). As Lenz (1988) remarked of Neighbourhood Development Organisation (NDO) professionals: 'they were good people with bad theory' (Lenz, 1988: 25).

The past twenty years have seen a number of publicly funded job creation initiatives, from the REDS (Regional Employment Development Scheme) and CEP (Community Employment Program) schemes of the 1970s and 1980s, to the establishment of the LCWP (Local Capital Works Program) in the early 1990s. While each was promoted as a *temporary* labour

market measure, with funds allocated to areas of higher-than-average unemployment, the emphasis on capital intensive projects, unskilled work of short duration, and poor administration tended to undermine their overall credibility and wider application (Rance, 1984). While some of these problems were partially resolved, with the announcement of the Keating Government's LCWP in 1992, the focus had been shifted from job creation and work experience to shoring-up the Labour Party's electoral fortunes within a host of recessed landscapes and forgotten places.<sup>36</sup>

However by loosening the sponsorship and wage restrictions of previous programs, and providing a relatively short period for project development and the submission of formal applications, the job creating potential of the LCWP had not only been lost, but openly acknowledged by council officers. For Local Government authorities, the LCWP was a tremendous opportunity to 'reach into its bottom drawers' and shower the state-based approval committees with 'a veritable plethora of worthwhile and well-costed projects' (*Council & Community, 1993:7*). The result, was a total funding package of \$35 million for South Australia (\$345m nationally) and a host of worthy additions to council owned parks, sporting grounds and historical sites.<sup>37</sup>

In the western suburbs of Adelaide, Woodville Council received a total \$2.9m under the LCWP, with the local newspaper, the *Weekly Times*, reporting that the funding would help 'soften the blow of recession' and 'create long-term jobs'. Although welcome news for a recessed economy, the Council also cautioned that "it was too early to tell how many people would be employed" and "how [its contractors] would go about employing them." The demand for work was under-estimated. Within a week, the council had received over five hundred written job applications and countless phone inquiries, which were totally unsolicited and based only on the *announcement* of the funding package. Unfortunately, this particular employment balloon, floated by Treasurer John Dawkins on Budget night, was then punctured by a government spokesman, who observed that people were largely wasting their time. The funding was destined for private contractors and was *not* a job creation measure.

In contrast, the establishment of Community Development Corporations in the United States and Urban Development Corporations in the United Kingdom provided a platform for distributing resources - from centrally funded programs - at the local level. And while the Parks Urban Renewal Project cannot, as a single redevelopment initiative, compete with the

nationally funded programs of the United States, France, Israel and the United Kingdom, there are several measures that could be taken to create employment opportunities for local residents. The common elements to these strategies, and the programs and initiatives that have achieved some notable successes are listed in the following table (Table 8.4).

**Table 8.4: Creating Employment Opportunities**

|                          |   |   |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Reinvestment</b>      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community Loan Funds</li> <li>Micro-Finance for Small Business Development</li> <li>Mutual Guarantee Societies</li> <li>Non-Profit Business Ventures</li> <li>Self-Employment Schemes</li> </ul>   |   |
| <b>Retraining</b>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Skills Audits</li> <li>Targeted &amp; Comprehensive Training Schemes               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Literacy &amp; Numeracy</li> <li>- 'Soft' &amp; 'Hard' Skills</li> </ul> </li> <li>Community based Recruitment &amp; Job Placement Services</li> <li>Retention &amp; Follow-up of Successful Candidates</li> </ul>   |   |
| <b>Redevelopment</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business Opportunities               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Home Insulation</li> <li>- Heating Systems</li> <li>- Home Security</li> <li>- Environmental Re-mediation<br/>(reuse of materials, waste clean-up, pollution control)</li> <li>- Landscaping &amp; Gardening</li> <li>- Repair &amp; Maintenance</li> </ul> </li> <li>Construction &amp; Trade Related Apprenticeships</li> <li>Sales &amp; Marketing</li> </ul> |   |
| <b>Service Provision</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Childcare Services</li> <li>Community Policing</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Labour Hire Firms</li> <li>Secretarial &amp; Data Processing Work</li> </ul> |

**Sources:** Joseph Rowntree Foundation (various); Anne E Casey Foundation (various); *Communities at Work* (Brotherhood of St Lawrence); Shelterforce Online.

In many ways, there is an over-riding moral responsibility to 'ensure that those excluded from participation in the market can acquire the expertise to enter the circle of exchange, and to develop their skills in order to make the best use of their capacities and resources' (Paccione,

1992: 418). As a result, alternative economic strategies, whether based on local self-sufficiency, community enterprises or linked developments, need to be well thought out, professionally administered and adequately resourced. This task will not be easily or inexpensively accomplished, and as an inherent process of trial and error, the difference between success and failure will be finely balanced. And if the issue can ever be summarised, it 'is not how to deal with the consequences of unemployment and lack of incomes, but how to deal with unemployment and lack of income themselves' (*Shelterforce Online*, R89).

At the time of its official announcement, the Project Director of the Parks Urban Renewal Project, Sue Crafter, announced that just 10% of the jobs would be specifically allocated to local residents during the \$340m project (*Weekly Times*, 17 February 1999). The majority of these jobs, just 25 positions, will be confined to construction related occupations, with residents to be retrained and made 'job ready' under a program developed by the Civic Skills Centre at Dry Creek (under the auspices of Employment National).<sup>38</sup>

However the reliance on construction jobs to provide the majority of employment positions may also create its own problems, as overseas experience has shown that the number of jobs created will often be quite modest (as indicated by the announcement), while the duration of employment can be equally limited (JRF, 1996a). Similarly, the role of local businesses and subcontractors will be important if employment programs are to be expanded into the service sector and the overall supplier network. Without these initiatives, in conjunction with a comprehensive training program, the local labour market will effectively be bypassed if a range of accessibility and recruitment issues – unique to the area – are not first addressed.

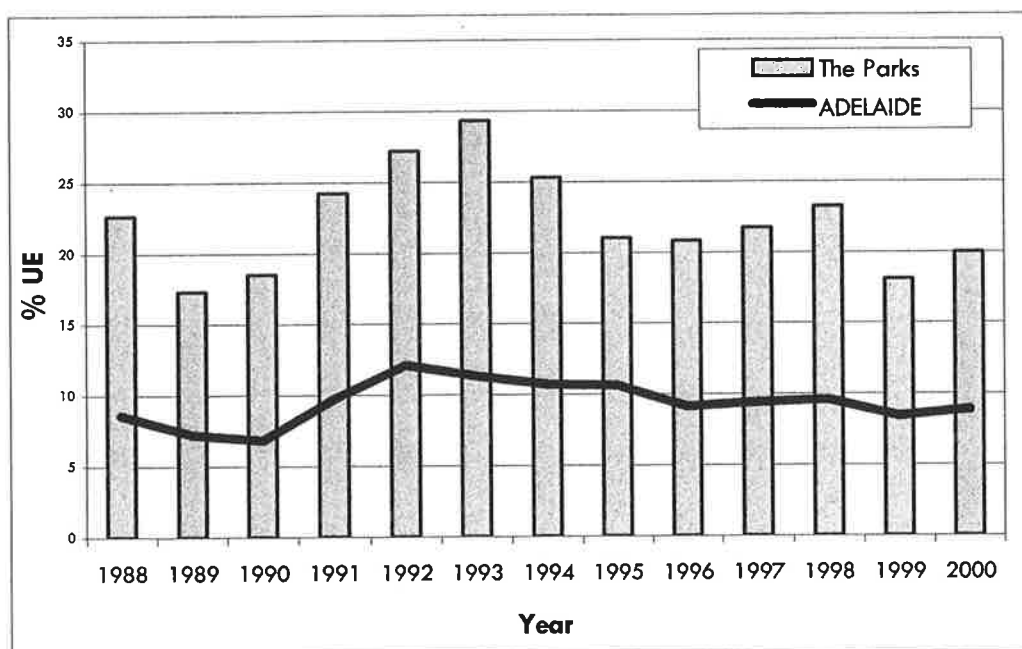
A failure to recognise the barriers to paid employment, and the reliance on economic growth to somehow 'trickle down' to those without work, has the potential to seriously undermine the project's modest job creation initiatives. As Chapter 6 (Labour) revealed, considerable barriers exist before a person who has been unemployed for twelve months or more can successfully re-enter the labour market. Issues such as low self-esteem, inadequate skills, racial discrimination, restricted mobility, inadequate childcare facilities, and access to training and job placement services will have an influence on the success or otherwise of a person finding and then retaining a job. And having considered these issues, are there even enough jobs to be found in the local labour market? Indeed, the occupational profile of the area

has, in the past decade, systematically excluded local labour from new positions created in the retail, sales and distribution firms of Regency Park and Wingfield.

The impact of a spatial mismatch phenomenon should not be taken lightly, particularly with a local unemployment rate of 20% in March 2000 (DEETYA, 2000). As a result, it would appear that without a serious attempt to *link* the redevelopment with a comprehensive range of employment initiatives requiring their contractual observance, the overall employment gains might well be negligible. In contrast, a well-managed redevelopment project that is able to generate its own employment opportunities, should take advantage and expand the opportunities presented (*Shelterforce Online*, No.102).<sup>39</sup>

However as a time-series analysis of local unemployment rates reveals (Figure 8.3), the gains from any significant improvement in the labour market (through either general economic growth or the influence of labour market programs) can just as easily be reversed. For example, the modest employment gains experienced in the late nineteen eighties were immediately lost in the 1990/91 recession and have never been recovered. Indeed, The

**Figure 8.3: Unemployment in The Parks & Adelaide, 1988-2000**



Source: DEETYA (1988-2000) *Small Area Labour Markets – Australia (various)*

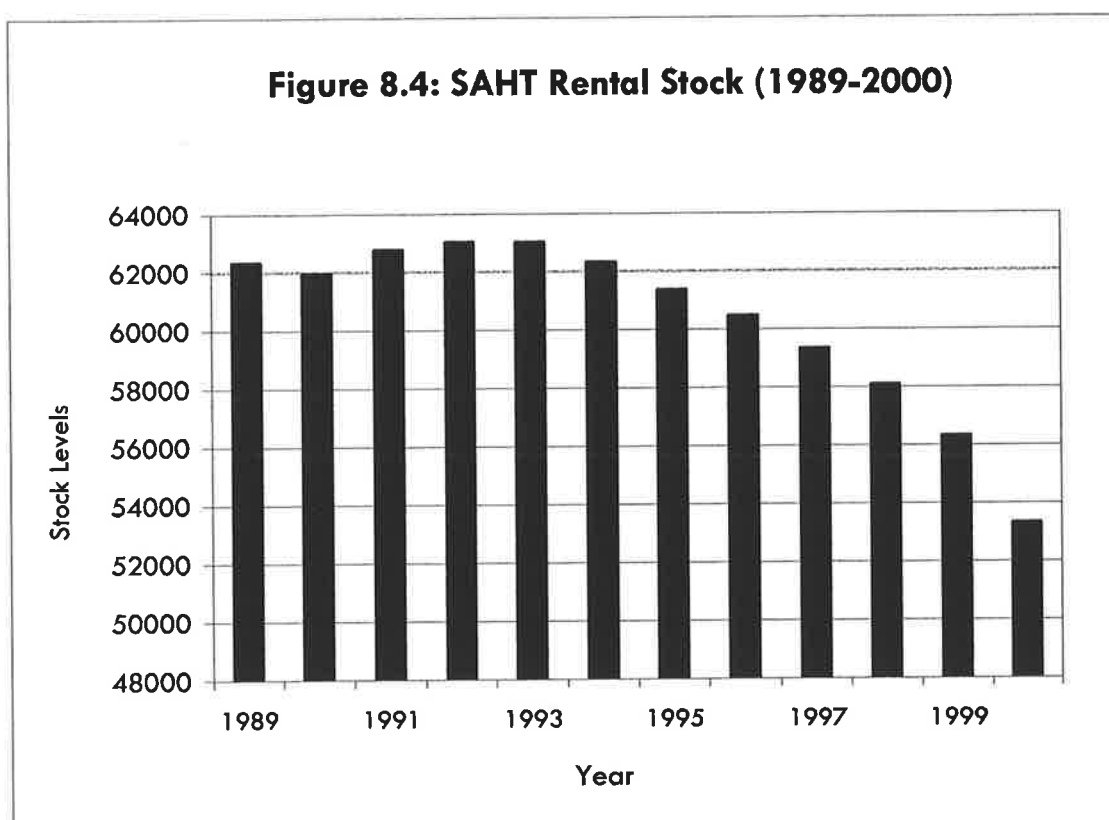
Parks was one the first area's to experience the recession and one of the last to show any noticeable improvement. The task of employment creation, particularly over the longer term, remains a difficult one, as even a slight downturn within the national economy can have a disastrous effect. Not surprisingly, this makes the importance of linked development schemes, which can maintain a longer-term demand for goods and services, a significant tool for job creation and 'recession-proofing' those residents employed on the project. However, problems that have taken a generation or more to evolve, will take just as long to resolve and require a resource commitment far and above what has been allocated to the project.

### **8.5 Goodbye to The Parks, Welcome to 'Westwood'**

With the formal announcement of the redevelopment project, the fate of The Parks and its public housing tenants has been decided. The Parks will itself disappear, even its name to be replaced by the new development of 'Westwood', complete with a tree-lined boulevard and promotional signage to 'reflect the new look and feel of the community'. Unfortunately, most of the 'community' will be forced to move, with some of the more fortunate tenants being relocated within the public system, while others will have to face an acute shortage of low-cost accommodation in the private rental market (*Advertiser*, 8 May 1999). And despite the allure of homeownership, the wage income and financial security required to finance a mortgage, will exclude all but the most fortunate and solvent of households, both of which are in short supply in The Parks.<sup>40</sup>

For the moment, the opportunities to enter and remain within the public system will diminish, with not only the level of public investment being reduced but also the overall stock of homes to remain in public ownership. And while the State Government has given a commitment to expanding the Housing Trust's building program (*Advertiser*, 12 February 1999), with six hundred new homes to be built over the next three years, this modest initiative will be unable to compensate for the overall *reduction* in the housing stock since 1992 (Figure 8.4). This situation has been exacerbated by the Trust's continuing sales and progressive purchase programs, which have contributed to substantial stock reductions, with over 10 500 homes having left public ownership in the ten years between 1989/90 and 1998/99.<sup>41</sup> And with

the overall reduction in the stock, the problem of accommodating the 30,100 rental applicants (as of 30 June 1999) becomes more problematic, particularly if more homes are needed for Category One transfers with an accelerated estate redevelopment program.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the impact of a series of housing policy reforms, from the segmentation of waiting lists and changes to tenant eligibility requirements (ie asset & needs testing), will tend to reinforce the Housing Trust's growing reputation as a 'haven for the poor'.<sup>43</sup> These reforms, though designed to limit eligibility to those households in greatest need, may also have the unintended effect of deepening the economic marginalisation and social dislocation of Housing Trust tenants (of whom 89.1% required some form of rental assistance in 1998).



**Source:** *Housing Trust in Focus* (1999/00) SAHT

At the general policy level, two questions continue to dominate the housing debate: who is in need of housing assistance and what is the best means of providing that assistance (Winter & Stone, 1998: 155). The answers to these questions, with respect to rental subsidies or capital grants for new housing, will determine the extent to which the residents of The Parks (and

those within the public system more generally) will be accommodated in the future. However with the messianic emphasis on zero-tolerance, stricter regulations and means testing of current and prospective tenants, coupled with an overall reduction in housing assistance, the future of the public housing system is far from certain. For residents of The Parks, the opportunity for a coherent, longer-term strategy of urban and regional development has been lost, the place is already being dismantled and the longer term social, economic and psychological costs of the redevelopment still to be calculated (Plate 8.1 & 8.2).

And while there is no support for a return to the large, poorly planned and inadequately serviced estates of the 1950s and 1960s, there is also no guarantee that the 'outcomes for residents arising from the diversification of tenure and social mix outweigh the potential for developing cohesive communities through regeneration, community development and housing management strategies' (Randolph & Judd, 1999: 18). Critically, there still remains the problem of how to provide modestly appointed, low-cost rental accommodation to those in desperate need – particularly if the private rental sector is unable or unwilling to make up the difference. For those on the margins of paid employment, or without the protection of life-time tenure in the public housing system, this is not the most consoling of scenarios.

## **8.6 Discussion**

In a very real sense, communities such as the Parks could not survive (at least in an economic sense) if the very means of earning a living was being undermined - and this applies just as much to the unemployed as to the working poor. It is this reason, combined with the uncertainty over the redevelopment process and where people might live in the future, that sends worrying signals about where we are going as a society. Unfortunately, the question that was never answered, is where do communities such as the 'Parks' fit in? Are they to be considered an asset or a liability, a community in need of a helping hand, or one to be frowned upon for their failure to adapt? As Mark Peel eloquently observes:





**Plate 8.1 & 8.2: Redeveloping The Parks: Burnt out and Boarded Up.**

These double units in Lachlan Street, Ferryden Park were the targets of vandalism attacks and burglaries when most of the residents (from Stage One) were moved out. While a private security service was employed, the residents who remained felt like hostages in their own homes.

*Source: Simon Neldner, 1999*



reinventing Australia must involve finding a place for those who have suffered most from what Australia is becoming and who have paid the price - without compensation - for an efficient future. The first question to be asked of any plan, any design, any policy, must be who wins and who loses. Ultimately, we must be willing to spend our money on resuscitating other people's fortunes, rather than simply securing our own.<sup>44</sup>

Following the release of a feasibility study, and having pre-determined its guiding objectives, the Parks Urban Renewal Project will find it increasingly difficult to solve issues of economic restructuring and social polarisation, particularly if the real problems, such as public and corporate disinvestment, continue to be redefined as questions of housing 'choice', service 'efficiencies' and consumer 'preferences'. For local residents, the issue of housing choice is a debatable point, as more expensive options can hardly be considered, while changes to the operational 'efficiency' of the Trust, such as an overall reduction in public housing, may only reduce the options for tenants forced into a conciliation process (Badcock, 1996b).

Ultimately, and as the feasibility study has revealed, there is an urgent need for a more strategic, longer-term perspective in redressing urban disadvantage, not only in developing better planning practices (Lucy, 1994) and more innovative public policies (McGregor & McConnachie, 1995), but to revive the notion of a social contract, while maintaining a uniquely Australian commitment to a fairer, more inclusive society. If The Parks is 'to be recognised nationally and internationally as a leading example in the considerate and competent rehousing and relocation of public tenants' - as the urban futurologists would have us believe - then some serious rethinking will have to take place (*Parks Urban Renewal Project*, 1996: 25).

And finally, with the disappearance of urban policy measures from the national agenda, and the potential for welfare 'reform' to deepen the economic marginalisation and social dislocation of residents, planners and urban practitioners may have to embrace the oppositional struggles which they previously observed from a distance (JAPA, Winter 1998). As Hugh Stretton argued in his seminal work, *Ideas for Australian Cities*: 'since planners can't in fact be neutral, they might as well work for whatever they believe to be right and good. For planners as for others, public service does not absolve the servant's social conscience. It often makes high demands on it'. If we have learnt anything, it is that 'social exclusion and

neighbourhood decline have complex geographies', where the solutions need to come from within, because as Duncan MacLennan states, the tenants may be the only ones who can save the redevelopment process in the end (*Proc. National Urban Renewal Seminar, 1998: 324*).

- <sup>1</sup> Coe J., (1994) *What a Carve Up!* Penguin London p312
- <sup>2</sup> Peel M., (1995a) *Good Times, Hard Times: The Past and the Future in Elizabeth* Melbourne University Press Melbourne p206
- <sup>3</sup> *South Australian Parliamentary Hansard* (1997) 'Parks Redevelopment' A Reply by the Minister for Housing and Urban Development, Hon. Stephen Baker, to a question by Murray De Laine, M.P (Price). South Australian Parliament Adelaide 4 March 1997: 1106
- <sup>4</sup> The Trust's finances have been further eroded, with additional funding cuts (in real terms) of 42% since 1990 (which includes a \$15m or 1% cut over the next four years of the CSHA) [Ref: *Advertiser* 11 January 1999: 2]. In addition, the latest triennial review of the Trust's operations, undertaken by Cooper & Lybrand, has recommended up to 17 000 homes should be sold or demolished, with limits on tenancy, and the imposition of market rents. The severity of these cuts, given the current target of 5 000 sales, would result in an overall stock reduction to around 45 000 homes within 15 years [Ref: *Advertiser* 27 March 1998].
- <sup>5</sup> This appeared to be acknowledged in the strategy plan, *Investing in People, Housing & Land*, where the financial viability of the project 'may over-ride other factors' (p13).
- <sup>6</sup> See: *Weekly Times* 10 January 1996: 11. With the closure of registrations of interest in March 1995, the public announcement of the successful tenderer was delayed until December 1995.
- <sup>7</sup> There must also be a recognition, that a consultative framework based on community empowerment and joint-decision making principles may have been unworkable, given the nature and expressed aims of the project. In addition, the private sector partner, Urban Pacific (formerly Pioneer Projects Australia), would have been placed at a material disadvantage, if additional funds and a lengthy extension of the consultative period were instituted. That is, the nature of the project (and the State Government's support for an alliance contracting model to fund and manage the redevelopment) effectively precluded a consultative model that may have undermined the ability of Urban Pacific to safeguard its own position and financial interest in the project.
- <sup>8</sup> Stevenson D., (1998) 'Consultation and Participation' *Australian Planner* 35(2): 100.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Parks: Investing in People, Housing & Land* (1996) Parks Urban Renewal Project p3
- <sup>10</sup> References: *Weekly Times* 7 August 1996; 10 September 1997; 4 February 1998; 11 February 1998; 11 March 1998; 27 May 1998; 7 October 1998; 9 December 1998. There were also reported instances of vandalism attacks, with the Trust's relocation program leaving homes vacant for longer periods (or in expectation of the project going ahead). See: *Weekly Times* 28 January 1998; 28 October 1998.
- <sup>11</sup> Personal conversation with Derek Ball, Secretary of the Parks Community Voice Redevelopment Action Group, February 1999.
- <sup>12</sup> Black G., (1998) 'National Overview of the Approach of State Housing Authorities to Urban Renewal' in Badcock B., Harris K., (1998) *Revitalising Housing Areas: Proceedings of the 1998 National Renewal Seminar Conference Proceedings* AHURI Melbourne p65
- <sup>13</sup> The 'partnering charter', though receiving the support of key stakeholders, was not a legally binding document. Similarly, the establishment of a Community Consultative Team – to replace the Community Reference Group - had no formal or legal status in ongoing negotiations with Pioneer Projects.
- <sup>14</sup> Crafter S., (1998) 'Questions from the floor' in Badcock B., Harris K., (1998) *Revitalising Housing Areas: Proceedings of the 1998 National Renewal Seminar Conference Proceedings* AHURI Melbourne p203
- <sup>15</sup> Warwick Smith, seconded to the Project Team, put it more succinctly at a Shelter SA Seminar in June 1995 at the Parks Community Centre, when it was revealed that the Project team "don't have a brief to negotiate". In other words, the basics of the plan being presented to local residents were not open for revision.
- <sup>16</sup> References: *Advertiser* 17 September 1997: 14; *Weekly Times* 28 October 1998: 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Although membership numbers have fluctuated over the last four years, monthly meetings generally attracted between 50 and 100 residents.
- <sup>18</sup> Twelvetrees A., (1989) *Organising for Neighbourhood Development* Avebury p168.
- <sup>19</sup> Four State Government Ministers have held the Housing portfolio since the announcement of The Parks project in November 1994: John Oswald, Scott Ashenden, Stephen Baker (as Housing & Urban Development Minister's) and Dean Brown (as the new Minister for Human Services). In addition, Urban Pacific P/L (formerly Pioneer Projects Australia) was purchased by Macquarie Bank in 1998.
- <sup>20</sup> Astonishingly, the Government's Official Press Release also went on to claim that the area was 'already catered for by transport, communications, education and other infrastructure', despite the rationalisation of services at the Parks Community Centre and the closure of the local High School. In addition, the establishment of a Sales and Display precinct in Phase One, will actually result in an overall reduction in recreational space, with a substantial section of Ferryden Park Primary School's green space being annexed to form a new access road and entrance point for the project. For those residents of Glasgow and Nairn Streets (Ferryden Park), who had in the past enjoyed the peace and quiet of a cul-de-sac, with access to Ferryden Park Primary School, will now

have a major access road (with its attendant traffic), a new housing development and a substantially reduced acreage of local recreational space.

<sup>21</sup> And because of the uncertain evolution of the contractual terms, and the relative risks involved, there is some doubt as to the final number of homes retained by the Trust and available for the return of existing tenants. The only undertaking given by the State Government is that *not more* than twenty-five percent of homes would remain in public ownership at the completion of the project. This has since been reduced to not more than *twenty three percent*.

<sup>22</sup> The community consultation strategy adopted in the Parks consisted of the following elements: a Housing Trust Survey of 109 residents and community groups in August/September 1995; a marketing survey by McGregor Marketing; twenty eight in-depth interviews with key stakeholders; a series of neighbourhood discussion groups; a number of letter drops, fact sheets, information displays, paid advertising, bilingual resources and the use of interpreters, consultation sessions, response sheets, media releases and telephone hotlines (Refer: *Community Views, Pioneer Projects / SAHT October 1996*).

<sup>23</sup> This includes 260 refurbished double-units and 505 new homes, with the remainder being either previously refurbished or built by the Trust between 1979 and 1998. [Ref: Speech by the Hon John Olsen, Official Launch of the Project, Ferryden Park, SA 4<sup>th</sup> February 1999].

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Sue Crafter (Urban Pacific PL) and Derek Ball (Parks Community Voice), 5AN Radio, Monday 15<sup>th</sup> February 1999.

<sup>25</sup> In 1996, the average turnover rate of the housing stock in The Parks was 16.7%. The highest rate recorded was in Angle Park (19.9%) and the lowest in Woodville Gardens (15.1%) (*Parks Urban Renewal Project, 1996: 151*). There is also the issue of an ageing population, and where the progression of the redevelopment project may provide the opportunity for older residents to transfer into more suitable accommodation or longer-term care. However this also raises issues of adequate service levels, appropriate home-care staff and specialist facilities for those residents who will remain in The Parks: either as private home owners or as public tenants.

