

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRISBANE'S FREEWAYS, 1966 - 1974:

An Australian Case Study of Urban Development,
Residential Life and Urban Politics

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Department of Anthropology and Sociology,
University of Queensland
August 1979

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to provide a detailed analysis of the struggle against Brisbane's freeways, from its inception in 1966 to its occasion of impact in 1974. It gives particular consideration to the question of whether the struggle became an 'urban social movement'. That is, whether it brought significant changes to Brisbane; to the process of Australian urbanisation; and to Australian society, generally.

Urban struggle is defined as working-class action over consumption issues, specifically over issues of housing and residential facilities, and it is action which has been particularly characteristic of class struggle since the late 1960s. Since the city is the location of the reproduction of labour power and since mass consumption has been central to capitalism since the 1940s, consumption issues have therefore appeared as very much part of working-class action.

To be capable of interpreting the impact of Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle, analysis is placed within certain contexts which gave rise to its development. These are defined, firstly, as the general aspects of Australian urbanisation and secondly, as the specific (urban) question of residential life. This broad sweep of Australian urbanisation is given from a regional perspective, with particular reference to Queensland, while detail is given to the particular case of the recent rapid growth of Brisbane and its surrounding Moreton Region, for it was this process which gave rise to the transport planning that led to the introduction of freeways and the destruction of housing and residential life.

The specific context for understanding the struggle is identified in terms of housing and facility access and detailed consideration is

given to the area affected (in the 1970s) by the Northern Freeway. This area comprised several inner northern suburbs of Brisbane, defined here as 'Windsor', housing long-term, middle-aged and elderly residents, in owner-occupied, single-family housing. These people were identified as remnants of Australia's former residential life, the urban peasantry, which had existed during the previous (mercantile) form of Australian urbanisation and is distinct from the contemporary suburban community arising from corporate urbanisation.

The anti-freeway struggle erupted in the mid-1960s, with the commencement of the freeway programme, but action was constrained during these early years and it was not until the 1970s that overt and contestatory action was taken. Differences between these two periods were seen to result from structural differences located at both an urban and a societal level, with the 1960s being a period when the working-class had, generally, been tightly contained. In contrast, the 1970s was an occasion when working-class action, at both an urban and a societal level, was widespread and it was this which brought the contestatory stance of the 1970s.

One of the most distinctive features of the struggle was the relatively low level of mobilisation of residents. The struggle came to be dominated by non-residents whose concerns were with ideological questions on the environment and with political questions of public versus private transport. This is paradoxical, since the theory of urban struggle identifies structural entities, such as Windsor residents, as being the forces which evolve and direct struggles. This is because such residents form a social base revolving around basic economic questions, which in this case refer to housing and facility access. In contrast, structural entities concerned with ideological (e.g. environmental) and political (e.g. public transport planning) questions

are theoretically less significant in political mobilisation. The major reason why Windsor residents were subordinate emanated from the nature of the community. It was a residential area in decline - from an urban peasant community of the previous mercantile urbanisation to a contemporary suburban community - and it was under such conditions that a politically disenfranchising effect was placed upon residents. This limited their involvement in the anti-freeway movement.

The struggle was not an urban social movement, since it did not make basic changes to the urban system and/or to the wider social structure. It did, however, have a number of regulatory effects following the indefinite postponement in 1974 of the Central and Northern Freeways and the shelving of all other proposed freeways.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the very many people who helped in various ways throughout the course of this work, a collective thanks. Special thanks to the Queensland Main Roads Department for providing funds for the research on Windsor and particular gratitude is expressed to John Western for his continual support and for his detailed and very helpful comments on the final draft of this work.

I hereby declare that this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree. It is the result of my own independent research and all sources which have been consulted are acknowledged in the references.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

THE ARGUMENT

I INTRODUCTION

A transposition in the nature of class conflict has become apparent in all capitalist countries, including Australia, over the past decade or so, following a massive increase in urban struggles; that is, in actions disputing the manner in which material and social life is organised and controlled at the living place. Actions are fought over questions of housing, amenity access and the availability of public services and residential life is now being scrutinised by the working-class in ways similar to, though distinct from, traditional concerns and actions over returns from labour. This new front in class struggle has become particularly visible following instances of state intervention, as shown by urban renewal schemes and freeway programmes which destroy low income residential areas, and in a number of countries, notably in Italy and France, these protests acquired sufficient force and scope in the late 1960s/early 1970s to have severe repercussions on the political scene.

The purpose of the present work is to analyse in detail one case of urban struggle. This is contestation resulting from the introduction of freeway planning in Brisbane - Australia's third largest city and the capital of the State of Queensland - which was destined to destroy hundreds of working-class dwellings and to disrupt residential life generally. Protest emerged very quietly in 1966/67 following the announcement of the first expressway and the first freeway, but it reached a strident level during the years 1973/74 after the second major stage of freeway construction was announced. It was during this latter period that the freeway programme was

largely abandoned and significant changes were made to the transport system. It is to these issues of urban planning, urban struggle and urban change that we concentrate attention and it will be from such an analysis that urban politics will be seen to form the core of the urbanisation process.

This work is essentially empirical in character, in that it considers a concrete issue located within the field of consumption. However, it is not simply an analysis of the issues, actions and effects of an urban movement, since to understand the basic meaning of the struggle, a detailed preliminary analysis must be made of the contexts within which it emerged and upon which it acted. In the present case these contexts are distinguished as:

- a) General elements of the urbanisation process which threw up the urban contradiction leading to the struggle and which refer here to issues involved in the recent rapid growth of Brisbane and its surrounding (Moreton) region. A broader sketch will also be given of Australian urbanisation from a regional perspective, and given with particular reference to Queensland.
- b) Specific elements of the urbanisation process upon which the urban contradiction fell. These refer to the material elements (i.e. housing and facilities) and social components (i.e. organisational and ideological) which make up residential life and for present purposes relate to Windsor, the inner city residential district destined for partial destruction by the Brisbane Northern Freeway.

In this way, then, it is important to realise that the present work, while being a case study of urban struggle, is also an analysis of empirical and theoretical aspects of Australian urbanisation.

These empirical data are placed analytically within recent marxist theoretical work on urbanisation which considers this process (including separate structural issues like urban struggles) as part of the broader process of capitalist development. Urbanisation results from, as well as affects, this development and urban struggles, when crystallised as 'urban social movements', become the major force behind urban change; this is, in the transformation of class relations at the urban level to the advantage of labour [see Castells (1977, 1978a), Harloe (1977), Pickvance (1976a) and volumes of the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research].

In tackling this concrete issue, the common distinction made within sociology between 'theory' and 'empirical work' is largely abandoned, for such a division has ideological consequences, since much of what passes as sociological theory is more suitably placed within the sphere of fanciful story telling, while so-called empirical work frequently becomes either 'journalese' or is so trivial as to be irrelevant. It is significant in this connection that the approach taken by these new urban researchers rejects this dichotomy and regards the two as part of the same intellectual process. Where concrete analyses are guided by existing theory (historical materialism) and come to highlight immediately visible aspects of urbanisation, an accumulation of empirical work can only point to, but not explicitly show, the deeper process that is 'urbanisation'. It is the piecing together of these empirical bits and pieces and the filling in of them with logical interconnections, to form the deeper, basic and unseen picture, that comes to be the role of theory. But the two are intertwined and part of the same endeavour and while the present work does not formulate a theory of Australian urbanisation and the place held within it by urban struggle, it does

provide some avenues for evolving such a theory.¹

Three drawbacks exist for this analysis. The first relates to the recency of these new theoretical developments, which means that some confusion and considerable diversity is present, and at times this makes it difficult to interpret empirical material. The second refers to the recency of ('mass') urban struggles, meaning that few large-scale case studies have been undertaken, either in Australia or in other capitalist countries (at least in English), which would provide a more detailed comparative basis for the study. A third difficulty is the absence of theoretical work on Australian urbanisation which is necessary for interpreting indigenous urban struggles and is particularly important because, as will be shown, Australian urbanisation differs from other forms of capitalist urbanisation.

It is as a consequence of these three conditions, then, that the present work must be seen as exploratory. It contributes to available information on urban struggle, analysed within the theoretical framework indicated, and attempts to tease out its theoretical distinctiveness and then to place it on the path leading towards a theory of Australian urbanisation. This should, in turn, contribute towards a furthering of the comparative study of world urbanisation.

Before presenting the framework for guiding the analysis, it is worthwhile making a number of prefatory remarks. There is a necessity, firstly, to consider the historical context within which this and other urban struggles are placed. In the most general

¹ It should be noted that not all this new work on urbanisation is marxist-based, since a minor thrust has come from weberian sources and this is particularly apparent in the work of Ray Pahl (see Pahl, 1977a, 1977b)

terms, these struggles have come to be a particular component in the development of 'late capitalism' - the period from about 1945 - which has been characterised by an unprecedented expansion of consumerism, epitomised by suburbanisation, with its rapid growth of homeownership, of car ownership, of the purchase of numerous household commodities and in the widespread provision of educational, recreational and health facilities. Urban struggles, as part of class struggle, emerge from and are part of this expansion.

The other significant feature of late capitalism relevant to urban struggle is the involvement of the state. The state's role has increased sharply both within the sphere of production, with the provision of fixed capital (e.g. freeways, ports, etc.), as well as within the process of reproducing the workforce through an increased collectivisation of consumption (e.g. with housing, schools, hospitals, etc.). This necessary involvement of the state has had a politicising effect, for it has frequently become the catalyst in urban struggles. For example, the removal of old fixed capital of the industrial period in many United States' cities through urban renewal, not only required the removal of vacated factories and antiquated transportation and communication systems, but it also meant the destruction of working-class houses and it has been under such circumstances that protest against urban renewal (and thus the state) has occurred.

From this brief illustration, urban struggles, then, can be seen to emerge from the meeting of certain elements of the urban structure containing severe contradictions, with struggles evolving and taking effect through the development of an organisation which fuses issues and directs action. But the central theoretical significance of urban struggle is urban change and what we are concerned with here is

the manner in which the urban system is transformed through urban struggle. This basically means the manner in which changes occur in class relations; that is, in capital's dominance over labour, with urban change referring to advantages gained by labour at the urban level

It is in this sense of transformation that Castells (1977) distinguishes between urban struggles ('historical practices'), which are actions occurring at particular points in time that can have a number of different consequences ranging from reform to dissolution to urban change, and urban social movements ('transforming historical practices'), which are those urban struggles that specifically bring about urban change ('urban effects') and, in turn, contribute towards transforming the wider social structure ('political effects') Therefore of all urban struggles, only urban social movements initiate change and what we need to find out with the struggle against Brisbane's freeways is firstly, the structural conditions which threw up protest and secondly, whether this struggle was an urban social movement and therefore had transforming effects upon Brisbane, as part of the Australian urban system, and upon Australia as a social structure.

II HYPOTHESES FOR GUIDING THE ANALYSIS OF BRISBANE'S ANTI-FREEWAY STRUGGLE

The principles used for guiding analysis of action against Brisbane's freeways are distinguished at two levels. The first follows the general hypotheses posed by Castells (1977) for tracing the manner in which urban struggles emerge and how (and if) these struggles become urban social movements. The second set relate to the overall issues of Australian urbanisation mentioned above:

a) to the general elements that determine how and when urban

struggles develop; b) to material components of residential life, that is to housing and facilities which come to be the material issues surrounding the struggle; c) to the social components of residential life, specifically the manner in which social life is organised at the living place and the political consciousness expressed by residents, for these will determine the form the urban struggle will take; and d) to the state itself, with the particular presence of the Brisbane City Council, the Queensland Government and the Federal Government, as the integrative presence in the conflict between capital and labour over this issue of transportation and housing. These two sets of principles can now be considered separately.

1 General Hypotheses for the Study of Urban Social Movements
(after Castells, 1977:270-272)

a) The accumulation of contradictions, emerging from within the urban system and forming the basis for urban struggle, can be considered in terms of the following rules:

i) the greater the number of accumulated contradictions arising in an urban setting, the greater will be the mobilising potential for change. For example, various contradictions resulting from urban development can have the consequent combining effect of poor housing, a lack of transport, bad sanitation, etc., and when these issues are taken together, they are more likely to initiate urban struggle than when one issue is taken by itself;

ii) the more these contradictions are placed within the economic sphere, as with housing, or in areas derived from this, the more important will be the mobilising potential, than will be those contradictions located at an ideological level (e.g. as with 'community organising') or at a political level (e.g. in changing

local government boundaries) These latter contradictions are more likely to be integrated into the existing urban system and are less likely to contribute toward urban effects. This pattern results from the logic of historical materialism which states that in the last instance, the economic sphere has the major determining influence;

iii) the more the contradictions are treated in a fragmented way by the urban movement, rather than in a united fashion, the less likely will there be widespread mobilisation and a strong confrontation;

iv) the resolution of contradictions can only be achieved by either a regulation of the urban system or by the contradictions being absorbed elsewhere. But in the end, the state, as the integrating mechanism, will be forced to step in, in an attempt to reconcile and restore some semblance of cohesion;

v) a structural and an organisational tie with non-urban contradictions and actions leads to an increase in urban contradictions and in urban struggle, as when trade unions link with an urban protest organisation. Moreover, urban struggles are structurally tied to other movements (e.g. the labour movement, the environmental movement, etc.) because the city is part of the social structure and therefore an urban movement can never be considered purely 'urban'

b) The role played by an organisation is fundamental to any urban movement because:

i) it is the organisation which directs the movement. It needs to be remembered, however, that the organisation is structurally distinct from the movement, for the organisation is a formally organised entity while a social movement expresses a social consciousness that is not concrete in form. It is possible, moreover, for a movement to exist without an organisation, although contradictions will be expressed in an isolated and 'wild' form;

- ii) the internal character of an organisation does not form the basis for the study of urban struggles since it is the actions and effects that form the analytical core of any research. It is possible, however, that the internal structure of an organisation can indicate structural relationships between certain forces involved in the struggle and between these and non-urban forces;
- iii) the political stance taken by the organisation, whether reformist, contestatory or utopian, will largely determine the success of the movement. A contestatory demeanour is more likely to contribute towards an urban effect, since it is through such direct action that working-class victories have usually appeared (see Westergaard and Resler, 1975)

2. A Framework for Studying Australian Urbanisation and Urban Struggle

Turning now to the particular circumstances giving rise to Brisbane's anti-freeway movement, an understanding of this struggle can only be made by comprehending the process of Australian urbanisation. For present purposes, four analytical factors are identified.

- a) At the most general level, the anti-freeway movement must be understood in terms of historical changes to Brisbane and its surrounding (Moreton) region and to Queensland as a whole. Of particular interest is the slow emergence of Queensland, over the past decade or so, from a position of perennial underdevelopment, following the rapid expansion of the mineral industry, and from the development of Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region as one of Australia's major consumption centres, with residential development (particularly in Brisbane) and tourism and recreation on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts.
- b) The peculiarity of Australia's consumption process, with its

very high rate of homeownership but comparatively underdeveloped public facilities, also plays a significant role in the character of urban struggle. Australian workers, with their high wages, have provided their own means of reproduction - more so than workers in most other capitalist countries, where the state has increasingly intervened. In other words, the material objects (housing and facilities) necessary for reproducing Australian workers have not, relatively speaking, been provided in an extensive collective way.

c) The social character of residential life will suggest the form urban struggle will take, since the potential for working-class protest at the living place is largely dependent upon the organisation of social life. In the contemporary period of late capitalism, with its distinctive suburbanisation, privatisation dominates working-class life, with workers being socially and physically segregated. This contrasts sharply with occupational communities of the earlier industrial capitalism, where a strong social cohesiveness had evolved from the contiguity of work and residence. It has been such areas that have had the strongest working-class solidarity. Therefore the more cohesive a residential area, the more likely will there be a strong and united social force; while the more privatised a residential area, the more diffuse will action be (see Alt, 1976)

The growth of protest, however, also entails a level of consciousness, based upon concrete experiences of residential life (see Piven, 1977) According to Harvey (1977) a continuum of consciousness about residential life and urban struggle can be identified: i) a possessive individualism, where workers seek an independence to command, for private use, the best bundle of resources and the best locations in which to live; ii) a community

consciousness, where workers, who are usually homeowners, fight to maintain the value of the savings tied up in their houses; and
 iii) a fully developed class consciousness, where there is working-class struggle against all forms of exploitation, both at work and at the living place. The greatest solidarity appears at iii) and it is here that the strongest contestatory actions are likely to emerge.

d) Cutting across these economic and social components is the role of the state (the political level) It is the state, as the political institution, which determines the opportunities for working-class defiance, through the everyday presence of authority, rules and laws. The demise of protest tends to result from the integrative-repressive powers of the state.

III STEPS TAKEN IN THE ANALYSIS

Under these two sets of guiding principles, then, one relating specifically to urban struggles and the other to issues of Australian urbanisation, the steps taken in the analysis can be specified. There are three major parts to the analysis. The first two are the contexts within which the struggle emerged and the third is the struggle itself. Therefore, these first two contexts lay the foundation from which to interpret the struggle.

1 The general context for understanding the struggle centres on the broad process of Australian urbanisation, considered firstly - from a regional perspective, with specific reference to Queensland, and then secondly, to Brisbane and its Moreton Region, with particular reference to transport planning as the state action which initiated the struggle.

2. The specific context, which is also part of the urbanisation

process, centres on the particular residential area affected by the Brisbane Northern Freeway. This area, referred to as 'Windsor', since it broadly fits a former municipal district of that name, comprises the inner city suburb of Windsor and parts of the inner suburbs of Wilston, Albion, Lutwyche, Woolloowin, Kalinga, Eagle Junction and Clayfield. Residential life is considered in two parts: the first comprises the material issues of housing and residential facilities, which became the stakes in the struggle, and the second is formed of the social components of residential life (i.e. the manner in which the living place is organised and its ideological basis) ²

3. These two contexts taken in sequence, come to slowly unfold the processes determining the nature of the struggle and indicate the manner in which change would occur. It is at this stage, then, that a detailed analysis can be made of the struggle itself, giving a descriptive analysis, firstly, of the issues, actions and effects, and then showing the structural and political factors leading to the large-scale abandonment of freeways in Brisbane.

IV ORGANISATION OF THE WORK

The next chapter provides the methodological basis for the work, identifying the manner in which the study changed from that originally conceived. Part II, comprising Chapters 3 and 4, provides the theoretical foundation for the analysis, with Chapter 3 considering the basic arguments relating to urban struggles and capitalist urbanisation and Chapter 4 giving detailed discussion to the major purpose of the city (as the reproducer of labour power),

² The term 'stakes' is used throughout this work to define the issues around which the struggle was fought (see Castells, 1977).

with specific reference to a theoretical understanding of Australian residential life.

Part III considers the first of the two contexts, the general context, and is divided into three chapters moving from the broadest issues of Australian urbanisation to the particular question of transport and transport planning in Brisbane. Chapter 5 analyses the wider historical process of Australian urbanisation as it relates specifically to the recent growth of Queensland from the mining boom of the 1960s/1970s. Yet the State's growth was not simply a consequence of foreign mineral demands, for Brisbane and its surrounding Moreton Region, particularly the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, have grown rapidly as one of Australia's major consumption areas (Chapter 6) and as part of this expansion, the state, in the form of the State Government and the Brisbane City Council stepped in, in the early 1960s, to reconstruct the transport system (mainly with freeways) and it was this action which formed the catalyst for the struggle (Chapter 7).

The second analytical foundation, the specific context, is given in Part IV and looks in detail at residential life in Windsor, distinguishing between the material and social issues involved. Chapter 8 considers housing, as the major material component in the reproduction of labour power and the principal stake in the struggle, while Chapter 9 analyses issues of residential facilities (e.g. public transport), since these became minor stakes in the struggle. Chapter 10 covers the first of the two social questions; the manner in which residential life was organised and how this contributed towards involvement in the struggle. Chapter 11 considers the second social question; how the ideological basis of residential life affected residents' mobilisation.

These two contexts, then, provide the basis from which the struggle can be interpreted in Part IV. Chapter 12 gives a descriptive analysis of the issues, actions and effects of the movement, while Chapter 13 gives detailed analysis of the manner in which these were placed within the broader process of Australian urbanisation and how the struggle must be seen as part of a larger urban upheaval and wider increase in Australian working-class action. Chapter 14 gives specific discussion to the way in which Windsor residents were mobilised, since this will highlight the processes by which the working-class moves from a 'class in itself' to a 'class for itself'. Finally, Chapter 15 evaluates the struggle comparatively with reference to a typology of struggles developed from European actions and to determine whether or not it was an urban social movement; i.e. whether it had transforming effects upon Brisbane.

The last chapter (Chapter 16) attempts to tie the threads of the analysis together. It summarises the findings and briefly extends discussion to an overall consideration of Australian urbanisation and urban struggle.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

I INTRODUCTION

This study of Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle only took shape after the resolution of a critical methodological problem that had developed during the early stages of data analysis. It was found that the original conceptual framework, borrowed from the community studies tradition, was incapable of handling the complexities of the data and of the questions they suggested. It could only provide a descriptive analysis of local institutional factors such as issues of family and kinship, local government, etc., and was incapable of contributing theoretical explanation of how these were related and the contexts within which residential life was placed and within which the struggle emerged. It was in this way that a new theoretical framework was introduced.

The purpose of the present chapter is to consider this issue, to show how it was resolved and then to present a more general methodological discussion. In attempting this, the chapter is divided into five parts. The next two sections discuss the emergence and resolution of the problem, with particular reference to the study of Australian urbanisation. These will then lead to a discussion of technical aspects of data collection. Section V extends the analysis by showing how the research was part of an urban plan and, finally, a brief description will be given of Windsor, the residential area affected by the proposed Northern Freeway, since this will provide necessary background to later chapters.