<sup>26</sup> The advantages for local council services included: Circle Line Bus Service; Recycling; Traffic Calming & General Maintenance (mowing, gardening, street repairs, litter removal).

<sup>27</sup> The disadvantages for local council services included: General Maintenance & upkeep; vermin control; lack of street trees; parking zones; refuse collection; roundabouts; no bikeways; lack of facilities (services for youth & the disabled).

<sup>28</sup> Despite several requests, no funds were provided by the Port Adelaide-Enfield Council, whose Community Grants Program was specifically dedicated to providing resources to local community groups and sporting organisations. However the council did find \$7.5 million dollars in cash and 'in-kind' assistance as its contribution to the Parks Urban Renewal Project. Conditional upon an 'infrastructure agreement', the funding is to be unindexed, with \$1m in cash and \$6.5m in 'in-kind' capital works (eg drainage, road construction, streetscaping and traffic management). On the council's own figures, the redevelopment should provide an additional \$4.55m in rate revenue over 15 years and \$654,000 (pa) after 2013. However it was also recognised, that the level of revenue would be determined by both the sale prices achieved and the projected increase in property valuations (and hence rateable revenue) over the life of the project. [Reference: Report No. M/0204 1997, Council Minutes 10<sup>th</sup> September 1997; 30 September 1997; and 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1997].

<sup>29</sup> An additional \$75,000 was also made available by the Federal Government prior to the 1996 Federal election to undertake a Financial Analysis of the Parks Urban Renewal Project [Ref: *Advertiser* 1 February 1996: 8].

<sup>30</sup> While these costs may, in comparison to similar projects be entirely reasonable, the situation often arose where members of the community were asked to meet their own costs - particularly members of the four Advisory Groups (who were not representing a particular Government Agency, business group or non-government organisation). For example, at meetings of the Economic Development Advisory Group, it was not uncommon for public service and privately employed members to use a government funded or company car to travel to and from meetings. While these costs appear to be insignificant, the community was often asked to meet its own expenses whilst attending and participating in the various committees and public meetings.

<sup>31</sup> The Hindmarsh-Woodville Amendment Plan (Draft Report) proposed a significant expansion of Arndale Shopping Centre, with an additional 17,000 square metres of retail space by the year 2008 (based on the expectation that average incomes and the number of households will increase over time due to the redevelopment project). In addition, new developments, such as a cinema complex and the location of regional service points - combined with the centre being a major bus interchange- will strengthen Arndale's position as the premier shopping and entertainment focus in the north-western suburbs.

<sup>32</sup> In Australia, there are some indications that small businesses have been adversely affected by sudden disruptions to street trade and traffic flows as a result of planning decisions (ie highway bypasses). For example, a change in the population profile of St.Kilda, a suburb of Melbourne, has resulted in a significant number of the established retailers being unable to cater for the new breed of residents, who are being

serviced by a range of trendier stores and specialist shops. [Ref: 'St Kilda feels the squeeze of new money' Age 18 January 1994: 6]

<sup>33</sup> Davies N., (1998) 'There Is Nothing Natural About Poverty' *New Statesman*, 6 November 1998: 32

<sup>34</sup> One such alternative, suggested by Mark Latham, is to reform the nature of welfare provision in those areas experiencing chronic problems, by first combining the available resources within the fixed 'silos of Government expenditure' (ie from police to employment services), and then redistributing those funds through a coordinated, integrated service delivery system to target the areas in greatest need. [Ref: Latham M., 'Making Welfare Work' *Policy Spring* 12(3) 1996]. This system would, in some ways mimic the successful CDEP schemes in Aboriginal communities, where all of a community's unemployment benefits are 'pooled' to provide the capital for local business ventures, equipment purchases and operating expenses (which in turn provide the employment base for a local community).

<sup>35</sup> One of the main problems was the composition of the committee, for which members were drawn from several agencies, local businesses and non-government agencies within the region. These being: Port Adelaide-Enfield Council, WINNER (Western Inner Northern Network for Local Economic Recovery), the local CES (Enfield & Woodville), Small Retailers Association, Regency TAFE, Gerard Industries, OLMA (Office of Labour Market Adjustment) and the Business Enterprise Centre (Port Adelaide). As a result, there was no clear idea of how to implement a range of suggested initiatives and where to source the necessary funds – particularly when regional programs were being discontinued by the incoming Howard Government. In the end, the 'safe' position was to activate existing regional strategy plans and leave the joint management of the project to any of the alphabet-soup organisations left standing after the Budget. Of these plans, there were a range of strategy documents on public or limited release which guided the direction of discussion: *Metropolitan Adelaide Industrial Land, Development and Employment Study* SA Dept. Environment & Planning 1992; *Regional Economic Development Strategy: Final Report* Local Government Focus Group-MFP Australia-Mack Consulting Volume 1&II June 1993; *A Study of a Regional Export Extension Service for the Cities of Enfield, Hindmarsh/Woodville and Port Adelaide* Final Report Instate PL August 1994; *North West Adelaide Strategic Plan* DHUD-MFP Australia March 1995; *City of Enfield Plan Amendment Report* SA Development Act (c1996). In addition, there were also numerous employment and industry documents in circulation as a result of the State Planning Review (which tended to reinforce a regional view of Adelaide, dividing the city into a northern, central and southern zone).

<sup>36</sup> As the LCWP Guidelines made clear, each proposal should aim to 'involve high local content in terms of labour, goods and services'; be 'strategically important to economic and social development'; and 'have early commencement dates'. (LCWP Guidelines, 18 August 1992: 2). Although the criteria for selection was heavily weighted in favour of those areas with 'above average levels of unemployment', the job-creating (or unemployment reducing) potential of these funds was never mentioned in the official documentation.

<sup>37</sup> While the problems experienced by earlier CEP schemes were reduced, such as the emphasis on labour-intensive projects (where 50% of funds were devoted to wage and award costs), the LCWP was directed – almost exclusively – to the 'prompt construction, restoration or enhancement of economic and social infrastructure'. The result, was a number of upgraded parks, urban wetlands, effluent drains, heritage works, irrigation systems, car parks, improved signage, tourism centres, bike trails, footpaths, playgrounds, street level improvements (eg lighting, furniture), paving projects and a \$600,000 par three golf course.

<sup>38</sup> The announcement of the jobs initiative was an extension of the Master Builders Group Training Scheme, which was first used – in conjunction with the Trust – in the Hillcrest & Mitchell Park Housing Development's to 'provide practical and theoretical training for out-of-trade apprentices'. [References: *The Hillcrest Housing Development: Building a Future for Young Apprentices* & *The Mitchell Park Housing Development: Building a Future for Young Apprentices* (Both published by the SAHT)]. In addition, a program of similar size was launched in November 1998 for construction industry traineeships to be reserved for the young unemployed in the Salisbury North and Peachy Belt redevelopment schemes (See: *Advertiser* 19 November 1998). However, these programs can only be considered a start, as the northern suburbs had a combined unemployment rate of 12.2% in September 1998 or a total of 6713 people classified as 'unemployed' (DEET, 1998c). The scheme being proposed for the Parks will be of similar structure and duration, with the major concession being the selection and training of local candidates. In contrast, the majority of the Trust's maintenance and repair work will remain outside the reach of these schemes, with contracts continuing to be awarded by public tender (without the requirement of hiring local residents or purchasing products locally). Furthermore, the Trust's maintenance program will be managed by John Hindmarsh from 1999, having been out-sourced in a four year, \$80m contract [Ref: *Advertiser* 16 November 1998: 8] and will further restrict the public sector from leveraging its resources to establish local employment initiatives. Indeed, the decision of Port-Enfield Council to provide \$6.5m of 'in-kind' assistance, through capital works spending, may also exclude local businesses, preferring council labour and their own preferred contractors.

<sup>39</sup> However even with the backing of legislative authority, such as the application of Section 3 provisions under the US Housing and Urban Development Act (1968), which requires recipients of public funds to target low income people for jobs and economic opportunities, the results can be less than spectacular. For example, there

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have sometimes been large discrepancies between the spirit of the law and its application, with figures reported of less than 3.1 jobs for each \$1 million in one such project.

<sup>40</sup> The problems of mortgage assistance schemes, as applied to low income households, have been well documented. In the case of Rosewood Village, the application of a 'last resort' loan strategy (with the risk underwritten by the Building Better Cities Program) to public housing tenants, resulted in default rates of 5% and payment difficulties on a further 25% of the client base (September 1997). The extent of the problem was further highlighted with the common practice of having loan-to-valuation ratios of 99%. Almost immediately, clients experienced problems meeting payments, while other bills (such as council rates and motor registration) went unpaid. In effect, many clients were effectively being setup, with no monetary reserves or the financial security of long-term paid employment to cover unexpected expenses. It may be advisable to consider Kemeny (1981), who remarked: 'each successive attempt to extend homeownership to more and more households necessarily involves the use of larger and larger subsidies and inducements in order to produce ever smaller additions to the home-owning population, while as a result further aggravating dissatisfaction with renting among remaining tenants' (Kemeny, 1981: 128). A general rule of thumb is that there will always be a group for which homeownership is an unattractive, uneconomical or inappropriate means of tenure. Trying to create opportunities where they simply don't exist is bound to fail, be very expensive or both.

<sup>41</sup> For the period 1989/90 to 1998/99, the sales and progressive purchase schemes of the Trust involved the following stock: 827 (1989/90); 1018 (90/91); 926 (91/92); 730 (92/93); 1362 (93/94); 1376 (94/95); 968 (95/96); 1044 (96/97); 1201 (97/98); and 1090 (98/99) [See: SAHT, *Housing Trust in Focus 1998/99*].

<sup>42</sup> With the release of the 1997/98 annual report of the Housing Trust, estate redevelopment programs are continuing in Mitchell Park, Hillcrest and Elizabeth North, with a number of new projects to be announced (or under-way) in The Parks and Salisbury North. In addition, new projects are being considered for Windsor Gardens / Gilles Plains, Taperoo/Osborne, Elizabeth South/Elizabeth Grove, and the Peachy Belt (SAHT, 1997/98b: 36).

<sup>43</sup> The introduction of housing policy reforms in South Australia will limit eligibility to the Housing Trust waiting list, with those joining after 25 February 1998 being subjected to both an income, assets and needs test. The waiting list will be further segmented into four groups, ranging from those in urgent need of housing to those tenants wishing to move for personal preference reasons. For current tenants, there will also be an ongoing monitoring and income review, with those households above 75% of average weekly earnings (for three consecutive years) required to consider homeownership or face a 3% premium on market rents. These changes will come into effect in March 2000 (eligibility test) and September 2002 (tenancy review) respectively.

<sup>44</sup> Peel M., (1995c) 'The Urban Debate: From 'Los Angeles' to the Urban Village' in Troy P., (ed) (1995) *Australian Cities: Issues, Strategies and Policies for Urban Australia in the 1990s* Cambridge University Press Melbourne p64

## CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

While any scribbler can challenge dominant metaphors, it generally takes a movement to dislodge them ..... it is not enough for a movement to have logic or justice or even millions of people on its side; it has to tell powerful stories about how society has changed in the past and how it could change in the future.<sup>1</sup>

Fred Block

Every intellectual whose *métier* is articulating and representing specific views, ideas, ideologies, logically aspires to making them work in a society. The intellectual who claims only to write for him or herself, or for the sake of pure learning, or abstract science, is not to be, and *must not be*, believed.<sup>2</sup>

Edward W. Said

You're a witness. You're always standing around watching what's happening. You're scribbling in your book what other people do. You have to get in the middle of it. Take sides. Make a contribution to the fight.<sup>3</sup>

*Biloxi Blues (1988)*

### 9.0 Conclusion

For almost twenty years, the metier of radical research, which had consistently challenged the proposition that the market 'knows best', provided an important source of political activism and economic critique. However by the 1990s, concerns were raised as to why 'the working class and other disadvantaged communities' were 'curiously absent from the landscapes' of postmodernity (Chouinard, 1994: 3). While the investigation of cultural difference, from gender to sexual identity, were overdue reminders of a more complex, textured social reality, it was also an untimely distraction, as the seductive narratives of the *new right* were overlooked or pushed to the margins of academic engagement (Badcock, 1996a). It has been the objective of this thesis to explore this divide, and to make a small contribution in reuniting the 'the economic with the social, cultural and political, so as to give a sufficiently rounded account of social reality' (Day & Murdoch, 1992: 84).

In The Parks, social exclusion and neighbourhood decline have complex geographies, where the intersection of housing and labour markets have both concentrated and deepened the disadvantage of its residents. While Australia has avoided the racial and employment



divides of the segregated ghetto in the United States (Wilson 1987; Kasarda, 1990; Jencks & Peterson, 1991; Wilson, 1999), there is enough evidence to suggest that the residualisation of the public housing sector, as 'havens for the poor', has concentrated disadvantage in such a way that it has been 'both a product of, and a contributing factor to, the generation of social exclusion' (Randolph & Judd, 1999: 7). As a result, there is no 'magic-bullet' solution to these problems, as they exist on a multiple of levels, from the macro-economic sphere of the nation-state to the personal needs of the individual, and whose impacts are both spatially, socially, culturally and economically *uneven*. In many ways, it has been far easier to point to the limitations of current policies, than to suggest alternatives to our system of welfare and service provision or interrupting two decades of persistent and multiple deprivation.

This creates a considerable challenge for both political and intellectual elites, as *managing* (not necessarily solving) the problems of disadvantaged communities will require a radical overhaul of the current assessment, entitlement and delivery of social services in Australia. In part, this will involve a *re-weighting* of current policies, which have neglected area-based policies in favour of welfare reforms targeting individual needs (and responsibilities) under the guise of mutual obligation (Badcock, 1998). As Latham (1996) noted, 'disadvantaged citizens and communities now have a different set of needs, less predictable, less suited to supply side planning and passive welfarism' (Latham, 1996: 18).

While Latham (1996) has re-focussed the debate, with a call for a range of cross-sectoral solutions from place-management to customisation, the service structure and delivery systems needed to support such a radical reorganisation of the public sector will (in many instances) have to be reinvented. In the case of The Parks, the closure of the local High School, the rationalisation (and regionalisation) of services, and the introduction of the Job Network, has *already* fractured local agency networks. Indeed, the decision to outsource the provision of welfare services and support mechanisms has undermined the effectiveness of either a place-management *supremo* (Latham, 1996) or the recently instituted Area Coordination Team's in the United Kingdom (SEU, 2000). In addition, the creation of 'market' opportunities and the competitive tendering for service contracts, has started to unravel both the accountability of these organisations (previously covered by the Ombudsman, the Auditor-General and public sector legislation) and maintaining the 'ethic of care' in service delivery (Badcock, 1998; People Together Project, 1998).

In The Parks, citizenship has been the 'first casualty'. This does not suggest a deliberate policy of misinformation, as the political and economic motives for a demolition and dispersal strategy were never a secret, but rather the unwillingness to even consider the active involvement of Parks residents in the future management of their community. By way of contrast, the rhetoric of community leadership and mentoring programs – as recently envisaged by the Prime Minister's regional policy statement – does not actually extend to providing the basics. That is, the empowerment of communities through local capacity building, the development of genuine service partnerships and *local* representation that is both balanced, accountable and adequately resourced. Without these objectives, the reliance on self-help programs and motivation courses for disadvantaged communities is regional policy on the cheap.

Instead, policy intervention needs to be 'closer to the ground' (Power, 1996). This goes to the heart of both citizenship and partnership issues and how they are to be defined at the local level. While the established political parties may not appreciate a fully mobilised, well resourced and engaged citizenry, it remains the only practical and realistic alternative to re-engage a community that has become disenchanted with local, street level concerns being consistently ignored by their parliamentary representatives. The electoral success of local candidates and independents has been one indication of this trend, particularly in South Australia and Victoria, but this cannot be expected to overcome the political resistance to a national urban policy of substance.

Despite the Howard Government's antipathy, and the former Labour Government's consideration of urban and regional development programs, there has to be a deliberate and bipartisan move beyond the demonstration projects and *ad hoc* policy initiatives of the 1980s and 1990s. While a coordinated and coherent urban policy seems a remote possibility, such is the political ambivalence towards interventionist and expensive area-based programs, the 'concerns with regionalism and localism (and the policies to match) are perennial because the issues of space and place are so important to us in our personal lives' (Stilwell, 1994).

In terms of the public housing system, the 'abandonment of the social contract' that has funded the provision of low cost rental accommodation, has proceeded in an atmosphere of political acquiescence, where the overall effect has been a process of debt retirement

through asset sales, redevelopment of older estates without a comparable program of stock replacement, and where a policy of targeting those most in need has indirectly concentrated disadvantage in the most under-resourced estates. To meet these new obligations, the Trust has been left under-resourced, while 'nationally the confidence in the capacity of public housing as an arm of public policy has been under relentless challenge' (Orchard, 1998: 8). Instead, the emphasis has been placed on housing assistance measures, funded through the welfare system, and an unstated reliance on the private rental market. However as Orchard (1998) observes:

The lessons are still to be learnt in Australia that nowhere has an unsubsidised private sector built tolerable new housing for poor people even with housing allowances. Without public or subsidised private housing, cheap old flats and caravan parks are the main recourse for the poor.<sup>4</sup>

In The Parks, the inability of the *market* to promote the development of local industries, compelled the Butler and Playford Governments to utilise the public sector in the post-war development of South Australia. In the 1950s and 1960s, The Parks was providing the *labour force* which helped manufacture the cars people drove, the refrigerators and washing machines in their homes, and even the classrooms for all the kids. From ejector seats to lawn mowers, and from tinned fruit to mag wheels, all were produced or assembled in the factories surrounding The Parks. For those in the public service, the Port of Adelaide, the Islington Workshops, the Department of Supply (Finsbury) and the host of state based utilities (E&WS, ETSA) all provided thousands of jobs and the apprenticeship programs to match. It can also be assumed that residents of The Parks created a significant proportion of South Australia's wealth in the northwestern suburbs. Times have changed.

Where there was once a railway station for the shift workers at Finsbury, there is only a car park for the newly opened Islamic Arabic Centre. A factory down the road is now an auction clearinghouse, while the place next door offers a warehouse and storage service for all your prized or unwanted possessions. Other buildings are simply rusting away, waiting for the inevitable swing of the wrecking ball. Then there are the 'success' stories, the companies that were able to embrace the export drive and survive, such as ROH, Tecalemit and Email. Unfortunately, these are the notable exceptions, and their survival has been underpinned by incentives 'packages' from the public purse. Just as they were in the late 1940s.

Far from a being a failure, the industrial and housing programs of the Housing Trust were a successful model of state intervention in underwriting the profitability of local businesses. Today Government achievements are measured in terms of electoral cycles, and campaign promises defined as 'core' and 'non-core'. The thirty-year partnership between the Housing Trust and private capital was an unprecedented policy achievement. To judge the building programs of the 1950s against the future (and unknown) deficiencies of the housing stock in the 1990s masks the failure of successive State Governments to implement a well-funded program of replacement and rehabilitation.

Already, two decades have been lost, and no real progress has been made to regenerate communities like The Parks or resuscitate the life chances of those on the margins of our society. Communities like The Parks are only so much 'background noise', barely audible to the wider community, and greeted with silence in the corridors of power. They attract a newspaper headline or two, and then disappear, waiting for the next damning report on social justice issues or a national conference on the new buzz-word of multiple disadvantage: social exclusion. Indeed, two years after the project was announced and four years after the completion of the feasibility study, the same inadvertent, though repeated, public assertions about the project are still to be found in the media coverage of the "Westwood" redevelopment. For example, the release of the latest *Social Health Atlas of Australia (2000)* revealed that health inequities were 'entrenched', with residents in The Parks and surrounding suburbs<sup>5</sup> having death rates 48% higher than the state average. This was particularly the case for cancer and circulatory illnesses (*Advertiser*, 15 April 2000: 17).<sup>6</sup>

However the redevelopment project, as envisaged by the State Government, Port Adelaide-Enfield Council and Pioneer Projects Australia P/L, will effectively disperse and dilute the higher incidences of poverty and health problems being experienced in places like The Parks without addressing the underlying sources of poor health, unemployment, welfare dependence and low incomes. These issues will remain largely unresolved. Of more serious concern, is the complete withdrawal of the Commonwealth Government from issues of urban and regional development, and the fact that the delivery of services in rural and remote communities (in largely Coalition electorates) has supplanted those of suburban Australia where concentrated levels of social and economic disadvantage continue to persist.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the national debate – from urban consolidation to social exclusion – remains an insular, all-too-familiar academic and conference room discussion, unable to penetrate the political consciousness, arouse the passions of a stressed-out populace or attract the resources or coordination that could be provided at the national level. And without the leadership or the resources, issues of public housing, unemployment and poverty remain to be solved. In the United Kingdom, the recent release of the *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (2000) by the Social Exclusion Unit suggests a welcome starting point for a more cogent analysis of the problems being experienced by deprived neighbourhoods. The recognition that *economic factors* have been the 'main driver of decay' has squarely framed the debate around issues of poverty and unemployment. In Australia, there is no foreseeable prospect that a similar admission will be coming from the current Federal Government, with the self-congratulatory mantra of 'sound economic management' (eg low interest rates, sustained growth) precluding even the *recognition* of those communities that have been abandoned.

Indeed, the redevelopment of The Parks – and the process of economic restructuring and labour market change which has preceded the project – has revealed just how little emphasis has been placed on local knowledge, shared experience and household circumstances in the formulation of policy. The adoption of such a large-scale strategy of demolition and dispersal has also moved beyond accepted practice, both within Australia and overseas, in forcing residents to move and undermining community networks (against a background of continuing service cuts, welfare reforms and economic uncertainty).

And finally, there is the important matter of how the researcher or social scientist portrays places like The Parks? As Peel (1998) laments: 'most stories share the same language and the same cast of characters; the same mix of excited revelation, cheap sociology and earnest investigation' (Peel, 1998: 1). Certainly, there needs to be a wider discussion of social exclusion and public housing redevelopment in Australia (Berry, 1994; Badcock, 1997; Randolph & Judd, 2000), while the urban geographer needs to be more actively involved in developing solutions for those communities excluded from the societies in which they live (Paccione, 1990). Whether our conversations of exclusion are related to our professional lives or based on personal experience, there is enough common ground to recognise some of the restraints placed on all of us by the organisation of labour and capital in a global economy. It might then be possible, to imagine 'a world in our hearts that we would like to

realise, first by speaking out, then by shouting out, and finally by action' (Holley, 2000). This will require a fundamentally different social contract, whether based on the tortured triangulation of the 'third way' (Giddens, 2000), or simply a re-engagement of the public sphere in community life (Forrester, 1999; Harvey, 2000; Mosley, 2000).

### *Postscript*

This thesis has been a culmination of several years' work. While I have retained my sense of idealism, based on social democratic institutions and rational thought in public debate, they have not escaped unscathed from the managerial and corporatist culture that pervades the modern university and the transformation of public 'responsibilities' to private 'interests'. In the halls of academia, the discipline of geography is rapidly becoming an irrelevance, with fewer students recognising it as a career path, while its best graduates either find another vocation or are left to 'wither on the vine' of the contract merry-go-round. If the academy is serious about the value of scholarship and meaningful research, then some fundamental changes will have to be made to ensure a more comprehensive system of professional development, peer support and career guidance for **all** of its higher degree candidates. The importance of this cannot be over-stressed, as this research has shown the positive and valuable contribution human geographers can make to the scholarly investigation and analysis of social and economic issues. Fuzzy concepts, obtuse dialogue and jargon-laden research have won few admirers, while clear evidence, strong analytical skills, solid methodological frameworks and a high standard of scholarship are seen as optional extras in some publications. Urban geography - and the people who are so passionate about its future role in our intellectual development - deserves a better deal.

As a result, this thesis concludes on a rather uncertain and depressed note. In part, this has been a response to the inability to find a career to advance these ideas, and in another to the unwillingness of the state to actually address the issues highlighted in this thesis. This has given rise to the twin crises of personal confidence and professional relevance. For example, egalitarianism (read *income redistribution*) has become the 'third rail' in the current political climate, with managerial jargon (eg 'mutual obligation') and the usual scapegoats (eg welfare recipients) firmly on the agenda of those in control (and aspire to control) the nation's purse strings. More importantly, the best arguments, the most humane solutions, and the sheer

weight of statistical evidence are not enough to change the direction of public policies. The redevelopment of The Parks, the closure of the local High School, the rationalisation of employment services were all examples where an alternative direction could have been envisaged, or simply investigated, but the political imperatives of the moment were all that mattered. There was no choice. There was no effective consultation.

The final word will be left to Chounaird (1994):

At the end of the day ... if we cannot reasonably claim that our research contributes to better understandings of the causes and consequences of social power and oppression, however partial and limited those may be, it is time to hang up our hats (at least the radical ones) and go home.<sup>8</sup>

I hope this thesis – and the time and effort that has led to its submission – has made a meaningful contribution towards our understanding of the impacts of structural change and urban redevelopment in places like The Parks. In a modern and progressive nation, it should not be unreasonable to expect that the actions of our elected representatives and public institutions are seeking to safeguard *and* enhance the interests of its most disadvantaged citizens. On the basis of the evidence presented in this thesis, there remains some distance between the actions of responsible governance and the ideals of an egalitarian society. As FDR noted so many years ago, it takes a little socialism to make capitalism work.