II THE METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM

The conceptual framework taken at the start of research (in late 1972), was borrowed from the famous community studies by Gans (1962a), of Boston's West End, and Young and Willmott (1962), of London's Bethnal Green. This original decision was taken for two reasons. Firstly, West End and Bethnal Green, like Windsor, were destined to be destroyed following the introduction of urban plans. Secondly, again like Windsor, these communities were old inner city areas housing working-class residents.

However, unlike Windsor, West End and Bethnal Green housed residents in medium to high density rental accommodation. Life was shown to be localised, with generations of families having lived in these areas for a considerable time. Residents worked locally, often being employed by the same company and, in addition, leisure activities were organised in local social groups.

West End and Bethnal Green, then, were 'occupational communities', or more accurately, they were remnants of occupational communities and the implications of impact from forced relocation were readily apparent. Not only was there the destruction of material conditions of residential life (housing and facilities) and of localised social solidarity, but residents were found to relocate to more expensive housing in inaccessible areas.

It became apparent shortly after the fieldwork began that Windsor was significantly different from West End and Bethnal Green, for residents lived in owner-occupied, single-family housing in low density neighbourhoods and life was seen to be highly privatised. It was under this condition that a methodological problem appeared. However, the problem did not exist because Windsor was found to be

different, but because this difference could not readily be explained. True, it seemed as though Windsor was a typical suburban community, with a high level of homeownership and a privatised existence, but such an 'obvious explanation' was implausible because Windsor predated the period of suburbanisation (post 1940s). It developed in the 1890s, 50 years before the emergence of the 'suburban way of life', with many current homeowners having settled there prior to the 1940s. In other words, Windsor was neither a suburban community, of the contemporary period of urbanisation, nor an occupational community, of the previous period of industrial urbanisation (in dominant capitalist countries). It was, as suggested in later chapters, a remnant of an earlier residential life.

An adequate conceptual framework needed not only to encompass this confusing question of residential life, it had to be more broadly based, focusing on the whole process of urbanisation, since it is from this process that residential life and urban struggle emerge. What was needed was a theory of urbanisation which would allow comparative analysis to be made of Australian urbanisation, in general, and residential life and urban struggle, specifically. A new, dynamic theoretical work appeared in the mid-1970s and it was this which provided the framework.

The breaching of the methodological impasse occurred in 1975, following a reading of Pickvance's (1974) introduction to the new French marxist work on urbanisation, which had given particular emphasis to urban social movements as the mechanism for transforming cities. This introduction was extended after Pickvance obligingly sent me four chapters of his forthcoming edition (Pickvance, 1976a) and these, together with his (1975) discussion of urban social movements, formed the basis for the re-interpretation of the Windsor

data. A preliminary discussion based on this conceptualisation was published in 1977 (Mullins, 1977a)

III THE STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION

While this new theoretical work provided a general framework on capitalist urbanisation, there was need to adapt it in order to understand the process of Australian urbanisation. Unfortunately no theoretical work exists on Australian urbanisation, although two useful compendiums are available which present a diverse series of empirical data (Neutze, 1977; Stilwell, 1974a) and Kilmartin and Thorns (1978) have drawn together some empirical material on Australian and New Zealand urbanisation. In fact, what little has been done on Australian urbanisation tends to be placed within a strong ideological structure. This appears both when Australian urbanisation is compared internationally, as well as when state differences are examined comparatively. These two ideological perspectives can briefly be discussed.

Although basic similarities exist between all capitalist countries in terms of the urbanisation process - because of the dominance of the capitalist mode of production - basic differences are apparent because of historical variations (see Chapters 3 and 4) But, invariably, when international comparisons are made, it is assumed that Australian urbanisation is the same as that appearing in dominant capitalist countries (e.g. West Germany), but on a smaller scale. When exceptions are empirically observed they are considered exceptions to the rule and so there is an unfortunate failure to identify Australia's distinctively different form of capitalist urbanisation. To illustrate this ideological tendency: in what is otherwise a useful analysis of Australia's housing question, Kemeny

(1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1978a, 1978b) has become trapped by this ideological argument, for in comparing Australian housing with housing in other capitalist countries, he tends to see differences as being the result of a 'social pathology' inherent within Australia. Australia's traditionally high levels of homeownership and very low rates of public housing, are interpreted as representing some lack of a 'true socialist spirit', unlike countries such as Britain, Sweden and West Germany where there is a very high level of state services. In reality, the high level of homeownership and low rates of public housing suggest something more basic about the nature of Australian capitalism and urbanisation and of the nature of the state (for more details, see Chapter 4). It is not the result of a conservative ideology

Secondly, those attempts that have been made to understand internal features of Australian urbanisation, also have had a strong ideological component, because they appear as generalisations from Sydney and Melbourne data, with occasional asides about Adelaide and Canberra. This work is ideological because there is the assumption that what happens in these cities and their states is representative of Australian urbanisation. Brisbane, for example, would be seen as a smaller version of Sydney or Melbourne and Queensland would be seen as a miniature New South Wales or Victoria. But, as will be shown in some detail in Chapter 5, there is a marked difference between Brisbane and Queensland, on the one hand, and Sydney and New South Wales and Melbourne and Victoria, on the other, which is based on the inherent tendency for capital and labour to concentrate in certain locations, with the inevitability of underdevelopment in other regions. Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia have traditionally been the major underdeveloped areas of

Australia, while New South Wales and Victoria have traditionally dominated the country, with South Australia being placed between the two extremes, although closer to the developed than to the underdeveloped states (see Chapter 5)

Therefore, the concentration of research activity on Sydney and Melbourne and on Adelaide and Canberra, and the generalisations made from these studies, come to be an ideological expression of the dominance of the developed states over the underdeveloped regions. Sydney and Melbourne dominate, followed by Adelaide and then Canberra, as the federal capital. Also, this is not for simple demographic reasons for, while it is true that Sydney and Melbourne are by far the largest cities, resulting from the tendency for capital and labour to concentrate, Adelaide is a smaller city than Brisbane, and only a little larger than Perth, and Canberra is considerably smaller than both Brisbane and Perth (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Even work appearing over the last few years, which accounts for the bulk of research on Australian urbanisation, had this ideological bias. Specialist papers in Burnley (1974), for example, refer only to the urbanisation process in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia and omit any consideration of the underdeveloped states of Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia. Even those works which have received some critical acclaim over the last few years have the same ideological flaw. Stretton's (1975) celebrated book on Australian cities was about the capitals of the dominant states (Sydney, Melbourne - and Adelaide) and Canberra, as the federal capital. There was nothing on the capital cities of the underdeveloped states: Brisbane, Hobart and Perth. Similarly, Sandercock's (1975) book subtitled 'Property, Politics and Urban Planning in Australia' was,

once again, about the dominant cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide; and the capital cities of the underdeveloped states barely got a mention.

It is clear that what is needed now in the study of Australian urbanisation is detailed theoretical and empirical work permitting comparative analysis at both an international and at an internal level. Later chapters make some introductory analyses in these directions, with Chapter 5 sketching, with broad strokes, the process of Australian urbanisation, but with particular reference to Queensland as an underdeveloped state.

IV DATA COLLECTION

When the study was originally conceived as a community study, based on the work of Gans (1962a) and Young and Willmott (1962), it was centred totally on Windsor and upon the urban struggle and three empirical areas were discerned for detailed attention:

- i) the material basis of residential life, as it appeared in terms of housing and residential facilities, was to be systematically examined. This was a fundamental issue since the loss of housing and facility access formed the basis for residents' dissatisfaction and for the mobilisation of the anti-freeway movement;
- ii) social and ideological aspects of residential life, represented by the way social life was organised and by the ideological issues which held residents together, was to be investigated; and
- iii) the struggle itself, both from the viewpoint of residents and from within the protest group, was to be considered.

It was only after data on these matters had been collected that the methodological problems referred to earlier became obvious

Nevertheless, it is significant that the questions raised here about residential life and urban struggle and the subsequent data which were collected, were congruent with the theoretical framework which was ultimately adopted.

These first series of data were collected over the years 1973 and 1974, utilising a number of different techniques. After the new theoretical framework had been adopted, however, detailed data on Australian urbanisation, with particular reference to Queensland, Brisbane and the Moreton Region were collected. This enabled a far more comprehensive interpretation of the situation to be made than would otherwise have been possible.

All data, whether in the first or second stages of the study, were collected by means of four techniques:

- i) through structured (mainly) and non-structured interviews;
- ii) by means of participant observation;
- iii) from documentary evidence; and
- iv) from official statistics.

1 Interviews

The first results from the early stages of fieldwork, suggested that Windsor was a privatised community and therefore the most appropriate means found for obtaining information on residential life was by means of structured interviews with residents, rather than through the participant observation that Gans found so productive for the West End. In fact, participant observation only appears to be fully appropriate in community studies such as West End, where there is the cohesiveness of an occupational community. In privatised situations, like Windsor, there is difficulty in making sufficient contact with residents to allow the accumulation of sufficient data

via participant observation to make the study worthwhile.

A total of 759 interviews were completed with Windsor residents, 213 with relocating residents (in 155 households) and 546 with other residents of Windsor (non-relocating residents), living in 367 dwellings (for further details, see Appendix A) I conducted the interviews with relocating residents since this permitted the collection of additional and very valuable qualitative data.

Interviews were completed with an estimated two-thirds of Windsor's relocating households, but unfortunately the exact number and characteristics of the relocating households and their residents was not known, even by the Main Roads Department (MRD), the Queensland Government department responsible for freeway construction and the relocation of residents. The number and characteristics could only have been found if all households had been interviewed, but qualitative data suggest that the relocating sample is representative of the relocating population.

Interviews with non-relocating residents, comprising a 3 per cent sample of Windsor's population, were completed by a team of interviewers and this sample was generally shown to be representative (see Appendix A) Both sets of interviews were completed between February and December 1973 (see Appendices B and C for interview schedules used).

Data from interviews provided the bulk of the information on residential life and were supplemented by qualitative data collected through participant observation. However, I collected additional information concerning the freeway plan and the urban struggle by means of informal interviews. First, in order to obtain additional

information on freeway policy and transport planning and on the association of the MRD with relocating residents, as seen by the MRD, a number of informal interviews were conducted with the three principal officers handling the implementation of the freeway plan and the relocation of residents. Larger meetings were also held with these three and with other officers involved in the plan, before the research commenced, to discuss the overall impact study. and another meeting was held after the major report (Mullins, 1976a) was submitted in the middle of 1976. Secondly, following the introduction of the new theoretical framework, it became necessary to trace the anti-freeway struggle back to the occasion when the first freeways were announced in 1966/67. Unfortunately, newspapers of that time contained no information on any protest movement and it was only through a conversation with one of the MRD officers that the existence of a 1960s protest group was found and addresses of the principal officers obtained. Interviews were conducted in late 1977 with the President, Vice President and Secretary of this 1960s group. Thirdly, interviews were also conducted with the three secretaries (the principal officer) of the 1970s anti-freeway organisation and with the 15 people who held executive roles in the group over its two years of operation.

2. Participant Observation

In order to obtain additional, qualitative data, a long period was spent on participant observation and was undertaken both within Windsor, as a resident, and within the anti-freeway organisation. Twenty-seven months, from September 1972 until December 1974, were spent living in Windsor. During this time I lived in a house located in the centre of the area and along the proposed path of the Northern Freeway. Detailed qualitative data were collected around the following:

- i) the use made of the house and yard and attitudes towards the house and yard;
- ii) the use made of residential facilities and attitudes towards residential facilities;
- iii) general attitudes towards Windsor;
- iv) the association between neighbours and attitudes towards the neighbourhood;
- v) contacts between residents and their kin and friends and the extent to which these intimates lived locally;
- vi) membership of local voluntary organisations;
- vii) the relationship with the local government (the Brisbane City Council - BCC);
- viii) attitudes towards, and use made of, local shopping facilities;
- ix) major events occurring in Windsor (e.g. school fetes, etc.).

Participant observation of the 1970s protest group took the form of attendance at all general meetings and at all meetings of the neighbourhood group in the area in which I lived. It also included attendance at rallies, street marches, fund raising barbeques, confrontations with the police, etc. Contact was also made with other organisations involved in the anti-freeway movement, particularly the Queensland Conservation Council, the Communist Party of Australia, the Australian Labor Party, the trade union movement, the Catholic Church and students.

All these data were recorded in four diaries and wherever possible were recorded at the time of observation, although on many occasions notes were written on scraps of paper and later transcribed into the diaries, or were simply memorised, if it was inappropriate to record them at the time, and then later transcribed into the appropriate diary

i) The principal diary recorded events within the neighbourhood under the elements listed above. However, because of the problem of making contact with residents, since Windsor is a privatised community, a time-lapse film was taken to observe in detail day-to-day activity in the street in which I lived. A picture was taken every 15 seconds and recorded from sunrise to sunset over seven consecutive days, in the summer, and covering both ends of the street. However, considering the time taken to analyse these data, in terms of the return of information, this device was found to be unproductive. It told little more than had already been obtained from participation in the neighbourhood.

ii) A separate diary was used to record qualitative data collected during the course of interviews and these were later related to other qualitative data on Windsor and on the urban struggle.

iii) One diary was used to record all major events occurring in Windsor, such as meetings, social occasions, crises, etc. It also included all notices, advertisements, etc., delivered in the neighbourhood.

iv) Finally, a very detailed diary was kept of all meetings of the protest group, both general and neighbourhood, that I attended. A record was kept of how many attended, the topics discussed, who spoke, and the decisions reached. A record was also made of all actions taken.

In conclusion, there is need to make a brief evaluation of participant observation. Apart from the earlier comments about its appropriateness to community settings, as a technique it is disturbingly undisciplined, for while it does offer the potential for significant insights, there is nothing detailing the basic

scientific processes of data collection and data analysis (see the major publications in this field such as Filstead, 1970; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Vidich, et al , 1964) What has been written has centred on procedures used in entering the field, for leaving the field and on ethical issues such as the association with people being studied and on problems of publishing socially sensitive information. This serious methodological shortcoming has been observed in a short but scathing criticism by the former editor of a journal devoted to phenomenologically-oriented work (which makes great use of participant observation):

Instead of appropriate and helpful descriptions of how field workers collect and analyse their data, we get endlessly repetitive accounts of 'my adventures and nausea among the natives' (Lofland, 1974:307)

Davis (1974) has made a similar criticism and suggests that much of what passes for qualitative research has been story-telling, not sociology. Only Wisemen (1974) seems to have documented in any detail procedures for collecting, recording and analysing qualitative data.

3. Documentary Evidence

Documentary evidence was particularly important in the analysis of the urban struggle. Four sets were collected:

- i) A file was kept of all documents provided by the 1970s anti-freeway organisation, including a booklet produced on freeways, press releases, publicity sheets, information sheets, etc.
- ii) Copies were obtained of the minutes of the meetings of the 1960s anti-freeway organisation, including letters the organisation had exchanged with the State and Federal Governments, the MRD and the BCC. This documentary material, plus the three interviews with

members of the group's executive, came to be the basis for the analysis of the 1960s period of protest.

iii) The most detailed documentation came from an extensive newspaper file collected between January 1972, six months before the Northern Freeway was announced, and December 1974. All relevant material appearing in Brisbane's three daily newspapers, including the national daily, The Australian, the two Sunday newspapers and one weekly suburban paper, were collected and filed. Information sought was on the struggle, on relevant urban and regional policies, other Brisbane urban struggles, urban struggles in other Australian cities and on Windsor itself

4. Official Statistics

Official statistics provided the most basic data for the study and were obtained from the Queensland and Federal Governments. There were two major sets of data:

i) The principal source was the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), from which was obtained census data on Windsor, Brisbane and on Australian urbanisation generally. Unpublished data on investments on Brisbane's built environment and on building completions in the City were also made available.

ii) The State Public Relations Bureau provided data on yearly investment intentions in Queensland, distinguishing the locations of these investments. These data were used specifically for the analysis of the growth of Queensland, Brisbane and the Moreton Region (Chapters 5 and 6)

V THE RESEARCH AS A COMPONENT OF URBAN PLANNING

The research upon which the present analysis is based was

commissioned by the MRD as a social impact study for the purpose of assessing the social consequences of the Northern Freeway upon Windsor. Under this circumstance, then, the research came to be a component of urban planning, not only in terms of the specific process of freeway planning but with reference to the overall impact of forced relocation, irrespective of the predisposing situation (cf Pahl, 1977c). Findings from the study were presented to the MRD in 1976 as a major report (Mullins, 1976a) and a summary was published the following year (Mullins, 1977b).

This social impact assessment was one part of a larger project directed by the MRD and also including the participation of the ABS and the BCC, and had the purpose of developing

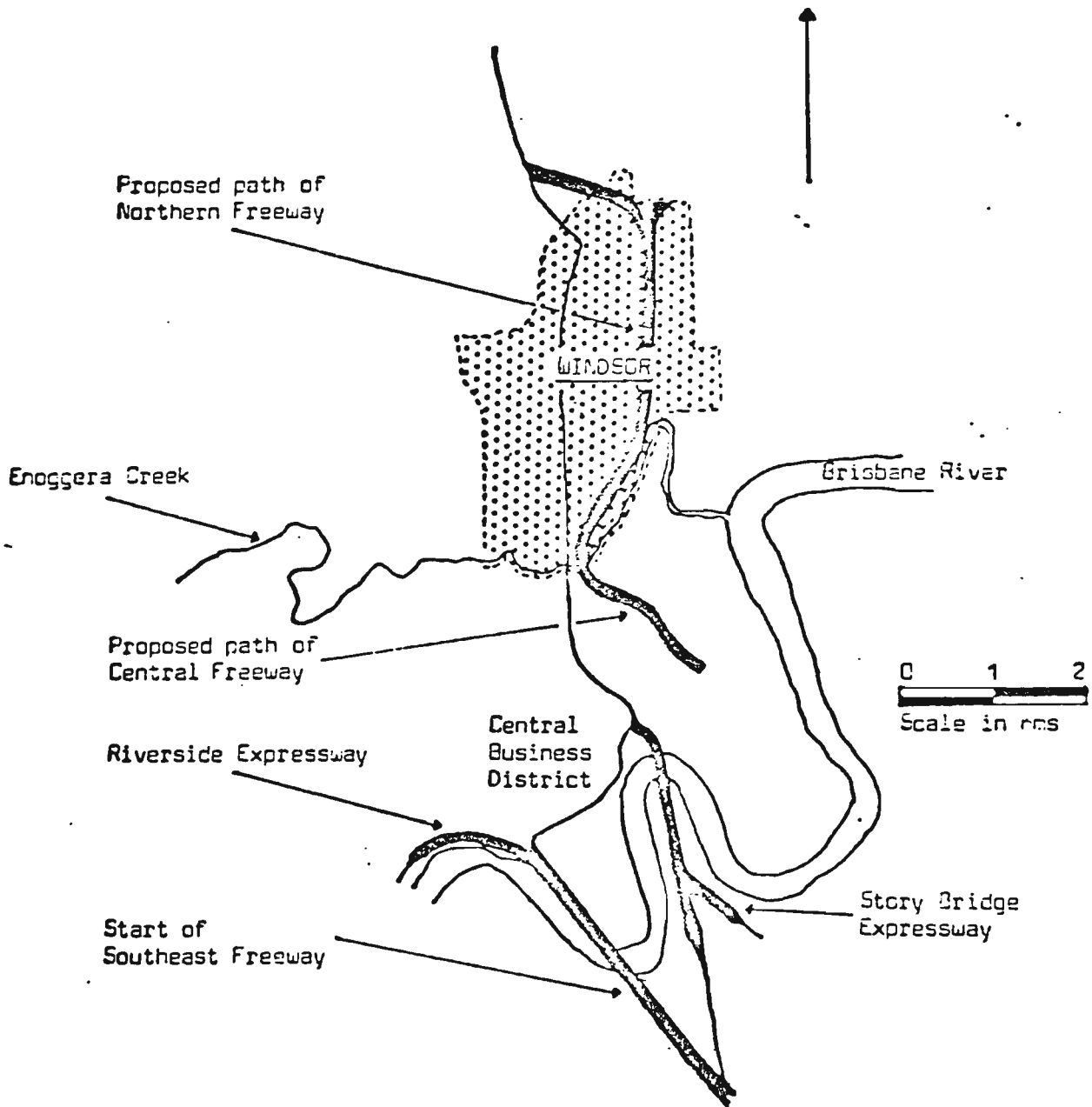
. . . a framework for determining the present demographic, economic, social, physical, and transport patterns of the study area, and for identifying changes in these activities over the next ten years. Its findings will be useful in identifying some measure of the factors not customarily accounted for in evaluation procedures. (Main Roads Department, et al , 1972:1)

The results of the larger study have been presented in three reports (Main Roads Department, et al , 1972, 1974, 1978). Moreover, Windsor had been chosen as the site for study because it is a 'natural area', being bordered in the south by the Enoggera Creek and in the north by the Kedron Brook.