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- <sup>1</sup> Block F., (1996) *The Vampire State: And Other Myths and Fallacies about the US Economy* New Press as quoted in Neff G., (1997) 'Invisible Handwriting' *The Nation* 25 January, 1997: 31
- <sup>2</sup> Said E., (1994) *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures* Vintage London p 82
- <sup>3</sup> *Biloxi Blues* (1988) Directed by Mike Nichols. Screenplay by Neil Simon.
- <sup>4</sup> Orchard L., (1998b) 'A Future for Public Housing?' *Adelaide Review*, May 1998, 9.
- <sup>5</sup> These figures refer to the western portion of Enfield Council which covered both The Parks and several additional suburbs (ie Regency Park, Angle Park, Woodville Gardens, Mansfield Park, Ferryden Park, Wingfield, Ottoway, Dudley Park, Croydon Park and parts of Devon Park). Ref: Lloyd N., Hannon K., (2000) 'Wealth a sign of far better health' *Advertiser* 15 April 2000: 17
- <sup>6</sup> For The Parks, these results repeat the findings of the previous Social Health Atlas released in 1996 [Ref: Debelle P., (1996) 'Low wealth, poor health' *Advertiser* 7 December, 1996: 27.
- <sup>7</sup> See: *The Australian* 17-23 June, 2000. Series of articles entitled 'Advance Australia Where' on wealth distribution, income inequality and social disadvantage.
- <sup>8</sup> Chouinard V., (1994) 'Reinventing radical geography: is that all that's Left Right?' *Environment and Planning D* 12: 4



## 10 APPENDICES

*Household Survey* : Questionnaire; Selection of Survey Participants; Census Collection Districts; and Field Diary

*Reference Sources*: Supplementary List of Source Materials for The Parks; Weekly Times Newspaper Index (1958-2000)

*Selected Extracts*: Parliamentary Hansard (The Parks)

*Reference Maps*: Postcode & Statistical Local Area Boundaries (Adelaide)

*DEETYA Labour Force Data*: Unemployment Rate and Number of Employed by Statistical Local Area, 1984-2000

*Media Release*: Announcement of The Parks Urban Renewal Project, November 1994

*Conference Paper*: What a carve up! (Hobart, 1997)



THE PARKS LABOUR & COMMUNITY STUDY, 1993-1994

Contact: SIMON NELDNER, Department of Geography (08) 303 5645

**Identifier**

**Usual Household Size**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Section A: Demographic

1. What is your present age?

2. Gender (M/F)

3. Where were you born?

If AUSTRALIA go to Q5

4. In what year did you first arrive?

5. What is your ancestry or origin?

6. Do you speak a language other than English (regularly) at home?

If YES, print language below:

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Section B: Education

7. Are you currently attending a school or other institution?

8. If YES, what type of school?

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DISCONTINUE survey for dependents aged under 16 and living at home.

9. What was your highest year of schooling completed?

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|--|--|--|--|--|--|

**Identifier**

**Usual Household Size**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

10. Have you obtained a trade or tertiary qualification since leaving school? If YES, Q.11. NO, Q.12

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
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11. What is the highest post-school qualification you have obtained?

Qualification  
Field of Study  
Institution  
Year Obtained

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
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12. Are you currently undertaking a course of study? If YES, describe details below. If NO, go to Q.13

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Section C: Health

13. Have you any injuries or health problems which limit the type of work you can do?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|

If YES, briefly describe your disability and how it effects the work you can do.

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|--|--|--|--|--|--|
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|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Section D: Previous Job History

Survey Number:

This survey is particularly interested in your recent job history and work experience(s) over the last FIVE years (eg. 1988/89-1993/94).  
 IF you have held the same job since January 1988, move directly to Q.16. If you have not been in paid employment since 1988, move to Q.15.  
 And if you have held multiple jobs since January 1988, start from that date onwards and use the following tables.

NOTES:

| No. | Year Job Started | Occupation                 | Av. Hrs Paid<br>Work (p/w)   | Job Location<br>(eg suburb) | Work Status       | Employment<br>Status    |
|-----|------------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1   | 19 ____          |                            | _____ hrs<br>\$ _____  |                             | f/t<br>p/t<br>cas | wage<br>salary<br>s / e |
|     |                  | <u>Reasons for Leaving</u> | <u>Spell of unemployment (Between Job 1 and 2)?</u><br>yes / no    If Yes, months u/e: _____ |                             |                   |                         |

| No. | Year Job Started | Occupation                 | Av. Hrs Paid<br>Work (p/w)   | Job Location<br>(eg suburb) | Work Status       | Employment<br>Status    |
|-----|------------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 2   | 19 ____          |                            | _____ hrs<br>\$ _____  |                             | f/t<br>p/t<br>cas | wage<br>salary<br>s / e |
|     |                  | <u>Reasons for Leaving</u> | <u>Spell of unemployment (Between Job 2 and 3)?</u><br>yes / no    If Yes, months u/e: _____ |                             |                   |                         |

NB: Separate forms are to be completed for EACH worker

**Identifier**

**Usual Household Size**

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Q.15 Are you currently in paid employment? If YES, go to Section E  
If NO, go to Q.15a

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
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|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Q.15a Are you actively looking for work?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Q.15b Are you available to start work now?

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Labour Force Status:

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|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Section E: Currently Employed

Q.16. (1) When did you first start work in your current job?

Date:

(2) How long have worked for your current employer?

Years:   
Months:

(3) What type of business or service provider is your employer?

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|  |
|  |

(4) What are the main products or services produced and/or sold at your place of work?

|  |
|--|
|  |
|  |

(5) How many people are currently employed in your place of work?

(6) In what suburb is your place of work located?

(7) What is your occupation?

|  |
|--|
|  |
|  |

(8) What are the main tasks or duties performed in your present job?

(9) Are you a wage earner, salary earner, or self-employed?

(10) Do you work on a full-time, part-time, or casual basis?

(11) Are you employed on a permanent or temporary basis?

(12) How many hours of paid work, on average, would you work per week?

(13) What is your average (gross) weekly income?

(14) If casual or part-time, what rate per hour are you paid?

(15) Are you a member of a trade union?

(16) Was there a spell of unemployment between this job and your previous job?

(17) Assuming the same pay and conditions, would you prefer to work more or less hours per week?

(18) Does your work involve shift or irregular work hours?

(19) Is this job the main source of income in your household?

(20) If working as a Casual or Part-time employee, would you like a full-time, permanent position?

(21) Do you have more than one paid job?

(22) How do you usually travel to your place of work?

(23) How many minutes does it take to travel to work?

(24) What are your main reasons for working?

**Section F: Currently Unemployed**

Q.17 (1) When did you first start work in your previous job?

Date:

(2) How long did you spend in your previous job?

Years:   
Months:

(3) What type of business or service provider was your previous place of work?

(4) What was your previous occupation?

(5) What were the main tasks or duties in your previous job?

(6) Were you a wage earner, salary earner or self-employed?

(7) Did you work on a full-time, part-time or casual basis?

(8) How many hours of paid work, on average, did you work per week?

(9) What was your average (gross) weekly income?

\$

(10) What were the main reasons for leaving your previous job?

(11) Did your employer suggest an re-employment options or job counselling service?

(12) Did you receive any redundancy payments or other entitlements upon leaving your previous job?

(13) How long has it been since you last worked?

Months:

(14) Are you currently registered with the CES?

(15) What are your most frequently used methods of job search?

(16) What type of job / employment are you looking for?

(17) Are you looking for full-time, part-time or casual work?

(18) How many hours per week would you like to work?

Hours:

(19) If you were offered a job working that number of hours, what's the lowest weekly take-home pay you would accept?

\$

(20) Do you own or have access to a car to search for or travel to work?

(21) Would you be prepared to move to another area to take up employment?

(22) Would you be willing to travel to the following areas in search of work?

Prospect  
Port Adelaide  
Woodville  
Glenelg  
Marion  
Noarlunga  
Blackwood  
Modbury  
Salisbury  
Elizabeth  
Adelaide (CBD)  
Murray Bridge

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(23) In your experience, what do you think are the main social and economic problems you have had to cope with while being unemployed?



**Section G: Current Partner Information**

Q.18 What is your current marital status?

**Section H: Housing & Income**

Q.19 What was your usual address five years ago?

Q.20 What was your usual address twelve months ago?

Q.20 Is your place of residence rented, owned or being purchased?

Q.21 What is the gross family income from all sources that you usually receive each week?

- Less than \$97 pw
- \$97 to \$154 pw
- \$155 to \$230 pw
- \$231 to \$308 pw
- \$309 to \$385 pw
- \$386 to \$481 pw
- \$482 to \$577 pw
- \$578 to \$673 pw
- \$674 to \$769 pw
- \$770 to \$961 pw
- Over \$962 pw

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**Section I: Voting & Community Participation**

Q.22 Are you enrolled to vote?

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Person 1 |  |
| Person 2 |  |
| Person 3 |  |
| Person 4 |  |

Q.23 If YES, did you vote in the last State or Federal election?

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Person 1 |  |
| Person 2 |  |
| Person 3 |  |
| Person 4 |  |

Q.24 Do you belong to any local community groups, sporting organisations or social clubs?

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Person 1 |  |
| Person 2 |  |
| Person 3 |  |
| Person 4 |  |

Q.25 What do you consider to be the advantages and/or disadvantages of living in The Parks?

**Table 10.1: Selection of Survey Participants****Total Occupied Dwellings (1991 Census): 6339****Sample Size: 400****Sample Interval: 1:32****Cluster Size: 10****Total Number of Clusters: 640**

| <i>Number</i> | <i>CCD No.</i> | <i>Number of Dwellings</i> | <i>Number of Clusters</i> | <i>Cumulative Total</i> | <i>Selected CCD's</i> |
|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1             | 101101         | 227                        | 23                        | 1-23                    | 3*                    |
| 2             | 101102         | 268                        | 28(+1)                    | 24-51                   | 35                    |
| 3             | 101103         | 172                        | 17                        | 52-68                   | 67                    |
| 4             | 101104         | 204                        | 20                        | 69-88                   |                       |
| 5             | 101105         | 263                        | 27(+1)                    | 89-115                  | 99                    |
| 6             | 101106         | 309                        | 32(+1)                    | 116-147                 | 131                   |
| 7             | 101107         | 213                        | 21                        | 148-168                 | 163                   |
| 8             | 101201         | 177                        | 18                        | 169-186                 |                       |
| 9             | 101202         | 226                        | 23                        | 187-209                 | 195                   |
| 10            | 101209         | 196                        | 20                        | 210-229                 | 227                   |
| 11            | 110101         | 213                        | 21                        | 230-250                 |                       |
| 12            | 110102         | 180                        | 18                        | 251-268                 | 259                   |
| 13            | 110104         | 138                        | 14                        | 269-282                 |                       |
| 14            | 110105         | 299                        | 31(+1)                    | 283-313                 | 291                   |
| 15            | 110106         | 227                        | 23                        | 314-336                 | 323                   |
| 16            | 110107         | 259                        | 26                        | 337-362                 | 355                   |
| 17            | 110108         | 252                        | 25                        | 363-387                 | 387                   |
| 18            | 110109         | 239                        | 24                        | 388-411                 |                       |
| 19            | 110110         | 87                         | 9                         | 412-420                 | 419                   |
| 20            | 110111         | 59                         | 6                         | 421-426                 |                       |
| 21            | 110112         | 77                         | 8                         | 427-434                 |                       |
| 22            | 110201         | 263                        | 27 (+1)                   | 435-461                 | 451                   |
| 23            | 110202         | 227                        | 23                        | 462-484                 | 483                   |
| 24            | 110203         | 184                        | 18                        | 485-502                 |                       |
| 25            | 110204         | 258                        | 26                        | 503-528                 | 515                   |
| 26            | 110205         | 183                        | 18                        | 529-546                 |                       |
| 27            | 110206         | 161                        | 16                        | 547-562                 | 547                   |
| 28            | 110207         | 173                        | 17                        | 563-579                 | 579                   |
| 29            | 110208         | 260                        | 27(+1)                    | 580-606                 |                       |
| 30            | 110212         | 152                        | 15                        | 607-621                 |                       |
| 31            | 110213         | 193                        | 19                        | 622-640                 |                       |
| <b>Total:</b> |                | <b>6 339</b>               | <b>640 (+6)**</b>         |                         | <b>20</b>             |

**Explanatory Notes:**

\* A random starting point was chosen between 1-32 using a random number table (eg  $.10097 \times 32 = 3.32$ ,  $k=3$ )

\*\* The total number of clusters was 634. However this figure was rounded up to a multiple of 32 or 640 (ie  $20 \times 32$ ). As a result, each of the six largest clusters were rounded up by one.

Table 10.2: Survey Field Diary

| Date                | Time (hrs)  | Km's       | Q        | FN        | R        | D/I | E/NC      | T         |
|---------------------|-------------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----|-----------|-----------|
| <b>Pilot Survey</b> |             |            |          |           |          |     |           |           |
| 17/7                | 6.5         | 190        | 1        | 3         | 1        |     | 5         | 10        |
| 18/7                | 7           | 192        | 2        | 3         | 2        |     | 6         | 13        |
| 24/7                | 6.5         | 195        | 2        | 1         | 1        |     | 4         | 8         |
| 25/7                | 7.5         | 192        | 2        | 2         |          |     | 8         | 12        |
| <b>Total:</b>       | <b>27.5</b> | <b>769</b> | <b>7</b> | <b>9#</b> | <b>4</b> |     | <b>23</b> | <b>43</b> |
| <b>Main Survey</b>  |             |            |          |           |          |     |           |           |
| 2/10                | 7           | 181        | 2        | 3         | 3        | 2   | 10        | 20        |
| 9/10                | 6.5         | 183        | 1        | 4         | 4        | 1   | 8         | 18        |
| 10/10               | 8.0         | 183        | 4        | 2         | 5        | 2   | 11        | 24        |
| 16/10               | 7           | 179        | 3        | 1         | 2        |     | 8         | 14        |
| 23/10               | 8           | 185        | 2        | 3         | 3        |     | 12        | 20        |
| 24/10               | 7.5         | 184        | 2        | 4         | 2        | 4   | 10        | 22        |
| 31/10               | 6.5         | 182        | 3        | 2         | 3        | 2   | 11        | 21        |
| 6/11                | 7.5         | 181        | 1        | 2         | 2        | 1   | 4         | 10        |
| 18/11               | 5.5         | 182        | 1        | 1         | 1        |     | 5         | 8         |
| 20/11               | 8           | 176        | 4        |           | 4        | 6   | 9         | 23        |
| 21/11               | 7           | 183        | 4        | 1         | 1        |     | 7         | 13        |
| 28/11               | 7.5         | 180        | 1        | 3         | 2        | 2   | 15        | 23        |
| 4/12                | 9.5         | 179        | 5        | 1         | 3        | 2   | 11        | 22        |
| 5/12                | 8           | 176        | 4        |           |          | 2   | 13        | 19        |
| 12/12               | 9           | 180        | 2        | 3         | 3        | 1   | 18        | 27        |
| <b>1994</b>         |             |            |          |           |          |     |           |           |
| 8/1                 | 6.5         | 171        | 2        | 3         | 2        | 2   | 5         | 14        |
| 9/1                 | 7           | 172        | 2        |           | 1        | 2   | 3         | 7         |
| 16/1                | 9           | 178        | 5        | 2         | 2        | 2   | 10        | 21        |
| 22/1                | 8           | 176        | 5        | 2         | 3        | 4   | 10        | 24        |
| 29/1                | 9           | 168        | 2        | 4         | 2        |     | 4         | 12        |
| 30/1                | 6.5         | 169        | 1        | 3         | 4        |     | 13        | 21        |
| 6/2                 | 8           | 166        | 3        | 2         | 3        | 2   | 3         | 13        |
| 12/2                | 4.5         | 168        | 1        | 2         | 1        |     | 5         | 9         |
| 13/2                | 6           | 168        | 2        | 2         | 1        |     | 2         | 7         |
| 27/2                | 8           | 170        | 2        | 5         | 6        | 1   | 8         | 23        |
| 13/3                | 8           | 188        |          | 3         | 1        |     | 3         | 7         |
| 19/3                | 7           | 169        | 2        | 3         | 2        | 1   | 4         | 12        |
| 9/4                 | 7           | 168        | 2        | 3         | 3        | 3   | 10        | 21        |
| 17/4                | 7           | 165        | 1        | 4         | 1        | 1   | 7         | 14        |
| 23/4                | 7.5         | 167        | 2        | 6         | 3        | 2   | 11        | 24        |
| 1/5                 | 6.5         | 178        |          | 2         | 2        | 2   | 7         | 13        |
| 7/5                 | 8           | 176        | 5        | 4         | 5        | 3   | 10        | 27        |

Table 10.2 (cont...)

| Date          | Time (hrs)   | Km's        | Q          | FN         | R         | D/I       | E/NC       | T          |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 14/5          | 8            | 172         | 9          | 1          | 1         | 1         | 4          | 16         |
| 15/5          | 7.5          | 171         | 3          | 5          |           | 1         | 6          | 15         |
| 21/5          | 8.5          | 173         | 2          | 5          | 1         |           | 5          | 13         |
| 28/5          | 7            | 172         |            | 4          | 1         | 4         | 21         | 30         |
| 29/5          | 7.5          | 168         | 3          | 2          | 4         | 5         | 13         | 27         |
| 4/6           | 7.5          | 178         | 4          | 3          | 1         | 1         | 10         | 19         |
| 12/6          | 8.5          | 175         | 5          | 1          |           |           | 9          | 15         |
| 18/6          | 8            | 169         | 6          | 2          | 1         | 2         | 13         | 24         |
| 25/6          | 8.5          | 168         | 4          | 2          | 2         | 2         | 5          | 15         |
| 26/6          | 7.5          | 171         | 5          | 1          | 2         | 1         | 7          | 16         |
| 2/7           | 8.5          | 174         | 4          | 4          |           |           | 11         | 19         |
| 9/7           | 8.5          | 174         | 5          | 2          | 2         | 3         | 6          | 18         |
| 10/7          | 7            | 172         | 3          | 2          |           |           | 15         | 20         |
| 16/7          | 8            | 185         | 5          | 3          |           | 1         | 13         | 22         |
| 17/7          | 6            | 179         |            | 3          | 1         | 1         | 5          | 10         |
| 23/7          | 6            | 186         | 2          |            |           |           | 3          | 5          |
| <b>Total:</b> | <b>358.5</b> | <b>8418</b> | <b>136</b> | <b>120</b> | <b>96</b> | <b>72</b> | <b>413</b> | <b>837</b> |

**Legend:** Date = date of survey; Time = hours spent in the field; Km's = distance travelled; Q = questionnaires completed; FN = interviews completed; R = refusals; D/I = Interview or questionnaire deferred until the following week; E/NC = empty / no contact; T = total contacts or attempted contacts on a given day; # = during the pilot survey, retired or additional households not currently in the labour force were not interviewed.

**Notes:** Interviews were not conducted over the following periods: Christmas & New Year; Easter and Mothers Day. In addition, the following dates were used to determine which homes would be selected: 11/9/93; 18/9/93; 24/11/93; 27/1/94; 5/2/94; 28/4/94; and 10/6/94. During these periods, an additional 44.5 hours were spent in the field. The total response rate for the survey was 70.2%

**Table: 10.3: Census Collection Districts for the Survey Area  
(1971-1996)**

| 1971   | 1981   | 1991   | 1996    |
|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| 080801 | 050804 | 101101 | 4101101 |
| 080802 | 050805 | 101102 | 4101102 |
| 080803 | 050806 | 101103 | 4101103 |
| 080804 | 050807 | 101104 | 4101104 |
| 080805 | 050808 | 101105 | 4101105 |
| 080806 | 050809 | 101106 | 4101106 |
| 080807 | 050810 | 101107 | 4101107 |
| 080808 | 050811 | 101201 | 4101110 |
| 080904 | 050812 | 101202 | 4101111 |
| 080905 | 050813 | 101209 | 4101201 |
| 080906 | 050814 | 110101 | 4101202 |
| 080907 | 050901 | 110102 | 4101209 |
| 080908 | 050902 | 110104 | 4101210 |
| 080909 | 050903 | 110105 | 4110101 |
| 080910 | 050904 | 110106 | 4110102 |
| 080911 | 050905 | 110107 | 4110104 |
| 080912 | 050906 | 110108 | 4110105 |
| 321001 | 050907 | 110109 | 4110106 |
| 321002 | 050908 | 110110 | 4110107 |
| 321101 | 050912 | 110111 | 4110108 |
| 321102 | 050913 | 110112 | 4110109 |
| 321103 | 080601 | 110201 | 4110111 |
| 321104 | 080602 | 110202 | 4110113 |
| 321105 | 080701 | 110203 | 4110201 |
| 321106 | 080702 | 110204 | 4110202 |
| 321107 | 080703 | 110205 | 4110203 |
|        | 080704 | 110206 | 4110204 |
|        | 080705 | 110207 | 4110205 |
|        | 080706 | 110208 | 4110206 |
|        | 080707 | 110212 | 4110207 |
|        |        | 110213 | 4110208 |
|        |        |        | 4110209 |
|        |        |        | 4110210 |

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1971-96) Census of Population and Housing.

Table 10.4: Supplementary List of Source Materials

| Source                                 | Description                                   | Date        | Page      |
|--|---|-------------|-----------|
| <b>South Australian Parliament:</b>    |   |             |           |
| <i>Proceedings (Hansard)</i>           | Roads in Housing Trust Areas                  | 24 May'55   | 34        |
|  | Emergency Homes                               | 30 July'57  | 173-177   |
|  | Fire Hazard in Temporary Homes                | 17 Sept.'57 | 629       |
|  | Fires in Emergency Homes                      | 18 Jun'58   | 36-37     |
|  | Sewering of Mansfield Park                    | 18 Jun'58   | 43        |
|  | Flooding of Septic Tanks in Mansfield Park    | 16 Sept.'58 | 707-708   |
|  | Flooding of Septic Tanks                      | 30 Oct'58   | 953       |
|  | Roads in Housing Trust Areas                  | 21 Jul'59   | 98        |
|  | Roads in Housing Trust Areas                  | 28 Jul'59   | 185       |
|  | Fires in Emergency Homes                      | 12 Aug.'59  | 414-415   |
|  | Mansfield Park Fire                           | 13 Aug'59   | 444-445   |
|  | Housing Statistics (Woodville North)          | 12 Nov.'63  | 1587      |
|  | Mansfield Park Sewerage                       | 20 Feb.'64  | 2044-2045 |
|  | Islington Sewage Farm (Regency Park)          | 11 Jun'64   | 50-51     |
|  | Islington Sewage Farm (Regency Park)          | 13 May'65   | 24        |
|  | Islington Farm (Regency Park)                 | 25 May'65   | 173       |
|  | Mansfield Park Police Station                 | 26 May'67   | 837       |
|  | Community Centres                             | 16 Sept'75  | 766       |
|  | Community Centres                             | 30 Oct'75   | 1588-1590 |
|  | Community Centres                             | 5 Nov.'75   | 1673-1675 |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 13 Jul'78   | 17        |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 24 Aug.'78  | 723-724   |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 24 Oct.'78  | 1610      |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 6 Nov.'78   | 1842-1843 |
|  | House of Assembly - Estimates Committee A     | 13 Oct.'81  | 271-275   |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 28 Oct.'81  | 1617-1618 |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 29 Oct.'81  | 1730-1731 |
|  | Personal Explanation - Parks Community Centre | 29 Oct.'81  | 1733      |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 12 Nov.'81  | 1882-1883 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 18 Nov.'81  | 2005-2015 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 9 Dec.'81   | 2549-2559 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 9 Dec.'81   | 2571-2575 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 10 Dec.'81  | 2596-2597 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Bill                   | 10 Dec.'81  | 2642      |
|  | Assent to Bills                               | 9 Feb.'82   | 2656      |
|  | Parks Community Centre Act Amendment Bill     | 15 Oct.'85  | 1304-1305 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Act Amendment Bill     | 22 Oct.'85  | 1377-1378 |
|  | Parks Community Centre Act Amendment Bill     | 23 Oct.'85  | 1454      |
|  | Ministerial Statement-Parks Community Centre  | 24 Oct.'85  | 1522      |
|  | Parks Community Centre Act Amendment Bill     | 7 Nov.'85   | 1911      |
|  | Parks Community Centre Act Amendment Bill     | 7 Nov.'85   | 1951-1952 |
|  | Parks Community Centre                        | 6 Oct.'88   | 929       |
| Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) |   |             |           |
| Amendment Bill                         | 4 Apr.'91                                     | 4031-4032   |           |
| Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) |   |             |           |
| Amendment Bill                         | 4 Apr.'91                                     | 4094        |           |
| Parks Community Centre                 | 9 Apr.'91                                     | 4130-4131   |           |

Table 10.4 (cont.)

| Source   | Description   | Date   | Page       |         |
|--|---|--|------------|---------|
| <i>Proceedings (Hansard)</i>   | Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) Amendment Bill | 10 Apr.'91   | 4300-4302  |         |
|  | Parks Community Centre (Repeal) Bill                  | 25 Aug.'93   | 503        |         |
|  | Housing Trust Properties (Sales)                      | 12 Oct.'93   | 491-492    |         |
|  | Parks Community Centre (Repeal) Bill                  | 21 Oct.'93   | 743        |         |
|  | Parks Community Centre (Repeal) Bill                  | 21 Oct.'93   | 1025-1026  |         |
|  | Parks Community Centre                                | 29 Mar.'94   | 582        |         |
|  | Housing Trust Valuations                              | 8 Sept.'94   | 497-498    |         |
|  | Parks Community Health Centre                         | 1 Nov.'94  | 870        |         |
|  | Housing Trust Tenants (Parks Redevelopment)           | 2 Nov.'94  | 909        |         |
|  | Housing Trust Rents (Parks Redevelopment)             | 3 Nov.'94  | 971-972    |         |
|  | Housing Trust Tenants (Parks Redevelopment)           | 16 Nov.'94   | 797-798    |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 19 Mar'96  | 954        |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 20 Mar'96  | 999-1000   |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 27 Mar'96  | 1115-1116  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 27 Mar'96  | 1129-1139  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 10 Apr'96  | 1421       |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 29 May'96  | 1550       |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 4 Jun'96   | 1629       |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 3 Jul'96   | 1803-1804  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 4 Jul'96   | 1863-1864  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 11 Jul'96  | 1949       |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 24 Jul'96  | 1798-1799  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 1 Aug'96   | 2234-2235  |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 26 Nov'96  | 612        |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 3 Dec'96   | 715        |         |
|  | Parks High School (Petitions)                         | 5 Dec'96   | 747,771    |         |
|  | Parks High School                                     | 27 Feb'97  | 1080       |         |
|  | Parks Redevelopment                                   | 4 Mar'97   | 1106       |         |
|  | <i>Papers</i>   | Parks Community Centre (Annual Report) (Parliamentary Paper Series No.146) | 1983-1993  | Various |
|  | <i>Standing Committee on Public Works</i>             | Angle Park Boys Technical High School                                      | 18 Feb.'60 | 1-4     |
| Angle Park Girls Technical High School                                     |   | 19 Oct.'60   | 1-4        |         |
| Parks Community Centre - Angle Park  |   | 31 May'76  | 1-25       |         |
| <b>Government Departments:</b>   |   |  |            |         |
| <i>SA Department of Education</i><br><i>South Australian Housing Trust</i> | Angle Park Community Centre                           | 1974   |            |         |
|  | Mansfield Park Study - Progress Report                | 1974   | 94p        |         |
| <b>Newspaper Articles:</b>   |   |  |            |         |
| <i>Adelaide Advertiser</i>   | Five Children Dead in Fire                            | 11 Aug.'59   | 1          |         |
|  | No clue to cause of fire                              | 12 Aug.'59   | 3          |         |
|  | Faulty Wiring in Temporary Home                       | 13 Aug.'59   | 5          |         |
|  | Mansfield Park 'singled out'                          | 31 Jan.'74   |            |         |

Table 10.4 (cont..)

| Source                            | Description   | Date                                | Page       |  |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|------------|--|
| <i>Adelaide Advertiser</i>        | Suburb pins its hopes on \$8.5m. new centre           | 21 Nov.'74                          |            |  |
|                                   | An Oasis in the suburbs                               | 5 Jun.'79                           |            |  |
|                                   | Residents kick up stink about the stench at Wingfield | 21 Jul.'93                          | 8          |  |
|                                   | Bold bid for ethnic vote                              | 15 Nov.'93                          | 12         |  |
|                                   | Down a road of change                                 | 14 Jan.'94                          | 29         |  |
|                                   | 1400 trust homes face demolition                      | 2 Nov.'94                           | 3          |  |
|                                   | Trust demolitions plans slammed                       | 3 Nov.'94                           | 18         |  |
|                                   | North Adelaide is earners' retreat                    | 5 Nov.'94                           | 9          |  |
|                                   | Parks tenants 'won't be evicted'                      | 12 Nov.'94                          | 11         |  |
|                                   | Bold plan to curb urban ghettos                       | 25 May'95                           | 1,2        |  |
|                                   | No eviction' of trust's tenants                       | 10 Oct'95                           | 6          |  |
|                                   | Residents fight foundries plan                        | 2 Dec'95                            | 18         |  |
|                                   | Toxic dump clean-up coup                              | 25 Jan'96                           | 2          |  |
|                                   | \$550 000 for regional housing study                  | 1 Feb'96                            | 8          |  |
|                                   | Students vow action over school closure               | 26 Mar'96                           | 4          |  |
|                                   | Dump fears' over waste rezoning bid                   | 21 June'96                          | 12         |  |
|                                   | The haves and have-nots                               | 22 July'96                          | 8          |  |
|                                   | Toxic dump set for clean-up                           | 24 Aug'96                           | 17         |  |
|                                   | Tragic trip to the corner shop                        | 9 Sept'96                           | 1          |  |
|                                   | Circular protest at closure of school                 | 12 Sept'96                          | 17         |  |
|                                   | New move to keep High School open                     | 17 Sept'96                          | 4          |  |
|                                   | 500 to protest at school closure                      | 21 Sept'96                          | 18         |  |
|                                   | Protestors vow to save school                         | 24 Sept'96                          | 5          |  |
|                                   | Struggle Street, Adelaide, 5010                       | 7 Dec'96                            | 7          |  |
|                                   | Low wealth, poor health                               | 7 Dec'96                            | 27         |  |
|                                   | Olsen gives 'glimmer of hope'                         | 14 Dec'96                           | 6          |  |
|                                   | Parents angry as schools face axe                     | 21 Dec'96                           | 4          |  |
|                                   | Optus on move in cable roll-out                       | 7 Jan'97                            | 1          |  |
|                                   | Arndale shops plan angers city council                | 25 Feb'97                           | 4          |  |
|                                   | Centre's \$21m sports overhaul                        | 27 Feb'97                           | 4          |  |
|                                   | Youth stabbed in territory gang war                   | 25 Mar'97                           | 5          |  |
|                                   | Parks' housing upgrade woes                           | 17 Sept'97                          | 14         |  |
|                                   | School closure leaves its scars                       | 4 Oct'97                            | 16         |  |
|                                   | The \$340m Parks                                      | 5 Feb'99                            | 5          |  |
|                                   | New Jobs Hub  | 3 Mar'00                            | 7          |  |
|                                   | Alarm over 8000 fewer Trust homes                     | 15 Nov'00                           | 23         |  |
|                                   | Loss of Trust   | 17 Feb'01                           | 53-54      |  |
|                                   | Why 28,418 into 53,310 won't go                       | 17 Apr'01                           | 5          |  |
|                                   | <i>Adelaide News</i>                                  | Centre mustn't suffer funds drought | 19 Jul.'78 |  |
|                                   |   | Somewhere to go for \$15m           | 31 Jul.'79 |  |
| Parks Centre sets a great example |   | 24 Oct.'79                          |            |  |
| Centre has the lot!               |   | 26 Oct.'79                          |            |  |
| <i>Australian</i>                 | Hanson Road offers a taste of Hanoi                   | 14 June'97                          | 3          |  |
|                                   | Boom to Bust (Woodville North)                        | 17 June'00                          | 25         |  |



Table 10.4 (cont..)

| Source                | Description   | Date       | Page  |
|-----------------------|---|------------|-------|
| <i>Lumen</i>          | Angle Park chosen as site for Community Centre      | 25 Jun.'76 | 1,6   |
| <i>The Standard</i>   | \$2.5m centre planned for Angle Park                | 28 Nov'73  | 1     |
|                       | Residents' ideas will shape centre                  | 16 Jan'74  | 3     |
|                       | Local anger at Parks criticism                      | 5 Dec'79   | 1     |
|                       | Workers rally support for Parks Centre              | 14 June'95 | 6     |
|                       | Uncertain fate for west's guinea pig                | 14 June'95 | 6     |
| <i>Sunday Mail</i>    | Westwood generating big interest                    | 20 Aug'00  | H3    |
|                       | Westwood: Land Development                          | 5 Nov'00   | H9    |
|                       | 62 years on, Ivy still trusts in the future         | 21 Jan'01  | 28    |
|                       | Westwood sales soar                                 | 25 Mar'01  | H11   |
|                       | Westwood blocks rushed                              | 29 Apr'01  | H6    |
| <i>Women's Weekly</i> | Adelaide's Cinderella Project                       | 7 Nov.'79  | 28-29 |
| <i>Weekly Times</i>   | See <i>Weekly Times Newspaper Index (1958-2000)</i> |            |       |

**University Theses / Publications:**

|                            |   |  |      |
|----------------------------|---|--|------|
| <i>Adelaide University</i> | Lester Street Experiment (Bruce March)  | 1971   | 36p  |
|                            | Angle Park Community Centre: For the People or the Planners (Janine Peacock)  | 1974   |      |
|                            | Participation in a Working Class Suburb (Andrew Parkin)   | 1975   |      |
|                            | The Relationship between Social and Physical Distance (Josephine Beer)  | 1976   |      |
|                            | The Parks Community Centre: A Planning Experience (Jennifer A Briers)   | 1980   | 123p |
|                            | Promoting Health at the Local Level: A Management and Planning Model for Primary Health Care Services (Kathy Alexander) | 1994   | 398p |
|                            | <i>Flinders University</i>  | A Socio-Economic Atlas of Adelaide (RJ Stimson & EA Cleland) | 1975 |
|                            | The Parks Community Centre: An Evaluative History (Judith Healy & Andrew Parkin)  | 1980   |      |

**Journals**

|  |  |      |  |
|--|--|------|--|
| <i>Australian Social Work</i>                      | Linking Social Services: Coordination in Community Centres [44(4): 5-13] | 1991 |  |
| <i>Australian Journal of Public Administration</i> | Coordination in State Administration: a case study [61(3): 219-231]      | 1982 |  |
| <i>Arena Magazine</i>                              | A place like Enfield Pt.B [42: 37-41]                                    | 1999 |  |

**Table 10.5: Local Newspapers – Title and Index***Woodville Times 1958-1959**Weekly Times 1959-2000***1958-59** (*Woodville Times-Weekly Times from 1959*)

1. 'Starline Drive-in theatre' 6 Feb'58-1
2. 'Ashes to ashes' 13 Mar'58-3 / 9 Jul'58-4
3. 'Minister considering sewerage for Athol Park and Mansfield Park' 8 Oct'58-1
4. 'Council approves libraries' 22 Oct'58-1
5. 'No plans for removal of temporary homes' 11 Nov'59-1
6. '£194 200 alterations at GMH Woodville' 11 Nov'59-11
7. 'Record growth planned by Beverley Firm' 22 Dec'59-7

**1960**

8. 'Ferryden Park girl will pole sit at Henley' 13 Jan'60-1
9. 'MTT should extend new service' 20 Jan'60-8
10. 'Would cost £1m for Woodville North sewerage' 27 Jan'60-4
11. 'Parks and ranks cars on the footpath' 6 Apr'60-11
12. 'School crossing wanted at Hanson Road' 11 May'60-8
13. 'Seaton North Improvement Association' 7 Sept'60-9
14. 'Philips cricket club' 28 Sept'60-11
15. 'Ferryden Park Gala Day' 5 Oct'60-3
16. 'Opening day at GMH' 5 Oct'60-12
17. 'Company's name a household word in Australia' 16 Nov'60-7,8,9,10
18. '£10 000 gas main extension at Woodville Gardens' 7 Dec'60-3
19. 'Northern Woodville Youth Association - Annual meeting' 28 Dec'60-2

**1961**

20. 'Woodville Gardens will not be renamed' 8 Feb'61-9
21. 'Woodville North Tennis Club' 1 Mar'61-6
22. 'Youth Association's aim is to prevent child delinquency' 8 Mar'61-8
23. 'Western Progress Association' 19 Apr'61-2
24. 'Quagmire's in winter, dustbowls in summer' 17 May'61-4
25. 'Huge shopping centre for Torrens Road' 16 Aug'61-1
26. 'Woodville ratepayers should pay for improvements' 23 Aug'61-1,10
27. '£3500 for youth club' 30 Aug'61-7
28. 'Jap goods threaten jobs of Kilkenny men' 13 Sept'61-1,9
29. 'Gala Day at Ridley Grove School' 29 Nov'61-13
30. 'Vandals wreck Woodville Gardens homes' 6 Dec'61-1

**1962**

31. 'Money is like manure' 24 Jan'62-6
32. 'Gala opening of Angle Park Shopping Centre' 18 Jul'62-16,17,18,19
33. 'Crowd besieges new shopping centre' 25 Jul'62-10
34. 'Everyone liked the new centre' 25 Jul'62-12
35. 'Marching girls new clubrooms' 5 Sept'62-1

**1963**

36. 'He want's 'clean air' act for SA' 16 Jan'63-8
37. 'Petition on incinerator' 6 Feb'63-3

38. 'Playgrounds problem 'extensive, complex'' 27 Feb'63-1
39. 'Parents would welcome more playgrounds' 13 Mar'63-1
40. 'Schembri's soft drink factory to close' 15 May'63-2 (Ethelton)
41. 'Huge shopping centre for Torrens Road' 12 June'63-6
42. 'Three re-elected, one defeated' 10 Jul'63-1
43. 'Angle Park shopping centre - 1st birthday celebrations' 17 Jul'63-1
44. 'Anger at pruning of bus service' 14 Aug'63-10
45. 'Gala day at Fawke reserve' 21 Aug'63-2
46. 'Council to tackle sewage problems' 28 Aug'63-1 (WC)
47. 'Scrapyard problem meeting tomorrow' 9 Oct'63-1 (Hindmarsh)

#### 1964

48. 'Harold Lightburn, the friendly dynamo' 8 Jan'64-6,10
49. 'Angle Park Technical High Prize giving' 8 Jan'64-9
50. 'Bus service ends: residents furious' 29 Jan'64-8
51. 'At youth centre opening' 15 Apr'64-6
52. 'A public library for Woodville?' 15 Jul'64-2
53. 'They live in a 'mud bath'' 22 Jul'64-7
54. 'Recently completed roadworks' 14 Oct'64-5

#### 1965

55. 'Angle Park Girl's Technical High School Speech Night' 6 Jan'65-13
56. 'Presentation of prizes - Angle Park Boy's Technical High' 13 Jan'65-11
57. 'Many migrants self-employed or employed' 20 Jan'65-15
58. 'Council now has city planning function' 17 Feb'65-1 (WC)
59. 'Resealing, works programmes for Woodville area' 3 Mar'65-1
60. 'Who then is my neighbour' 5 May'65-23
61. 'More public telephones soon?' 26 May'65-1
62. 'Miss Industry entrant' 30 Jun'65-1
63. 'Enfield Council elections' 30 Jun'65-11
64. 'Community aid office closes...' 21 Jul'65-1

#### 1966

65. 'Council may not renew permit' 9 Feb'66-3
66. 'Bid to confine skin works to 'noxious' zones' 2 Mar'66-1
67. 'Smoke at foundry comes under fire' 27 Apr'66-1
68. 'Woodville proposes 10 year plan for reserves' 13 Jul'66-1
69. 'Highway planning for SA's 1986 traffic' 20 Jul'66-10,17
70. 'Ratepayers complain of neglect in their street' 26 Oct'66-1
70. 'Enfield's youth centre approved' 9 Nov'66-1,12
71. 'Angle Park Shopping Centre has birthday' 9 Nov'66-13
72. 'Man, 34, escapes electrocution at Finsbury Hostel' 7 Dec'66-1

#### 1967

73. 'TAB needs shops for agencies' 18 Jan'67-1
74. 'Rubbish tip authorities deny local smoke nuisance' 25 Jan'67-1
75. 'Migrants refuse to pay tariff increases' 25 Jan'67-1
76. 'Eighty apprentices at father and son dinner' 15 Feb'67-1
77. 'Migrants from Italy increasing' 8 Mar'67-17
78. 'Big meeting to reform 'neighbour' branch here' 15 Mar'67-1
79. 'Ferryden Pk. gala day' 21 Mar'67-6
80. 'Good neighbours will help newcomers in Woodville area' 29 Mar'67-2

81. 'Local firm's 'safe' award' 26 Apr'67-1
82. 'Woodville men told to 'export more" 28 Jun'67-3
83. 'Low attendance at local polls' 5 July'67-1
84. 'Building for all residents' 16 Aug'67-1
85. 'Complaints over tannery odour' 30 Aug'67-1 (Hindmarsh)
86. 'Premier pleased with GMH' 4 Oct'67-1
87. 'GMH electroplating plant has expanded' 4 Oct'67-15
88. 'Councils combine for purchase of bulk goods' 22 Nov'67-18
89. 'Huge Indusfair for Woodville' 29 Nov'67-1
90. 'Ridley Grove still in poor condition' 29 Nov'67-2 (Letter to the Editor)

## 1968

91. 'Prime Minister to open Woodville Indusfair' 14 Feb'68-1
92. 'Apprentices honoured' 28 Feb'68-1
93. '80 Marching Girls for procession' 13 Mar'68-1
94. 'Councils agree on first stage' 13 Mar'68-1
95. 'Indusfair '68 was huge success' 9 Apr'68-1
96. 'First woman is elected in Woodville' 15 May'68-1
97. 'Sold to UK' 19 Jun'68-1
98. 'Marching girls needed in Woodville' 3 July'68-2
99. 'Enfield poll on swimming pool' 10 July'68-7
100. 'Reserve to be renamed' 7 Aug'68-1
101. 'Hindmarsh meeting on study' 14 Aug'68-1

## 1969

102. 'Council opposes acquisition' 29 Feb'69-1 (MATS / HC)
103. 'Future of sewage farm raised in Parliament' 5 Feb'69-5
104. 'Residents must be protected' 19 Feb'69-1 (MATS)
105. 'Council visits factory' 5 Mar'69-2
106. 'Marching girls needed' 12 Mar'69-3
107. 'Marching Girls Championship' 12 Mar'69-1
108. 'New vote right for women' 7 May'69-1
109. 'Gov. at GMH' 7 14 May'69-1
110. 'Hindmarsh should get MATS plan benefits' 4 June'69-1
111. 'Five hundred more books for library' 11 June'69-5
112. 'Residents object to smells from pet food factory' 2 Jul'69-2 (Welland)
113. 'Big seminar for youth at Woodville' 23 Jul'69-1
114. 'Finsbury plant sets up big science centre' 6 Aug'69-1
115. 'Firm triples its exports' 27 Aug'69-2
116. 'Lights go on at local danger corner' 17 Sept'69-1
117. 'Two councils dead-locked on lights' 24 Sept'69-3
118. 'Ultimatum over traffic lights' 8 Oct'69-5
119. 'Dedication of Sparrow Reserve at Woodville North' 29 Oct'69-1
120. 'School heads support Angle Park pool plans' 5 Nov'69-1
121. 'Hoping for subsidy on pool' 19 Nov'69-2

## 1970

122. 'New manager at GMH plant' 7 Jan'70-1
123. 'New centre meets needs of young' 4 Feb'70-2
124. 'Supermarket joins chain' 4 Feb'70-3 (Liberty Grove, WG)
125. 'Plague unveiled at MP welfare centre' 11 Feb'70-3
126. 'VIP visit to cannery at Athol Park' 18 Feb'70-1
127. 'Deputation on swimming pool' 18 Feb'70-3

- 128. 'Council probe on Wingfield smoke menace' 25 April'70-1
- 129. 'Vandals strike school fourth time this year' 18 Mar'70-1 (WHS)
- 130. 'Ratepayers unhappy over pool proposal' 8 Apr'70-1
- 131. 'Council scraps rates idea for pool cash' 15 Apr'70-1/16
- 132. 'Commissioning of GMH transmission plant at Woodville' 15 Apr'70-6
- 133. 'New council move on dump pollution' 29 Apr'70-1
- 134. 'Dismissed men re-instated by Woodville firm' 12 May'70-12
- 135. 'History of Woodville sought for anniversary' 1 Jul'70-1
- 136. 'Workers bus fares cause some concern' 5 Aug'70-4
- 137. 'Our local schools in \$3m plan' 20 Aug'70-1
- 138. 'Premier visits factory' 26 Aug'70-2
- 139. 'Family in armed siege at Athol Park' 23 Sept'70-1
- 140. 'GMH export sales reach \$200m mark' 30 Sept'70-6
- 141. 'Shoplifting prevalent at supermarkets' 14 Oct'70-4
- 142. 'Woodville's big contribution to economy' 11 Nov'70-6
- 143. 'New McLeods branch in Ferryden Park' 9 Dec'70-9

## 1971

- 144. 'Port road dodged trees, stumps, cattle and sheep' 6 Jan'71-6
- 145. 'From fetid swamps to \$200m metropolis' 3 Feb'71-1
- 146. 'More probes on \$2m drain' 17 Feb'71-3
- 147. 'Ned Kelly tactics' in traffic lights wrangle' 24 Feb'71-1/4
- 148. 'Computer interest at school' 6 Apr'71-1
- 149. 'Major road plan to go display' 5 May'71-2
- 150. 'Major transport plan to affect Hindmarsh' 26 May'71-1
- 151. 'Woodville to set up historical body' 26 May'71-2
- 152. 'Pensioner housing shortage' 9 Jun'71-2
- 153. 'Sewage farm plan could pollute city' 23 Jun'71-1
- 154. 'Students form anti-pollution committee' 7 Jul'71-1/9
- 155. 'Police caution press' 14 Jul'71-1
- 156. 'Trees target for vandals' 14 Jul'71-2 (WC)
- 157. 'Support to save land' 14 Jul'71-2
- 158. 'Children's opposition supported' 21 Jul'71-2
- 159. 'Council may transform eyesore into playgrounds' 18 Aug'71-1
- 160. 'Light works' 1 Sept'71-1
- 161. 'GMH dismissals' - Woodville plant is hardest hit' 8 Sept'71-1
- 162. 'GMH delay plan for lay-offs' 15 Sept'71-1
- 163. 'Electronics field denied opportunities' 22 Sept'71-3
- 164. 'Is this the future of Hindmarsh?' 6 Oct'71-1/2
- 165. 'Longer lease for students' 24 Nov'71-3
- 166. 'More jobs mean hope for local workers' 8 Dec'71-1

## 1972

- 167. 'Scare over 'factory fallout' 12 Jan'72-1 (Flinders Park)
- 168. 'Rumours scotched on move by company' 26 Jan'72-1
- 169. 'Motor plant sackings' 2 Feb'72-18
- 170. 'Start to Woodville drainage' 8 Mar'72-3
- 171. '\$2.5m expansion for Arndale' 3 May'72-1
- 172. 'Residents demand action' 21 Jun'72-1
- 173. 'Brickyards shakes cannot be controlled' 5 Jul'72-4
- 174. 'High price of vandalism' 12 Jul'72-4
- 175. 'Sports area lying idle' 26 Jul'72-1
- 176. 'Is Hindmarsh dying?' 6 Sept'72-1
- 177. 'Block flats call' 13 Sept'72-1 (Seaton Park)

- 178. 'Councils want more reserves' 13 Sept'72-4
- 179. 'Headstones smashed in wild spree' 20 Sept'72-1
- 180. '6 boys charged with 30 breaks' 27 Sept'72-1
- 181. '\$2m scheme for more local jobs' 27 Sept'72-5
- 182. 'Councils share in \$100 000' 4 Oct'72-1
- 183. 'Happy with scheme' 8 Nov'72-3
- 184. 'Anti-vandal patrol' 15 Nov'72-1
- 185. 'Thieves hit carpark' 13 Dec'72-1
- 186. '\$1000 fire at school - boy's prank' 20 Dec'72-1
- 187. 'Denies pruning of councils claim' 20 Dec'72-12

### 1973

- 188. 'Arndale will be doubled' 10 Jan'73-1
- 189. 'Hospital expansion nearing completion' 24 Jan'73-5
- 190. 'Aged couple 'living in hell'' 28 Feb'73-4
- 191. 'Probe of poverty' 7 Mar'73-1
- 192. 'Factory stench causing worry' 14 Mar'73-5
- 193. 'Sporting areas inadequate' 21 Mar'73-3
- 194. 'Bid for community centres in schools' 4 Apr'73-10
- 195. 'Should councils be scrapped?' 4 Apr'73-14
- 196. 'Flats zone irks residents' 11 Apr'73-1 (Tennyson)
- 197. 'Hindmarsh is not a slum' 13 Jun'73-6
- 198. 'Vintage picture tube joins safety display' 11 Jul'73-4
- 199. 'Residents protest over local hostel scheme' 1 Aug'73-12 (Cheltenham)
- 200. 'Tariff reductions-will you benefit?' 8 Aug'73-12
- 201. '\$450 000 to be spent on works' 5 Sept'73-2
- 202. 'Delinquency rife in Mansfield Park' 28 Sept'73-2/18
- 203. 'Residents irate at reports on area' 10 Oct'73-1
- 204. '\$200 community award for school' 10 Oct'73-8
- 205. 'Arndale now twice as big' 7 Nov'73-1
- 206. 'Community centre gets big grant - to be first in Australia' 12 Dec'73-1
- 207. 'Parents slammed' 19 Dec'73-4

### 1974

- 208. 'Future looks bright at Angle Park Tech.' 2 Jan'74-5
- 209. 'Public can have say in plans for centre' 16 Jan'74-3
- 210. 'Discussion on welfare centre' 23 Apr'74-2
- 211. 'Schools to boost community life' 29 May'74-1/23
- 212. 'Centre name sought' 26 Jun'74-1
- 213. 'State first for primary school' 3 Jul'74-3
- 214. 'Centre closer' 17 Jul'74-1
- 215. 'Hindmarsh to be wiped out?' 24 Jul'74-1
- 216. 'Local war on poverty' 14 Aug'74-1
- 217. 'Temporary health centre for Parks' 21 Aug'74-2
- 218. 'Protest over flats' 11 Sept'74-1 (Westlakes)
- 219. 'Unique centre opened' 18 Sept'74-1
- 220. 'Boom for welfare' 25 Sept'74-1
- 221. 'Group formed' 2 Oct'74-3
- 222. 'Welfare centre named' 2 Oct'74-3
- 223. 'Minister allays rent fears' 16 Oct'74-1
- 224. 'First stage for centre' 23 Oct'74-1
- 225. 'Centre is 'among the best in the world'' 6 Nov'74-1
- 226. 'Gala performance at Angle Park' 20 Nov'74-8
- 227. 'Health trap claim' - claim' 27 Nov'74-1

- 228. 'Parks' childcare centre soon' 11 Dec'74-1
- 229. 'Focus one project will be unique in SA' 11 Dec'74-3
- 230. 'Bleak time for needy' 18 Dec'74-1

### 1975

- 231. 'Focus One now open' 8 Jan'75-3
- 232. 'Centre will definitely go ahead' 22 Jan'75-5
- 233. 'Parks project to go ahead' 12 Feb'75-3
- 234. 'Regency Park complex will be Australia's most modern' 12 Feb'75-4
- 235. 'Relief fund running low' 19 Feb'75-1
- 236. 'Child care centre for Parks' 19 Feb'75-3
- 237. 'Drain scheme near completion' 12 Mar'75-3
- 238. 'New dimension in teaching' 2 Apr'75-1
- 239. 'Free trees, shrubs in plan to beautify local suburbs' 16 Apr'75-1
- 240. 'Family day care scheme starts' 22 Apr'75-1
- 241. '\$3.2m centre gets go ahead' 30 Apr'75-1
- 242. 'Gerry hits at lack of local facilities' 7 May'75-8
- 243. 'Seven local projects receive \$53 000' 11 Jun'75-1
- 244. 'Local groups get \$23 000' 16 Jul'75-3
- 245. 'Garden prize for Parks' 30 Jul'75-6
- 246. 'Reasons not fourth tier of government' 6 Aug'75-7
- 247. 'Legal aid for Parks' 13 Aug'75-1
- 248. 'Proposed bus route to circle Adelaide' 20 Aug'75-1
- 249. 'Single parent centre opened' 17 Sept'75-1
- 250. 'Social worker for the Parks' 17 Sept'75-3
- 251. 'Focus on legal counselling' 17 Sept'75-6
- 252. 'Migrant Advice Centre opens' 1 Oct'75-1
- 253. 'Mansfield Park part of survey' 8 Oct'75-4
- 254. 'First community centre in nation at Angle Park' 29 Oct'75-1
- 255. 'New zones for area's high schools' 12 Nov'75-10
- 256. 'Huge crowd at Parks gala day' 26 Nov'75-1