As will be described in the analysis given in Part V on the struggle, the decision by the MRD to include a social impact assessment had largely resulted from the political threat emanating from the 1960s struggle, which although generally quiescent, still indicated the potential for action against freeway construction. Moreover, there was an acknowledgement of the rise of urban struggles

MAP 2.1

WINDSOR'S RELATIVE LOCATION WITHIN BRISBANE



(SOURCE: Adapted from Main Roads Department, et al, 1972)

throughout Australia and in cities of other countries; the threat these posed to social stability and the decision to implement the present social impact study, came to express the manner in which the state attempts to maintain an integrating role in capitalist society. It was an attempt to defuse a threat of working-class action. In this way, then, the original research was part of urban planning (see Chapter 3)

VI WINDSOR

Finally, brief discussion needs to be given to Windsor's relationship to the rest of Brisbane. As indicated in the previous chapter, Windsor comprises several inner northern suburbs or parts of suburbs that previously formed the municipal district of that name. It was first settled in the latter part of last century by non-manual workers who built houses on the hills forming the eastern and western peripheries. With the introduction of the railway and of tramways in the 1890s, manual workers began building houses on the lower-lying land of the valley floor

At its southern boundary, Windsor is two kilometres from the central business district and at its northern boundary, approximately six kilometres (see Map 2.1). The planned route of the Northern Freeway commences at Enoggera Creek in the south, where it is to link with the Central Freeway, and then will run north, parallel with the railway line, to end at Gympie Road, immediately outside the northern boundary. Map 2.1 also shows the relative position of Windsor and the Northern and Central Freeways to other motorways - to the start of the Southeast Freeway, the Story Bridge Expressway and the Riverside Expressway, and shows how all radiate out from the city centre.

Windsor is an old working-class area undergoing significant change. The population is declining (17,450 in 1973) and the elderly people, living in single-family, owner-occupied dwellings, are slowly being replaced by young single and young married people residing in rental accommodation. The majority of those who are employed (85 per cent) are in either manual occupations (53 per cent) or unskilled non-manual jobs (32 per cent; 1971 Census)

Like most of the housing in Brisbane, the bulk of Windsor housing is weatherboard, single-family dwellings constructed in the distinctive Queensland high-set style; that is, set about three metres off the ground on high stilts. Increasingly as the elderly people die off, their houses are either being subdivided into flats or are being removed to allow construction of home units (apartments/condominiums)

PART TWO

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON CAPITALIST URBANISATION,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO AUSTRALIA

PREFACE

The next two chapters provide the theoretical foundation from which to interpret the struggle against Brisbane's freeways. They present an analysis of capitalist urbanisation which will, in turn, allow explication of the process by which urban struggles emerge and the manner in which they effect change.

Chapter 3 provides the most general analysis of capitalist urbanisation, for it identifies the particular role played by the city under capitalism and shows how urban social movements come to be the process by which basic shifts are made in the nature of class relations at the urban level - for the benefit of the working-class. This framework will provide the basis from which to understand not only the anti-freeway struggle (Part V, Chapters 12 to 15), but also the process of Australian urbanisation, from which the struggle emerged and which is given in Part III.

Chapter 4, in contrast, considers in detail the basic role played by the city: as the reproducer of labour power. This chapter will analyse the central material and social components and present them in a way pertinent to the development of a theory of Australian residential life. This chapter, then, will provide the basis for analysing the specific context of this struggle: residential life in Windsor (Part IV)

Chapter 3

CAPITALISM, URBANISATION AND URBAN STRUGGLE: A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for interpreting the struggle against Brisbane's freeways. This will be done in such a way as to allow consideration of the issues, actions and effects of the struggle, as well as of the contexts within which it emerged and upon which it acted. These contexts are:

a) general aspects of Australian urbanisation with particular reference to Brisbane, for it was at this level that contradictions giving rise to the struggle emerged; and b) the specific context of residential life in Windsor, in both its material (e.g. housing) and social forms, for it was at this level that the particular issues over which the struggle was fought emerged.

This framework is organised around two precepts. The first sees the spatial relationships, forming the city as a built environment, as being essential for capital accumulation (e.g. with factories, roads, offices, houses, etc.) and it is in this sense that analysis can be identified as a 'sociology of space'. The second approach concentrates on the essential role played by the city as the reproducer of labour power. The city is the location for organising daily life under capitalism, with its provision of houses, schools, hospitals, etc., for ensuring the existence of a sheltered, skilled, healthy and recreated workforce and in this way we can see that the city is to the reproduction of labour power what, for example, the factory system is to the production of commodities. It is from contradictions involved in this reproduction process that urban struggles emerge.

This chapter is presented in three major sections... The first (section III) considers capitalist urbanisation, giving initial discussion to capitalism as a mode of production, before elaborating a 'sociology of space' and then moving on to the fundamental role of the city as the reproducer of labour power. From this, the second major section (IV) is devoted to theoretical consideration of urban politics, as the mechanism creating urban change, first with urban planning, as state intervention over urban issues, primarily for aiding capital accumulation, and second with urban struggles, as working-class action over issues involved in the reproduction of labour power. When urban struggles take the form of urban social movements, significant change results in the city and, in turn, in the society, to the benefit of the working-class. Finally section V considers general questions of Australian capitalism and urbanisation.

II THE DEARTH OF THEORY IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Unfortunately there has been little theoretical work on urbanisation, for, apart from Weber's (1958) 1921 monograph on the medieval city, only Wirth (1970), in a brief paper published in 1938, made any attempt, with his 'urbanism' thesis, at a theory of urbanisation and during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, urban sociology was dominated by this theory. Yet, Wirth's effort was recently demolished in a devastating series of theoretical criticisms by Manuel Castells (1976a, 1976b, 1977). This critique conclusively shows how Wirth identified the society not the city in his thesis and his theory, in effect, was a cultural theory of society, not an urban theory.

While Castells was the first to identify the reason for the malaise in urban sociology, its presence had long been recognised. Martindale (1958), for example, writing in the mid 1950s, clearly identified this and in the 1960s a number of attempts were made to

overcome the impasse. The first salvo was fired by Gans (1962a, 1962b) in his noted criticism of Wirth's theory, but perhaps the most concerted effort appeared when University of Chicago sociologists, under the directive of Morris Janowitz, made a nostalgic attempt to recapture the golden years of the Chicago School of Sociology (1920s/1930s). Graduate students once again moved out to observe Chicago and this resulted in a number of empirical studies being published (Suttles, 1968; Molotch, 1972; Hunter, 1974; Kornblum, 1974). This move, however, has had little overall effect and has merely tended to highlight deficiencies of the original work. Nevertheless, Molotch's (1972) and Kornblum's (1974) studies may have some lasting influence since, although theoretically weak, they raise questions similar to those now being asked by marxist scholars who have laid the basis for a new approach to the study of urbanisation.

Specific consideration has also been given to Wirth's urbanism thesis in an effort to see whether the city, as an environmental entity, had any independent influence. This was pursued by Fischer (1976) and Michelson (1970), but their efforts have merely been voices from the past, since criticisms of Wirth's theory can be repeated for these works.

From this theoretical void a new development appeared from the work by marxist scholars who were attempting to identify urbanisation's role within capitalism. It first emerged in Europe, notably France, in the late 1960s, following the urban upheavals of those years and is particularly represented by the work of Manuel Castells (1977, 1978a). A parallel and largely independent intellectual movement also appeared in the United States from work by a number of marxist political economists who were responding primarily to the fiscal

crises of old, dominant cities like New York (see particularly Alcala and Mermelstein, 1977; Tabb and Sawers, 1978)

It is from within this new theoretical development that the present study on Brisbane's anti-freeway movement is organised. It provides the basis for interpreting the struggle itself, as well as the tools for analysing the contexts within which the struggle emerged; the general one on Australian urbanisation and the specific one on residential life in Windsor.

Finally, a prefatory remark. Contrary to assumptions exuding from most work on Australian urbanisation, the process of urban and regional development in this country is markedly different from that in European countries and in the United States. Australia's history of capitalism established an urbanisation sharply different from that experienced in these dominant capitalist countries. Such differences will become particularly apparent from discussion given in the last section of this chapter and in the next chapter on Australian residential life.

III CAPITALISM AND URBANISATION

While cities have existed for thousands of years, their presence being determined by the mode of production existing during a specific epoch, urbanisation has only appeared as a dominant social and spatial form with the rise of capitalism. For example, it began with the establishment of the factory system during the middle of the nineteenth century and the extraordinary expansion of capitalist cities after 1945, through suburbanisation, resulted from changes in processes of production and consumption, where a vast range of new commodities (e.g. cars, television sets, etc.) became economically and politically congruent with the single-family, owner-occupied

dwellings of the suburbs

To understand the urbanisation process it is necessary to understand capitalism as a mode of production. For this reason, some simple introductory remarks need to be made on this mode of production.

1 Capitalism as a Mode of Production

As with all modes of production, the capitalist mode of production refers to the way a social formation survives materially and socially. It consists of a range of social relations and activities between people and between people and the natural environment, specifically with work processes that convert raw materials, taken from the natural environment, by means of certain tools (the means of production), into certain goods (commodities)

The essential point with the capitalist mode of production is that the basic relationship exists as a tie between workers, on the one hand, who produce the commodities and who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population, and those who own and control the means of production, on the other, who appropriate the product for their own use. These aggregates form two social classes: the working-class and capitalists (bourgeoisie) [Of course, this is an overly simplistic analysis of the contemporary period of capitalism, as clearly enunciated by Wright (1978)]

The dynamic and distinguishing feature of the capitalist mode of production, however, goes far beyond simple survival needs, since the driving force is capital accumulation, or the accumulation of 'surplus value' - that which remains after workers are given a 'living wage' and after the costs of production (e.g. plant, fuel,

transport, etc.), circulation (e.g. marketing, banking, insurance, etc.) and raw materials have been paid. Increases in surplus value not only assure an extravagant life for capitalists, but more significantly, it comes to be the basis for extending capitalism as a mode of production, for capitalism can only be maintained by increased expansion. Growth is the word. There is a striving for new markets, for new commodities, for a new labour force, for an expanded means of production and, finally, for a social control mechanism that will ensure continued social stability (see Marx, 1965a)

The latter issue of social control underlies a critical question for capitalism: its perpetuation. This is particularly difficult in the face of constant confrontation from the working-class and therefore the actual means for reproducing capitalist society comes to be as important as the actual production process itself. There develops, then, a complex institutional system of political and ideological control which is maintained mainly by the state.

In spite of such stringent attempts at social control, contradictions are endemic to capitalism, with the most fundamental one being the antagonistic relationship between the classes. One class attempts to maintain its dominance, while the other struggles to wrest control over its labour and the product of its labour. But contradictions also appear from social conditions located elsewhere in the mode of production, as with a market saturation which lowers profitability, or from natural conditions, like an exhaustion of raw materials. In these ways, depressions and recessions perennially appear and in order to return to increased levels of capital accumulation, an adaptation must be made.

Major adaptations to capitalism have occurred at two major periods of time: one in the middle of the nineteenth century and the other during the 1930s. It must be stressed, however, that these transformations do not represent an evolutionary process in capitalism, but simply indicate structural responses to severe economic and political crises. Put simply the two principal periods of change identify three stages through which capitalism has passed.

i) Mercantile capitalism refers to the earliest stage of capitalism, from the end of the eighteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century. It was based on trade, through the cheap purchase of agricultural and pastoral goods, including items such as clothing produced in cottage industries, and their sale at high prices. As capital was accumulated, expansion began and this led to industrialisation.

ii) Industrial capitalism, commencing around 1850, emerged with the factory system and was characterised by large-scale production of commodities, mechanisation, widening markets, extensive competition among capitalists and an intensification of class conflict, leading to a depression and change in the 1920s/1930s.

iii) Monopoly/corporate capitalism ('late capitalism' see Mandel, 1975), commenced in the 1930s/1940s, with industry and commerce being brought under the control of fewer and fewer but increasingly large corporations, and it resulted in the monopolisation of capital and the removal of competitive capitalism. Growth was based on the mass consumption of commodities and was aided particularly by suburbanisation.

What has been described here, however, relates solely to dominant capitalist countries, for Australia and other dependent capitalist nations did not pass through these stages. Australia

never experienced the industrial stage of capitalism but remained in an advanced form of mercantile capitalism until the 1940s/1950s when foreign monopolies introduced industry, producing commodities for mass consumption (see Wheelwright and Buckley, 1975, 1978a, 1978b) This is elaborated in Chapter 4.

2. The Process of Capitalist Urbanisation

Since capitalist urbanisation is the product of the capitalist mode of production, these three stages of capitalist development (in dominant capitalist countries) were replicated in the urbanisation process. Cities moved from mercantile urbanisation to industrial urbanisation to corporate urbanisation (see particularly Gordon, 1977, 1978; Hill, 1977)

i) Mercantile urbanisation (circa 1800 to circa 1850) emerged as a series of commercial cities located around ports (sea or river) for the collection and distribution of agricultural and pastoral goods. Cities contained discount houses, lending, accounting and entrepreneurial supports and were political centres for surrounding regions. The city centre was located around wharves and contained the shops and houses of merchants and artisans, with labourers, seamen and the poor living in shacks on the outskirts of the city centre.

ii) Industrial urbanisation (circa 1850 to circa 1930) developed with the factory system and industries began to congregate around energy sources (water and coal) With improved transportation and an increasing need to control labour, however, factories were released from such locational constraints and concentrated in large cities. As these cities grew with the flood of international migrants, there was a ready supply of cheap labour and a diversity in the labour force which helped create a fragmented working-class.

Workers lived in occupational communities surrounding the factories and with long working hours, poor living conditions, low wages and unemployment, labour conflict intensified over the years with occupational communities playing a particularly significant role in fuelling this conflict.

iii) Monopoly or corporate urbanisation (circa 1945 -) is characterised by four factors. Firstly, the relocation of factories to the suburbs in order to remove labour unrest, which had been fuelled by the contiguous occupational communities. Secondly, the city centre became the control centre for the new corporate capitalism, with its overall governance of production and consumption, and being symbolised by the construction of high-rise office blocks. Thirdly, by the relocation of the retail sector to new suburban shopping towns and finally by an attempt to remove local government fragmentation within metropolitan areas to allow easy coordination of growth.

While these changes show how capitalist urbanisation developed, they do not explain the structure and function of urbanisation for capitalism. This can now be done with reference to the two perspectives identified earlier: 'the sociology of space' and the central role of the city as the reproducer of labour power

a) A Sociology of Space: Capitalist urbanisation refers to the agglomeration of activities in spatial formation to allow easy capital accumulation. This reduces costs to capitalists, in terms of production, the circulation of capital and the provision of a labour force - and particularly helps maintain control over workers. Factories, offices and labour, therefore, are continually located in large cities within metropolitan regions.

More specifically, the city comprises necessary fixed capital (e.g. factories, warehouses, offices, transport facilities, etc.); elements for circulating commodities and capital (e.g. with shops and banks); the control centre for coordinating growth (e.g. with governments); and, most importantly, the location for reproducing labour power. A sociology of space, then, elaborates the relationships between these various elements of the built environment and assesses their impact upon capital accumulation (see Harvey, 1978; Hill, 1977; Mollenkopf, 1975)

To date, no detailed theoretical explanation of this process has been given, at least from a critical perspective, although Castells (1977) has provided a typology of the structural components making up this process. In an elaborate and somewhat confusing model he identifies four major elements and a series of sub-elements within an urban system which, he says, should show the dynamic aspect of the urbanisation process. The four major elements can be summarised as:

- i) Production: i.e. the spatial expression of the means of production, which is visible in the great range of activities involved in production and in industrial administration (e.g. factories, offices);
- ii) Consumption: i.e. the spatial expression of labour power which is visible as housing and residential facilities;
- iii) Exchange: i.e. the spatial expression of transferences between production and consumption which is visible in shops and transport systems; and
- iv) Administration (Management): i.e. the process of regulating relations between the above three and exists in the coordination of urban and regional development (e.g. local government, urban planning).

Urbanisation, like capitalism as a whole, contains endemic contradictions. There are two principal ones. The first emerges from the increased concentration of the means of production into limited geographic areas - into a number of major cities that become the locations of greatest investment and capital accumulation. They have the most skilled and best paid workforces who receive the most developed systems of collective consumption. But increasing concentration, so essential for capital accumulation, also leads to congestion which, in turn, threatens capital accumulation. Thus the contradiction.

The second contradiction emerges with the development of underdeveloped areas, as a result of the concentration of capital and labour into a limited number of metropolitan regions. Underdeveloped areas, then, have the lowest levels of economic growth in the country, as well as having workforces with the highest levels of unemployment, the lowest skills, the lowest per capita incomes and the highest rates of poverty. This poses severe political threats to capitalism since a distinctive parochialism emerges and a strong antagonism directed at the spatial core develops, frequently leading to nationalist movements.

While Lojkin (1976) has given brief discussion of these spatial contradictions, little theoretical and empirical work is available on the development of internal underdevelopment. This problem has been clearly shown in a recent issue of the Review of Radical Political Economics (Vol 10, Fall, 1978), where internal development and underdevelopment were seen as a consequence of the urbanisation process and where analyses of international development and underdevelopment (e.g. Amin, 1974) had been the result of different forces: that of international capitalism (see Edel, et al, 1978). In this

way, therefore, internal underdevelopment is as likely under dominant capitalism, such as in the United States, as it is in Third World countries, such as Indonesia.

Such questions of internal development and underdevelopment will be raised again in the analysis of the broad sweep of Australian urbanisation given in Chapter 5. Also they will prove significant in the discussion given in Chapter 6 on the recent rapid growth of Brisbane and the Moreton Region.

b) The City as the Reproducer of Labour Power: Apart from considering this complex interweave of activities located at a spatial level for increasing capital accumulation, the basic role played by the city is in terms of the reproduction of the workforce. The city is the location where the workforce is sheltered, where it is educated, where it is kept in reasonable health and where it is recreated, all of which refer to the ultimate goal of producing surplus value for capital accumulation.

Fundamentally, the urban question refers to the organisation of the means of collective consumption at the basis of the daily life of all social groups: housing, education, health, culture, commerce, transport, etc. (Castells, 1978a:3)

Most writing on the material conditions needed for the reproduction of labour power has concentrated on housing, as the single most important issue. with distinction being made particularly between different tenure systems: public rentals, private rentals, homeownership (purchasing by mortgage) and homeownership (outright ownership) Unfortunately much of this refers to housing in dominant capitalist countries and fails to distinguish why Australian housing has historically been different. For Australia, as with countries with a similar mercantile history, like New

Zealand, there has always been a very high level of homeownership. This contrasts markedly with dominant countries where rentals (first private and now public) have dominated. The theoretical bases for these differences will be given in the next chapter

Many of the arguments on housing revolve around questions of renting versus homeownership for the working-class, with homeownership being seen as a means to subdue the working-class because it would give them a 'stake in the system'. There is general agreement, however, that homeownership is not capital, since there is no command over labour power (see Engels, 1975; Pickvance, 1976b). However, homeownership does produce wealth over a period of time, due to inflationary trends, but this wealth is produced in a way similar to workers depositing surplus income in savings banks or in a superannuation scheme. In fact, homeownership in Australia has traditionally been a major source for the investment of savings (cf Luria, 1976), particularly since it will act as a hedge against poverty in old age in a country which has never had a universal system of old age pensions (see Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975)

There is amazingly little detailed theoretical work on housing, with John Rex's notion of 'housing classes' being the first concerted attempt at understanding the housing question (see Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex, 1968, 1971, 1977; see also Haddon, 1970; Bell, 1977). This concept refers to differential access to house types, from outright homeownership of a single-family house, to the rental of one room in a boarding house. The principal theoretical question raised by Rex was that conflict over housing was a conflict between factions of the working-class, since, apart from income, factors such as race, age, sex, marital status, etc., had determining influences

on the type of housing people got. While outright ownership of a single-family house was considered the most desirable form of housing, this was frequently open only to certain groups. Nevertheless, despite such important observations, the housing question is still located in the nature of class relations when we realise that it is a central part of the process of reproducing labour power (see Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975; Pickvance, 1976b)

Returning to more basic questions of urbanisation and the reproduction process, severe contradictions are also inevitable at this level of the urban system. Ironically, although the workforce must be reproduced to ensure capital accumulation, capitalists are reluctant to invest in this area, simply because it is unprofitable (e.g. in hospitals, schools, etc.) Apart from certain components (e.g. luxury housing) there is little return from investment and even those that do offer some return, are frequently less profitable than other types of investment. As a result, there is a constant shortage of necessary facilities and it has been under such problematical circumstances that urban struggles have emerged (see Lamarche, 1976; Lojkine, 1976)

It has been as a consequence of this contradiction over the necessary provision of elements in the reproduction of labour power (and thus the presence of urban struggles) that the state has increasingly intervened for the provision of these necessary facilities. This has been particularly apparent since 1945 when a marked increase occurred (at least in dominant capitalist countries) in public housing, public education, public health care, etc. Such intervention, however, was far less significant in Australia where, for example, only six per cent of dwellings are state rentals, where a universal system of health care is yet to be

introduced and where there is a relatively poor urban public transport system.

This increased intervention of the state in the (socialised) reproduction of labour power has been summarised by the concept 'collective consumption' (Castells, 1977). This concept defines the reproduction process in terms of the type of capital invested (i.e. it is public investment); by the fact that items are durable; that they are consumed collectively (e.g. as with education) rather than individually (e.g. as with clothing); and that (essentially) they are not sold as commodities, but are sold as services (e.g. as lessons; see Lojkine, 1976)

Yet this concept 'collective consumption' is confusing for, as Pahl (1977b, 1978) has persistently stressed, it lacks clarity and precision in meaning. The basic problem is discerning when an element in reproduction becomes collectively consumed. For example, because the state provides considerable direct and indirect assistance to the widespread homeownership in Australia, does this imply collective consumption? It is, of course, quite different from public housing where state investment is total; but there is still significant involvement of the state. We can assume that Castells would not consider Australian housing as being collectively consumed because of the dominance of homeownership. It is such issues of definition which makes this concept confusing and Castells (1978a) has recently conceded their presence, suggesting that problems can be overcome by extending empirical work and by progressively discovering new concepts.