### 1976

- 257. 'Plan to help jobless keep busy' 14 Jan'76-3
- 258. 'Leader in its field' 21 Jan'76-1
- 259. 'Youth has say in community' 4 Feb'76-4
- 260. 'First step for \$10m complex' 25 Feb'76-3
- 261. 'It's entertainment' 3 Mar'76-3
- 262. 'Woodville grant for jobless' 31 Mar'76-15
- 263. 'Public hearing on new centre' 7 Apr'76-1
- 264. 'Plea for census takers' 7 Apr'76-1
- 265. 'Seeks change from old methods' 21 Apr'76-3
- 266. 'No poll for two councils' 26 May'76-1
- 267. 'Reviews future of Australian Assistance Program' 16 June'76-1
- 268. 'Parks centre gets OK' 23 Jun'76-1
- 269. 'Ward vote pathetic' 18 Aug'76-3
- 270. 'Big grants to local groups' 25 Aug'76-1
- 271. 'Trees to beautify reserve' 25 Aug'76-8
- 272. 'School's tall tree plan' 13 Oct'76-7
- 273. 'Accepting patients' 27 Oct'76-3
- 274. 'New secretary sees job as rewarding' 24 Nov'76-2
- 275. 'Wants funds for a planning study' 1 Dec'76-1
- 276. 'Army recognises Christmas need' 15 Dec'76-6
- 277. 'They remember the depression' 15 Dec'76-8

278. '\$0.5m building for Angle Park' 22 Dec'76-6

### 1977

- 279. 'Unemployment seen as crime link' 5 Jan'77-3
- 280. 'School gets higher grant' 26 Jan'77-3
- 281. 'Special care for children in need' 26 Jan'77-8
- 282. 'Improved amenities may follow study' 2 Mar'77-5
- 283. 'Migrant centres funds slashed' 16 Mar'77-1
- 284. 'AAP cut "unthinkable"' 16 Mar'77-7
- 285. 'New close-up on aggression' 4 May'77-4
- 286. '2000 local single parents' 11 May'77-9
- 287. 'New aid service' 25 May'77-1
- 288. 'Regional Planning Council tipped' 1 Jun'77-1
- 289. 'Ring route bus service backed' 15 June'77-1
- 290. 'Council concern over ring route' 22 Jun'77-1
- 291. 'Comskil helps community' 29 Jun'77-5
- 292. 'Early records were "pulped"' 29 Jun'77-4
- 293. 'Work scheme to boost youth' 6 Jul'77-1
- 294. 'Ferryden Park fire sparks action' 13 Jul'77-1
- 295. 'Lois rekindled pensioner club' 20 Jul'77-5
- 296. 'Vandalism: councils hit back' 3 Aug'77-1
- 297. 'New directory of area's services' 24 Aug'77-4
- 298. 'Concern at lack of interpreters' 31 Aug'77-6
- 299. 'Centre interim council meets' 31 Aug'77-11
- 300. 'Councils must plan together' 5 Oct'77-3
- 301. 'A new employment office at Croydon' 5 Oct'77-11
- 302. 'Transport needs for elderly to get close study' 12 Oct'77-1
- 303. 'Seniors in call for library boost' 26 Oct'77-1
- 304. 'Two more for Parks centre' 26 Oct'77-3
- 305. 'Recreation park for family fun' 16 Nov'77-1
- 306. 'Gala Day' 16 Nov'77-5

### 1978

- 307. 'Incinerator to be restored' 11 Jan'78-3
- 308. 'Ethnic groups ignored' 8 Feb'78-7
- 309. 'New buses' 8 Mar'78-1
- 310. 'Parks group is self-support' 15 Mar'78-7
- 311. 'Free trees from Trust' 21 Mar'78-9
- 312. 'Unemployment group seeks local help' 29 Mar'78-3
- 313. 'Study of local area' 12 Apr'78-1
- 314. '7000 free trees given' 12 Apr'78-4
- 315. 'New centre caters for everyone' 19 Apr'78-18
- 316. 'Parks cost tops \$1.5m in 1st year' 3 May'78-5
- 317. 'Planning area's social future' 24 May'78-1
- 318. 'Unemployment comes into focus at Parks' 24 May'78-3
- 319. 'Splinter groups form from residents hut' 24 May'78-5
- 320. 'Report upsets regional council' 31 May'78-1
- 321. '\$5m for drainage' 7 June'78-3
- 322. 'Mansfield mums do-it-themselves' 28 June'78-1
- 323. 'Unemployment - biggest problem in Hindmarsh' 5 Jul'78-5
- 324. 'Possible funding cut worries Parks' 12 Jul'78-1
- 325. 'Parks centre is behind schedule' 12 Jul'78-6
- 326. 'English for migrants' 12 Jul'78-10
- 327. 'Parks centre will be built to plan' 19 Jul'78-1



- 328. 'Centre has brought residents together' 19 July'78-3
- 329. 'Pensioner runs bus for aged' 9 Aug'78-3
- 330. 'Parks centre refused aid' + 'Dilemma for government' 30 Aug'78-3
- 331. 'Parks will get extra funds' 6 Sept'78-1
- 332. 'Centre gets extra \$2.5m' 20 Sept'78-1
- 333. 'Youth unemployment schemes get the chop' 27 Sept'78-4
- 334. 'Homes for elderly' 4 Oct'78-3
- 335. 'Viet refugees cause concern - at Pennington Hostel' 25 Oct'78-4
- 336. '\$1.75m Park totally complete' 25 Oct'78-4
- 337. 'New signals will soon operate' 29 Nov'78-4
- 338. 'TB concern at hostel' 29 Nov'78-5
- 339. 'Eyesore to be swapped for recreation land' 29 Nov'78-5
- 340. 'Parks area is looking better' 29 Nov'78-14
- 341. 'Contract let for \$8.5m workshop' 20 Dec'78-1

### 1979

- 342. 'School leavers add to jobless' 17 Jan'79-3
- 343. 'Angle Park School fares well in matric exams' 27 Jan'79-5
- 344. 'Ceiling sag delays pool' 7 Feb'79-1
- 345. 'Nominations for Parks council' 7 Feb'79-3
- 346. 'Council fears government takeover' 28 Feb'79-1
- 347. 'Attraction for young people' 28 Feb'79-4
- 348. 'Families wanted to help youngsters forget war' 28 Mar'79-4
- 349. 'Moves to reform scout group' 10 Apr'79-2
- 350. 'Secretary's refusal sparks reaction' 24 Apr'79-1
- 351. 'Full-time legal service for the Parks' 9 May'79-5
- 352. 'Parks petition calls for pension reform' 23 May'79-1
- 353. 'No alternative gaol site yet - CDC hindered' 30 May'79-1
- 354. 'Community councils get new name' 13 Jun'79-1
- 355. '\$400 000 grant to finish centre' 13 Jun'79-3
- 356. 'Council to fight post-office closure' 20 Jun'79-1
- 357. 'Gaol to go ahead at Regency Park' 4 Jul'79-6
- 358. 'Desperate need for therapist at Parks' 11 Jul'79-6
- 359. 'Crossing desperately needed - parents claim' 18 Jul'79-1
- 360. 'Traffic worries MP parents, teachers' 18 Jul'79-3
- 361. 'Retired could assist jobless' 1 Aug'79-1
- 362. 'Centre for aged sets example' 24 Oct'79-1
- 363. 'Enfield shunned by Parks Centre Council' / 'Wants bigger voice' 28 Nov'79-1/4
- 364. 'Locals angry at Parks criticism' / 'Residents defend community centre' 5 Dec'79-1/16
- 365. 'Business blow if Actil closes' 12 Dec'79-1/38

### 1980

- 366. 'All clear for Parks board' 30 Jan'80-1
- 367. 'Child care with cuddles and communication' 20 Feb'80-3
- 368. 'Parks co-op gets a boost' 20 Feb'80-3
- 369. 'Free toys bring joy at Ferryden Park' 27 Feb'80-1
- 370. 'Senator backs Actil's stand for survival' 5 Mar'80-1
- 371. 'Parks community bus' 16 Apr'80-3
- 372. 'Woodville mayor to protest to Fraser' 14 May'80-1
- 373. 'Don't worry about report - Mayor told' 21 May'80-1/14
- 374. 'Plan to curb youth strife at Parks' 28 May'80-1/6
- 375. 'Board's plans for curbing vandalism' 4 Jun'80-1/18
- 376. 'Tonkin announces Shearer expansion - 100 jobs created' 11 Jun'80-1
- 377. 'Parks cafe sponsors bus' 11 Jun'80-5

- 378. 'New sheltered workshop opened' 18 June'80-1
- 379. 'Parks is for people' 18 Jun'80-9 (Ad)
- 380. 'Regency Park factory to cost \$5.6m' 2 Jul'80-3
- 381. 'Youth help youth in the Parks' 2 Jul'80-8
- 382. 'Parents fear fatality in 'drag' street at Mansfield Park' 9 Jul'80-3
- 383. 'Factory to cost \$0.5m' 3 Sept'80-1
- 384. 'Auction sales are scandalous' 24 Sept'80-1
- 385. 'Community bus gets ready to roll' 15 Oct'80-3
- 386. 'Independence for Parks in doubt' 19 Nov'80-1
- 387. 'Local answer to Canberra' 3 Dec'80-6

## 1981

- 388. 'Hendon film HQ to be ready soon' 7 Jan'81-3
- 389. 'Councillor wants GMH to dispel lay-off rumours' 14 Jan'81-3
- 390. 'Councils need say on migrants' 25 Feb'81-8
- 391. 'Parks will get bigger say in its own affairs' 11 Mar'81-3
- 392. 'GMH: questions still require an answer: MP' 11 Mar'81-3
- 393. 'Industry ban call at Brompton Park' 14 Apr'81-1
- 394. 'Poverty is in local area - educationalist' 22 July'81-3/14 \*
- 395. 'Car industry proposal 'disastrous' - mayor' 19 Aug'81-12
- 396. 'Houses yes, industry no' 26 Aug'81-1
- 397. 'Actil gives loom to NSW college' 26 Aug'81-12
- 398. 'Major tasks facing refugee chief' 14 Oct'81-22 \*
- 399. 'Car industry rescue plans' 21 Oct'81-1
- 400. 'New deal close for Parks' 4 Nov'81-1/19
- 401. 'Council shock: Torrens to pull out of region' 11 Nov'81-5/6
- 402. 'Stanislana's garden is best in Parks' 25 Nov'81-1 \*
- 403. 'Bosses hold job talks with Minister' 2 Dec'81-19

## 1982

- 404. 'Councils in western region help each other' 13 Jan'82-4
- 405. 'Parks history display' 13 Jan'82-6
- 406. 'More can buy trust homes' 10 Feb'82-3
- 407. 'Aces will be flying again in Athol Park aircraft hanger' 10 Feb'82-7
- 408. 'Actil is safe bet on factory floor' 24 Feb'82-3
- 409. 'First open day at Parks this Sunday' 17 Mar'82-7
- 410. 'GMH questioned on job security' 24 Mar'82-1
- 411. 'Sponsors sought at Parks' 21 Apr'82-3
- 412. 'Western suburbs councils in drive against unemployment' 5 May'82-1
- 413. '\$30 000 for 6 playgrounds' 5 May'82-5
- 414. 'Ultimatum to West Torrens' 7 Jul'82-1
- 415. 'Talks on new boulevard at Hendon' 7 Jul'82-6
- 416. 'New Woolworths supermarket means 159 jobs' 21 Jul'82-17
- 417. '\$1m centre opened by Premier' 28 Jul'82-1
- 418. 'Talks on Kelvinator jobs' 28 July'82-5
- 419. 'Bob is new man at the helm' 28 Jul'82-11
- 420. 'Local councils put job scheme under spotlight' 11 Aug'82-1
- 421. 'Workers get jobs back' 18 Aug'82-1
- 422. 'Stand downs after \$4m fire' 25 Aug'82-13
- 423. 'Minister joins in the mud slinging at the Parks' 25 Aug'82-15
- 424. 'Parks doctor concerned over local student health' 22 Sept-5
- 425. 'Apprentices to pit their skills at the Parks' 6 Oct'82-14
- 426. 'Apprentices under threat' 20 Oct'82-1
- 427. 'Group being formed to help aged' 3 Nov'82-5

- 428. '\$5.5m investment in SA' 17 Nov'82-7
- 429. 'Ray aims to help jobless' 8 Dec'82-8
- 430. 'Green light for housing project' 15 Dec'82-5

### 1983

- 431. 'Centre looks at new ways to cater for young and old jobless' 5 Jan'83-7
- 432. 'Woodville council refuses Housing Trust development' 26 Jan'83-1 (W.Park)
- 433. 'Residents fight Housing Trust plans' 26 Jan'83-3
- 434. 'New cottages at Pennington' 2 Feb'83-1
- 435. 'Job threat removed at depot' 2 Feb'83-3
- 436. 'Dorothy will spin yarns in the bush' (9 Feb'83-13
- 437. 'Mayor heads jobs committee' 16 Feb'83-1
- 438. 'Locals favoured in jobs scheme' 2 Mar'83-3
- 439. 'GMH chaos fear' 16 Mar'83-1/3
- 440. 'No guarantee over jobs - Kelvinator' 16 Mar'83-3
- 441. 'Crisis talks on GMH - Mayor seeking assurances on local plant' 23 Mar'83-1
- 442. "'GMH blackmail" - Scott' / 'Meeting on GMH: Dyer' 29 Mar'83-1
- 443. 'GMH: 'new protest"' 6 Apr'83-1
- 444. 'Messenger joins Advertiser group' 6 Apr'83-1
- 445. 'Workers set up tent city outside plant' 13 Apr'83-3
- 446. 'GMH silent on future of Woodville' 4 May'83-1
- 447. 'Local traders hit by rumours of GMH plight' 11 May'83-3
- 448. 'Plea to save jobs' / 'Holdens silent on jobs export claim' 25 May'83-1
- 449. 'Jobless garden project' 25 May'83-5
- 450. 'Survey on effect of GMH layoffs' 1 June'83-1/19
- 451. 'GMH workers must unite, Blewett' / 'GMH decision is 'shocking': Mayor upset' 8 Jun'83-3
- 452. 'Split over regional secretary' 6 Jul'83-1
- 453. 'Appeal to Hawke over GMH plight' 6 Jul'83-3
- 454. "Safe houses' to beat molesters' 13 Jul'83-1
- 455. 'GMH campaign takes to the road' 27 Jul'83-3
- 456. 'Major industry chooses here?' 27 July'83-3
- 457. '\$1m jobs boost by Actil' 3 Aug'83-1
- 458. 'Under siege' 10 Aug'83-5
- 459. 'Actil works injury free' 17 Aug'83-4
- 460. 'Parents are apathetic over Parks kids' safety' 24 Aug'83-14
- 462. 'Vietnamese to open office at Woodville' 31 Aug'83-4
- 463. 'Laser beams in on SA' 14 Sept'83-4
- 464. 'Dead centre of Woodville - sacked worker plans trip' 21 Sept'83-1
- 465. 'Child abuse crisis' 21 Sept'83-1
- 466. 'Migrant hostel shakeup' 19 Oct'83-1/6
- 467. 'Jobless given work' 26 Oct'83-6
- 468. 'Refugee rent' rip-off"' 9 Nov'83-1
- 469. 'Committee seeking more block parents' 23 Nov'83-6
- 470. 'New CYSS Centre opens at the Parks' 7 Dec'83-3
- 471. 'Shop theft is epidemic' 7 Dec'83-6
- 472. 'Staff shortage could cause class closure' 14 Dec'83-5
- 473. 'Westfield Kilkenny \$10m expansion is on schedule' 14 Dec'83-9

### 1984

- 474. 'Breakin epidemic a worry' 25 Jan'84-1
- 475. 'Car thieves on rampage' 1 Feb'84-3
- 476. 'Allegations of rorts in SYTEP program' 22 Feb'84-4
- 477. 'New \$20m extension of Arndale by Westfield' 29 Feb'84-5
- 478. 'CEP funds in Port electorate' 21 Mar'84-23

- 479. 'Grey power stops units for underprivileged kids in Renown Park' 28 Mar'84-1
- 480. 'Prestige projects boosting western image' 4 Apr'84-1
- 481. 'Last picture show at North' 4 Apr'84-5
- 482. 'Buddhist temple at Pennington' 4 Apr'84
- 483. 'Fun times flicker to end at drive-in' 17 Apr'84-9
- 484. 'Safe house scheme a winner....' 2 May'84-9
- 485. 'New life for old GMH plant' 9 May'84-1
- 486. 'Seaton staff's jobs in danger' 23 May'84-1
- 487. 'Revamp of old suburbs unveiled' 6 June'84-1/3
- 489. 'Hindmarsh plan hit by both sides' 13 June'84-3
- 490. 'MP links deaths to industry' 20 Jun'84-1
- 492. 'Western suburbs 'test bed' for study on jobless leisure' 18 July'84-3
- 493. 'GMH plant on the road to a vibrant resurgence' 25 Jul'84-5
- 494. 'The general beats a final retreat from Woodville' 29 Aug'84-5
- 495. 'Signing on for another big decade' 29 Aug'84-5
- 496. 'US takeover saves 34 jobs at Raytheon' 5 Sept'84-5
- 497. 'Study to generate economic growth in western suburbs' 3 Oct'84-1

## 1985

- 498. 'Police plan to forge stronger suburban links' 16 Jan'85-3
- 499. 'Mixed local reaction to compulsory voting' 6 Feb'85-3
- 500. '\$25 000 study looks at promoting tourism' 13 Feb'85-3
- 501. 'Community vegies' 20 Feb'85-3
- 502. 'Dudley Park Trust bid labelled a 'ghetto'' 13 Mar'85-3
- 503. 'Scheme aims to create jobs for unemployed' 20 Mar'85-3
- 504. 'Houses plan for former drive-in site' 10 Apr'85-3
- 505. 'SA's first science education centre - Woodville North' 17 Apr'85-5
- 506. 'Crisis over childcare' 22 May'85-1
- 507. 'Survey shows local apathy to recreation' 29 May'85-1
- 508. 'Parks growth area' 3 Jul'85-5
- 509. '30 jobs to be found in just four weeks' 10 Jul'85-5
- 510. 'Most residents want half road closed' 21 Aug'85-6
- 511. 'More jobs at local factory' 21 Aug'85-6
- 512. 'Trust ignored requests, Parks man alleges' 28 Aug'85-3
- 513. 'New police station for Kilkenny' 4 Sept'85-1
- 514. 'Fight is on for living space' 16 Oct'85-1
- 515. 'CEP projects offer work to area's disadvantaged' 16 Oct'85-1
- 516. 'Report paints gloomy scene for local area' 6 Nov'85-1
- 517. 'Mansfield Park youth hostel plan attacked' 13 Nov'85-1
- 518. 'Aboriginal youth hostel gets the nod' 27 Nov'85-3
- 519. 'Actil retrenches 80 workers' 18 Dec'85-3

## 1986

- 520. 'Actil updates' 19 Mar'86-7
- 521. 'Transport depot' 2 Apr'86-3
- 522. 'GMH plant chosen for car tooling works plan' 14 May'86-1
- 523. '50 years and 12 mayors later Doug calls it a day' 21 May'86-6
- 524. 'Parks playground a true adventure' 4 June'86-8
- 525. 'Adventure playground to close at the Parks' 10 Sept'86-3
- 526. 'Hendon resident angry at removal of post box' 15 Oct'86-14
- 527. 'Supermarket staff to be recruited by Coles and CES' 15 Oct'86-17
- 528. 'Pennington's independent living units for migrants 'a first'' 12 Nov'86-19
- 529. 'Textile workers fear the future' 3 Dec'86-3

## 1987

- 530. '3000 new trees for Enfield's roads' 15 Jan'87-6
- 531. 'Simpson ties up \$7m deal with China' 28 Jan'87-1
- 532. 'New centre to advise industry' 28 Jan'87-1
- 533. 'A dirty nappy story with a million dollar ending' 28 Jan'87-9
- 534. 'Chemical spill at Actil' 18 Feb'87-1
- 535. 'Membership 'not representative of community"' 25 Feb'87-3
- 536. 'Shearer refuses to rule out staff cuts' 25 Feb'87-9
- 537. 'Upgrade to start export boom' 4 Mar'87-8
- 538. 'Park bomb scare' 25 Mar'87
- 539. 'Parks senior citizens club makes windfall discovery' 1 Apr'87-15
- 540. 'Health service faces closure' 8 Apr'87-5
- 541. 'Free workshops for unemployed migrant men' 22 Apr'87-5
- 542. 'Feud over home video business' 20 May'87-3
- 543. 'CEP grants to upgrade schools' 20 May'87-3
- 544. 'New office aims to continue Comskill success story' 3 June'87-9
- 545. 'Woodville leading revival' 17 Jun'87-1
- 546. 'STA services may get the chop' 15 July'87-1
- 547. '100 plus Royal Park residents protest over noise from Dixon Street factory' 22 July'87-7
- 548. '\$1.5m temporary headquarters fro sub project in Woodville' [nr]
- 549. '\$5.7m for local works' 23 Sept'87-5
- 550. 'Lack of computers doesn't add up to success' 21 Oct'87-7
- 551. 'Interstate investors 'drawn to new local industry projects"' 11 Nov'87-8
- 552. '\$2m plastics plant set up' 11 Nov'87-8
- 553. 'Program designed to help some more into new jobs' 18 Nov'87-11
- 554. 'Pennington centre opens new doors for refugees' 2 Dec'87-3
- 555. 'Neighbourhood Watch in Mansfield Park' 2 Dec'87-12
- 556. 'Trust opposes amusement parlour plan' 16 Dec'87-7

## 1988

- 557. 'Police hunt rapist - Mansfield Park youth' 27 Jan'88-3
- 558. 'Women with baby fighting off youths in playground' 3 Feb'88-3
- 559. 'Western councils are on the hunt for more federal government funds' 10 Feb'88-9
- 560. 'Push to upgrade Mansfield Park, Angle Park area' 2 Mar'88-3
- 561. 'Athol Park people angry over Chilean club move' 2 Mar'88-7
- 562. 'Kilkenny police station forced to close down' 29 Mar'88-9
- 563. '\$3m village plan for Mansfield Park' 27 Apr'88-3
- 564. 'Big west region proposed' 25 May'88-1
- 565. 'Buddhist temple: work starts soon' 13 Jul'88-3
- 566. 'Export award' 13 Jul'88-2
- 567. 'Local ethnic mix highest in state' 17 Aug'88-3
- 568. 'On the road again to finding a job' 17 Aug'88-15
- 569. 'Burglars causing a stink in Parks area' 24 Aug'88-7
- 570. 'Woodville council forms enterprise unit' 2 Sept'88-3
- 571. 'Trust's flats 'will be unbearable"' 5 Oct'88-3
- 572. 'Mauled women angry over savage attack' 12 Oct'88-3
- 573. 'Big bins may be introduced' 2 Nov-88-3
- 574. 'Protest at Trust-unit plan' 2 Nov'88-3
- 575. 'Hendon to be SA business hub' 16 Nov'88-1
- 576. 'New road transport training centre is an Australian first' 16 Nov'88-18
- 577. 'Trust flats for aged' 23 Nov'88-9
- 578. 'Woodville jobless project hit by tiny rise in funds' 7 Dec'88-3
- 579. 'Revamp gives park back to community' 21 Dec'88-3
- 580. 'Parks awards' 21 Dec'88-11

## 1989

- 581. 'GMH plant turns from ghost town to boom town' 11 Jan'89-10
- 582. 'Council regional office for Parks' 8 Feb'89-3
- 583. 'Council merger moves ahead' 22 Feb'89-5
- 584. 'It's the final blow for Wally' 1 Mar'89-7
- 585. 'Warehouse and offices included in Hendon Industrial Estate' 1 Mar'89-9
- 586. 'Figures show increased jobs in western suburbs' 17 May'89-5
- 587. 'Bridgestone to build new complex' 17 Mar'89-5
- 588. 'Skills for long term jobless' 31 May'89-13
- 589. 'Manufacturing Park bankrupt and for sale' 7 June'89-3
- 590. 'Apathy over tree planting' 28 Jun'89-13
- 591. 'Plan for recyclable waste collection' 5 July'89-6
- 592. 'Project teaches new skills to young' 5 Jul'89-21
- 593. 'Woodville plan to recycle waste' 12 July'89-1
- 594. 'Minders needed in west for paid child day care work' 26 Jul'89-13
- 595. 'Grove's school gets community service centre' 9 Aug'89-3
- 596. 'Resident wins factory noise battle' 15 Aug'89-8
- 597. 'Youngster 'devastated' over second bike theft' 23 Aug'89-3
- 598. 'Industrial heart of Regency Park' 23 Aug'89-17/21
- 599. 'Woodville - it's SA's multicultural melting pot' 8 Nov'89-3
- 600. 'Group pushes for industry clean up' 8 Nov'89-1
- 601. 'Industry hit by skill shortage' 22 Nov'89: 1
- 602. 'Residents demand truck ban' 22 Nov'89-5
- 603. 'Dramatic Vietnamese entrance' 29 Nov'89-1

## 1990

- 604. 'Enfield 'slum' area should go: Jensen' 10 Jan'90-1
- 605. 'Offer would interest Woodville' 10 Jan'90-1
- 606. 'In the company of family' 7 Feb'90-5
- 607. 'Slum comment untrue' 7 Feb'90-2
- 608. 'Vietnamese crime claims 'not true'' 14 Feb'90-3
- 609. 'Parks school enrolments jump for first time' 7 Mar'90-3
- 610. 'Mansfield Park Youth pay final tribute to 'Higgo's'' 21 Mar'90-3
- 611. 'Sloppy' report shows doubt on student tax study' 28 Mar'90-8
- 612. 'Dulux unveils new \$2.3m base' \$ Apr'90-9
- 613. 'Funds cut threatens ethnic service' 10 Apr'90-15
- 614. 'Recreation needs focus of Cheltenham study' 18 Apr'90-3
- 615. 'Enfield fun park would reap in cash for councils: Jensen' 18 Apr'90-5
- 616. 'Recycling hits crisis' 9 May'90:1
- 617. 'Orana notches up 10 years' 23 May'90-7
- 618. 'Council pollution record attacked' 13 Jun'90-3
- 619. 'Plea for lights near Parks 'granny flats'' 20 Jun'90-3
- 620. 'Actil plant sews up the linen market' 18 Jul'90-15
- 621. 'Safety first at factory' 25 Jul'90-15
- 622. 'Region to produce business directory' 25 Jul'90-15
- 623. 'Buddhist's temple must shut' 1 Aug'90-1
- 624. 'Subs given jobless a boost' 15 Aug'90-5
- 625. 'Couples 'misery' over smell, noise' 22 Aug'90-1
- 626. Factory wins fight: 'Factory stays but rooster faces the axe' 12 Sept'90-3
- 627. 'Voter turnout in metropolitan Adelaide' 22 Aug'90-3
- 628. 'Units, detached homes preferred: survey' 22 Aug'90-(?)
- 629. 'GMH rail station to get axe' 22 Aug'90-3
- 630. 'Bogus bomb sparks alert' 26 Sept'90-9

- 631. 'Parks centre inviting local people to look into its future' 10 Oct'90-9
- 632. 'Course cuts to hurt migrants' 31 Oct'90-1
- 633. 'Hanson Road's Asian shops forecast as tourist area' 31 Oct'90-5
- 634. '\$3.8m ETSA training centre opens' 7 Nov'90-19
- 635. 'Call for residents idea's on neighbourhood houses' 7 Nov'90-19
- 636. 'Phone-in for SA's outworkers' 7 Nov'90-19
- 637. 'Prize garden to be ripped up for garden units' 21 Nov'90-3
- 638. 'Parks centre has a healthy vision for a bright future' 21 Nov'90-9
- 639. 'Stolen taxi set alight' 5 Dec'90-5
- 640. 'Taskforce push for council say on MFP plans' 19 Dec'90-7
- 641. 'Big grants boost to local projects' 19 Dec'90-16

## 1991

- 642. 'Two knife wielding thieves return to free accomplice' 16 Jan'91-6 (MP)
- 643. 'Breakins fear sparks call for watch scheme' 6 Feb'91-3
- 644. 'Urine test call after fox barbecue horror' 6 Feb'91-3
- 645. 'Residents ready to chase off vandals' 13 Feb'91-3
- 646. 'Use GMH site for brothels - Condous' 20 Feb'91-1
- 647. 'Survey on elderly people's needs' 20 Feb'91-9
- 648. 'Stinking drugs, booze pit must go: residents' 27 Feb'91-3
- 649. 'New group to beat environmental and health problems' 20 Mar'91-13
- 670. 'Survey to identify top safety fears' 26 Mar'91-3
- 671. 'CES training course works for 11 unemployed' 3 Apr'91-3
- 672. 'Demand for report on 'disgusting' Hanson Road' 3 Apr'91-5
- 673. 'Chairman denies school will be shut down' 3 Apr'91-5
- 674. 'Green' groups dump MFP talks' 10 Apr'91-15
- 675. 'Stressed' residents call for dispute service' 17 Apr'91-3
- 676. 'Police foil fish and chip shop breakin' 17 Apr'91-12 (AtP)
- 677. 'New Trust rent payment scheme upsets tenants' 24 Apr'91-3
- 678. 'Study targets west as heart for industry' 1 May'91
- 679. 'Retirees demand an end to 'terrifying' traffic' 8 May'91-5
- 680. 'After hours school' open at Parks' 22 May'91-3
- 681. 'Parks centre hogged by yuppies: MP' 29 May'91-1
- 682. 'Survey shows locals use centre: Levy' 29 May'91-1
- 683. 'Woodville may become 'central link' for MFP' 12 June'91-3
- 684. 'Good and bad news on western jobs front' 19 Jun'91-3
- 685. 'Factory area may become housing' 3 Jul'91-1
- 686. 'Ideas to nurture small businesses in tough times' 17 Jul'91-3
- 687. 'Escapee may be hiding out locally' 24 Jul'91-5 (MP man)
- 688. 'Resident victory in row over trust units' 7 Aug'91-3
- 689. 'Syringe used in TAB robbery' 14 Aug'91-5
- 690. 'New traffic study into Parks high accident rate' 21 Aug'91-3

## 1992

- 691. 'Elderly urged to join watch schemes, in response to murder' 8 Jan'92-5
- 692. 'Parks service hotline flooded with calls' 15 Jan'92-9
- 693. 'Lights out - elderly left in the dark and in fear' 29 Jan'92-1
- 694. 'Frightened seniors live in constant security nightmare' 26 Feb'92-1 [W.Cr]
- 695. 'Elderly told 'don't panic over crime' 11 Mar'92-1
- 696. 'Garbage bags banned' 11 Mar'92-7
- 697. "'We don't bash people'" 18 Mar'92-3
- 698. 'Aged' exploited by security sales pitch' 8 Apr'92-1
- 699. 'Warning to avoid area's high bankruptcy rate' 8 Apr'92-6
- 700. 'Enfield drives up Regency Park golf fees 400 percent' 29 Apr'92-1

- 701. 'Four blazes as arsonists hit western area' 6 May'92-5
- 702. '\$200 000 for safer suburbs' 13 May'92-5
- 703. 'Parks reviewed and revamped' 27 May'92-11
- 704. 'Funding handball for Parks' 17 Jun'92-5
- 705. 'Squatters trash abandoned Housing Trust unit' 1 Jul'92-3
- 706. '24hrs factory idea' 8 Jul'91-1
- 707. 'Hundreds complain over 'foul' smells' 15 Jul'92-3
- 708. 'Community feedback wanted on making Parks safer' 15 Jul'92-4
- 709. 'Amalgamation of councils 'struck of the agenda'" 22 Jul'92-7
- 710. 'Security firm nabs 480 over commercial crime' 29 Jul'92-1
- 711. 'Better deal for west's commuters' 5 Aug'92-3
- 712. 'Drive for industry blueprint' 5 Aug'92-5
- 713. 'Parks centre fails to lift local morale' 19 Aug'92-1
- 714. 'Huge boost for local roads and footpaths from Federal budget' 26 Aug'92-7
- 715. 'Budget jobs funds may not create long-term work' 9 Sept'92-1
- 716. 'Case for and against council amalgamation' 16 Sept'92-9
- 717. 'Council flooded with job requests' 14 Oct'92-1
- 720. 'Telecom jobs on line with branch up for sale' 28 Oct'92-15
- 721. 'Neighbours fear new dose of horrors from factory' 18 Nov'92-14 (CrP)
- 722. 'Trust helps victims of abuse' 25 Nov'92-14
- 723. 'Enfield to spend \$1m on community centres' 2 Dec'92-11

### 1993

- 724. 'Thieves, vandals bleeding dry churches charity' 6 Jan'93-5
- 725. '\$2.9m grants projects rolling' 20 Jan'93-3
- 726. 'Neighbourhood house to be set up in old Woodville Gardens police station' 10 Feb'93-6
- 727. 'Strict rules to preserve West's colourful identity' 17 Feb'93-5
- 728. 'Trust, council accused of ignoring protests' 10 Mar'93-15
- 729. 'Security to get boost at Parks' 17 Mar'93-9
- 730. 'Vandals trail of destruction at vacant Athol Park house' 14 Apr'93-3
- 731. 'Strategy to make north-west area Australian leader in development' 12 May'93-7
- 732. 'Community centre a product of perseverance' 12 May'93-13
- 733. 'Plan to breakup Trust neighbourhoods' 2 June'93-9
- 734. '25 new jobs as manufacturing centre helps SA businesses' 9 June'93-9
- 735. 'Councils are 'slow and bungling' - MFP Report' 7 July'93-1
- 736. 'Western health levels worrying - report' 14 July'93-1
- 737. 'West's jobless rate above average' 21 July'93-7
- 738. 'Figures reflect high number of 'disadvantaged groups' 21 July'93-7
- 739. 'Illegal immigrants to be targeted in West' 18 Aug'93-1
- 740. 'Old Trust Homes to go on show' 18 Aug'93-3
- 741. 'Study into coping' 25 Aug'93-1
- 742. 'Trust should put tenants first' 25 Aug'93-2
- 743. 'Aged couple scared by attacks on home' 22 Sept'93-5
- 744. 'Sicker, poorer and dying younger in the west' 20 Oct'93-5
- 745. 'Job Scene' 20 Oct'93-12
- 746. 'Poor health linked to learning' 27 Oct'93-5
- 747. 'Smelly western air not as bad as it seems: authority' 24 Nov'93-5
- 748. 'Jobless have their say on curing problem' 1 Dec'93-19

### 1994

- 749. 'Scouts shortages leaves leader idle' 19 Jan'94-3
- 750. 'Unemployment is not our problem' 19 Jan'94-6
- 751. 'Factory Fire' 16 Feb'94-11
- 752. 'Starforce called after two-hour siege in Ferryden Park' 23 Feb'94-1



- 753. 'Job Clubs lend the west's unemployed out of wilderness' 23 Feb'94-6
- 754. 'Grants for local landmarks' 23 Feb'94-13
- 755. 'Man,81, knocked unconscious' 2 March'94-11
- 756. 'Government funds help tackle west's high jobless level' 16 Mar'94-3
- 757. 'Enfield launches jobs scheme' 16 Mar'94-3
- 758. 'Shopping woes of inner west' 16 Mar'94-5
- 759. 'New scheme allows casual work or dole' 13 Apr'94-15
- 760. 'Asian community calls for calm' 20 Apr'94-1
- 761. 'Tackling Unemployment' 20 Apr'94-5
- 762. 'Family eating study to focus on Parks' 11 May'94-15
- 763. 'Sedorkin wins Enfield poll' 6 July'94-13
- 764. 'Class closure leaves western suburbs area without language support' 27 July'94-3
- 765. 'Guide to building friendlier neighbourhood' 20 July'94-18
- 766. 'Trust must take hard line on troublesome tenants-Rossi' 13 July'94-4
- 767. 'Police annoyed at 'mop-up'' 13 July'94-4
- 768. 'Migrant mums missing out on English lessons: claim' 27 July'94-3
- 769. 'Housing trust standards' 12 Oct'94-20
- 770. 'Council sells greyhound complex for \$1m' 12 Oct'94-6
- 771. 'Kerbside plan for all suburbs' 14 Oct'94-5
- 772. 'Residents and industry clash over vibrations' 26 Oct'94-5
- 773. 'Parks trust homes in line for major facelift' 8 Nov'94-11
- 774. 'Housing Trust assures residents will be involved in Parks project' 21 Dec'94-3
- 775. 'Parks meeting missed main point' 14 Dec'94-3
- 776. 'Factory fire at Kelvinator's Woodville North plant' 7 Dec'94-5
- 777. 'Postal staff threatened with knife' 7 Dec'94-5
- 778. '400 temporarily stood down at Actil' 9 Nov'94-7

## 1995

- 779. 'Jobless rate still highest at Parks' 1 Feb'94-7
- 780. 'Three way probe into Asian crime' 1 March'94-1
- 781. 'Trust tenants petition for more mental health funds' 1 Mar'95-13
- 782. 'Tenders assessed for Parks revamp' 8 Mar'95-5
- 783. 'Ethnic groups high on jobless list' 5 Apr'95-9
- 784. 'School's 'green' housing plan' 5 Apr'95-1
- 785. 'Enfield 'likely' to take over Parks' 11 Apr'95-9
- 786. 'Four arrested after Mansfield Park robbery' 11 Apr'95-11
- 787. 'Arnotts factory listens to pleas against carpark' 11 Apr'95-5
- 788. 'Council assured all items are recycled after kerbside pickup' 11 Apr'95-4
- 789. '\$20 000 for family crisis centres' 19 Apr'95-9
- 790. 'Council departments set for shakeup as part of Parks sale' 19 Apr'95-4
- 791. 'Parks workers fear consequences of takeover' 26 Apr'95-7
- 792. 'Parks housing renewal 'won't force people out'' 26 Apr'95-5
- 793. 'Call to ban pit bulls in Trust homes' 26 Apr'95-5
- 794. 'Marleston couple may be moved from near factory' 26 Apr'95-1
- 795. '25 year vision for 'heartland'' 10 May'95-1,10,11
- 796. 'Report unveils 25 year anti-crime vision' 17 May'95-5
- 797. 'Tired Tung sets his sights on working for all cultures' 17 May'95-7
- 798. 'Praise and doubts welcome north-west strategic plan' 17 May'95-9
- 799. 'Council decides not to relocate Arnotts neighbours' 17 May'95-11
- 800. 'Western jobs rate SA's worst' 24 May'95-3
- 801. 'Uncertain fate for west's guinea pig' 31 May'95-7
- 802. '\$200,000 multi-strategy to kill graffiti vandalism' 7 Jun'95-1
- 803. 'Workers rally support for Parks Centre' 7 Jun'95-1
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## Figure 10.1: Selected Parliamentary Extracts

### Building The Parks

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 16<sup>th</sup> September 1975 Statement on Community Centres - House of Assembly (South Australian Parliament). Speaker: Hon. Don Hopgood (Minister for Education).**

"South Australia is about to pioneer a significant social recreational and educational institution, the community centre high school, following a grant of \$3 196 000 from the Australian Government for the establishment of such facilities at Angle Park ..... It is hoped that building can commence for the Angle Park centre before the end of the first half of 1976 .... The concept is unique within Australia since the secondary school will be an integral part but not necessarily a dominant feature of the complex that will serve the needs and interests of the wider community as well as those of the school students ..... The public and the communities served by the (centre) will have access to the grounds, buildings and facilities for recreational, social and educational activities as well as the use of a wide range of community and health services. In these circumstances it is beyond question that the establishment of the (centre) is a public purpose (my emphasis)."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1975. Debate on 'Community Centres' in the Legislative Council.**

Hon. CM Hill (MLC-Liberal): "The concept of community centres ... is exciting and challenging. .... Indeed, the position is such that I wonder whether some other administrative machinery ... is really modern enough to be able to cope with these plans. For example, I believe there is a need for the Government to keep in close liaison with local government in regard to establishing these community centres."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 13 July 1978. A Question to the Hon. Don Hopgood (Minister for Education) by Mr John Bannon (MP - Labour).**

Question: "What assurances can the Minister of Education ..... give that the Parks Community Centre will be completed as scheduled and that finance will be available so that it can be adequately staffed?"

Minister's Reply: "I cannot guarantee that there will be not be some problems concerning the staffing of some components of the centre at the time we originally envisaged them to start ..... We, in common with all other states, are suffering

in this way for reasons that have already been widely canvassed, so I cannot guarantee all the components of the centre will be serviced with staff as quickly as we originally indicated."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1978. A Question to the Hon. Don Hopgood (Minister for Education) by Mr John Bannon (MP - Labour).**

"Some time ago the South Australian Minister of Education wrote to Mr Groom, the Federal Minister, asking him to re-examine the Commonwealth's contribution to this vital community development project, which the Commonwealth has been involved in and interested in since its inception, and pointing out that the cost escalation that had occurred through no fault or inefficiency of those responsible for the project, but simply through a combination of effluxion of time and the detailed planning and cost estimating. The Federal Minister has replied .... that despite the significance of the project and the difficulties facing the (State) Government, the Commonwealth is still not prepared to increase the level of Commonwealth assistance (my emphasis)."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1978. A Question to the Hon. Don Hopgood (Minister for Education) by Mr David Wolton (MP - Liberal).**

Question: "What is the total cost of the Parks Community Centre at this stage?"

Minister's Reply: "As at 11<sup>th</sup> August 1978, State Cabinet approved the expenditure of \$14 700 000 on the Parks Community Centre."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 6<sup>th</sup> November 1980. A Question to the Hon. CM Hill (Minister for Local Government) by Hon Chris Sumner (MLC-Labour).**

Question: "Will the Minister tell the Council what stage this proposal to incorporate the Parks Community Centre has reached, and when can people running and using this facility expect some action?"

Minister's Reply: "The actual form of authority to control the Parks Community Centre is under very close scrutiny by the Government at present .... (and) the Government intends to take action and to decide upon a form of authority to control the centre."

Source: South Australian Parliament (1975-1980) *Parliamentary Hansard* Adelaide.

## Figure 10.2: Selected Parliamentary Extracts Defending The Parks

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1981. Estimates Committee (A) Hearings. Discussion of the Parks Community Centre by Hon C Hill (Minister for Local Government).**

**Leasing:** "We have made some inquiries and we have endeavoured to interest the General Manager in looking into the possibility of some private or other public institutions taking over sections of the Parks, because we thought that it might be more economical for that to be considered ..... A proposal has been made concerning the possibility of leasing the sporting sections of the Parks ..... but at the same time we want to ensure that the users of the Parks are not disadvantaged by such proposals."

**Cost:** "At \$16,000,000 it was one of the most wasteful projects in Australia."

**Usage:** "At present I am not certain whether local people are using the Parks to the full. This is the point on which I reserve judgement. I do not know whether or not the people for whom the Parks was constructed, namely, the lower income people in that region of metropolitan Adelaide, are attracted to use its facilities and its services as is designed and developed ..... As the Committee knows, the Parks was a national experiment; it was the only centre of its kind in Australia, and all eyes around Australia were turned upon it to see whether or not it would work. In other words, it was an experiment, and \$16,000,000 for experiments of this kind might have been in fashion in the era when Mr Whitlam was Prime Minister, but that kind of expenditure on this kind of development is not in fashion now."

**Question from Mr S Evans (MP):** "I wish to know whether the rest of the State is being disadvantaged by the amount of money being spent to maintain the Parks .... (and) did the local community raise any money, as other communities have had to do to achieve their goals, or was it put there on a platter?"

**Minister's Reply:** "The main funds for the Parks have come from the State and Federal Governments. The contribution from local government has been minimal. One reason for that, of course, is that the centre is not centralised in local government area. This, in some respects, is unfortunate, because otherwise I would be very pleased to try and influence such a local government area to take an even bigger interest in its management control (my emphasis)."

**Question from Mr S Evans (MP):** "Has the Minister any detail of the cost of maintenance, in particular in the area of damage to property at the Parks in the last year? Also, if possible can he give the number of

people who work as volunteers in the operations of the Parks?"

**Minister's Reply:** In answer to the last question, many volunteers down there are, to the best of my knowledge, local people who contribute greatly to the centre's activities. With regard to the actual damage that has been caused by vandalism, it is a fact that there has been a degree of vandalism at the Community Centre.

**Letter from P Button (Angle Park), recorded in the Parliamentary Hansard (Legislative Council) 18<sup>th</sup> November 1981.**

"I have been a resident in the area for more than 25 years and the development of the Parks Community Centre has been the first real attempt to offer the people in our community a more fulfilling existence .... The centre has been far from a waste of money, but a most vital place and has presented so many individuals, such as myself, with opportunities that otherwise would never have been available to us. It is an area which has been neglected by governments for most of its life."

**Comment by Mrs H Jasper (Ferryden Park), recorded in the Parliamentary Hansard (Legislative Council) 18<sup>th</sup> November 1981.**

"I grew up in this area. I know what it's like to be a kid hanging round the streets because there's nowhere to go, and nothing to do that you can afford. It will be a sad day if someone decides they want to make a profit out of it."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1981. Debate on the Parks Community Centre Bill - Legislative Council. Speaker Hon. CM Hill (Minister for Local Government).**

"The Government cannot accept this amendment (increasing local representation on the Centre's Board of Management) ..... The reason why the Government objects to reducing its nominees from four to one (of a twelve member board) is that an underlying principle for a board like this is to be successful, is that one must achieve some objective thinking and discussion on that board. If one has boards of this kind with people who have a sectional interest to promote, who represent sectional interests in that area, one will not get wise and proper discussion at board level, nor will one get discussions that reflect broad objective thinking."

*Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1981. A Question to the Hon CM Hill (Minister for Local Government) by Hon Chris Sumner (MLC-Labour).*

*Question:* "Considerable concern has been expressed of late about the Parks Community Centre, particularly in the community surrounding that centre, in regard to the future of that facility ..... Is it the intention of the Government to lease any part of the complex to outside persons or organisations?"

*Minister's Reply:* "We have not got any present intention of doing that .... the Government intends that the Parks Community Centre will continue, but we will face up to our responsibility ..... (and) will see to it that extravagance and waste will be curbed."

*Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1981. Debate on the Parks Community Centre Bill - House of Assembly (South Australian Parliament). Speaker John Bannon, Opposition Leader (Ross Smith - ALP).*

"The point is often made, but it is worth making again, that it is no accident the Parks Community Centre is established where it is. ... [The area] was a dormitory suburb established very rapidly at the time of an acute housing shortage after the war. Most of the homes were built by the Housing Trust on a standard duplex, double unit model. It was not well designed, and the houses were not well built ... There was virtually no recreation facilities. The open spaces were overgrown paddocks. The sewage farm, which was operated until 1961, was to the immediate east of the suburb. There was no swimming pool, no sports centre, no artistic outlets, and no cinemas ..... All of these things created a kind of ghetto of difficulty and, therefore, it was no mistake which saw a government seeking to create some kind of community centre and community facilities. Absolutely basic to the whole concept of the community centre was the development of a sense of community.

(However the community) had to know what they wanted. They had to be involved in the planning process ..... So, when the Parks Community Centre finally was erected as a series of buildings, there already was an active and vibrant community prepared and ready to use those facilities .... All the groundwork that was laid in developing the sense of community spirit, through gala days and the establishment of a residents association, and so on, is now bearing fruit in terms of the way in which these facilities are being used ..... *It is still an underprivileged area. The people there are still battlers, in our society. There is still a far too high incidence of unemployment, of broken families, of all sorts of social problems. They are present but the community is coping with those problems in a more effective way, as a result of the establishment of the Parks Community Centre. (my emphasis).*

This, in a sense, is the culmination of the process I have been describing, the development of a sense of community and community networks in the area, the establishment of facilities in a concentrated or centralised facility and, now, the time at which the facility is to be handed over to those that live and work there and use it to administer in their own right .... The concept that the previous (Labour) Government had was that basically the centre would be controlled by those residents and users of the centre, that in addition there would need to be some form of representation from the various departments that work in the centre and service it, and that the staff employed there should have a voice and a role to be played as well ...

However, when the Bill finally came to the House we found that ..... the membership (of the Management Board) had been expanded ..... This is unacceptable to the Opposition because it gets away from the concept of the community running its own centre, which is a vital part of the whole philosophy behind the Parks Community Centre. It was never conceived that the Minister .... should be in a position of controlling the board by means of the nominations that the Minister would make. Yet, in effect, that is what is happening in this case. The community representation is too low, and the nominated representation from the Minister is too high."

*Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1981. Debate on the Parks Community Centre Bill - House of Assembly (South Australian Parliament).*

*Hemmings (MP-Labour):* "The whole idea of putting on the board four members representing the Minister of Local Government clearly shows that the Minister intends to stack that board so that any decision that could be to the detriment of the Parks community can go through without any problem."

*Whitten (MP-Labour):* "The community should be running this centre with the assistance and guidance of the Government departments, but let us have a little sense of balance ..... Let us have some input from the community on an equal representative basis."

*Abbott (MP-Labour):* "I think it was shown that cutting costs and simply phasing out certain services ..... would inevitably lead to reduced income and reduced credibility for the centre as a whole, and ultimately an increased cost to the Government in the long-term in maintaining an institution not regarded with favour by the community it was supposed to serve (my emphasis)."

**Source:** South Australian Parliament (1981) *Parliamentary Hansard* Adelaide.

### Figure 10.3: Selected Parliamentary Extracts 'Reinventing' The Parks

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1991. Debate on the Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) Amendment Bill.**

Hon. JC Irwin (MLC-Liberal): "The Parks Community Centre services an area of high need ... The annual report of the centre for 1990 states that in excess of 75 percent of all households receive social security as the primary source of income ..... However, I must say that, even if the Parks establishment was born out of necessity in 1981, it should not - leaving the school aside - be an economic drain on the taxpayers of South Australia and Australia forever (my emphasis)."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1991. Debate on the Parks Community Centre (Miscellaneous) Amendment Bill.**

Mr I Venning (MP-Liberal): "I have some difficulty, as members would expect, because of my country upbringing, in coming to terms with a complex where everything is provided by the Government, although admittedly there is an element of user-pays in some activities."

Mr Ferguson (MP-Labour): "The Member for Custance said that he had problems with the fact the user-pays principle did not apply .... If we had a user pays principle, we would never have had the Parks Community Centre because the people of the area are amongst the poorest in our community and they would never have been able to put together the money to provide such a magnificent centre."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 9<sup>th</sup> April October 1991. A Question to Hon A Levy (Minister for Local Government Relations) by Hon. Bernice Pfitzner (MLC-Liberal)**

Question: "Will the Minister collect statistics from the community section of the Parks regarding the frequency of use of the pool and the gymnasium according to age, sex and place of residence? In this way we can substantiate or refute the claims and reasons behind the poor usage of the Parks community facilities by local residents."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 21 October 1993. A Question to Hon C J Crafter (Minister of Education) by Mr J Oswald (MP - Liberal).**

Oswald (MP-Liberal): "As I understand it, the Government Agencies Review Group, commonly known as GARG, has completed a review of the Parks Community Centre ..... As a result of the recommendations, it has been decided to bring the fragmented sections of the centre under one administration with a view later ... of possibly transferring the management and ownership of the

centre to Enfield Council ..... Has the Government set a time frame for the disposal of the Parks Community Centre to Enfield Council ..... (and) .... Is the council pursuing any other options for the disposal of the centre to any other type of organisation?"