Finally, detailed discussion is required of women and domestic labour since women, through their (domestic) labour reproduce

'productive' workers. While ignored by major theorists (to date), increasing recognition is being given to this question [see Castells, 1978a; see also the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol 2 (October) 1978 which was devoted totally to 'Women and the City'].

IV URBAN POLITICS: URBAN PLANNING AND URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

What has been given so far has been a structural (i.e. static) analysis of capitalist urbanisation. What must be done now is to consider the dynamic (i.e. processes creating change) underlying the urban system. This is approached from two complementary perspectives. The first is urban planning, or state intervention over urban questions, which aims primarily at extending capital accumulation (e.g. through the construction of industrial estates) and only in a very minor way at benefiting the workforce (e.g. with public housing). The second is urban struggles, or working-class action over components of the living place (e.g. housing) which, when they evolve as urban social movements, come to initiate significant changes within the urban system (and, in turn, in the wider society) to the benefit of the working-class. These two political components form the field of urban politics and can be discussed separately in more detail.

1 Urban Planning

Before giving specific discussion to urban planning, some introductory remarks must be made on the nature of the state, since urban planning is one form of state intervention. Moreover, in discussing urban planning, particular attention will be given to transport planning as the specific process leading to the struggle against Brisbane's freeways.

a) The capitalist state can be defined structurally as an amalgam of social actions emanating from various governments, government departments, statutory bodies, etc. which, when taken together, can be seen as reflecting the nature of class relations. That is, when the state acts it expresses the domination of capital over labour. This means that state intervention will always be overwhelmingly for the benefit of capital and only in a limited way for the benefit of the working-class. The state, then, maintains class relations; it ensures social stability and therefore, contrary to implications from some marxist writings, the state is not an arm of capital. It merely expresses the relationship which exists between classes.¹

Recently there has been considerable debate over the role played by the capitalist state, based largely on the exchange between Miliband (1973) and Poulantzas (1973, 1975; see also Wright, 1978). Those parts of the debate relevant to the present chapter can briefly be outlined (see particularly Lojkin, 1976; Mingione, 1977a; Pickvance, 1977a, 1978a, 1978b)

Firstly, there has been a tendency for a number of these marxist writers, notably Poulantzas, to concentrate on the state's political and ideological roles for maintaining social control and to neglect instances of economic intervention. They consider, for example, the politically repressive state apparatuses, such as the police force, and the ideologically repressive state apparatuses, such as

¹ This situation is as true when left of centre ('social democratic') governments are in power, the Australian Federal Labor Government of 1972-74 for instance, as for cases of rightist governments' except that 'left governments' respond somewhat more to the working-class, than do 'right governments'. Nevertheless, the relationship defining the state as a condensed reflection of class relations remains.

education, but largely ignore economic policies directed at industry and business, such as nationalisation and transport policies.

The second, related and more serious flaw is for some of them to be trapped by a functionalist interpretation of the state by implying that the state is an instrument of the dominant class. The problem with this approach is that it ultimately neglects the impact of working-class action and thus contradicts the essentially marxist perspective on the state, which sees it as a condensed reflection of class relations. The state must not be regarded as acting solely in the interests of capital, but must be seen as expressing the way capital pursues its interests in the face of working-class pressure, for it has been under such circumstances that the 'welfare state' and 'democracy' have appeared (see Pickvance, 1978a, 1978b)

Since the state reflects class relations, intervention can only be partly, if at all, successful. The nature of class relations bars complete 'success' and, if anything, as Castells (1977) notes for urban planning, state intervention initiates further contradictions. Rather than solving problems, it becomes a 'lightning conductor' for attracting capital/labour conflict since intervention politicises issues and thus aggravates problems, and it is exactly this which shows how urban policy and urban struggle are intertwined.

b) Urban planning, as a specific form of state intervention, can be interpreted as state intervention concerned with maintaining and extending the urbanisation function of capitalism. This appears at two levels. The first, the dominant intervention, is to provide productive infrastructure which is necessary for capital accumulation, such as transportation systems, electricity supplies, industrial estates, zoning, etc. The second, the subordinate intervention, is in terms of providing elements of collective consumption for workers,

such as housing, water supplies, sewerage systems, roads, hospitals, schools, etc., all of which are part of the city's dominant function as the reproducer of labour power. Equally importantly, the state through urban planning, contributes to maintaining social stability at the urban level, both in terms of antagonistic relations between classes as well as the non-antagonistic conflict between factions of capital (see Castells, 1977, 1978a; Preteceille, 1976). Finally, as shown for state intervention generally, urban planning cannot fully resolve urban issues. The contradictory character of the capitalist city and of the capitalist state makes this problem an inevitability.

Turning to urban transport planning as the specific form of urban planning relevant to the present case study, Brisbane's freeway system, like all freeway systems under capitalist urbanisation, came to dominate the City's transport planning in the 1960s and early 1970s, and because of the necessary widespread destruction of housing it inevitably sparked a significant urban struggle.

As a specific form of urban and regional policy, transport planning plays three distinct and related but frequently contradictory roles, which express the dual character of urban planning; the dominant relation towards capital and the subordinate relationship to workers. Firstly, it attempts to reduce the time involved in getting commodities to market. In this context transportation must be seen as part of the production process because it is directly productive of value (Harvey, 1975a). Secondly, it attempts to increase the speed by which capital is rotated and thus reinvested after the sale of commodities and in this way transportation forms part of the process of circulating capital (Harvey, 1975a). Finally, transport planning attempts to reduce the time labour takes to get to and from work (but also to leisure and recreation areas) and in this way

transportation is involved in the reproduction of the workforce (Feldman, 1977). The journey to work, in fact, is the single most important transfer in the city, since productivity is associated with workers' punctuality.

Conquering time in order to overcome space, then, emerges as the critical feature of transport planning. Initially this is achieved by physically replacing the old fixed capital of an earlier period with infrastructure of the contemporary age. For the present corporate stage of capitalism, this involved, for example, the destruction of tramways, to be replaced by buses, the upgrading of roads and the construction of expressways and freeways for the new mode of transit: the car. Paradoxically, this new fixed capital will itself eventually be replaced when it becomes outmoded through a change in the nature of capitalism and thus the capitalist city. The critical issue with Brisbane's freeways, then, is that they have been an essential part of the transformation of the city into a corporate city; because they will aid suburbanisation and movement to and from the central business district.

Since the journey to work forms the largest volume of urban transfers, it becomes a principal focus for transport planning. Until the 1940s this and other trips within the city had been by public transport, much of it privately financed, but with the growth of the automobile, as the major means for moving workers, capital withdrew and public transport went into rapid decline. Under such conditions the state has been forced to intervene and struggle with a failing system but, at the same time, it has had to ensure the growth of infrastructure for private transportation, with the provision of roads, ports, airports, etc., and with administrative services (e.g. traffic control)

A fiscal crisis, then, exists in the public transport sector because it no longer is the major means for moving workers to and from work and revenue gained from fares is insufficient to cover operating costs. Services contract and become more expensive, inflexible and infrequent, with workers being forced increasingly to buy cars and use these in the journey to work. It is under such conditions that workers provide unpaid labour to get themselves to and from work (unlike public transport which is consumed as a service), while at the same time consuming a commodity which is integral to the mass consumption process of contemporary capitalism. The car goes hand in hand with homeownership and the purchase of television sets, stereos, washing machines, etc., and is a core element of the suburbanisation process. It is a commodity that is universally consumed and it is the principal means used in the journey to work.

With the car becoming the dominant mode for transporting labour, severe contradictions, however, have emerged. The most significant is congestion in the central business district which is coming to threaten capital accumulation and it has been under such conditions that the state on occasions has built rapid transit systems (e.g. BART in San Francisco). However, since these systems operate directly to the central business district, for the benefit of the white collar workers employed there, they discriminate against workers employed elsewhere (see Beagle, et al, 1971; Brittain, 1971; Wohl, 1971) and this bias is increasingly giving rise to urban transport struggles. Secondly, the large number of cars has created severe air pollution and threatened the 'quality of urban life'. In this instance, the environmental movement has confronted the state and demanded controls on car usage and advocated a more extensive provision of public transport. Thirdly, energy problems are beginning to emerge from threatened oil shortages. This may partly

remove the current reliance on cars and thus stimulate demand for new urban transport forms. Fourthly, car accidents are devastating urban populations and the car has now become one of the major causes of morbidity and mortality in capitalist countries. Finally, residential areas are fiercely reacting to the destruction of material and social life caused by freeway construction and the construction of other transport facilities (e.g. airports). Under these conditions plans are being modified or scrapped.

The severity of such contradictions has brought an inevitable impasse in urban transport planning. Yago (1978), for instance, in discussing the manner in which freeways and highways have been abandoned in the United States, shows how there has been no accompanying increase in public transport facilities (notably rail), because of the hostility of the auto-oil-rubber cartel. However, these industries are slowly beginning to look at bus transport as a potential area for investment since some form of mass transit seems inevitable as the oil crisis becomes aggravated.

Therefore, anti-freeway struggles appear as part of a general questioning of transport and transport planning, and it seems that the abandonment of many freeway systems resulted both from urban struggles, with the destruction of housing, as well as from action by capital, with congestion threatening capital accumulation. These questions will be raised in later chapters dealing with the Brisbane situation.

2. Urban Struggles and Urban Social Movements

Complementing urban planning in the field of urban politics are urban struggles, or working-class actions over issues involved in the reproduction of labour power. Urban struggles dispute the way

residential life is organised and controlled in terms of the provision of housing, of residential infrastructure (e.g. sewerage), of transportation, schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, etc., with the purpose of gaining material, political and/or ideological advantages.

It has only been since the late 1960s that urban struggles have emerged as a powerful component of class struggle and in this way they have come to represent a new phase in class conflict; one which is located outside the traditional sphere of working-class action: the workplace.

The sudden emergence of urban struggles in all capitalist countries from about 1968 had been a consequence of problems arising at this particular stage of contemporary capitalism. The previous 20 years had been an occasion of unprecedented expansion in consumerism, both with mass produced commodities, such as cars and television sets and, more importantly, with extensions and improvements in housing, education, health care, recreation, etc., all of which had been provided, directly or indirectly, through the state as the urban planner. It had been from a massive accumulation of contradictions emerging (together) over these consumption issues (e.g. with cars increasing air pollution; freeway systems and urban renewal schemes destroying housing, etc.) that urban struggles emerged en masse from the late 1960s.

Urban struggles have appeared at three distinct urban levels: within the economic sphere (e.g. with housing and residential facilities) which are central to the reproduction of labour power; within political elements pertinent to this reproduction process (e.g. a town plan); and within ideological elements also pertinent

to the reproduction process (e.g. over the 'quality of urban life') Since the 'economic' sphere forms the central component of society and urbanisation, it means that the most powerful struggles are more likely to appear here, while the weakest movements will be more likely to emerge from the more amorphous ideological struggles (see Castells, 1978a; Cherki, et al , 1978)

Actions have been fought over a great range of issues, but the most significant have appeared following the state's intervention as urban planner with the introduction of urban renewal schemes and freeway programmes, both of which have had devastating effects, through the destruction of housing, of local shops, of local schools, etc., and with the forced relocation of residents. Such total desolation has given rise to the most powerful and bitter urban struggles and ones which are most likely to lead to 'urban social movements' and therefore urban effects (Castells, 1977) That is, there are changes in class relations at the urban level which lead to economic, political or ideological advantages to the working-class. With urban renewal, for example, such effects could include not only the abandonment of the renewal scheme, but also the introduction of a plan for improving the area, with the refurbishing of housing, improved residential facilities, assistance to local shopkeepers and improvements to job opportunities (see Cherki, et al , 1978)

Most urban struggles, however, do not become urban social movements but are absorbed into the urban system, have reformist effects (e.g. in gaining better compensation for forced relocation), or have regulatory effects (e.g. with the postponment of an urban renewal scheme) The more powerful urban struggles which lack the characteristics of urban social movements appear to have regulatory

effects. The rest either collapse or have a reformist influence.

For any impact to occur, an urban struggle requires an organisation to fuse issues and direct actions. It is important to distinguish here between the organisation and the movement, since a number of writers commenting on Castells' (1977) work on urban social movements have tended to see the organisation and the movement as the same structural entity. The two, in fact, are totally different. The organisation is formally structured, while the movement is the conscious expression of class conflict over a particular issue, but which lacks an organised political focus. The movement always precedes the organisation although the organisation is essential for giving the movement direction (see Ash, 1972)

In terms of overall class struggle, one of the most interesting characteristics about urban action has been the major involvement of non-manual workers (e.g. professionals), students and trade unionists. That is, it has not simply been action by manual workers who, for example, are affected by an urban renewal scheme, but there has been the forceful activity of non-manual workers who have provided particular skills, of trade unionists who provide significant political aid and students who have been important in the ideological questioning of contemporary capitalism.

Finally, since women are central to residential life, as the domestic labour force, it is logical that women should become central to urban struggles. Their residential importance should lead them to establish, organise and control organisations directing urban movements (see Cockburn, 1977). This hypothesis will be tested in the present study.

V AUSTRALIAN CAPITALISM AND AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION

Following this general theoretical presentation on capitalist urbanisation, including urban planning and urban struggle, it is now necessary to provide an introductory analysis of Australian capitalism and urbanisation. This will provide an important background for the next chapter on Australian residential life, as well as highlighting issues specific to Australian urbanisation.

What needs to be stressed is that Australian urbanisation differs significantly from that in dominant capitalist countries.

There is every reason to expect that the urbanisation process and the structure and functioning of cities in particular capitalist countries will express the laws and motion of capitalist development in somewhat different ways. Each capitalist country has its own specific history which is shaped by a host of forces not the least of which is the period and manner in which a country enters the global system. (Hill, 1977:42)

Australian urbanisation, then, will be similar to that found in those countries experiencing the same form of capitalism and these are Argentina, Canada, New Zealand and Uruguay (see Wheelwright, 1974a).

Like these other countries, Australia is a dependent (or a 'dominion') capitalist nation where considerable wealth has been accumulated and where workers have traditionally received high per capita incomes (see Ehrensaft and Armstrong, 1978; Clark, 1978). Yet it is a country which is directly influenced and conditioned by the growth of dominant nations through a forced dependency upon raw material exports ('mercantile capitalism'), inevitably making it extremely sensitive to changes in world markets. It is this unchanging position of economic reliance upon dominant nations which distinguishes dependent capitalism from 'developed' countries

and, although Australia can be considered 'developed' when contrasted with Third World nations like Papua New Guinea and the Philippines and therefore cannot be seen as a total victim of imperialism (see Clark, 1975), it does lack the balance and stability of a West Germany. Under such circumstances Australia must be seen as being comparatively 'underdeveloped'

Although Australia did have a brief, but largely unsuccessful period of primitive capital accumulation using convict labour (see Buckley, 1975; Dunn, 1975), economic growth was a consequence of massive inflows of British capital. Investment firstly went into the pastoral industry to provide wool for the British textile industry and, later, meat for the British market, and it was this capital inflow plus favourable terms of trade with Britain, the presence of a skilled immigrant workforce and the development of a local market, which contributed to Australia's first economic boom over the years 1860 to 1890.

Australian capitalism, then, evolved as a type of mercantile capitalism, which it remained until the 1940s/1950s and exists in modified form today. It was as a consequence of this that urbanisation took the form of a series of mercantile cities located around ports for the collection and export of raw materials and the importation of British manufactured goods. But Australian mercantile urbanisation of the mid-nineteenth century differed significantly from American mercantile urbanisation of several decades earlier. Australian cities contained a much larger proportion of the country's population because rural industries required only a small labour force. Australia's pastoral industry, for the production of wool, had an unusually low labour need per unit of output, plus there was an absence of a peasantry and of large numbers of small farmers,

which meant most immigrants would remain in cities and become labour for urban development. Yet a more basic theoretical reason, as Marx (1965a) pointed out, resulted from efforts by capital to reduce the number of independent peasants and farmers and so ensure the presence of an urban labour force. This was achieved by introducing land laws restricting landownership, with difficult conveyancing and high land prices. [These legal restrictions, however, were removed in the 1870s as homeownership came to be a basic component of the urban boom of 1860 to 1890; see Sackville and Neave, 1975.]

The price of the soil imposed by the State must be a 'sufficient price' - i.e., so high 'as to prevent the labourers from becoming independent landowners until others had followed to take their place' (Marx, 1965a:772)

This lesson had been learned in the United States when capitalists found at the beginning of industrialisation that there was a labour shortage because large numbers of Americans were independent peasant farmers. This problem was solved for American capitalists of the nineteenth century by the arrival from Europe of large numbers of immigrants.

So by 1900, only 25 per cent of Australia's labour force was engaged in agricultural and pastoral industries, compared with 40 per cent in the United States and in contrast with the other dependent countries of New Zealand (37 per cent in 1896), Argentina (40 per cent in 1895) and Canada (48 per cent in 1891). It must be recalled that at this period (the 1890s) the United States was well into its industrial stage of capitalism which meant there was a high rate of urbanisation. Yet by 1901 there were fewer Americans living in cities of 100,000 or more (47 per cent) than Australians in 1900 (86 per cent; Jackson, 1977)

The high and rapid rate of urbanisation from the mid-nineteenth century was not simply a consequence of Australia's distinct form of mercantile capitalism but, more importantly, it was the result of large inflows of surplus British capital directed specifically at urban development. If British investment from about the 1820s to the 1850s concentrated on the pastoral industry, from the 1870s urban development became the locus of investment (Butlin, 1976). This switch was part of an effort to locate surplus British capital, which had rapidly accumulated following industrial expansion, and Australian cities became particularly suitable because significant growth had already occurred as a result of the pastoral industry, and because there was an exploitable skilled workforce located there (cf Slater, 1978). From the 1870s to the depression in the 1890s, capital poured into these cities, although disproportionately to Sydney and Melbourne (see Davison, 1978; McCarty, 1974, 1978), for land speculation, housing and the building industry generally, public utilities such as transport and communication facilities, as well as for commercial and service industries.

Urban development as a source of investment continued into the twentieth century. Neutze (1977) estimates that about half of Australia's total investment in the 1970s was in this area, and this becomes even more significant when considered in association with industrial investment for mass consumption goods such as cars and motor mowers that have formed an essential part of the massive post-war process of suburbanisation.

Australian urbanisation, then, has not been accompanied by industrialisation, but rather evolved from demands for port facilities and commercial services for the export of raw materials and the importation of surplus British capital. Manufacturing industry in

Australia grew only as the local market began to expand and following the imposition of tariff barriers, although signs of an indigenous capitalism, a native industrial development, did not appear until the early years of this century, specifically when the First World War offered a chance for the small manufacturing industry to expand. Wartime blockades of Britain and the swing of British industry to arms production created shortages of necessary manufactured goods, thus stimulating local manufacturing, notably with the establishment of heavy industry in the Sydney urban region at Newcastle and Wollongong.

The Second World War had a similar impact. It boosted the embryonic native capitalism and the economy generally, and took Australia out of the British sphere of influence into the economic realm of the United States. American capital began pouring into Australia after 1945 specifically to Sydney and New South Wales, and to Melbourne and Victoria, for the manufacture of mass consumption goods, and it was accompanied by a massive inflow of workers from Europe, particularly cheap labour from Italy and Greece, for exploitation by this industrial capital (see Rowley, 1972; Brezniak and Collins, 1978; Collins, 1975, 1978; McFarlane, 1972; Wheelwright, 1974b) It was this which created Australia's second economic boom over the years 1945 to 1971

One final point needs to be made. The state, primarily in the form of state governments and the federal government, set the pace at the onset for Australian capitalism and urbanisation, by taking the initiative in providing infrastructure and social consumption items such as education. It played a central role in stimulating the economy, orchestrating diverse conflicts and maintaining hegemony

Yet, while there has been a significant state involvement in Australian capitalism, resulting in a 'mixed economy', this involvement has appeared only in very specific circumstances. These have to do with the provision of transportation and communication facilities, such as railways and ports for the export of raw materials. Even today, when contrasted with industrialised metropolitan nations, there is a recognisable 'public squalor', for water, sewerage, electricity supplies etc. are comparatively limited, and public parks, public libraries, public schools, public housing, etc., are relatively underdeveloped.

Since Australia has an export based economy, rather than a large industrial base, it did not develop the sophisticated infrastructure and collective means of consumption characteristic of metropolitan countries such as the United States. It is this which largely explains Australia's 'public squalor' as well as why the workforce has not consistently been provided with a number of health and welfare provisions usually found in metropolitan nations (see Chapter 4)

The most developed system of infrastructure and collective consumption within Australia, necessarily appears in areas where industry is the most developed, and it is this which explains why there is a greater provision of public goods in Sydney and Melbourne and why there is a greater squalor in Brisbane and Perth. Sydney and Melbourne are the industrial as well as the administrative centres of Australia and thus the locations of economic and political power. These issues will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

VI CONCLUSION

Urbanisation, then, is a consequence of the capitalist mode of production, with the city providing a built environment necessary for

capital accumulation. It can be seen as a complex interweave of various activities: a production site, a consumption site, the location for necessary exchanges between production and consumption and as the location for the overall administration of this mode of production and since 1945, the state has increasingly come to dominate these planning needs by means of urban planning. But the unique and distinctive role of the city is as the location for the reproduction of labour power, in the form of housing, education, health care, recreation, etc., and it is from and over these issues that urban struggles emerge and have, over the past ten years, become an increasingly important part of class struggle.

There have, of course, been certain problems in this and other analyses of urbanisation, not the least of which is the manner in which variations between capitalist countries have been ignored, particularly the marked differences between dominant capitalist countries, such as the United States, and dependent capitalist nations, such as Australia. Equally importantly there is need for greater theoretical and empirical discussion of differences between socialist and capitalist cities, and one of the areas deliberately neglected in this chapter has been this comparison (however, see Pahl, 1977a, 1977b; Castells, 1977; and Konrad and Szelenyi, 1977 for some debate on socialist and capitalist cities)

Chapter 4

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING
AUSTRALIAN RESIDENTIAL LIFEI INTRODUCTION

Having sketched a theoretical framework in the previous chapter on general aspects of urbanisation and its relevance to urban struggle, the purpose of this chapter is to develop a specific theoretical framework revolving around residential life which can be used to interpret data on life in Windsor and, in turn, contribute towards an understanding of the process of mobilisation against Brisbane's freeways. Residential life is defined here as the specific process of reproducing labour power and entails two distinct components:

i) material aspects, comprising housing and residential facilities;
ii) social issues, or the organisational and ideological elements of everyday life ('the community') The material components frequently form the stake in urban struggles, while social components determine the manner in which residents become the social force in these struggles.

Most of what has been written on material and social components of residential life has concentrated on the former, notably on housing, and with perhaps the exception of Pickvance (1977b), none of the major contemporary researchers on urban and regional development have considered social questions. This neglect is most noticeable with respect to women and domestic labour (see Cass, 1978), although such an oversight has recently been acknowledged by Castells (1978a). It is as a result of this neglect that a specific framework

on social components must be developed.

The introductory theoretical argument adopted here, then, is divided into two parts. The first looks at material components of residential life, while the second distinguishes the social form.

II A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO MATERIAL COMPONENTS OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE

I The Nature of the Problem

When we examine material aspects of Australian residential life the most striking feature to emerge is the extent to which they differ from those in dominant capitalist countries, specifically European ones, for they traditionally have been highly privatised, taking the historic form of high levels of homeownership and low provisions of residential facilities. Dominant capitalist countries, in contrast, have tended to have a strong collectivisation of material elements in the form of high levels of rental accommodation and 'good' residential facilities. Therefore, where the Australian working-class has been more likely to buy (own) its own housing, British workers, for example (at least since 1945), have more frequently had them provided as indirect wages from the state in the form of public housing. Even with private rentals, British and other industrial workers have historically (specifically in the nineteenth century) been more likely to receive these in a large-scale collective fashion, while rental accommodation in Australia has been provided sporadically and in a limited fashion by small landlords (see Davison, 1978; Dingle and Merrett, 1977; Kelly, 1974)

Australia's high rate of homeownership ('a private wealth') is sharply complemented by the historic 'public squalor' of its residential facilities, for there has been a relative dearth of

services (e.g. in health, transport, recreation, etc.) and of residential infrastructure (e.g. sewerage, footpaths, etc.) As with housing, Australian workers have had to provide these directly from wages, but because of the size and necessary collective character of their provision, individual purveyance and consumption becomes either very difficult or impossible and it is as a consequence of this problem that a 'public squalor' eventually exudes¹

With Australia's strikingly complementary pattern of high homeownership and 'poor' residential facilities, the question to ask now is why such a situation, so markedly different from dominant capitalist countries, existed. Why has there been this relatively high rate of homeownership and low level of rental accommodation, on the one hand, and relative lack of residential facilities, on the other? Only Szelenyi (1978a, 1978b) has made any attempt at tackling this puzzling question, although only in a very introductory way. Drawing comparatively on his work on socialist urbanisation, specifically Hungarian (see Szelenyi, 1972; Konrad and Szelenyi, 1977), he suggests that the peculiarity is a consequence of the (historically) central position of the state to the country's development, although he fails to show exactly how this happened. In fact, state intervention in Australia, while very considerable, has historically been limited to providing productive infrastructure

¹ Some qualification needs to be made of these terms 'private wealth' and 'public squalor'. What they refer to is the extent to which housing and residential facilities are collectively provided (by private or public capital), on the one hand, or individually provided (by households), on the other. It does not mean, moreover, that because Australia has had a relatively low level of collective provision ('public squalor') that material conditions of residential life are bad. In fact, the worst slums exist in old industrial nations where collective provision, relatively speaking, has been more extensive and, according to Stretton (1976), life in Australian residential areas is among the best and most equitable in the world.

for the country's advanced mercantile capitalism and it has largely been as a result of this concentrated attention, for reasons given below, that little state investment went into urban non-productive (residential) infrastructure.

Therefore, while an analysis of the role the state plays in urban and regional development is crucial, it is premature to claim that Australian urban non-productive infrastructure is a consequence of a distinctly separate and historic role played by the state without having firstly examined urban development from the perspective of Australian capitalism. The state must be seen as a reflection of class relations, rather than as the autonomous entity Szelenyi appears to suggest. Therefore when we examine the development of Australian urbanisation from the nineteenth century, the logical starting point must be the mode of production, which in Australia has appeared as an advanced form of mercantile capitalism. An hypothesis, then, based on the mercantile character of Australian capitalism is the perspective from which to understand material aspects of Australian residential life.

2. Hypotheses for Guiding Empirical Research on Material Aspects of Residential Life

The essential content of this hypothesis can be given in two parts. Firstly, Australia's peculiarly distinctive residential form is a consequence of the country's mercantile urbanisation, which emerged in the 1820s and lasted until the 1940s, but remains in modified form today (see Chapter 3). More accurately (and conversely), those countries which passed through the industrial (i.e. competitive) stage of capitalism (1850s - 1930s) such as Britain, France, and the United States, have traditionally had the most developed residential structures appearing in a concrete form as i) a

widespread rental accommodation, initially all private but now increasingly public; and ii) an 'extensive' system of residential facilities. This dominant rental housing appeared because of the need to locate industrial workers close to factories and it took the form of large-scale provisions through investments of property capital (see, for example, Gordon, 1977, 1978; Gauldie, 1974; Jones, 1971) These private investments, however, were slowly withdrawn over the period of industrial capitalism, following increasing working-class action over the quality and quantity of housing, and it was under such conditions that the state was forced to step in, around 1945, to provide public housing. With residential infrastructure, in contrast, the higher level of provision resulted from a spin-off effect produced by the 'sophisticated' urban productive infrastructure necessary for manufacturing industry. That is, the energy sources, the water supply, the waste disposal systems and transportation facilities necessary for factory production contributed, indirectly, to the development of residential facilities because industrial workers lived in occupational communities around their places of employment and it was this contiguity of location which allowed urban productive infrastructure to flow on to form an urban non-productive infrastructure (see Harvey, 1977; Marx, 1965a, 1973)

An additional reason encouraging a greater provision of housing and facilities under industrial urbanisation arose from the nature of labour. Since industrial labour, in working in the most productive sector, is the most important component of labour power, it forms the most powerful section of the working-class, a political muscle enabling greater pressure to be placed upon capital for obtaining both higher wages and better living conditions.

Yet some care needs to be taken here, for what this argument implies is that industrial workers received higher direct wages (from labour) as well as higher indirect wages in the form of housing and residential facilities than, say, Australia's mercantile workers. In fact, as Clark (1978) points out, Australian workers have traditionally received higher direct wages than have, for example, British workers and therefore, the provision of direct and indirect wages seems to be premised upon quite different processes. High direct wages do necessarily mean high indirect wages and vice versa (see Pickvance, 1976b for a discussion on the relationship between public housing, as indirect wages, and direct wages)

In contrast with industrial capitalism, countries such as Australia (and New Zealand) which remained until recently within an advanced mercantile capitalism have had a quite different system of material provision. The relative absence of manufacturing industry meant that there was no need to concentrate workers around industries because few factories existed. There was, therefore, no concentration of property capital in, and therefore widespread provision of, rental dwellings and Australia's mercantile workers were more likely to be 'abandoned' to provide their own accommodation directly from wages by buying (single-family) housing.

Moreover, the relative lack of productive infrastructure, resulting from the fact that unlike industrial capitalism mercantile capitalism did not require a sophisticated infrastructure, meant that there was no infrastructural spin-off to residential areas of the type existing under industrial urbanisation. It was this which resulted in an underdevelopment of residential facilities. In fact, Australia's productive infrastructure tended to be concentrated in transportation (for moving raw materials from rural areas to ports) and it is partly

from the rural dominance of transportation facilities, because of the economy's pre-eminent agricultural and pastoral industries, that a good deal of infrastructural investment went into rural areas. In Queensland, for example, 72 per cent of gross public investment between 1860 and 1915 went solely on the State's rail system and almost all of this was located in rural areas (see Laverty, 1970). This pattern remained until the 1950s and it is little wonder that Brisbane remained a squalid city until the suburbanisation process converted it into a consumption city in the 1960s (see Chapter 6).

Finally, the nature of Australia's mercantile working-class meant that it was politically less powerful than the industrial working-class and this can also partly explain the relatively poor residential facilities in Australian cities. Productive workers in Australia, those with the greatest power, were located in extractive industries, as with shearers, and in transportation, as with railway workers, waterside workers and seamen. Consequently, because of the strong rural component of the productive workforce, residential benefits that may have emerged from their industrial action (e.g. the 1890s shearers' strikes) lacked an urban focus. In fact, the most significant urban-based industrial actions until about 1945 were from waterside workers and from seamen. This heavy rural component of the productive workforce and the general weakness of mercantile workers, then, may also help to explain the limited provision of material elements of residential life in Australian cities.

To summarise, the more probable it is that a country has passed through the industrial stage of capitalism, the more developed will be its material components of residential life, appearing in a

concrete form as high rates of rental accommodation (now increasingly public) and a 'high' provision of residential facilities (also increasingly public) In contrast, countries which historically have been located within a mercantile stage of capitalism, like Australia, are more likely to have a 'less developed' material form. Workers are required to rely more directly upon wages to provide owner-occupied housing, and there is a noticeable lack of residential facilities because of the lower infrastructural needs of mercantile capitalism. Over-riding both of these is the greater weakness of mercantile workers in comparison with the strength of industrial workers.

What the hypothesis also suggests is that Australia's more industrial cities, Melbourne and Sydney, will have a more developed material structure, with a lower rate of homeownership and more developed residential facilities, than the more mercantile cities (those located in the underdeveloped states) such as Brisbane, Perth and Hobart (see Chapter 5) These cities will have a less developed material form, characterised by a higher level of homeownership and lower provision of residential facilities.

The argument so far essentially refers to the period until the 1940s, for by 1950 Australia had moved into the corporate/monopoly stage, a period shared with major capitalist countries following the internationalisation of capital Now there is a greater similarity in residential form between all capitalist countries. The new form of residential life, expressed by suburbanisation, is characterised by an increase in homeownership, although in dominant capitalist countries, such as Britain, there was also a transition from private to public rentals.² For Australia, suburbanisation not

² Of course, Britain can hardly be identified today as the dominant capitalist country it was several decades ago.

only meant an increase in homeownership, but it also meant an extension of residential facilities since cars, for example, required sealed roads and with housing becoming a commodity for consuming other commodities there was the demand for residential infrastructure. With suburbanisation Australia's public poverty began to abate and differences between Australia and other capitalist countries were no longer so marked.

There is a second step to this hypothesis. For what we also need to do is to summarise the pattern of material provision into workable concepts. 'Suburbanisation' adequately summarises the contemporary period, but we need to conceptualise residential life under the previous mercantile period. For present purposes, the concept 'urban peasantry' is proposed, for this identifies the forced self-sufficiency placed upon workers under mercantile urbanisation, appearing in the ownership of a single-family house and in the productive use made of the yard.

While individualism based on the ownership of single-family housing epitomises the economic base of the urban peasantry, the major productive component was the form of domestic labour which went with it, a domestic economy which was beyond that traditionally assigned to women under capitalism, and appeared in the form of 'do-it-yourself' skills which were used productively as non-capitalist labour. This domestic economy was clearly seen in the 'tilling of the smallholding' for vegetable and fruit production and in the keeping of fowls for eggs and meat. A workshop/toolshed existed for repairing the house and for building and repairing household items (e.g. furniture) and in making leisure commodities. In fact, the house itself may have been built by the householder. Moreover, many households supplied their own water from storage tanks

which had accumulated rainwater and household waste was disposed either on a compost, for the garden, or in the outhouse located at the end of the yard (or more recently through septic tanks)

Suburbanisation spelled the demise of Australia's urban peasantry, for the vegetable garden, the fowl run, the fruit trees and the highly developed domestic economy was replaced by mass consumption, where food could now be bought more easily and cheaply at supermarkets and the availability of cheap consumption items meant that goods once made in the smallholding were not bought. Moreover, an increase in personal income ensured this continued rise in consumption, enabling the hiring of artisans for repairing and maintaining the house. 'Do-it-yourself' skills waned and now tend to live on more in folklore than in reality.

From this hypothesis, then, some theoretical insight can be gained into the process of material components of residential life, since to be capable of understanding the current situation, we must understand the historic process preceding it. It must be stressed, however, that what has been given here is merely a hypothesis aimed at raising a number of issues for explicating further hypotheses which may contribute towards the development of a theoretical understanding of material components of Australia's residential life. While it is not a fully developed theory, it is worthy of further elaboration and an attempt will now be made, albeit in a very introductory way, to discuss a number of relevant empirical issues, within the contexts of housing and residential facilities.

3a. Housing in Australia

This brief testing of the hypothesis on material issues, with reference to housing, can be given in four steps. Firstly, a brief

comparison will be made with other capitalist countries. Secondly, a brief comparison will be made between Australia's major cities. Thirdly, a summary will be given of some major factors contributing towards Australia's traditionally high level of homeownership and, finally, some comments will be made on housing and the urban peasantry.

When compared with other capitalist countries, Australia has always had a high rate of homeownership. This was apparent from the nineteenth century when over half of all houses in 1891 were owner-occupied (Butlin, 1976), although levels were lower in metropolitan centres than in non-metropolitan centres. In 1911, 20 years later, Jackson (1974) indicated that, after a marked decline following the 1890s depression, 36 per cent of dwellings in the six state capitals were owner-occupied, compared with 57 per cent in non-metropolitan areas.

In contrasting tenure between cities during the 1890s, 41 per cent of all dwellings in Melbourne, 30 per cent in Sydney and 58 per cent in Brisbane were owner-occupied (Dingle and Merrett, 1972; Jackson, 1974; Lawson, 1973)³ Davison (1978) for Melbourne and Lawson (1973) for Brisbane have also shown how about equal proportions of manual and non-manual workers were homeowners during this period.

These 1890s figures for Australian cities, contrast quite markedly with American data where cities with populations comparable to Melbourne's, Sydney's and Brisbane's (over 100,000) had 23 per cent of dwellings owner-occupied, while centres with populations between

³ Some care, however, needs to be taken on the Brisbane figure, since Lawson (1973) based this on interviews conducted in the 1960s with elderly people who were children in the 1890s. Data were based on whether they lived in owner-occupied housing (of their parents) at that time.

8,000 and 100,000 had 36 per cent (Dingle and Merrett, 1972). The difference was even more marked for European centres where homeownership during this period was between three per cent and 20 per cent (Dingle and Merrett, 1972). Overall, then, these data suggest a distinctly higher level of urban homeownership in nineteenth century mercantile Australia, than in the industrial centres of Europe and the United States, as well as a higher level in Australia's more mercantile cities like Brisbane, than in those with greater industrial development, like Sydney and Melbourne.

While Australia's rate of homeownership has always been high, it has fluctuated over periods of economic growth and depression, increasing over booms and declining with economic collapse (see Butlin, 1976). Homeownership in Melbourne, for instance, dropped from 41 per cent in 1891 to 35 per cent in 1911 (Dingle and Merrett, 1972; see also Davison, 1978). There was also a decline during the 1930s depression, while after 1945 there was a significant jump due to the suburbanisation process, rising from 53 per cent in 1947 to a peak of 76 per cent in 1961, before falling to 69 per cent in 1971 and remaining at that level in 1976.

Post-war fluctuations in homeownership, however, have not simply been a consequence of 'booms or busts' because the 1960s decline occurred during Australia's second major economic boom. This decline was tied to the rise in the provision of private rentals which, in itself, had appeared as a response to the large number of young adults reaching maturity (the post-war baby boom) who received sufficiently large incomes to leave their parents' dwelling and establish a household in rented accommodation (see Neutze, 1977).

Looking at the contemporary period (1970s) Australia (69 per

cent) maintains its leading position in homeownership with two other mercantile countries, New Zealand (68 per cent) and Iceland (71 per cent). These levels contrast sharply with major European countries such as France (43 per cent), West Germany (34 per cent), Sweden (36 per cent), Switzerland (28 per cent), Britain (50 per cent) and Belgium (56 per cent; Kemeny, 1976). However, the suburbanisation process of the contemporary monopoly period of capitalism has increased rates of homeownership in industrial countries. In Britain, for instance, homeownership was only nine per cent in 1919, but rose to 26 per cent in 1947 and then jumped significantly to 50 per cent in 1971 (Murie, et al, 1976). Comparable figures for Australia are 50 per cent (1911), 53 per cent (1947), a high of 76 per cent in 1961 and 69 per cent in 1971. There was, therefore, a closing of the difference in homeownership between Australia and Britain in the post-war years. Over the same period, private rentals in Britain, as a proportion of total housing, declined but by 1971 30 per cent of all British housing was public, which compares with only six per cent in Australia.

In summary, then, Australia has traditionally maintained a higher rate of homeownership than other capitalist countries and, it is suggested, this was the result of the country's mercantile position, specifically the lack of large-scale private rental investment by property capital, as was the case under industrial urbanisation. Since the 1940s, however, changes become apparent with the suburbanisation process increasing homeownership in all capitalist countries.

To conclude, one of the 'obvious' explanations of why Australia has had such a high rate of homeownership is the fact that it is a new country, meaning that there was plenty of cheap land available.

While this possibly had some influence, it is too simplistic an explanation. Firstly, land was not easily available until the 1870s (see Sackville and Neave, 1975), and we find that in 1971 the old mercantile nation of Iceland (fishing) had the highest rate of homeownership among capitalist countries. What is needed, then, is a more detailed comparative analysis which makes an historically-based comparative analysis of new mercantile countries like Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Uruguay, old mercantile countries like Iceland and Eire and the industrialised countries like France and Britain. Only in this way could we adequately discern differing patterns of tenure.

Secondly, the hypothesis needs also to be applied comparatively within Australia, by studying whether Brisbane and the other two major mercantile cities, Perth and Hobart, differed in terms of tenure from the more industrial cities of Melbourne and Sydney. The hypothesis suggests that the former will have a higher rate of homeownership, while the latter will have a lower rate because more rental accommodation would have been provided for the more industrial workforces of Sydney and Melbourne. Some indication has already been given of the historic significance of this hypothesis, where in the 1890s Brisbane had a higher rate of homeownership than either Melbourne or Sydney.

The relationship between the state capitals in terms of homeownership over the years 1911 to 1976 is given in Table 4.1. What is apparent is a general confirmation of the hypothesis, for Brisbane had a higher level of homeownership for every year except 1966 and 1976, and Perth had the second highest rate, except for 1971 and 1976. In contrast, Sydney had the lowest level for the entire period and Adelaide tended to have a level slightly lower than Perth's until

the 1960s. Table 4.1 does, however, show two significant variations from the hypothesis. Firstly, Melbourne did not quite fit the expected pattern, and although, from 1911 to 1954 it did have a lower rate than most other cities, it was still higher than that expected from the hypothesis. Hobart, however, had the most distinctive pattern and one which was the reverse of that expected from the hypothesis, for over the entire period it had the second lowest level of homeownership. Why this should be cannot be explained here and can only be tested in a very detailed analysis of each state capital. Variations, of course, cannot simply be explained by size, because the two cities with the lowest-levels of homeownership are Australia's smallest and largest state capitals: Hobart the smallest (162,062 in 1976) and Sydney the largest (3,021,979 in 1976).

The second feature worth noting from Table 4.1 is the manner in which variations in homeownership between capital cities were largely removed after 1947. During the 1950s and 1960s there were decreasing differences between the more mercantile and more industrial capital cities and by 1976 the percentage range of homeownership was from only 69 per cent (Sydney) to 74 per cent (Adelaide and Melbourne), compared with a low of 40 per cent (Melbourne and Sydney) to a high of 60 per cent (Brisbane) in 1947. In 1911, by contrast, it was 31 per cent (Sydney) to 46 per cent (Brisbane). This reduction appears to be a direct consequence of suburbanisation where homeownership was a central component of growth. Thus the state capitals reflect greater similarities now than in any other period.

This pattern, therefore, suggests the operation of two quite different processes. The first, lasting until the 1940s, followed the influence of mercantile urbanisation where homeownership rates were much higher in the more mercantile cities of Brisbane and Perth

TABLE 4.1

Dwellings owned or being purchased by occupants:
Capital cities, 1911-1976.