Minister's Reply: "No, because that may not be the eventual outcome ..... (and) ..... A number of suggestions have arisen during this whole process, one of which is to negotiate with other non-Government providers for the delivery of some of the services that are currently provided at the Parks Community Centre."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1994. A Statement on the Parks Community Centre by Hon J Oswald, Minister for Housing and Urban Development (MP - Liberal).**

"Negotiations with the City of Enfield have now been concluded, and the council will undertake a 12 month management agent function of the centre with a review to take place nine months from now ..... The City of Enfield has made temporary offers of employment to permanent employees on salaries and under conditions of employment as determined appropriate under the provisions of the municipal officers award."

**Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1994. A Question to the Hon. M Armitage, Minister for Health (MP - Liberal) by Mr M De Laine (MP - Labour).**

Question: "Will the Minister for Health intervene to prevent the reduction of health services at the Parks Community Health Centre because of Government budget cuts?"

Minister's Reply: "No"

**Extract from a Review into the Parks High School. Recorded in the Parliamentary Hansard 27<sup>th</sup> March 1996.**

"The Parks High School is an asset to the public education system in South Australia with outstanding values and learning practices that are at the cutting edge. The school clearly values diversity and equity, and this is displayed in the many programs that have been developed to support disadvantaged students.

The Parks High School should continue to provide secondary education for continuing and adult students on the site of the Parks Community

Centre ... The financial arrangements for The Parks High School .... should be renegotiated with the appropriate Government departments. These arrangements should enable the school to be on site rent free and responsible for the actual outgoings it uses. .... The Parks High School should (also) provide a district focus for vocational education and training and explore collaborative links with schools, training providers and industry to ensure that multiple pathways are available to students .... Students have voiced concern that they may not cope with mainstream school settings .... (while) many of the adult students would simply not access a secondary education."

***Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 27<sup>th</sup> March 1996. Debate on a motion, condemning the Closure of the Parks High School, sponsored by the Hon C Pickles (MLC - Labour) in the Legislative Council.***

Hon R Lucas: "The Leader of the Opposition referred to the issue of cross-charging, but it does not matter what it is called. The simple fact of life is that the budget of the Department for Education and Children's Services ..... incurs a cost of about \$800 000 a year for the use of the facilities at the Parks. The second fact is that, in terms of the discussions the Government is having with local government about a possible transfer of ownership, the (Department) was not looking at a possible reduction .... If a new owner chose not to continue that level of subsidy, as local government might chose not to, that new owner might well increase charges to offset that level of subsidy. "

***Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1996. Debate on a motion, condemning the Closure of the Parks High School, sponsored by Mr M De Laine (MP-Labour) in the House of Assembly..***

Mr M Brindal (MP-Liberal): " ... while the decision to close the Parks High School may well be regretted ..... there is no evidence that the advent of people from The Parks going into preferred institutions, into preferred career paths, has in fact increased ..... (and) for many years I have observed the trend away from using the local community school .... it was a classic case of declining enrolment offset by a very large investment .... That is the reason for closing the Parks High School. It is because it is no longer economically viable (my emphasis)."

Mr M De Laine (MP-Labour): "The member for Unley said that the school was a brave experiment that has been a failure. How dare he and the Minister pass judgement on this school and the contributions made over many years. They have had no involvement with the school or the local area ..... The Parks High School has been and is very successful and has achieved what it was set up to do - to give disadvantaged kids in the area a real chance at life,

something that many of these kids would not have got at other schools."

***Edited Extract from the Parliamentary Hansard, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1996. Debate on a motion, condemning the Closure of the Parks High School, sponsored by Hon C Pickles (MLC-Labour) in the Legislative Council.***

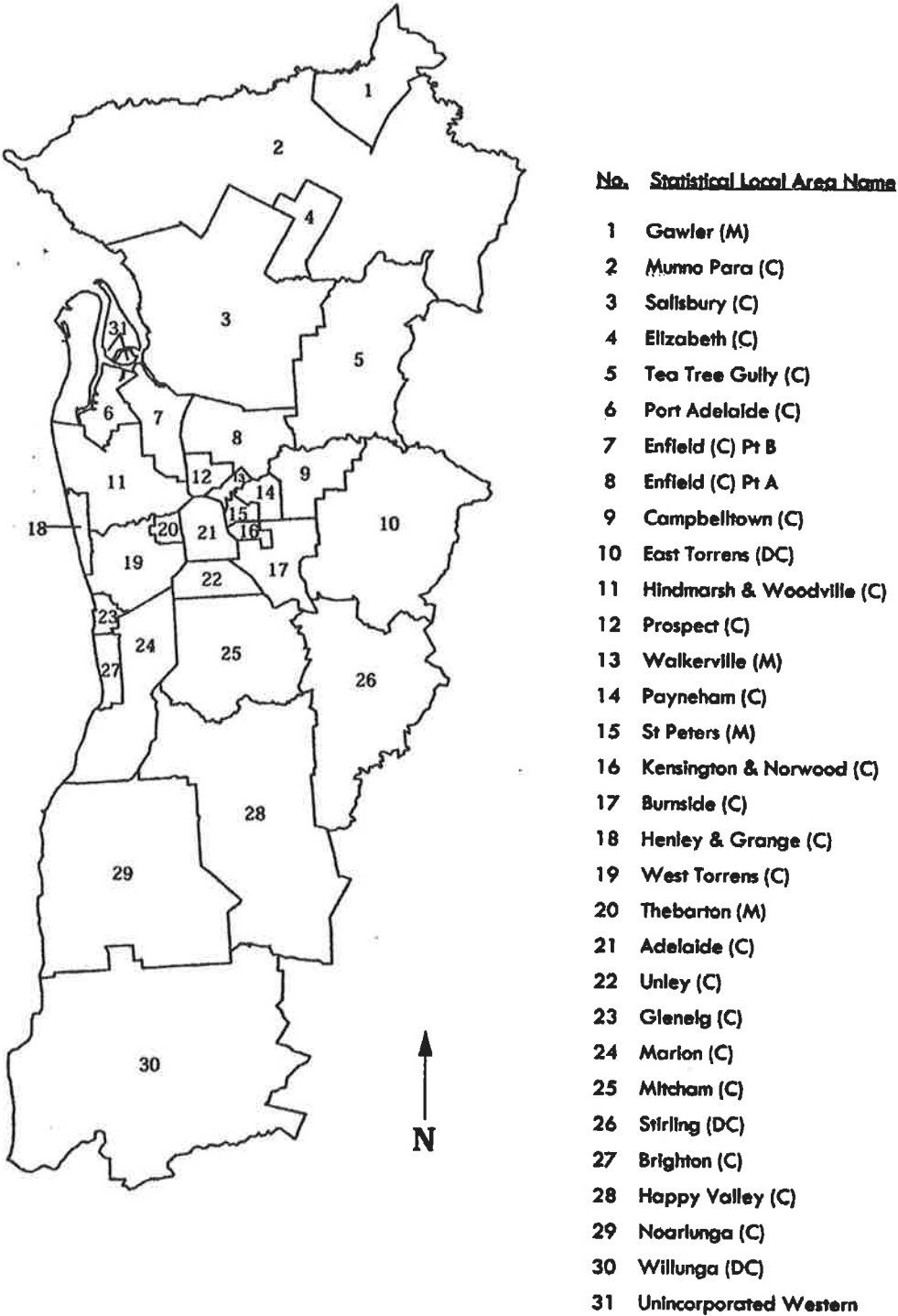
Hon. C Pickles (MLC-Labour): "The Parks is one of the most disadvantaged communities in South Australia with 33 percent unemployment; 57 percent of people living in Housing Trust homes; 60 percent of people are low income earners; 30 percent of households do not own a car; 26 percent of residents are from a non-English speaking birthplace; and 19 percent are single parent households. So we are not talking about an affluent community .... these are South Australia's real battlers.

The school is all the more significant because of the successful programs run for children with disabilities and adult re-entry students. For those with disabilities ... the school provided a life of active learning which might otherwise have been denied to these people. For those who have gone back to school as adults, there have been many positive outcomes in terms of continuing studies or successful career transitions."

***Press Release by the Minister for Tourism, the Hon. Graham Ingerson (MP-Liberal), on the proposal for a 'World Class Sports Institute for the Parks'. 1996.***

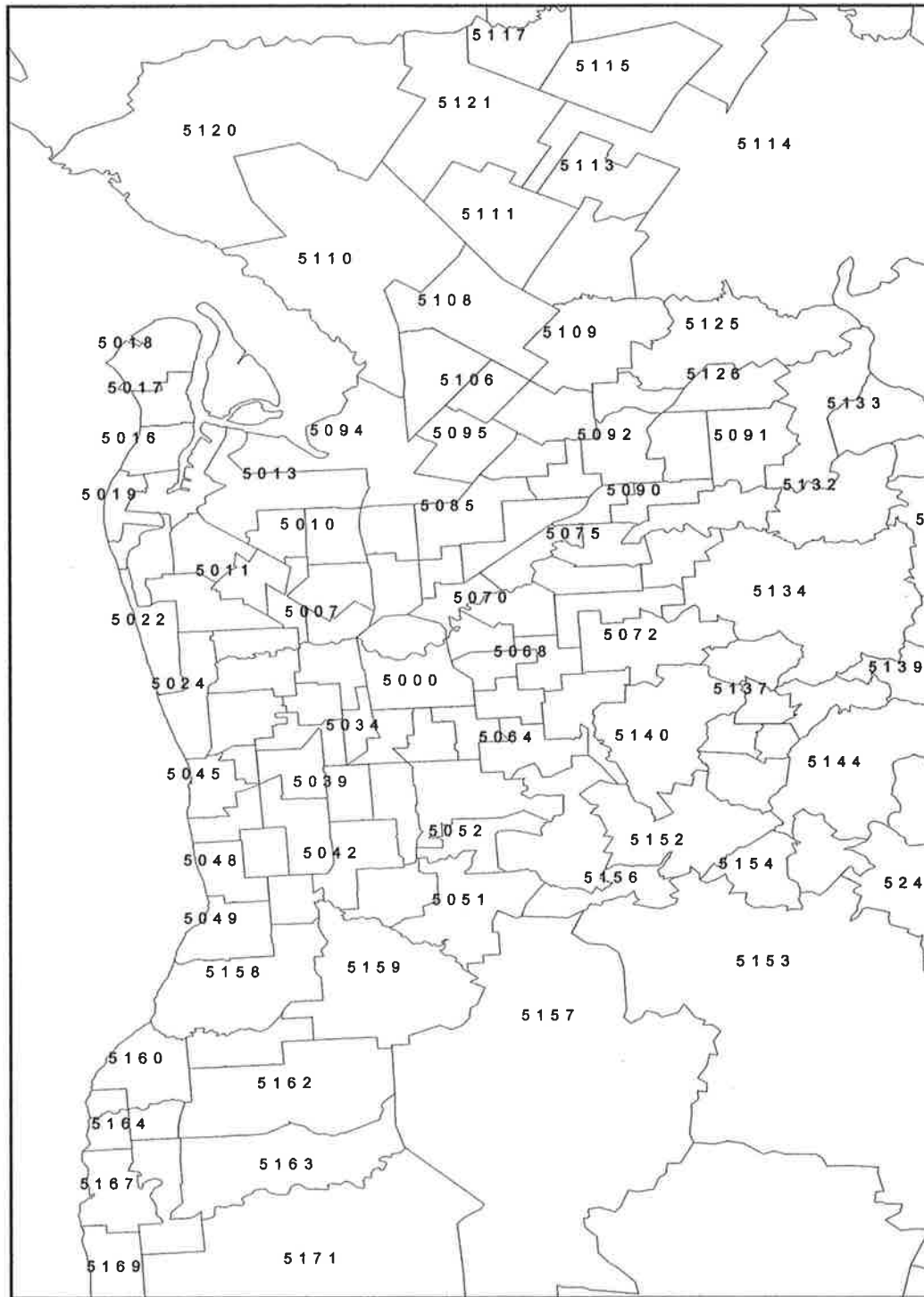
"The State Government will undertake a three month feasibility study of developing a world-class sports Institute at the Parks Community Centre .... (which) has the potential to be transformed into an international standard sports training and education centre, catering to the development of sport at all levels in South Australia. 'The future of the Parks is currently under examination and the Government believes there is an exciting opportunity to maximise the use of the \$35 million worth of existing assets at the site (my emphasis) ..... in moving the South Australian Sports Institute to the site and significantly upgrading facilities, the centre would cater not only to elite athletes, but would also be available to the local community and would be capable of generating economic benefits for the State (my emphasis).' The feasibility study proposal has been endorsed by State Cabinet and by the Port/Adelaide Enfield Council."

**Source:** South Australian Parliament (1991-1996) *Parliamentary Hansard* Adelaide.



**Figure 10.4: Statistical Local Area Boundaries**  
[Adelaide Metropolitan Area]

**Figure 10.5: Postcode Boundaries**  
Adelaide Metropolitan Area



|                    |                        |                      |                      |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 5000 Adelaide      | 5049 Seacliff          | 5109 Brahma Lodge    | 5144 Carey Gully     |
| 5010 Brompton      | 5051 Coromandel Valley | 5110 Bolivar         | 5152 Crafers         |
| 5011 Ferryden Park | 5052 Glenalta          | 5111 Edinburgh RAAF  | 5153 Ironbank        |
| 5011 Woodville     | 5064 Glen Osmond       | 5113 Elizabeth North | 5154 Aldgate         |
| 5013 Wingfield     | 5068 Leabrook          | 5115 Munno Para      | 5156 Coromandel East |
| 5016 Largs Bay     | 5070 Payneham          | 5117 Angle Vale      | 5157 Cherry Gardens  |
| 5017 Taperoo       | 5072 Woodforde         | 5120 Virginia        | 5158 Sheidow Park    |
| 5018 North Haven   | 5075 Demarcourt        | 5121 Penfield        | 5159 Aberfoyle Park  |
| 5019 Semaphore     | 5085 Enfield           | 5114 Smithfield      | 5160 Lonsdale        |
| 5022 Grange        | 5090 Hope Valley       | 5125 Golden Grove    | 5162 Morphett Vale   |
| 5024 Fulham        | 5091 Tea Tree Gully    | 5126 Surrey Downs    | 5163 Hackham         |
| 5034 Goodwood      | 5092 Modbury           | 5132 Paracombe       | 5164 Christie Downs  |
| 5039 Edwardstown   | 5094 Dry Creek         | 5133 Inglewood       | 5167 Port Noarlunga  |
| 5042 Clovelly Park | 5095 Pooraka           | 5134 Montacute       | 5169 Seaford         |
| 5045 Glenelg       | 5106 Parafield         | 5137 Ashton          | 5171 McLaren Vale    |
| 5048 Dover Gardens | 5108 Salisbury         | 5140 Greenhill       |                      |



**Table 10.6: DEETYA Unemployment Level Estimates: 1984-2000\****Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Adelaide Metropolitan Area*

| LGA                      | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Adelaide (C)             | 1087 | 858  | 771  | 803  | 739  | 766  | 596  | 1011 | 1023 | 968  | 887  | 1137 | 823  | 882  | 915  | 822  | 789  |
| Brighton (C)             | 674  | 577  | 617  | 525  | 484  | 472  | 451  | 665  | 932  | 861  | 823  | 804  | 841  | 697  | 665  | 510  | 641  |
| Burnside (C)             | 1114 | 954  | 920  | 999  | 880  | 820  | 622  | 1127 | 1250 | 1113 | 1060 | 1241 | 972  | 932  | 1092 | 1172 | 785  |
| Campbelltown (C)         | 1568 | 1258 | 1390 | 1642 | 1496 | 1252 | 1031 | 1723 | 2063 | 1802 | 1804 | 2071 | 1664 | 1647 | 1689 | 1641 | 1488 |
| East Torrens (C)         | 126  | 110  | 121  | 149  | 156  | 134  | 113  | 195  | 246  | 215  | 197  | 240  | 179  | 192  | 184  | 184  | 148  |
| Elizabeth (C)            | 2387 | 2054 | 2397 | 2273 | 2553 | 2159 | 2143 | 2675 | 3060 | 2642 | 2426 | 2640 | 2113 | 2632 | 2319 | 2149 | 2423 |
| Enfield Pt A             | 4100 | 3442 | 3776 | 3867 | 2902 | 2279 | 2127 | 2799 | 3402 | 3025 | 2953 | 3086 | 2590 | 3001 | 3066 | 2758 | 2833 |
| Enfield Pt B (The Parks) |      |      |      |      | 1424 | 1180 | 1268 | 1637 | 1786 | 1922 | 1740 | 1400 | 1268 | 1524 | 1354 | 1120 | 1231 |
| Gawler (M)               | 346  | 319  | 334  | 384  | 699  | 541  | 567  | 730  | 930  | 854  | 805  | 827  | 694  | 845  | 794  | 710  | 740  |
| Glenelg (C)              | 705  | 608  | 685  | 600  | 573  | 533  | 941  | 1350 | 1828 | 1716 | 1591 | 867  | 878  | 709  | 589  | 465  | 546  |
| Gumeracha (DC)           | 128  | 122  | 101  | 137  | 110  | 101  | 113  | 101  | 162  | 152  | 150  | 152  | 145  | 180  | 189  | 108  | 105  |
| Happy Valley (C)         | 456  | 389  | 493  | 481  | 503  | 466  | 419  | 698  | 1205 | 1194 | 1095 | 1111 | 1285 | 1039 | 943  | 719  | 971  |
| Henley & Grange (C)      | 663  | 572  | 536  | 567  | 493  | 388  | 424  | 585  | 723  | 729  | 716  | 589  | 529  | 579  | 546  | 443  | 461  |
| Hindmarsh (M)            | 663  | 544  | 599  | 611  | 671  | 523  | 529  | 719  | 776  | 860  | 753  | 658  | 564  | 700  |      |      |      |
| Hindmarsh & Woodville    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 4612 | 3841 | 4064 |
| Kensington & Norwood (C) | 506  | 438  | 438  | 488  | 397  | 419  | 299  | 493  | 546  | 431  | 445  | 509  | 400  | 381  | 432  | 366  | 282  |
| Marion (C)               | 2784 | 2554 | 2592 | 2297 | 2272 | 2223 | 2130 | 3138 | 4651 | 4195 | 3918 | 3794 | 4109 | 3428 | 3164 | 2531 | 3210 |
| Mitcham (C)              | 1808 | 1721 | 1828 | 1528 | 1528 | 1432 | 1239 | 1743 | 2566 | 2428 | 2204 | 2139 | 2154 | 1864 | 1786 | 1333 | 1696 |
| Mount Barker (DC)        | 411  | 371  | 401  | 524  | 546  | 439  | 447  | 457  | 625  | 656  | 779  | 696  | 701  | 823  | 1003 | 774  | 825  |
| Munno Para (C)           | 1717 | 1537 | 1895 | 1843 | 2177 | 1850 | 1812 | 2402 | 2863 | 2514 | 2384 | 2612 | 2201 | 2645 | 2623 | 2363 | 2778 |
| Noarlunga (C)            | 2619 | 2446 | 2947 | 2848 | 2975 | 2851 | 2675 | 4326 | 6535 | 5908 | 5477 | 5981 | 6717 | 5495 | 5064 | 4225 | 5302 |
| Onkaparinga (DC)         | 166  | 140  | 132  | 161  | 153  | 136  | 133  | 162  | 182  | 192  | 221  | 210  | 211  | 232  | 308  | 186  | 217  |
| Payneham (C)             | 692  | 536  | 556  | 622  | 556  | 576  | 414  | 694  | 805  | 670  | 694  | 815  | 709  | 669  | 659  | 690  | 581  |
| Port Adelaide (C)        | 2250 | 1983 | 2016 | 2152 | 2260 | 1781 | 1880 | 2480 | 2842 | 2985 | 2666 | 2174 | 2024 | 2340 | 2138 | 1833 | 1903 |
| Prospect (C)             | 985  | 811  | 842  | 889  | 898  | 784  | 687  | 1102 | 1087 | 976  | 945  | 1157 | 927  | 955  | 979  | 906  | 869  |

**Table 10.6 (cont.): DEETYA Unemployment Level Estimates: 1984-2000\****Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Adelaide Metropolitan Area*

| LGA                | 1984         | 1985         | 1986         | 1987         | 1988         | 1989         | 1990         | 1991         | 1992         | 1993         | 1994         | 1995         | 1996         | 1997         | 1998         | 1999         | 2000         |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Salisbury (C)      | 4214         | 3775         | 4239         | 4450         | 5119         | 4339         | 4420         | 6100         | 7768         | 6941         | 6673         | 6905         | 5922         | 6616         | 6236         | 5694         | 6321         |
| St. Peters (M)     | 523          | 381          | 401          | 452          | 397          | 316          | 273          | 427          | 451          | 370          | 404          | 410          | 343          | 350          | 326          | 318          | 261          |
| Stirling (DC)      | 376          | 302          | 317          | 350          | 305          | 336          | 252          | 449          | 532          | 475          | 486          | 600          | 495          | 466          | 468          | 424          | 398          |
| Tea Tree Gully (C) | 2026         | 1790         | 1942         | 2094         | 2251         | 1931         | 1831         | 2827         | 3716         | 3436         | 3290         | 3504         | 3200         | 3452         | 3295         | 2667         | 2843         |
| Thebarton (M)      | 969          | 790          | 767          | 821          | 799          | 572          | 609          | 825          | 797          | 784          | 700          | 612          | 528          | 625          | 577          | 461          | 539          |
| Unley (C)          | 1604         | 1332         | 1369         | 1494         | 1323         | 1133         | 958          | 1604         | 1754         | 1564         | 1465         | 1718         | 1338         | 1277         | 1369         | 1262         | 1064         |
| Walkerville (C)    | 212          | 170          | 175          | 212          | 151          | 165          | 122          | 209          | 245          | 199          | 201          | 257          | 195          | 198          | 226          | 176          | 155          |
| West Torrens (C)   | 2201         | 1854         | 1862         | 2040         | 1944         | 1532         | 1591         | 2380         | 2691         | 2925         | 2665         | 2115         | 1893         | 2139         | 2032         | 1675         | 1739         |
| Willunga (DC)      | 395          | 348          | 438          | 421          | 466          | 423          | 370          | 641          | 882          | 835          | 833          | 892          | 962          | 828          | 789          | 615          | 769          |
| Woodville (C)      | 4208         | 3455         | 3736         | 3698         | 3808         | 3125         | 3199         | 4474         | 5063         | 5315         | 4832         | 3845         | 3636         | 4252         |              |              |              |
| <b>ADELAIDE</b>    | <b>44683</b> | <b>38541</b> | <b>41633</b> | <b>42422</b> | <b>44008</b> | <b>37977</b> | <b>36685</b> | <b>52948</b> | <b>65987</b> | <b>61852</b> | <b>58282</b> | <b>59763</b> | <b>55206</b> | <b>56591</b> | <b>50900</b> | <b>43900</b> | <b>47800</b> |

\* These figures are based on estimates of unemployment rates for small area labour markets within the Adelaide Metropolitan Area. Estimates are derived, primarily, from a combination of data sets: including the ABS Labour Force Survey, ABS Census of Population & Housing and Social Security statistics. From July of 1994, DEETYA's organisational structure was changed, whereby Statistical Local Area's (SLA's) were grouped according to local labour markets within each DEETYA region. Estimates for the period 1984 to 1986 are based on half yearly results to May. Estimates for the period 1987 to 1999 are based on quarterly results to June. Figures for 2000 are from the March Quarter.