(%)

	<u>Brisbane</u>	<u>Perth</u>	<u>Hobart</u>	<u>Adelaide</u>	<u>Sydney</u>	<u>Melbourne</u>
1976	73	72	73	74	69	74
1971	70	66	67	70	66	70
1966	73	73	70	74	69	73
1961	74	73	70	73	68	72
1954	71	67	63	66	55	63
1947	60	55	49	54	40	40
1921	60	55	43	53	40	45
1911	46	41	33	41	31	35

(Sources: Australian Censuses, 1911 - 1976)

(though not Hobart) and were lower in the more industrial cities of Sydney and Melbourne. The second process followed monopoly capitalism's suburbanisation process, where homeownership has been integral to such growth and differences in levels of homeownership between Australia's major cities declined markedly. However, an interesting issue arises from this narrowing of differences in homeownership. The more industrial cities, those with lower levels of homeownership, increased their rate more rapidly than did the more mercantile cities, to the stage where they had equal or nearly equal rates.⁴

The third step in the testing of the hypothesis on housing in Australia, centres on a number of additional, important and very specific factors that have helped determine Australia's historically high level of homeownership. These, however, are tied either directly or indirectly to aspects peculiar to Australian mercantile capitalism and urbanisation and date from the latter half of last century:

a) Traditionally high wages have partially contributed to the level of homeownership with owner-occupation becoming a location for working-class savings (see Luria, 1976) Yet high wages cannot be a major explanation for high levels of homeownership because

4 A contemporary suggestion of the manner in which high rates of rental accommodation and low levels of homeownership are related to industrial cities in Australia can be seen from the development of Whyalla, an industrial city developed by Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd and the South Australian Government, from the 1930s. In 1974, 6,500 of the total housing stock of 9,000 (72 per cent) had been constructed by the State Government, although only 58 per cent of the total stock was public rental - the rest having been sold to tenants (Aungles, 1978; see also Aungles and Szelenyi, 1979; and Szelenyi, 1978c) The essential point is that rental housing had been provided for these industrial workers which, characteristic of the contemporary monopoly period had been as public housing, while in nineteenth century industrial Europe it had been provided by private capital

those cities and states with the highest wages (Melbourne and Victoria, and Sydney and New South Wales) have had levels of homeownership lower than cities of the underdeveloped states (Brisbane in Queensland and Perth in Western Australia), where wages have traditionally been lower and rates of poverty and unemployment higher (see Chapters 5 and 6). Again, this suggests the logic of the relationship between homeownership and mercantile capitalism and urbanisation.

b) High wages attracted building societies and other credit agencies, which, in turn, provided loans for homeownership.

c) Land could be purchased relatively easily in Australia, at least after 1880, because between 1857 and 1874 (the early years of Australia's urban-based first economic boom) antiquated British land laws restricting sale and purchase were removed (see Sackville and Neave, 1975)

d) Perhaps the most important reason was the urban basis of Australia's two major economic booms, 1860 to 1890 and 1945 to 1971. This urban growth had the consumption of owner-occupied housing as a central component (see Butlin, 1976; Neutze, 1977)

e) Rental accommodation has tended to be in short supply and to be comparatively expensive (see Butlin, 1976). During the period 1940 to 1959, moreover, no new private rentals were constructed and those private rentals that came onto the market were either former owner-occupied houses or dwellings subdivided into flats (see Neutze, 1977).

f) The state has always been actively involved in the provision of homeownership, particularly with the introduction in 1919 by the Federal Government of a home loans scheme for soldiers returning from World War I (War Services Loans Scheme - now Defence Services Loans)

g) In contrast, the state's involvement in public rentals has been limited. Only six per cent of Australia's housing stock in 1976 was public housing. While reasonably active from the mid 1940s, with the construction of public rentals, in 1956 the state began selling its dwellings to tenants and between the early 1940s and June 1973, half of Australia's public housing stock was sold, with the largest proportions being sold in the three underdeveloped states of Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia and the least in the dominant states of New South Wales and Victoria (Meutze, 1977)

Turning to the fourth factor in this analysis of Australian housing, the question of housing and the urban peasantry can now be considered. Unfortunately, no specific historical analyses exist on this material form, although its presence was implied during Melbourne's 1880s urban boom:

In Melbourne the suburban ideal attained a high degree of popular approval but whether it was translated into reality depended, in turn, on the fulfilment of a number of material conditions: notably a reasonably spacious single-family dwelling; access to the natural refreshment of a secluded garden setting; the security of home-ownership and an income sufficient to support a family with some degree of comfort and leisure. (Davison, 1978:140)

Moreover, there are a number of ideological statements which point to its presence, for social commentators such as Donald Horne (1971, 1972) and Craig McGregor (1968) have identified how an individualised suburban life has always been part of Australian urbanisation. Australia has been seen, historically, as a 'suburban nation' While Horne and McGregor have indicated the traditionally aggressive individuality and self-sufficiency of urban residents, they have failed to relate these to the process of Australian urbanisation, specifically to distinguishing between the mercantile period (urban

peasantry) and the monopoly period (suburbanisation). In fact, the only writer who appears to suggest the domestic economy of an urban peasantry is Eggleston (1932) in his discussion of state intervention in Victoria. Writing in the 1930s, Eggleston identifies Australian life generally and Australian urbanisation specifically as being characterised by the 'self-contained man', by which he means a pragmatic self-reliance, an individuality and independence related to a material expression in residential life.

The home of the 'self contained man' is the suburbs, and in the highly developed suburbs of an Australian city, with good accommodation, a nice garden, a back yard, vegetables in his plot and fowls in the shed, a fence against intrusion, he has probably reached a higher pitch of development than anywhere else.
(Eggleston, 1932:331)

While Eggleston's work is probably the best ideological source suggesting the existence of an urban peasantry, in a retrospective way the extensive writing by Hugh Stretton (1974, 1975, 1976) on Australian housing and residential life possibly gives the clearest ideological statement about the domestic economy of an urban peasantry. What Stretton is advocating is a return to the self-sufficiency of the urban peasant and although he never uses the term 'urban peasant' he is implicitly meaning this when he advocates the universal ownership of domestic property. He sees the ownership of single-family housing, or at least a dwelling offering outdoor space, creating a resource centre offering the development of free, productive labour (i.e. non-capitalist labour). This, in turn, becomes a source of self-expression which temporarily releases people from the alienated labour of the capitalist mode of production. Therefore, an urban peasantry means the ownership and control over labour and the product of their labour, within an advanced domestic economy.

Private indoor and outdoor space is .best understood as productive capital whose output can never be fully accountable because it ranges from measurable economic goods to quite unmeasurable social and personal goods and qualities of life. (Stretton, 1976:195)

Stretton also identifies the central position of women in domestic labour and he seems to be implying that greater equality exists for women under universal ownership of a domestic economy (an urban peasantry) because of a productivity beyond the restrictive situation so typical of tenement living (under industrial capitalism) and suburban consumption where women's work concentrates solely on servicing husbands and bringing up children.

Yet Stretton's advocacy of universal homeownership of single-family housing largely ignores the contemporary mass consumption base of suburbanisation, for he fails to see how the dominant consumption process of the monopoly urbanisation contradicts a return to the self-sufficiency of an urban peasantry. The two are based on quite separate forces, although on the surface they are similar: both refer to the ownership of single-family housing, with one being tied to self-sufficiency while the other is associated with consumption.

One final point on the urban peasantry. While homeownership epitomises this form of residential life, it appears that it is the outdoor space afforded by single-family dwellings which is the critical factor. Therefore, Australia's more mercantile cities will not only have the highest rates of homeownership, but they will also be more likely to have single-family housing. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get detailed historical data on house type, but if we can generalise from contemporary data we find that the historically more mercantile of Australia's cities do, in fact, have proportionately more single-family dwellings than do the more

industrial cities. In 1971, 84 per cent of Brisbane's housing stock was single-family, 81 per cent in Hobart and 80 per cent in Perth, compared with the two industrial cities, Sydney (66 per cent) and Melbourne (73 per cent), with Adelaide (77 per cent) holding its median position.

Differences in house type, moreover, cannot be explained by the age of Australia's capital cities - i.e. the older cities would have proportionately more medium density dwellings and proportionately fewer single-family houses, while the more recent cities would have a higher proportion of single-family houses and a lower proportion of medium density housing. Although Sydney (1788) is the oldest and has the highest density housing, Brisbane (1825), Hobart (1803) and Perth (1829) are older cities than either Adelaide (1836) or Melbourne (1835), two cities which had higher density housing than Brisbane, Hobart and Perth.

To conclude, this discussion on housing could not possibly test the hypothesis in detail. What has been done is merely to pinpoint its relevance and suggest that from the logic of capitalist urbanisation, the nature of housing must emerge from the type of capitalism and its urbanisation process. The argument placed here is that mercantile urbanisation threw up one type of housing, industrial urbanisation another and corporate urbanisation still another. In addition, Australia's urbanisation process was defined as a transition from an 'urban peasantry' to 'suburban consumerism'

3b A Selected Australian Residential Facility

Almost all work on material components of residential life centres on housing. This is not altogether surprising since housing is the most important and basic material component in the reproduction

of labour power Little or nothing, for example, exists in empirical or theoretical detail on such issues as sewerage, street lighting, etc. and, to a lesser extent, hospitals, schools and recreational facilities. [In a very brief paper, Harvey (1975b) does, however, attempt to specify certain relationships between these entities.] This criticism does not deny the general theoretical discussions given on 'collective consumption' which tie housing and facilities together (see Chapter 3), but such analyses have been placed at too general a level to allow any elucidation of specific relationships between elements of residential facilities and between housing and residential facilities.

Since residential facilities, unlike housing, comprise a great range of different items, it is impossible in the limited space available here to cover them adequately and comparatively; between Australia and other capitalist countries and between the major cities of Australia. What is therefore attempted is an introductory analysis looking briefly at one facility within an historical framework. This is sewerage, which is frequently used as an important index of residential well-being; it will be viewed here in terms of the hypothesis which states that the historically more industrial cities of Australia will have better residential infrastructure, for reasons given in the hypothesis, than will the more mercantile cities

Sewerage provision provides a very good mechanism for identifying public squalor between Australia's more mercantile capital cities and the more industrial capitals. These differences are shown in Table 4.2 for the period from the 1920s until the 1970s, and what is clearly shown is that the two mercantile cities, Brisbane and Perth, have historically had a lower provision of sewerage than the more industrial cities of Sydney and Melbourne. The difference is

TABLE 4.2

Estimated populations served by sewerage, 1921-1971
(%)

	<u>Brisbane</u>	<u>Perth</u>	<u>Sydney</u> ⁺	<u>Melbourne</u>
1921	none	NA	83	94
1931 [*]	20	49	83	96
1951 ^{**}	34	61	74	79
1961	33	63	74	70
1971	65	49	78	76

* Percentages based on populations at 1933 Census

** Percentages based on populations at 1954 Census

+ Includes Wollongong

(Source: Adapted from Neutze, 1977:38)

particularly striking for Brisbane where sewerage was first connected only as recently as 1923. Adelaide was the first capital city to introduce sewerage, in 1878, followed by Sydney in the 1880s, Melbourne in the 1890s and Hobart and Perth during the early part of this century. Such provisions were considerably more recent than London, which introduced a sewerage system in the early 1860s.

Variations in sewerage cannot be seen to be associated with age of cities, since the oldest city, Sydney (1788) did not gain a system until a decade after Adelaide and Adelaide (1836) was founded after Brisbane (1825), Perth (1829), Hobart (1803) and Melbourne (1835). Sprawl also cannot fully account for problems of sewerage provision since Melbourne and Sydney were (and are) larger, more sprawling cities than Brisbane and Perth, and therefore should have a lower provision if size alone was important. Under such circumstances, it is suggested that differences are related to the roles played by the two types of cities. Residential areas in the more industrial cities of Melbourne and Sydney gained sewerage before the more mercantile cities because of spin-offs from the more advanced productive infrastructure necessary for the factory system which, while relatively insignificant, still existed in more developed form in these cities.

The other feature worth noting about Table 4.2 is the dramatic increase in sewerage provision in Brisbane during the 1960s. This resulted from the implementation of a large-scale plan by the Brisbane City Council which, in turn, was a direct consequence of the rapid development of Brisbane and the Moreton Region as a consumption site (see Chapter 6). In contrast, during the 1950s the proportion of Sydney and Melbourne residents having sewerage facilities dropped sharply, although it began to pick up again during

the 1960s. This 1950s decline in Sydney and Melbourne possibly reflects the combined effect of public funding for new industries, which grew in these cities after 1945, and the even more dramatic urban growth brought about by suburbanisation for which sewerage provision could not keep pace. In comparison, the rapid development of Brisbane during the 1960s had been from a very low base, and more importantly, it also reflected the basis of growth being located solely on consumption which was unlike Sydney's and Melbourne's as locations of both production and consumption. Apart from Melbourne and Sydney, there was also a decline in the percentage of Perth's population with access to sewerage over the post-war years, but unlike Melbourne and Sydney, the decline was during the 1960s not the 1950s. This possibly reflects Perth's position as the fastest growing major metropolitan city in the country over this period.

While it is conceded that much more detailed analysis is required to determine the specific process of sewerage provision in different capital cities, data contained in Table 4.2 do generally conform to the argument on differences in residential infrastructure in mercantile and industrial cities. That is, a wider provision of residential infrastructure will exist in the more industrial cities than in the more mercantile cities.

III A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF AUSTRALIAN RESIDENTIAL LIFE

1 The Nature of the Problem

Turning now to the social components of residential life, we will follow the same theoretical argument used in the previous section, for these components also emerged from the nature of capitalism and its urbanisation process. In Australia, the domestic form of an urban

peasantry existed during the mercantile period, while under the contemporary monopoly or corporate stage the form social life takes is characterised as suburbanisation. The purpose of this section is to provide an exploratory model providing the beginnings of a theory useful for aiding an understanding of the nature of residential life in Windsor.

Social components of residential life refer to the way life is organised at the living place. These are in terms of the dominant control exerted by capital and the manner in which the working-class acts to counter this hegemony and so form an autonomous social life (see Harvey, 1977). In a concrete sense it appears as bonds between people sharing the living area, including a) local ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness; b) informal ties centring outside the area but tied indirectly to the locality (e.g. through visits); c) formally organised local and non-local groups centred on churches, schools, clubs, etc; d) the network of local ties within semi-formal settings like neighbourhood pubs (mainly by men) or around local shops and shopping centres (mainly women); and e) relationships within the domestic unit (the household), with particular reference to women as the domestic workforce and to their tie with the wider residential area.

The most obviously pertinent work undertaken within sociology on residential life comes from the community studies tradition, although with the exception of a number of empirical findings, this tradition is theoretically sterile and stands out as an empiricist exercise [see the criticisms by Frankenberg, 1976, and by Brook and Finn, 1977; however, see also Frankenberg's (1966) discussion of community studies]. Apart perhaps from a paper by Stacey (1969), only Bell and Newby (1971) have made any critical attempt at clarifying and

overhauling this confused field, but their effort was thwarted by using the epistemology of this tradition rather than making a more radical approach capable of sorting out problems of a theoretical nature. Recently, however, Bell and Newby (1976) have provided a more relevant piece which breaks from the ahistorical and atheoretical myopia of community studies and places residential life more centrally within societal processes, by identifying political action and social change and by highlighting the underlying ideological basis of community studies. But generally, community studies tend to be unhelpful in understanding the relationship between residential life and capitalist urbanisation.

We do find, however, some significant pointers for developing a theory of Australian residential life. These are to be found in David Lockwood's (1975) 1966 paper which considered the political character of working-class life by (partly) tracing the relationship between the workplace and the living place. Lockwood attempted to develop a heuristic model, with a historical basis, that analysed the manner in which working-class residential life was transformed from the 'occupational community' of industrial urbanisation to the 'suburban (consumption) community' of corporate urbanisation. He identified the existence of a 'proletarian worker' in the occupational community, which had resulted from a close tie between the workplace and the living place and was expressed through class consciousness and a strong potential for overt class conflict. While remnants of these communities were found in the 1950s [see Young and Willmott, (1962) on London's Bethnal Green and Gans (1962a) and Fried, et al, (1973) on Boston's West End], the transition from an industrial capitalism and urbanisation to a monopoly/corporate capitalism and urbanisation brought the suburban consumer ('the affluent worker')

and political passivity. Unfortunately, the only detailed work on this current residential form has been undertaken by Lockwood and three of his colleagues (Goldthorpe, et al , 1969), although there have been numerous theoretically sterile pieces on the embourgeoisement thesis (the working-class becoming middle-class). Even the Bulmer (1975) edition which collected a number of papers testing the significance of Lockwood's work failed to contain one paper detailing issues of the contemporary suburban consumer, for almost all papers were romantic searchings for the 'true working-class' - the proletarian worker living in occupational communities.

Apart from Lockwood, only Alt (1976) raises similar questions on social components of residential life although he adopts a more explicit theoretical perspective and relates occupational communities historically to the industrial stage of capitalism and urbanisation and suburban consumption to the contemporary corporate/monopoly period. That is, Alt's work is more clearly placed within a framework of social transformation.

When we turn to social life under Australian urbanisation we find nothing which indicates the pattern of change from the mercantile to the monopoly period. In fact, there is an (erroneous) assumption that Australian residential life was once of the occupational community variety, despite the fact that this is theoretically impossible because Australia never passed through an industrial stage of capitalism and urbanisation. This, of course, is not the same as saying occupational communities have never existed in Australia, for there is some suggestion that they existed around wharves and in some mining towns. Moreover, those that did appear would be more likely to have existed in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia's more industrial cities. Yet the basic point still

remains. Because Australia never passed through the industrial stage of capitalism, the occupational community was absent. What in fact we need to tease out now is the pattern of social life distinctive of mercantile urbanisation, on the one hand, and of the contemporary suburban period, on the other

Apart from these general theoretical issues we must also consider the basic question of women and residential life, since residential life functions as the site for the reproduction of labour power and since women are the unit of domestic labour responsible for this reproduction process. They must therefore be a central component of residential life and, consequently, the nature of women and residential life comes to be basic to urban struggle.

2. Hypotheses for Guiding Empirical Research on Social Components of Residential Life

From this introductory statement, elements of a hypothesis can now be given. These identify three forms of residential life congruent with types of urbanisation (the occupational community, the suburban community and the urban peasant community) and the question of domestic labour

Under industrial urbanisation, social life centred on occupational communities and was characterised by a cohesive tie between work and residence, with those relationships that had developed in local factories carrying over into the nearby residential area - 'the occupational community' This culminated in a social solidarity that was mutually supportive, for there was a strong pattern of localised friendship, kin and neighbour ties within the community - dense social networks (see Bott, 1971) - which were based in local pubs and clubs for men and in the home and neighbourhood for women. Life

therefore was highly collectivised and expressed as a strong social solidarity and under these conditions a proletarianised workforce emerged. However, as Westergaard (1975) points out, the encapsulation and isolation of working-class communities under industrial capitalism into these occupational communities removed such proletarian workers from an association with the wider labour movement and their radical consciousness and actions came to be restricted to the factory and occupational community and could not link into a wider social force [see also Moore (1975) for an additional argument on the proletarianisation of occupational communities].

It is this occupational community which is frequently identified within sociology as the 'typical working-class community' and while this was the community under industrial urbanisation, it no longer exists today, despite the discovery of a few remnants during the 1950s (see Gans, 1962a). Even these 1950s discoveries expressed how much these were remnants of an earlier period because the two sets of now famous studies (Bethnal Green in London and the West End in Boston) were of areas undergoing urban renewal, the process by which old industrial cities were transformed into new corporate cities (see Gordon, 1977). The destruction of these occupational communities, then, came to be part of the process of shifting the working-class from proletarianised occupational communities to the privatised and politically passive consumption communities of the suburbs and the public housing estates.

Therefore, with the introduction of the corporate period of urbanisation, specifically with opportunities for a mass consumption of commodities, suburbanisation emerged as the major form of community. As Alt (1976) indicates, industrial workers of occupational

communities were dislodged from the world of work and class experience and were shifted into a period where consumption became the focus of life. In other words, it was a move from the primacy of labour, where the community reinforced the work situation, to the contemporary situation where consumption dominates and the purpose of work is to enable consumption. Residential locales are now the focus of life and work merely comes to be the means for consumption (see Alt, 1976). It is this shift in the nature of working-class life, from work to consumption, which helps explain the rise in urban struggle for these struggles are actions over consumption issues and quite different in form from industrial action (see Castells, 1977, 1978a).

This contemporary period of suburbanisation is characterised therefore by material comforts and a high standard of living which is supported by a relatively high income. Moreover, unlike the collectivisation of life under occupational communities there is now a strong privatisation, with individual households maintaining a social distance from others sharing the residential area and considerable geographic and social mobility exists. Social life becomes characterised by sparse (loose-knit) social networks. Little close contact exists between neighbours, friends and kin and there is little or no carryover between work and the living place. The local sources of working-class solidarity within the occupational community, like the pub and the club, no longer exist in the same form, for non-work time is increasingly based on home-centred consumption (e.g. with television).

While the contemporary period of suburban consumption was characterised by increases in homeownership, it also came to be dominated by public housing estates. The withdrawal of private

landlords forced the state to provide housing and under such conditions the privatised life of consumption not only came to exist in suburbs where houses are owner-occupied but it also appears in public housing estates (see, for example, Rainwater, 1970)

Australian residential life, it is hypothesised, passed from the privatised domestic economy of the urban peasantry, under mercantile urbanisation, to the privatised consumption of contemporary suburbanisation.

The basic nature of the urban peasant was individualism, the privatisation of life marked by the concentration of activity on the house and the yard and characterised by the central importance of the family. Since residential areas lacked the contiguous relationship with the workplace, as with industrial urbanisation, the life of labour and the living place were quite separate. The focus of interest was not on work, as was the case with industrial labour, but was on the domestic economy of residential life - on the garden, the house and on leisure with the family

What is striking about the social life of the urban peasant is its similarity with the suburban consumer. In both cases there is a loose-knit social network, where life was/is concentrated in and around the home, but in the former it related to a self-sufficiency while in the latter it centred on consumption. Moreover, due to the stronger mercantile character of cities such as Perth and Brisbane, the social life of the urban peasant must, logically, be expressed more clearly here and if we can identify remnants of the urban peasantry today, they will be more clearly seen in the old suburbs of these cities, housing people who would have settled there before 1945. In other words, they will be apparent in the same way

as Gans (1962a) and Young and Willmott (1962) found remnants of occupational communities in the United States and Britain during the 1950s.

To summarise the hypothesis: where residential life was transformed in Australia from the privatisation of an urban peasantry, during the mercantile period, to the privatisation of suburban consumerism under the contemporary monopoly period, in dominant capitalist countries it was transformed from the collectivisation of the occupational community of industrial urbanisation, to the privatisation of suburban consumerism and the public housing estate of the monopoly period. The meaning of such changes must be made in terms of class struggle and, for Australia, it is hypothesised that the morphology of struggle has essentially remained unchanged (i.e. limited) because of the continuation of privatisation within residential life. Under conditions of change, however, from the occupational community to the suburban community, proletarianisation was dissipated by privatisation, and radicalism replaced by passivity. The merging of residential life of both former industrial and mercantile countries (to suburbanisation) was the result of the internationalisation of capital ('monopoly capitalism')

To conclude these hypotheses on social components of residential life, discussion will be given to the important component of women and domestic labour. Residential life functions essentially to produce and reproduce the workforce, a process achieved within the family and wider residential context by domestic labour. Domestic labour describes the basic position of women under capitalism. As the unit of domestic labour, then, women (theoretically) become the structural core of residential life. This has important political consequences because it means that, logically, women are fundamental

to struggles emerging over the material objects (housing and facilities) necessary for reproducing workers. In other words, because women's lives are anchored within the residential sphere, they experience more directly deprivations of the living place (with children and the aged) and so become the potential force behind such actions as rent strikes, conflicts over unsanitary conditions, confrontations over poor amenities and demands for improved public transport. Women's central role in residential life and resultant importance in urban struggle is therefore basic to urban sociology.

There is, however, a striking neglect of the relationship between women, domestic labour and capitalism and even the major new publications in urban sociology (Castells, 1977; Harloe, 1977; Pickvance, 1976a) give no discussion to this question, for the simple reason that the general level of structural argument taken makes it difficult to accommodate other structural levels [see Cass's (1978) critique]. There have, however, been a limited number of attempts showing how residential life is the traditional territory assigned to women under capitalism. To put it simply, the residential area is to women, for the reproduction of labour power, what the workplace is to men, for the production of commodities (see Della Costa and James, 1972; Cockburn, 1977; Frankenberg, 1976; Mayo, 1977; Mellor, 1977; Weinbaum and Bridges, 1979). Moreover, the resultant isolation of the home and the containment of women in the monotony and trivia of housework, in comparison with the education and knowledge derived from the experience as wage labour, ensures the political passivity of women.

Much of the work on women and residential life centres around the basic, but more limited, issue of housework and its relationship

to wage labour (see Seccombe, 1974; Coulson, et al , 1975; Gardiner, 1976), specifically whether domestic labour produces surplus value. This work concludes that while domestic labour does not in itself contribute directly to surplus value, it is productive labour that has both a use value (for the family) and contributes directly to the capitalist mode of production, through the reproduction of labour power. Yet there is a failure among this new critical work to look at broader issues of women and residential life. Some of these issues, however, will be considered for Windsor, specifically attempting to identify the significance of women to material aspects of residential life and to the struggle against the freeways.

3. Australian Residential Life: Empirical Work

Little has been written on Australian residential life, the most extensive perhaps being Bryson and Thompson's (1972) descriptive study of a public housing suburb on the outskirts of Melbourne, although Brennan (1973) has also provided material on public housing in western Sydney. While both tend to indicate the privatised character of residential life, no theoretical conclusions were drawn. However, of particular interest for understanding social components of Australian urbanisation has been Martin's (1965, 1970) work in Adelaide which tends to confirm the theoretically privatised character of residential life although she also indicates that manual workers had more localised and less sparse social networks. Generally, though, the work confirms understanding of the contemporary period of residential life - a privatisation based on suburban consumption (see also Saha, 1974; Lansbury, 1970)

Understandably nothing exists to indicate the socially privatised life of the urban peasant, although some writers have indirectly suggested its existence. Horne (1972), for example,

mentions the years 1919 to 1939 as a period of 'philistine self-satisfaction' where life was 'privatised and domestic' rather than 'open and communal', and Eggleston (1932) wrote about the self-reliant, aggressively individualistic and solidly pragmatic Australian whose 'liberal individualism' was devoid of 'collective contact' and whose major weaknesses were the inability to co-operate, a resistance to leadership and an indifference to tradition, all of which resulted in strong social stability within Australia. While Horne's and Eggleston's comments do not specifically show the social life of urban peasants of the pre-1940s period, they do express quite clearly the characteristics of what has been hypothesised as being characteristic of the urban peasantry and this is markedly different from the collective life of the occupational community of industrial urbanisation.

Finally, although there are a number of works on women in Australia (see, for example, Harper, 1975), there appears to be little detailed work on women and residential life. One of the few suggesting this relationship is Williams's (1976) paper on women in a new and isolated mining town in Western Queensland. This showed an almost total concentration of women's life on the husband and the family. Because of commitments of housework, women had great difficulty in participating outside the home and as a consequence were not only socially isolated but were also politically alienated (see also the recent book by Richards, 1978).

IV SUMMARY: A COMPARATIVE TYPOLOGY OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

The threads of this lengthy argument need now to be pulled together. The purpose of this chapter was to lay a theoretical framework to allow interpretation of empirical data on residential

life in Windsor and its significance for the struggle against Brisbane's freeways; but also to make a start on a theory of Australian urbanisation.

Residential life was defined as having material and social components. The material elements referred to housing and residential facilities while the social components referred to the everyday life of the living place. Variations in these, it was argued, were determined by the nature of capitalism and its urbanisation process. Since Australian capitalism and urbanisation took a mercantile form until the 1940s, when it moved into the monopoly (corporate) period, its residential form must differ from the dominant capitalist countries which passed from an industrial to a monopoly stage. What was suggested is that under mercantile urbanisation, Australian residential life was characterised by a domestic economy of an urban peasantry which was represented materially by a high rate of homeownership of single-family housing, where there was an emphasis on self-sufficiency, with the production of food and maintenance of house and yard, and where there were also poor residential facilities. It was characterised socially by privatisation, revolving around the domestic unit, and politically, by a passivity. This pattern changed when the internationalisation of capital brought the monopoly period of capitalism (during the 1940s), giving rise to a suburban way of life emphasising consumption. The same material form existed now as previously (single-family housing) although the rate of homeownership increased and residential facilities improved. The domestic privatisation of the urban peasant was replaced by the privatisation of household consumption and, politically, passivity remained.

In contrast, dominant capitalist countries were characterised by

occupational communities during the stage of industrial urbanisation and, materially, this period was represented by private rentals of medium- to high-density housing and 'good' residential facilities and social life was characterised by a strong collective orientation with a mutually supportive tie existing between the workplace and the living area. With the rise of the monopoly period, suburbanisation developed and there was an increase in homeownership, with private rentals being replaced by public housing. Social life was privatised and workers were politically passive.

It is possible that remnants of the previous forms of residential life still exist. Occupational communities were found in Britain and the United States in the 1950s but have largely been destroyed by the urban renewal process, for this process operated as a mechanism for transforming the city from the industrial to the corporate stage of capitalism. If the urban peasantry still exists in Australia it is more likely to appear in the old (inner) areas of the more mercantile cities, such as Brisbane, Perth and Hobart, particularly since these mercantile cities have not undergone urban renewal

The critical feature of this discussion is that it provides a basis from which to understand urban struggles. Material issues come to be the stake(s) in the struggle, while social components determine the way the social base (of residents) forms as a social force. Occupational communities were shown to be the most proletarianised and therefore the locations offering the most radical urban action. However, the privatised character of the urban peasantry and the suburban consumer suggests a lack of class consciousness and a political passivity which would hamper the radical evolution of urban struggles.

To summarise in a clearer way, these differences between the process of Australian urbanisation and the urbanisation process in dominant capitalist countries, a residential typology is shown in Table 4.3

TABLE 4.3

A comparative typology of residential life.

A. <u>The process of residential life in Australia</u>	B. <u>The process of residential life in dominant capitalist countries</u>
<p>1 Residential Life under Mercantile Urbanisation (1820s to 1940s): <u>An Urban Peasantry</u></p> <p>a) <u>The Material Form:</u> i) single-family housing ii) high rate of homeownership iii) poor residential facilities</p> <p>b) <u>The Social Form:</u> The self-sufficiency of a domestic privatisation</p> <p>c) <u>The Political Form:</u> Passivity</p>	<p>1 Residential Life under Industrial Urbanisation (1850s to 1940s): <u>Occupational Communities</u></p> <p>a. <u>The Material Form:</u> i) high density housing around factories ii) high rate of (private) rental accommodation iii) 'good' residential facilities</p> <p>b. <u>The Social Form:</u> Collectivisation (close tie between work and home)</p> <p>c. <u>The Political Form:</u> Proletarianised</p>
<p>2. Residential Life under Corporate Urbanisation (1940s -): <u>Suburban Consumption</u></p> <p>a) <u>The Material Form:</u> i) single-family housing ii) high rate of homeownership iii) improved residential facilities</p> <p>b) <u>The Social Form:</u> Suburban privatisation for mass consumption</p> <p>c) <u>The Political Form:</u> Passivity</p>	<p>2. Residential Life under Corporate Urbanisation (1940s -): <u>Suburban Consumption</u></p> <p>a) <u>The Material Form:</u> i) high density housing but an increase in single-family ii) high rate of rental accommodation iii) increase in homeownership iv) 'good' residential facilities</p> <p>b) <u>The Social Form:</u> Public housing privatisation plus suburban privatisation for mass consumption</p> <p>c) <u>The Political Form:</u> Passivity</p>

PART THREE

AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION:

THE GENERAL CONTEXT FROM WHICH TO INTERPRET THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST BRISBANE'S FREEWAYS

PREFACE

This section provides the most general backdrop against which to consider the struggle against Brisbane's freeways: the process of Australian urbanisation. Chapter 5 analyses the broad sweep of Australian urbanisation from a regional perspective, with the Australian states being taken as the country's major regions and Queensland, specifically, being contrasted against the other states. The manner in which Queensland is slowly emerging from a position of under-development, following a mining boom, is particularly examined.

However, in Chapter 6, it is noted that Queensland's present development is also based upon a largely independent thrust located in the southeastern corner of the state, following the rapid suburbanisation of Brisbane and the rise of the tourist and recreation industries on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts. It is from and in association with this growth that large-scale transportation planning has been implemented, with freeways becoming the major component of transport change in Brisbane (Chapter 7)

Chapter 5

AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION AND QUEENSLAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT:

AN EMPIRICAL STATEMENT

I INTRODUCTION

Melbourne and Sydney form the spatial core of Australian capitalism, a position demonstrated demographically by the concentration of an increasing proportion of the country's population into these two cities (from a quarter at the turn of the century to a little less than half in 1971) and economically by the location there of Australia's manufacturing industry (and therefore proletarian workers), of head offices of commercial and financial organisations and of the major ports for Australia's export-based economy. Concomitantly, these cities have received a markedly disproportionate share of state expenditure, specifically in the form of social capital for the development of urban infrastructure. This has resulted in Australia's largest concentration of transport, communication and urban facilities generally, as well as the most extensive provision of the collective means of consumption essential for the maintenance and reproduction of the country's most skilled, diverse and best paid workforce.

The spatial consequence of this agglomeration is a regional dependency in the form of Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania. These states historically have been Australia's depressed regions where economic growth has been contained within the inherently unstable agricultural and pastoral industries (even more so than for Australia as a whole) and where the little manufacturing industry that does exist is restricted to primary processing. In consort, there is a primitiveness both of infrastructure, with only rail and port facilities being

provided in any reasonable way, and of the collective means of consumption, since labour in these states is inevitably of less importance than labour in New South Wales and Victoria. This subordination is also reflected in lower levels of skill and income, and in the highest rates of poverty and unemployment in Australia.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an empirical sketch of the broad sweep of Australian urbanisation with particular reference to Queensland. This will be undertaken by means of a regional analysis, contrasting Queensland with the other Australian states, particularly with the two dominant states of New South Wales and Victoria. In the absence of any relevant theoretical work on internal regional development and underdevelopment which could provide guidance for the analysis (see Chapter 3), this chapter takes two related but analytically distinct empirical approaches - one economic, the other political. The first provides a descriptive analysis of economic development and the second considers political processes emerging in Queensland which were associated with this development.¹

A focal point to be used as a beacon for guiding this analysis is the current transformation of Australian capitalism. It will be argued that there are distinctive changes occurring within Australian urbanisation that result from a contemporary transformation of Australian society. After a period of slowly increasing independent capitalism over the years 1945 to 1971, Australia is now being forced back into its traditionally dependent position through two interrelated processes. Firstly, by the 1971 crash of Australian manufacturing, particularly

¹ 'Regional development and underdevelopment' refer here to varying levels of capital accumulation, in terms of different regions and, as a consequence, to differing returns to workers in these different regions

following the cessation of foreign investment which, with the help of tariff barriers, had aided the emergence of a small indigenous Australian capitalism which is now under threat. Secondly, and paralleling this collapse, there is the emergence of a 'new dependency' based on the exploitation of Australia's vast mineral reserves mainly for the Japanese market by American (particularly) and Japanese capital. This is replacing the previously dependent position grounded in the export of agricultural and pastoral goods to Britain.

It is this change to a 'new dependency' that is altering the urbanisation process, because mineral wealth, which is its basis, is located in two underdeveloped states, Queensland and Western Australia. It is bringing to these states a marked inflow of foreign and domestic capital, the expansion of infrastructure and of collective consumption, as well as a significant shift of population, particularly to the capital cities, Brisbane and Perth, and away from Sydney and New South Wales and Melbourne and Victoria.

Paradoxically, then, the development of Queensland goes hand in hand with a decline in independent trends in Australian capitalism, and thus a relative decline in the dominance of Sydney and Melbourne. This not only brings a return to a tightly controlled and dependent position within the world system of capitalism, but it is also changing the political relationship between Queensland and the spatial core of Australian capitalism. Inter-state conflicts have become more apparent over recent years, although present experiences are merely the contemporary stage of a tension that has always existed between Queensland and the dominant southern states. Whereas in the past these clashes took the form of puny offensives launched by a weak Queensland to wrest some of the private and public investment going to, and remaining within, Sydney and New South Wales and Melbourne and Victoria, action now

has been reversed somewhat to become an assault by southern capital on the recent strong alliance of foreign multinationals and the small Queensland capital

In the examination of Queensland's position within Australian urbanisation, only Glen Lewis (see particularly Lewis, 1978; but also Lewis, 1973, 1975) has given any serious consideration to the State's regional imbalance. He fails, however, to develop a historical analysis of the conflict between Queensland and the dominant southern states. His work comes to parallel, in many ways, liberal agonies about the 'Deep North' and 'Banana Republic' images of the State which see Queensland's current political authoritarianism, socially repressive fundamentalism and hillbilly panache as stemming from indigenous and inheritable qualities, rather than from Australian capitalism and its urbanisation process. In other words, Lewis has tended to be side-tracked in a typically ideological manner into believing the 'cause' of Queensland's underdevelopment rests primarily on factors inherent to the State, rather than being a relational consequence of urbanisation. Nevertheless, this criticism should not detract too much from the value of Lewis' work. It has highlighted a number of issues which will be considered in this chapter

II URBANISATION AND INTERNAL DEPENDENCY

As noted in Chapter 3, little theoretical work exists on internal development and underdevelopment. This was clearly identified by Edel, et al (1978) and reiterated by other contributors to a special issue on this topic in the Review of Radical Political Economics (Vol 10, Fall 1978). What little theoretical work is available appears primarily as reiterations of brief comments made by Marx (1965a; see Lojkine, 1976). There is an increasing tendency for capital and labour to

concentrate and, consequently, underdeveloped areas come to appear in peripheral regions (see Chapter 3)

Unfortunately, the extensive theoretical work by marxist scholars such as Amin (1974) and Frank (1967), on international development and underdevelopment, cannot readily be applied to questions of internal development and underdevelopment (see Edel, et al , 1978; Mingione, 1977b). International development and underdevelopment are determined by the power of metropolitan nations (e.g. the United States) within the world system of capitalism, while the internal case results from the urbanisation process. This means, therefore, that internal underdevelopment is as likely in metropolitan nations, such as the United States, as in dependent capitalist countries, such as Australia, and Third World countries, such as Malaysia.

In the absence of any detailed theoretical framework for guiding this regional study of Queensland, a descriptive empirical analysis will therefore be given, in terms of economic development, on the one hand, and accompanying political processes, on the other. While it is relatively easy to describe economic development, it is much more difficult to identify political factors that have accompanied growth, since the relationship between the political and the economic is very complex. In an effort to clarify the political relationship, then, three analytically distinct elements, central to the process of capitalist urbanisation, were identified. The first refers to the antagonistic relationship between capital and labour as it appears at a regional level. This will be considered in two parts: a) whether there was a coincidence of working-class action with different stages of Queensland's development; and b) identifying the concessions won by Queensland workers during the first half of this century. The second

of the three political elements elucidates the conflict between fractions of capital as it appears at this regional level, particularly following the marked inflow, over recent years, of mining capital. Finally, the third refers to intervention by the state, as a condensed reflection of class relations, to maintain the existing relationship between the dominant and subordinate states - as well as to ensure integration and stability between them.

III ECONOMIC ROOTS OF QUEENSLAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT: EMPIRICAL PATTERNS

1 The Pattern of Economic Development

Queensland's place within Australian capitalism has always been characterised by uneven development and while Australia's economy grew rapidly during the boom years 1860 to 1890 and 1945 to 1971, Queensland grew irregularly in contrast to the two dominant states, New South Wales and Victoria (see Lewis, 1973, 1978; Gough, et al, 1964; Wiltshire, 1973). It was the forced reliance upon primary production (sheep, cattle and sugar cane), to the exclusion of manufacturing industry, that has ensured Queensland's uneven growth and it was not until 1968 that the value of manufactured goods exceeded the value of rural production. Moreover, Queensland's vulnerable reliance upon primary production has been exacerbated by ownership of much of the industry by interests located outside the State, either in New South Wales, Victoria or overseas, as witnessed by Vestey's (in cattle) and CSR (in sugar) (Lewis, 1978). Expropriated profits, therefore, gravitated either south or overseas, thus preventing local development which could diversify the economy.

Queensland's reliance on primary production, relative to other states, was apparent early. The 1891 Census, for example, showed more Queensland workers (37 per cent) employed in this sector than workers

in other states - Victoria (26 per cent), New South Wales (31 per cent) and South Australia (30 per cent). In contrast, the latter three states had the highest employment in manufacturing - Victoria (19 per cent), New South Wales and South Australia (16 per cent each), while Queensland had 12 per cent (Butlin, 1976). This relative position of the states has remained unchanged and over the post-World War Two years, Queensland has maintained its place with the highest proportion employed in primary production, followed closely by the other underdeveloped states, Tasmania and Western Australia, while the dominant states, Victoria and New South Wales, plus South Australia, had the lowest primary employment, but had the highest in manufacturing industry (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 also shows an overall decline in all states in employment in both primary production and manufacturing industry, which reflects changes in Australian capitalism since 1945, with the evolution to a corporate form of capitalism. Sectors with greatest increases in employment have been 'public authority', 'finance' and 'commerce'

Essentially, the more balanced nature of the economies of New South Wales and Victoria and the imbalance of the three underdeveloped regions is directly tied to the extent to which manufacturing industry has been developed. This can be explicated by a more detailed examination of the changing pattern of factory employment since the early years of this century. Table 5.2 shows how the three underdeveloped states have persistently had the lowest employment in manufacturing industry per thousand population, while Victoria has dominated, followed closely by New South Wales and then South Australia. The gap between these developed states and the underdeveloped regions, moreover, grew even wider after 1945 as the massive inflow of capital and labour went to Sydney/Newcastle/Wollongong and Melbourne/Geelong

TABLE 5.1

Percentage of State workforces employed in manufacturing industry and primary production, 1954, 1966, 1971.

	1954		1966		1971	
	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Primary*</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Primary*</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Primary*</u>
Queensland	21	23	19	17	17	13
Western Australia	19	20	18	16	15	13
Tasmania	22	20	23	14	21	12
South Australia	28	16	26	12	25	10
New South Wales	29	13	29	9	25	7
Victoria	33	11	32	8	28	7

* Includes mining and quarrying

(Source: Adapted from Stilwell, 1974a, 1974b)

TABLE 5.2
State factory labour forces per thousand population, 1904 - 1974.

	Queensland	Western Australia	Tasmania	South Australia	New South Wales	Victoria
1904	40	55	47	51	47	66
1911	62	55	56	69	65	87
1921	50	49	44	61	67	92
1929	50	52	50	65	75	92
1939	54	50	58	73	84	103
1947	65	68	78	110	116	130
1954	75	73	80	109	118	137
1961	68	68	85	102	120	131
1968	70	75	93	108	122	136
1974	59	61	78	103	107	128

(Sources: Adapted from Gough et al, 1964 for the years 1904-1929; from Linge, 1977 for 1939-1968; and from Official Yearbook of Australia No. 61, 1975 and 1976, Australian Bureau of Statistics, for 1974)

(and also to a more limited extent, Adelaide), with little going to Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia.