**Source:** DEETYA (1984-1999) *Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Australia* Economic Analysis Branch AGPS

**Table 10.7: DEETYA Unemployment Rate Estimates: 1984-2000\****Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Adelaide Metropolitan Area*

| LGA                               | 1984  | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Adelaide (C)                      | 15.3  | 11.8 | 10.4 | 10.7 | 11.8 | 11.4 | 9.4  | 15.6 | 16.4 | 12.4 | 10.7 | 13.6 | 10.6 | 13.1 | 10.9 | 9.7  | 9.1  |
| Brighton (C)                      | 8.4   | 6.7  | 6.6  | 5.7  | 5.5  | 5.2  | 5    | 6.9  | 10   | 9.8  | 9.8  | 9.1  | 9.3  | 7.5  | 7.7  | 5.9  | 7.4  |
| Burnside (C)                      | 6.5   | 5.4  | 5.2  | 5.5  | 5.2  | 4.5  | 3.5  | 6.3  | 7.2  | 6    | 5.7  | 6.6  | 5.6  | 4.6  | 5.7  | 5    | 4    |
| Campbelltown (C)                  | 7.3   | 5.7  | 6.2  | 7.3  | 7    | 5.5  | 4.6  | 7.5  | 9.2  | 7.9  | 7.8  | 9    | 7.8  | 6.7  | 7.8  | 7.5  | 6.7  |
| East Torrens (C)                  | 4.5   | 3.8  | 4.2  | 5.1  | 4.9  | 4    | 3.3  | 5.5  | 7.1  | 6.2  | 5.2  | 6.4  | 5.1  | 4.8  | 5.1  | 5    | 4    |
| Elizabeth (C)                     | 17.2  | 14.7 | 16.8 | 15.7 | 19.5 | 16.9 | 16.3 | 21.2 | 23.9 | 21.2 | 21   | 22.5 | 23.9 | 22.5 | 23.9 | 22.5 | 24.2 |
| Enfield Pt A                      | 13.5  | 11.3 | 12.2 | 12.2 | 13.3 | 10.7 | 9.4  | 12.9 | 15.6 | 14.3 | 14.7 | 15.2 | 11.8 | 14.3 | 15.7 | 14.4 | 14.1 |
| Enfield Pt B ( <i>The Parks</i> ) |       |      |      |      | 22.6 | 17.3 | 18.5 | 24.2 | 27.2 | 29.3 | 25.3 | 21   | 20.8 | 21.7 | 23   | 18.1 | 20   |
| Gawler (M)                        | 12.2  | 11.3 | 11.5 | 13   | 10.8 | 8.6  | 7.5  | 10   | 12   | 11.6 | 8    | 10.7 | 8.2  | 10.3 | 10.3 | 9.4  | 9.3  |
| Glenelg (C)                       | 12    | 9.6  | 9.9  | 8.9  | 9.1  | 8.2  | 8    | 11.1 | 16.1 | 14.1 | 13.1 | 12.4 | 12.3 | 10.1 | 8.5  | 6.6  | 7.8  |
| Gumeracha (DC)                    | 5.6   | 5    | 4.1  | 5.1  | 3.5  | 3    | 2.9  | 3.5  | 5.5  | 4.7  | 4.5  | 4.6  | 4.2  | 4.8  | 5.5  | 3    | 2.8  |
| Happy Valley (C)                  | 4     | 3.1  | 3.7  | 3.6  | 2.9  | 2.6  | 2.4  | 3.7  | 6.2  | 6.2  | 5.6  | 5.4  | 6.1  | 4.6  | 4.5  | 3.4  | 4.5  |
| Henley & Grange (C)               | 9     | 7.7  | 7.1  | 7.4  | 6.6  | 4.7  | 5.3  | 7.4  | 9.4  | 9.7  | 9.2  | 7.8  | 7.7  | 7.3  | 7.3  | 5.6  | 5.9  |
| Hindmarsh (M)                     | 19    | 15.5 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 17.5 | 12.6 | 12.2 | 16.7 | 18.5 | 21.6 | 17.7 | 16   | 15.3 | 16.4 |      |      |      |
| Hindmarsh & Woodville (C)         |       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 11.2 | 8.9  | 9.5  |
| Kensington & Norwood (C)          | 11.4  | 9.5  | 9.4  | 10.4 | 8.7  | 8.6  | 6.2  | 10   | 11.3 | 8.7  | 8.9  | 10.1 | 8.6  | 7.2  | 8.6  | 7.2  | 5.5  |
| Marion (C)                        | 8.7   | 7.4  | 6.9  | 6.2  | 6.1  | 5.8  | 5.5  | 7.5  | 11.1 | 11.5 | 11   | 10.2 | 10.7 | 8.7  | 8.5  | 6.7  | 8.5  |
| Mitcham (C)                       | 6.6   | 5.8  | 5.7  | 4.9  | 4.7  | 4.3  | 3.8  | 5    | 7.5  | 7.6  | 7.2  | 6.6  | 6.5  | 5.5  | 8.7  | 4.2  | 5.4  |
| Mount Barker (DC)                 | 6.7   | 5.8  | 6.2  | 7.4  | 6.4  | 4.9  | 4.3  | 6.3  | 8.5  | 7.2  | 7.9  | 7.1  | 6.6  | 7.1  | 9.6  | 7.1  | 7.2  |
| Munno Para (C)                    | 13.3  | 11.9 | 14.3 | 13.6 | 15.5 | 13.5 | 11.9 | 16.5 | 18.7 | 16.3 | 14.9 | 16.1 | 12.1 | 15   | 14.9 | 13.6 | 15.2 |
| Noarlunga (C)                     | 9.1   | 7.9  | 8.8  | 8.6  | 8.1  | 7.5  | 7    | 10.5 | 15.8 | 14.1 | 12.5 | 13   | 13.9 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 9.1  | 11.5 |
| Onkaparinga (DC)                  | 5.2   | 4.2  | 3.9  | 4.3  | 3.9  | 3.3  | 2.9  | 5.2  | 5.7  | 4.7  | 5.2  | 5    | 4.8  | 4.9  | 7.5  | 4.4  | 4.9  |
| Payneham (C)                      | 9.1   | 6.8  | 7    | 7.7  | 7.7  | 7.5  | 5.5  | 9.1  | 10.9 | 9    | 9.2  | 10.8 | 10.1 | 8.3  | 9.3  | 9.6  | 7.9  |
| Port Adelaide (C)                 | 13.9  | 12.2 | 12.1 | 12.7 | 13.4 | 9.7  | 10.3 | 13.7 | 16   | 16.7 | 14.4 | 12.1 | 12.4 | 12.5 | 11.9 | 9.7  | 10.1 |
| Prospect (C)                      | 11.21 | 9    | 9.1  | 9.5  | 10.1 | 8.3  | 7.4  | 11.5 | 11.2 | 10.1 | 9.7  | 11.8 | 10.3 | 9.3  | 10.1 | 9.3  | 8.7  |

**Table 10.7 (cont.): DEETYA Unemployment Rate Estimates: 1984-2000\*****Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Adelaide Metropolitan Area**

| LGA                | 1984       | 1985       | 1986       | 1987       | 1988       | 1989       | 1990       | 1991       | 1992        | 1993        | 1994        | 1995        | 1996       | 1997       | 1998       | 1999       | 2000       |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Salisbury (C)      | 9.7        | 8.6        | 9.5        | 9.8        | 9.5        | 8.3        | 7.8        | 11.1       | 13.7        | 12.3        | 12.1        | 12.3        | 9.7        | 11.1       | 11.5       | 10.6       | 11.3       |
| St. Peters (M)     | 13         | 9.2        | 9.5        | 10.6       | 9.8        | 7.3        | 6.4        | 9.8        | 10.6        | 8.5         | 9.3         | 9.4         | 8.5        | 7.8        | 7.5        | 7.2        | 5.8        |
| Stirling (DC)      | 5.6        | 4.4        | 4.5        | 4.9        | 4.1        | 4.2        | 3.2        | 5.6        | 6.7         | 5.3         | 5.4         | 6.6         | 6          | 4.8        | 5.4        | 4.8        | 4.4        |
| Tea Tree Gully (C) | 5.8        | 5.1        | 5.4        | 5.7        | 5.3        | 4.7        | 4          | 6.4        | 8           | 7.1         | 6.7         | 7.1         | 5.8        | 6.3        | 6.3        | 5.2        | 5.3        |
| Thebarton (M)      | 23.5       | 19         | 18.1       | 19         | 19.5       | 12.9       | 13.9       | 19.1       | 19.1        | 20.1        | 17.3        | 15.7        | 14.7       | 15.2       | 14.9       | 11.3       | 13.3       |
| Unley (C)          | 9.3        | 7.5        | 7.6        | 8.2        | 7.7        | 6.2        | 5.3        | 8.7        | 9.8         | 7.8         | 7.3         | 8.5         | 7.2        | 6.1        | 7.3        | 6.7        | 5.5        |
| Walkerville (C)    | 6.4        | 5          | 5.1        | 6.1        | 4.7        | 4.8        | 3.7        | 6.2        | 7.5         | 5.9         | 6           | 7.6         | 6.3        | 5.6        | 6.9        | 5.3        | 4.6        |
| West Torrens (C)   | 10         | 8.4        | 8.2        | 8.9        | 8.5        | 6.1        | 7          | 10.6       | 12.3        | 13.6        | 12.1        | 9.9         | 9.7        | 9.4        | 9.6        | 7.5        | 7.8        |
| Willunga (DC)      | 11.7       | 9.5        | 11.1       | 10.9       | 8.9        | 7.8        | 6.4        | 10.4       | 13.6        | 13.4        | 12.6        | 12.9        | 13.2       | 11.3       | 11.7       | 9          | 11.3       |
| Woodville (C)      | 11.5       | 9.4        | 10         | 9.7        | 10.2       | 7.7        | 8.1        | 11.5       | 13.4        | 14.1        | 12.5        | 10.3        | 10.7       | 10.8       |            |            |            |
| <b>ADELAIDE</b>    | <b>9.8</b> | <b>8.2</b> | <b>8.5</b> | <b>8.6</b> | <b>8.6</b> | <b>7.2</b> | <b>6.8</b> | <b>9.7</b> | <b>12.1</b> | <b>11.3</b> | <b>10.7</b> | <b>10.6</b> | <b>9.1</b> | <b>9.4</b> | <b>9.7</b> | <b>8.2</b> | <b>8.9</b> |

\* These figures are based on estimates of unemployment rates for small area labour markets within the Adelaide Metropolitan Area. Estimates are derived, primarily, from a combination of data sets: including the ABS Labour Force Survey, ABS Census of Population & Housing and Social Security statistics. From July of 1994, DEETYA's organisational structure was changed, whereby Statistical Local Area's (SLA's) were grouped according to local labour markets within each DEETYA region. Estimates for the period 1984 to 1986 are based on half yearly results to May. Estimates for the period 1987 to 1999 are based on quarterly results to June. Figures for 2000 are from the March Quarter.

Source: DEETYA (1984-1999) *Small Area Labour Market Statistics - Australia* Economic Analysis Branch AGPS

MINISTER FOR HOUSING, URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS.  
MINISTER FOR RECREATION, SPORT & RACING

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HON. JOHN OSWALD MP

2 NOVEMBER 1994

## **MEDIA RELEASE**

### **SA HOUSING TRUST PARKS REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

The Minister for Housing, Urban Development and Local Government Relations, John Oswald, has announced that the South Australian Housing Trust is to investigate options for redeveloping public housing in The Parks area.

The Parks has high concentrations of Trust housing, much of it built in the 1940s and 1950s, which is becoming rundown, expensive to maintain and unable to meet the increasing demands for a greater variety of housing types.

"In order to meet the needs of those people who rely on access to public housing, the Trust must find better and more effective ways of accommodating its customers, as well as improving the value of its housing assets," Mr Oswald said.

The study to be completed by June 1995 will mainly cover the suburbs of Athol Park, Ferryden Park, Mansfield Park, Angle Park and Woodville Gardens and will consider options for sales, demolition, refurbishment and the building of new homes by the private sector.

Any redevelopment project that resulted from the study was likely to extend over 10-15 years, the Minister said. Consultation is continuing with the Enfield Council.

"Redevelopment such as Rosewood and Mitchell Park have been a huge success. We expect any development in the area to be in a similar vein."

The Minister said that the Government's initiative would compliment other recent State and Commonwealth government initiatives which have focussed attention on the quality of life in our cities and suburbs.

He said it was envisaged that the level of Trust housing in The Parks could be reduced to around half its current level through a major redevelopment and project opportunities would be provided for Trust tenants to purchase in the area.

"We believe mixed housing is desirable as it reduces the "ghetto" type of public housing. Inevitably such a major redevelopment project would involve a significant level of demolitions," Mr Oswald said.

"Therefore the Trust is sensitive to the potential impact on tenants and other residents living in the area and is committed to hearing community views and concerns before making any decisions about the redevelopment."

The Trust will provide regular up-to-date information to tenants and residents generally as the study proceeds, the Minister said. Tenants wanting more information should contact the Regional Manager at The Parks Regional Office on 348 0400.

## What a Carve Up! - The Parks Urban Renewal Project

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### Abstract

In November 1994, the South Australian Government announced a major redevelopment of the 'Parks' - a public housing estate in Adelaide's northwestern suburbs. While local residents have been 'consulted', there remain considerable doubts as to the commercial objectives of the project and, given overseas experiences, whether or not local residents will be given a genuine choice as to the type of redevelopment strategy to be adopted.

### Introduction

For almost twenty years, the metier of radical research, which had consistently challenged the proposition that the market 'knows best', provided an important source of political activism and economic critique. However by the 1990s, concerns were raised as to why 'the working class and other disadvantaged communities' were 'curiously absent from the landscapes' of postmodernity (Chouinard, 1994: 3). While the investigation of cultural difference, from gender to sexual identity, were overdue reminders of a more complex, textured social reality, it was also an untimely distraction, as the seductive narratives of the *new right* were overlooked or pushed to the margins of academic engagement (Badcock, 1996a). To correct this oversight, and to achieve a better conceptual balance, future research will need to 'reunite the economic with the social, cultural and political, so as to give a sufficiently rounded account of social reality' (Day & Murdoch, 1992: 84).

Following the election of the Howard Government in March 1996, the process of 'reform' is set to continue, with the acceleration of several (previously announced) initiatives in housing and urban affairs (Industry Commission, 1993). One of the first casualties, and having been 'labelled as unnecessary', was the Better Cities Program, while the Department of Housing and Regional Development has been abolished (Spiller, 1996). Meanwhile, the proposal to replace the current system of housing or capital grants with rental subsidies, paid directly to the tenant, would almost certainly end the Commonwealth's commitment to building and maintaining a public housing system in Australia. As a result, a more critical analysis will be required. Firstly, to expose the myth that the roll-back of the state is some temporary, transitional arrangement. And secondly, to challenge the 'restorative powers of the market' (in social, as well as economic policy), which have emphasised 'individualistic remedies, as if the contents of community and place matter little' (Lucy, 1994: 307). To highlight these issues, a case study will be presented of the Parks, a public housing estate in Adelaide's northwestern suburbs, which has been targeted for redevelopment.

### The Study Area

The study area is located in the northwestern suburbs of metropolitan Adelaide, and is approximately seven kilometres from the city centre. The area comprises the spatially contiguous suburbs of Athol Park, Angle Park, Woodville Gardens, Mansfield Park and Ferryden Park.

### Background

In retrospect, the 'Parks' started life at a relative disadvantage, with the subdivision and development of alternative settlements or *urban villages* surrounding the city of Adelaide. By the late 1930s, and following the development and infill of alternative sites, there existed a significant opportunity for the South Australian Housing Trust to develop the area, so as to meet the housing and labour requirements

of the Playford Government's industrialisation program (See Cockburn, 1991; Marsden, 1986; Sheridan, 1986). However the activities of the Housing Trust, would eventually have a significant, and in some suburbs a *determining* influence on the physical character and social composition of its estates.

By the mid-1960s, the Housing Trust had largely completed its building program within the Parks, but its mass production model of home construction, combined with the false economies of cheaper building materials and inadequate services, contributed to a range of problems, from escalating maintenance costs to an increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency. To the casual observer, the Parks was seen to be 'a monotonous, unkempt place, without distinction of any kind' (Martin, 1970), while its social or community facilities were scandalously under-resourced (Knapman, 1974). By the early 1970s, it was hardly surprising when Alex Ramsay, the Trust's long-serving General Manager, said 'there comes a time when you have to shoot the artist' (Marsden, 1986: 165).

Despite its disadvantages, the Parks did offer relatively easy access to the city, a modern shopping centre and the institutional security of public housing tenure. In terms of its functional or economic relationship, the area was heavily dependent upon local sources of employment, particularly the larger manufacturers (eg GMH-Woodville, Philips, Tubemakers, Actil, Simpson-Pope and Kelvinator), government agencies (eg Department of Supply, ETSA, Public Buildings) and the concentration of industrial, commercial and maritime activities surrounding the Port of Adelaide. As Knapman (1974) remarked,

Although the catchment area may in some senses be seen as underprivileged, the fixed housing trust rents, and the demand for unskilled industrial labour ensure a measure of economic security for the majority of people. (Knapman, 1974: 4)

However by the mid-1970s, even these 'advantages' had started to dissipate and with it the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs which provided a modest, but reasonably secure standard of living for the majority of residents. In Adelaide's north-western suburbs, which had been built around the automotive components, whitegoods and electrical sectors, the rationalisation of productive capacity and the collapse in unskilled work contributed, in its own way, to a twenty year recession. In the north-western suburbs, the bellwether of the state's industrialisation program, 18,500 jobs were lost between 1971-72 and 1991-92. These losses, while not confined to the local labour market, had a significant effect on the rate of unemployment, which increased from a level of 3% in 1971, to 16% in 1981 and 30% in 1991.

In contrast, the Housing Trust was never to abandon the Parks, as it started the difficult process of redevelopment and physical improvement. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, a modest construction program, involving the selective demolition or refurbishment of its double units, provided a range of housing options for both single parent households and the aged (ie cottage, townhouse and unit development). And secondly, a series of tree planting schemes and gardening competitions, combined with the upgrading of local reserves and parks, improved the area's streetscape and visual appeal. In addition, local residents were active participants in community issues, from the Progress Associations of the 1960s (that campaigned for better roads and footpaths), to the Preventative Health and Environmental Action Groups of the 1990s (that campaigned for a cleaner, healthier environment). These efforts, combined with the campaign to build a local swimming pool, not only provided a range of services and recreational facilities, but formed the basis for a broadly based residents committee (MacCallum, 1975).

The most significant of these achievements, and having secured financial support from both the Whitlam and Dunstan Government's, culminated in the opening of Australia's first 'multi-purpose community centre' at Angle Park in 1979. Since this time, the Parks Community Centre has offered a range of facilities (eg library, theatre, youth centre, creche, art centre, swimming pool, sports fields) and community services (eg Legal Aid Service, Health Centre, Skillshare Office, Printery, High School, Local and State Government services) to residents of the north-western suburbs. However the problem

which remained, and despite the Centre's community development charter, was how the burden of change was so inequitably shared and concentrated within the Parks, with two of its constituent suburbs, Angle and Ferryden Parks, continuing to experience 'the worst of the state's social problems' (Debelle, 1996: 7). For the Housing Trust, the change in its tenant profile, from working to welfare families, contributed to a deteriorating financial position, with the Trust caught, on the one hand, between diminishing funds and revenue returns, and on the other, increasing demands for rental subsidies and emergency accommodation.

### **Redeveloping 'Problem Estates'**

For the Housing Trust, the reversal in its economic position, from an unsustainable level of rental subsidies to the withdrawal in Commonwealth funding, forced a change in emphasis. New construction, which had sustained the local building industry, was dramatically scaled back, while the redevelopment of its existing housing stock became a priority. In Adelaide, the first significant redevelopment of public housing was in Elizabeth North, or what came to be known as Rosewood Village, a joint initiative of the Commonwealth Government (ie Better Cities Program), the South Australian Housing Trust and the Delfin Property Group. In contrast to the Trusts previous activities, Rosewood was the first attempt at involving the private sector in the management and redevelopment of public housing in South Australia.

Following its commencement, however, several questions were raised, and prompted a discussion of what the social objectives of a redevelopment should be, and whether a range of housing options and a more diverse tenant profile were an acceptable (or equitable) trade-off for significantly reduced levels of public housing (Peel, 1993/1994; Stevens, 1995). Despite these concerns, Rosewood provided both the precedent and the opportunity for private sector involvement, while at the same time significantly reducing the ability of the Trust to design, manage or redevelop its own housing stock. This was reinforced, albeit indirectly, with the establishment of a Commission of Audit, which was asked to review the state's financial liabilities, with specific reference to the operational efficiency and performance of the state's public sector instrumentalities. The Audit Commission Report, which was released in April 1994, outlined a number of recommendations. The most important being: to reduce the number of Trust homes (eg sales, redevelopment); commercialise its operations (eg outsourcing, staff reductions); and rationalise its service delivery and asset management activities (Charting the Way Forward, 1994: 299-317).

As a result, the future management of the Trust's older, predominantly double-unit estates, would be reviewed under a significantly different funding formula, with redevelopment proposals having to satisfy the litmus test of financial viability and market attractiveness. Given these factors, the private sector, through either a fee-for-service (Rosewood) or partnering arrangement (The Parks), would be negotiating from a position of strength - particularly if the majority of the capital, if not the risk, were to be its contribution to any redevelopment proposal (National Capital Planning Authority, 1994). In contrast, the emasculation of the Housing Trust had the potential to create a policy vacuum within the public sector, while relieving the private sector from the strictures of financial accountability, civic responsibility and legislative formality (eg freedom of information requests). Given these circumstances, the ability of the Trust to equitably balance its social and commercial responsibilities may be an increasingly difficult, if not impossible task.

### **Consulting the People?**

In November 1994, the Minister for Housing and Urban Development, John Oswald, announced that the South Australian Housing Trust was 'to investigate options for redeveloping public housing' within the Parks. However the Minister's media release, while avoiding specific recommendations, revealed that any prospective plan would inevitably involve a 'significant level of demolitions', while the Trust's



rental stock would be reduced to around half its current level (Penberthy, 1994). This would, in the Minister's words, reduce the 'ghetto' type of public housing, offer a 'variety' of housing options, and provide significant opportunities for private sector involvement. Not surprisingly, these comments angered local residents, because apart from the implication of the term 'ghetto', their own homes, social relationships and community networks were now at stake (Moore, 1994; Hodge, 1995).

Despite the Minister's *faux-pas*, and a backlash from residents, the announcement was at least a recognition that something had to be done, while serving to highlight the social and economic problems of an area which had been 'made poor' (Peel, 1993/1994). Unfortunately, the redevelopment proposal, while concentrating predominantly on housing issues, was compromised, not only by the Trust's inability to provide up-to-date information, but a recognition that the underlying objectives of the project had been determined in advance of the consultation process (Table One: Paramount Objectives). These objectives, listed in Table One, can best be described as incompatible, as each of its social priorities appeared to be contingent upon the financial viability of the project, particularly when issues of marketability, investment capital, value adding and 'appropriate' returns appeared to be more important than retaining public housing, creating employment opportunities or preserving valuable community services.

To implement these objectives, the tendering agreement required each applicant or 'development consortium' to provide detailed information on its business history, financial capability, planning experience and management expertise. In December 1995, Pioneer Projects Australia (a subsidiary of Pioneer Homes) was selected as the Preferred Development Partner (PDP). Following this announcement, a Project Office was opened, while attempts were made to formalise a consultative framework or Partnering Charter with the local community. In addition, seminar presentations, household surveys, information displays, reference groups and advisory panels were used (at various times) to provide a range of opinions, 'expert' advice and community feedback on the redevelopment proposal. However the process of consultation, from March to September 1996, was never to be an exercise in empowerment, but rather an opportunity to 'mine' the community for sources of relevant information, as opposed to a mechanism to substantively change the objectives or scope of the project. Why?

Firstly, the feasibility study gave the impression of a 'closed shop'. This perception was reinforced, when several of the consultancies were awarded on the basis of Pioneer's original submission, and were not subject to any selection or tendering process. In addition, the establishment of four Community Advisory Committees (Community, Public Housing, Urban Planning, Economic Development), while providing a 'voice' for local community groups and residents, were often weighted in favour of government, business and institutional representatives. Because for local residents, it was almost impossible to negotiate on a 'level playing field', if they lacked the financial, organisational and political resources to compete with the principal 'stakeholders' or to secure independent advice on the redevelopment proposal. In contrast, the Elizabeth-Munno Para Social Justice Project, which had traversed a similar path, deliberately and pro-actively involved the local community at each and every stage of the consultation and decision-making process (Elizabeth / Munno Para Project Strategic Plan, 1993).

Secondly, the State Government, which had promised a 'whole-of-government' approach, was compromised by its own policy decisions. Successive budgets, at both the State and Federal level, led to a gradual withdrawal of funding, and started to impact heavily on those institutions, programs and personnel that had provided important, and highly valued community services to local residents. In addition, the Trust's redevelopment agenda was undermined by a series of ministerial directives, such as closure of the local High School, the rationalisation of services at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, and the Government's continuing support for a waste management plant at Kilburn. In many respects, it would seem that a 'whole-of-government' approach to the redevelopment was almost impossible, as various Ministers competed to restructure, downsize and out-source services within their own Departments - regardless of the local area effects.

For instance, the 'hollowing out' of the Parks Community Centre, has seen its autonomy eroded, its services downgraded, while staff numbers and funding levels have been similarly reduced. The culmination of this process, has seen the transfer of its management responsibilities to Enfield Council, and the introduction of market-based rents and service charges to commercialise its operations (Fallon, 1992). The last of these decisions, introduced by the former Labor Government, has only exacerbated the Centre's problems, by contributing to the recent departures of the Computing Centre, the local TAFE and FACS offices, while the Printery is to close at the end of 1996. These losses, combined with the Minister of Education's decision to close the local High School, has only been matched by the Federal Government's August Budget cuts, which have impacted heavily on the local SkillShare office and threatened the future of the Legal Aid Centre.

Thirdly, the Parks Urban Renewal Project, while aspiring to be a 'benchmark for urban renewal', appeared to be enamoured with its own rhetoric, with several development philosophies, from urban managerialism to physical determinism, having a significant influence on its recommendations. As a result, a major deficiency with the feasibility study was its saturation with planning jargon, with terms such as 'image enhancement' and 'sensitive interventions' used to describe the redevelopment process, while tenants were transformed into customers with a 'choice', and government support reduced to a 'judicious blend'.

And it is here, on the issue of dispersal, that the project is compromised, trapped within the cul-de-sac of its own objectives. Because if people are forced to move, it would seem to be highly improbable that the informal networks, shared values and social services, which underpin a vibrant, ethnically diverse community, can be preserved. And secondly, if the Trust decides to rehouse older tenants or the 'genuinely needy', the remaining tenants may end up being more isolated, while the services which had supported them, such as Parks Community Centre, may have themselves disappeared or been replaced by 'user pays' services or a stressed-out non-profit sector. Ultimately, the project may compromise its own sales pitch, having dissolved the community networks and cultural identities which it sought to promote, while at the same time creating an environment where tenants feel short-changed and increasingly frustrated with a conciliation process that will find it difficult to offer them a better home (Fuller, 1995; Penberthy, 1995).

## Conclusion

In a very real sense, communities such as the Parks could not survive (at least in an economic sense) if the very means of earning a living was being undermined - and this applies just as much to the unemployed as for the working poor. It is this reason, combined with the uncertainty over the redevelopment process and where people might live in the future, that sends worrying signals about where we are going as a society. As Mark Peel eloquently observes:

..... reinventing Australia must involve finding a place for those who have suffered most from what Australia is becoming and who have paid the price - without compensation - for an efficient future. The first question to be asked of any plan, any design, any policy, must be who wins and who loses. Ultimately, we must be willing to spend our money on resuscitating other people's fortunes, rather than simply securing our own. (Peel, 1995:64)

Following the release of a feasibility study, and having pre-determined its guiding objectives, the Parks Urban Renewal Project will find it increasingly difficult to solve issues of economic restructuring and social polarisation, particularly if the real problems, such as public and corporate disinvestment, continue to be redefined as questions of housing 'choice', service 'efficiencies' and consumer 'preferences'. Ultimately, and as the feasibility study has revealed, there is an urgent need for a more strategic, longer-term perspective in redressing urban disadvantage, not only in developing better planning practices (Lucy, 1994) and more innovative public policies (McGregor &

McConnachie, 1995), but to revive the notion of a social contract, while maintaining a uniquely Australian commitment to a fairer, more inclusive society.

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