While it was basically the urbanisation process, with the concentration of activity in Sydney and Melbourne, that prevented Queensland and the other two marginal states developing manufacturing industry, the federation of Britain's Australian colonies in 1901 into the States of the independent Commonwealth of Australia, brought with it the intervention of the state. This took the form of the federal government favouring the developed states by removing tariff barriers between these former colonies.

Nevertheless, Queensland did experience quite a dramatic increase in manufacturing during the first ten years after federation, for between 1904 and 1913 it had the highest percentage increase in factory employment (8.7 per cent), followed by New South Wales with 6.5 per cent. Yet this increase was largely attributable to the growth of primary processing, notably meatworks, which had expanded rapidly as demands for food had risen in Britain after the 1890s depression. In marked contrast, however, Queensland had the lowest percentage increase of all states in factory employment over the years 1920 to 1939 (1.5 per cent); with New South Wales having the greatest increase (2.5 per cent). This dramatic reversal represented a decline in the place held by Queensland and the other marginal states in Australian manufacturing (see Linge, 1968, 1974, 1977). This pattern is clearly shown in Table 5.3.

Not only have the three marginal states had a small and decreasing proportion of factory workers, but the value of factory production has been considerably lower than for the dominant states, although for Queensland there has been a slight closing of the gap in the early

TABLE 5.3

States' share of total Australian factory labour force,
1913 - 1964.
(%)

	<u>1913</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1964</u>
Queensland	13	11	10	9
Western Australia	5	4	4	5
Tasmania	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
South Australia	9	8	8	9
New South Wales	36	38	41	40
Victoria	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>34</u>
	<u>71</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>74</u>

(Source: Adapted from Linge, 1977, for 1913, 1920, 1939 and Linge, 1974, for 1964)

1970s (see Table 5.4). This overall difference is a direct consequence of the type of manufacturing. Factory production in the marginal states has concentrated in the less profitable primary processing, while industrial production in the dominant states has been in heavy industry and in the production of mass consumption goods. This can be shown from the location of factory employment. In 1971/72, for example, Queensland's factory workers were concentrated in three primary processing industries: 'food, drink and tobacco' (30 per cent), 'wood, wood products and furniture' (11 per cent), and 'paper and paper products' (8 per cent). Western Australia (42 per cent) and Tasmania (54 per cent) had similar concentrations, while only 25 per cent of New South Wales, 26 per cent of Victorian and 27 per cent of South Australian factory workers were employed in these industries. The bulk of factory workers in New South Wales (62 per cent), Victoria (62 per cent) and South Australia (65 per cent) were in more diversified fields of manufacturing (Linge, 1977)

As a consequence of the little manufacturing industry in Queensland, public investment has been relatively slight. What social capital has been invested has concentrated in rail and port development and between 1860 and 1915, for instance, 72 per cent of gross public investment went into railways alone (Laverty, 1970)

The little manufacturing industry that does exist in Queensland, in fact, has had to contribute significantly to the provision of its own infrastructure. Of Brisbane manufacturers interviewed in the early 1960s, 84 per cent had to build their own sewerage and drainage systems, with road access and electricity supply frequently being provided only after significant contributions to City Council loans (Gough, et al, 1964). In evaluative terms this reflects the insignificance of Queensland for manufacturing industry. If there had been a larger

TABLE 5.4

State value added per head of population for factor production (\$),
1938/39 to 1974/75.

	<u>1938/39</u>	<u>1948/49</u>	<u>1958/59</u>	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1971/72</u>	<u>1974/75</u>
Queensland	38	94	218	226	470	806
Western Australia	38	82	222	264	451	700
Tasmania	46	120	318	356	625	998
South Australia	46	132	308	356	678	1083
New South Wales	66	164	432	498	849	1233
Victoria	70	172	438	486	951	1399

(Source: from Gough et al., 1964 for the years 1938/39 to 1960/61;
and from Australian Bureau of Statistics 1974, 1975 for
the years 1971/72 and 1974/75)

manufacturing base, there would have been a more extensive infrastructure because of the larger tax base and greater funding from the federal government through demands by capital. However, the federal government's industrial protection acts of 1928 and 1939 closed any loopholes for factory development in the underdeveloped states (Lewis, 1973). The pattern of development which resulted, then, reflects a deliberate policy on the part of the federal government to follow the demands of capital and aid concentration in New South Wales and Victoria, specifically Sydney and Melbourne. Of the smaller states, only South Australia has managed any industrial expansion and although this was partly associated with its early establishment of industry, relative to Queensland and Western Australia, it was also a consequence of the greater political quiescence of this state, compared with the other two, making it more attractive for capital investment.

By the early 1970s, certain changes were occurring in Queensland's economy. While manufacturing industry continued to dominate the total value of production in New South Wales (82 per cent), Victoria (83 per cent) and South Australia (82 per cent), mineral expropriation from the mid-1960s, became an increasing source of total value of production for both Queensland and Western Australia. In 1973/74, 31 per cent of Western Australia's and 21 per cent of Queensland's total value of production was from this source, while only six per cent of New South Wales' and seven per cent of Victoria's production was from mining (Catley and McFarlane, 1978). The bulk of mineral production in Western Australia has been in iron ore (62 per cent), while Queensland's has been coal (59 per cent) (Morrison, 1978). Both of these minerals go to Japanese industry. although, increasingly, Queensland coal is becoming a valuable general source of energy on world markets.

Queensland coal production, in paralleling the expansion of

Japanese industry, increased by about 40 per cent per annum over the years 1966 to 1970, but with the relative decline in Japanese heavy industry between the late 1960s and early 1970s, the percentage increase in production dropped sharply - it was only six per cent between 1969/70 and nine per cent between 1970/71 and 1971/72. Over the three years after 1971/72, however, there had been a marked jump in production of about 36 per cent per annum, which coincides with a demand for coal following the oil crisis of 1973 (see Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1977)

The increasing importance of mining to the Queensland economy can be seen in the way the bulk of private capital investment in the State concentrates in this sector. In 1976, the largest amount of total capital investment (45 per cent) went into mining, notably the \$500 million for Aurukun bauxite and the \$375 million for the Nebo coking project. The remaining capital investment went into residential development (32 per cent), most of which concentrated in metropolitan Brisbane and the nearby Gold and Sunshine Coasts (see Chapter 6). Only 14 per cent was invested in manufacturing (State Public Relations Bureau, 1976)

The critical issue in Queensland mining investment is the dominance of foreign ownership and foreign control. That is, the 'new dependency' in Australian capitalism has occurred not only through the marketing of raw materials for foreign industry, but it is a direct consequence of foreign ownership and control. In 1973/74, 63 per cent of Queensland's mining was foreign owned and 84 per cent was foreign controlled, compared with 50 per cent and 60 per cent respectively for Australia as a whole. But what is even more striking was the increase in foreign control and ownership over the year 1974/75. Foreign ownership of Queensland mining had increased to 71 per cent

and foreign control to 85 per cent (Australia: 52 per cent foreign owned and 59 per cent foreign control; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1977).

The difference between Queensland ownership and control and Australia as a whole is largely accounted for by the pattern of ownership of New South Wales mines. Until the early 1960s New South Wales was Australia's major mining state (coal), where mining had been established for a longer period of time and was owned and controlled by either Australian or old British interests. Queensland mineral reserves, specifically coal, have only recently been discovered and opened up by such American companies as Utah (General Electric) and Japanese companies like Mitsubishi; it is this which accounts for the high rate of foreign ownership and control (see Crough, 1978).

This sketch of Queensland's development shows the State's economic dependency, first on rural industries and second on mining. From the turn of the century, Queensland's place within Australian capitalism was one of decreasing importance, for as New South Wales and Victoria grew, Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia fell further and further behind. It has only been over the past ten or 15 years, with the boom in minerals and the consequent growth of capital investment and accumulation, that Queensland's economic place has begun to change. And a similar situation has existed for Western Australia.

As a consequence of these developments there has been a marked migration of population to Queensland and Western Australia and away from New South Wales and Victoria. The former states have had the highest per annum growth rates over the intercensal years 1966 to 1971 (1.76 per cent and 3.97 per cent respectively) and 1971 to 1976 (2.59 per cent and 2.28 per cent) Since 1966 there has been a steady

westward migration from New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia to Western Australia and northward from Victoria and New South Wales to Queensland, with the drift westward starting earlier because of the earlier development of Western Australia's mining boom (see Bennett, 1976; Pryor, 1977; Stilwell, 1974a)

2. The Material Consequences to Labour of Uneven Development

The relatively low level of capital accumulation reflected in the slow rate of economic development in Queensland was expressed in the State's workers being the most disadvantaged in the country (along with workforces in Western Australia and Tasmania) As recently as 1973, Queensland had the highest rates of poverty in Australia, with 15.6 per cent of households located below the poverty line, followed by the two other underdeveloped regions, Tasmania (15.4 per cent of households) and Western Australia (14.0 per cent) The most developed states, New South Wales (12.9 per cent), South Australia (12.0 per cent) and Victoria (10.5 per cent) had the lowest rates of poverty (Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975; see also Harris, 1970, for an earlier discussion of poverty in Queensland)

What is particularly striking about levels of poverty, is that states, such as Queensland, with the highest rates of poverty are less likely to receive funds from the federal government for welfare purposes than states with the lowest levels of poverty. As Walmsley (1978) has shown, welfare funding goes to states like South Australia and Victoria, with the lowest welfare needs, while Queensland and Western Australia, classified ('objectively') as having the greatest need, tend to be the worse funded states. This contradiction shows the fallacy of the widely held liberal belief that welfare is provided where the need is greatest. The least developed states, in fact, receive a disproportionately small share of social consumption expenditure.

The greatest returns to labour go to the more 'important' workforces of the southern states which hold the greatest political power because of the more urgent need by capital for their labour. Friedland (1976) has shown, in a much more detailed way, a comparable situation of variation between U.S. cities during the period of the War on Poverty

Differential returns to labour in terms of per capita income are given in Table 5.5. This table shows how New South Wales and Victoria, since the late 1940s, have had the highest per capita incomes, with South Australia filling third place, and Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmanian workers having the lowest per capita incomes. However, what Table 5.5 also shows is the decreasing differential between the state with the highest income (mainly Victoria) and the state with the lowest income (mainly Tasmania); from 27 per cent in the late 1940s to 17 per cent in the early 1970s (cf Fox, 1978). In the 1960s, moreover, per capita income increased in Western Australia following mineral expansion. This state now has the third highest per capita income, while South Australia, in contrast, has slipped, reflecting the relative decline in manufacturing industry in that state. The earlier jump in per capita income in Western Australia in the 1960s, when compared with Queensland, is related to the earlier development of minerals.

The pattern of unemployment between the states shows Queensland and Tasmania as having the highest rates during the 1960s, while New South Wales and Victoria had the lowest rates. Economic development of Western Australia from minerals has ensured a reduction in unemployment in that state in the 1960s, while South Australia has become increasingly vulnerable in the early 1970s with the decline in manufacturing (see Stilwell, 1974a).

The general trends observed for poverty, income and unemployment

TABLE 5.5

State per capita income (as a percentage of the highest State income), 1948/49 - 1976/77

	Queensland		Western Australia		Tasmania		South Australia		New South Wales		Victoria	
	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value
1948/49	4	89.39	5	89.19	6	72.88	3	93.30	2	95.48	2	100
1953/54	5	85.71	4	88.94	6	79.72	3	92.50	2	95.73	2	100
1958/59	4	86.64	6	79.73	5	81.46	3	90.77	2	95.96	2	100
1963/64	4	87.90	5	81.77	6	80.65	3	88.12	2	96.78	2	100
1968/69	4	86.72	3	93.40	6	82.62	5	86.50	2	99.60	2	100
1970/71	5	83.97	3	92.17	6	82.50	4	84.02	1	100	1	99.15
1976/77*	4	95.29	3	98.55	5	93.64	6	92.71	1	100	1	98.70

*Figures for 1976/77 based on male income only

(Source: Adapted from Stilwell, 1974a for years 1948/49 - 1970/71; and from Australian Bureau of Statistics 1978, for years 1976/77)

are repeated for issues of collective consumption. Firstly, educational data reveal a low level of educational provision in Queensland. The population has the lowest qualifications of all states and the smallest proportion of 17 and 18 year olds in the final year of high school (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1978) Moreover, education was introduced in a widespread way only as recently as the mid-1950s Before this, it was principally available only through fee paying or rare State scholarships to private schools. Secondly, along with Tasmania and Western Australia, Queensland has been less likely to allocate funds to public housing, than have the dominant states of New South Wales and Victoria, and South Australia (Jones, 1972) Finally, New South Wales and Victoria, followed closely by South Australia, have a better array of professional services, in the form of doctors, dentists and solicitors, than do the three underdeveloped states (Vinson, et al , 1974)

In sum, Queensland's economic development, contained within the process of Australian urbanisation, shows a limited level of capital accumulation when contrasted with dominant states. As a consequence, workers have received lower wages, have had higher levels of unemployment and poverty and have received the lowest social consumption expenditure.

IV POLITICAL PROCESSES AND QUEENSLAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT: EMPIRICAL PATTERNS

It is not sufficient simply to discuss the dimensions of Queensland's economic development. What also is needed is an analysis relating such empirical matters to concomitant political processes However, in the absence of any detailed theoretical or empirical work, this political analysis must necessarily be introductory Little or nothing has been written in any detail on the conflicts between capital and labour as

they relate to questions of internal development and underdevelopment; to the confrontation between small local capital in underdeveloped regions and the dominant concentrations in developed areas; and to the manner in which the state responds to these questions of regional development and underdevelopment.

While relying upon the basic framework given in Chapter 3 on capitalist urbanisation, this section merely makes a number of observations about political occurrences that were congruent with certain stages in Queensland's development. Such observations are presented as hypotheses, rather than as conclusive explanations of the political economy of Queensland.

Three questions are considered. The first traces the coincidence between working-class action and various stages in Queensland's development, particularly identifying concessions won by the working-class. The second provides a brief analysis of the relationship between fractions of capital, as they appear at a regional level, with particular reference to Queensland. Finally, the third identifies the way the state, through the federal government, maintains the dominance of New South Wales and Victoria over other states and, at the same time, attempts to ensure cohesion between the developed and underdeveloped states.

1 The Coincidence Between Working-Class Action and Stages in Queensland's Development, 1900-1965

An examination of the most significant incidences of working-class action appearing in Queensland during this century, suggests that they coincided with critical stages in the State's development. Working-class action can be seen as appearing around periods that, for present purposes, can be defined as 'thresholds of development'; or occasions

when the State was poised either to move into a period of increased economic development, on the one hand, or to revert back to a period of economic stagnation, on the other

The significance of such working-class actions is that each occurred after a long period of minor industrial unrest and after what was essentially Government-initiated repression. It can be argued that these occasions of repression were attempts by capital to crush the working-class and thus increase control over the workforce, with the aim of moving Queensland into a period of sustained growth.

The first of the three actions to appear around 'thresholds of development' was the 1912 tramway strike. This occurred at the end of Queensland's period of recovery from the 1890s depression. Manufacturing industry had expanded rapidly until the early 1910s, although only in primary processing. There had also been a fall in unemployment and a rise in trade unionism (Dalton, 1970). Yet it was also a time when there were definite signs that recovery was dissipating and indeed this is what happened. From the early 1910s, Queensland had begun to slip further and further behind the dominant states (see Linge, 1968, 1974) Repression began as industrial unrest grew (Costar, 1978) Initially repression appeared only as restrictions on trade unionism, but this escalated to more direct control following the 1912 tramway strike. This strike had resulted from a lockout of 400 tramway workers who had formed a union in defiance of their employer, the Brisbane Tramway Company, and it grew into Australia's first general strike, as other workers came out in support. Massive rallies and street marches of up to 20,000 supporters were held. The State Government, in supporting the employer, sent the police in to break up strikers and this eventually led to 'Black Friday. 1912' (Costar, 1978) In addition,

the Government requested the federal (Labor) government to supply troops to quell the 'rioters' (refused) and it even threatened to call for the assistance of a passing United States warship!

The strike failed and union demands were not met until three years later when the Australian Labor Party (ALP) became the Government. By this time, however, the economic momentum of the previous years had passed and Queensland's economy began to fall even further behind New South Wales' and Victoria's (Linge, 1977)

The second occasion of a coincidence of working-class action and threshold periods in Queensland's development was around the 1948 rail strike, which, at the surface, was a response by railway workers to conditions of employment in the obsolete and costly State-run rail system. Workers had demanded improved conditions and wage rises, and a refusal on the part of the Government led to several confrontations with the police, culminating in the 'St Patrick's Day' clash (Costar, 1978).² But more broadly, the repression of workers on this occasion, it can be argued, was part of Queensland's attempt to secure a share of the capital and labour flooding into Australia at that time for industrial development. After a series of earlier strikes, the 1948 strike came to be the occasion when Queensland capital, through the State Government, suppressed working-class action, in the hope that a resultant disciplined workforce would attract investment and additional labour (cf Heil, 1978). The strike was successfully resolved in favour of workers, but the immigrant capital and labour entering Australia continued on to Sydney and New South Wales and Melbourne and Victoria, bypassing Queensland and the other two underdeveloped states.

² Ironically, the Premier of Queensland at this time, E.M. Hanlon, whose ALP government suppressed striking railway workers, was one of the union leaders in the 1912 tramways strike.

Where New South Wales and Victoria developed rapidly, Queensland in the late 1940s was entering a decade of even greater (relative) backwardness (see Wiltshire, 1973, 1979; Murphy, 1979).

The third occasion was the famous Mt Isa mines strike of 1964/65. This industrial action was particularly significant since it occurred at the threshold of Queensland's mineral boom. It erupted in August 1964 after years of conflict (since 1961) between workers and the American-owned company over bonus payments and working conditions. Workers went on a go-slow strike and, following a fall in mineral production, the company sacked 200 of its employees and later laid off another 1800 (see Sheldon, 1965; Thomas, 1965). Confrontation escalated when the State (conservative) Government proclaimed a state of emergency and ordered miners back to work. After the miners refused, the police were given widespread powers, ranging from the right to expel anyone from the town and the right of entry without a search warrant, to the right to arrest indiscriminately and the right to confiscate any 'threatening' equipment. Such actions merely aggravated the situation and eventually led to widespread support for the miners from throughout Australia and a condemnation of the State Government and the mining company. The strike was not resolved until April 1965, when the State Government was forced to withdraw its repressive measures and the mining company acceded to certain of the workers' demands.

The significance of this action, like the other two, lies in the fact that it occurred around a period when Queensland was poised at a threshold of development. But whereas in the other two occasions the State sank further into recession, relative to New South Wales and Victoria, the 1964/65 strike heralded the beginning of Queensland's mining boom. It was the start of the State's most significant period of economic development.

In the absence of any pertinent theoretical work and comparative empirical data, caution must be invoked in interpreting these indices of industrial action and regional development. Nevertheless, a definite coincidence did exist between Queensland's most significant incidences of class conflict and critical stages in the State's development. Repression appears to have resulted after mounting industrial unrest, for there had been increasing numbers of strikes leading up to the 1912 and 1948 repressions by the State Government, and the Mt Isa situation had been 'brewing' for three years. Therefore, attempts at repression on these three separate occasions can cautiously be interpreted as representing attempts by local Queensland capital to control Queensland workers, via the State Government, in the hope of pushing the State over the threshold into a period of sustained development. However, this development did not happen until the influx of foreign mining capital from the mid-1960s.

While these three occasions appeared as striking examples of the relationship between capital and labour over regional development, particularly with attempts to suppress working-class action, a somewhat different, though related, situation has existed in the form of significant victories won by Queensland workers during the second quarter of this century. These victories are distinctive since they represent concession won before workers in other states. They resulted from the almost continuous presence of ALP State Governments between 1915 and 1957.³

³ The usual reason given for this long period of ALP Government in Queensland (42 of the first 60 years of this century), was the presence of an electoral gerrymander favouring the ALP. While this was very real, it is largely irrelevant when structural considerations are made, for Queensland, along with the other two underdeveloped states, had ALP governments for longer periods of time between the 1890s and 1960s, than did the dominant states of New South Wales and Victoria, and South Australia, although the electoral pattern for New South Wales more closely resembled the underdeveloped states than it did Victoria and South Australia.

Advantages won by Queensland workers through ALP governments can be distinguished at two levels: a political level and an economic and social level. In political terms, at least four significant reforms can be identified. Firstly, the most important one for workers was the abolition in 1922 of the Upper House and Queensland is still the only state in the federation without an Upper House. The second concerns the introduction in the early 1920s of a system of compulsory voting for State elections. This can possibly be seen as an attempt by the ALP to ensure working-class support and Queensland was the first state to introduce this measure. Thirdly, Queensland was, again, the first state to introduce, in 1920, universal suffrage at local government elections⁴. Finally, in 1925, the cities and towns of the Brisbane urban complex were amalgamated into what is today the largest local government area in the country (for reasons, see Chapter 6).

In economic and social terms, a large number of reforms were introduced. These included the introduction of a series of State enterprises to counter the monopolistic practices of agricultural and pastoral companies (e.g. Colonial Sugar Refineries for sugar), with marketing boards, State forests for providing cheap timber for workers' housing and State butchers shops for providing cheap meat. Secondly, bills were introduced in the 1920s to regulate prices, housing, rents, accommodation, wages, health, and working conditions, all of which were accessions to union demands. Next, Australia's first public hospital system was introduced in Queensland in the 1930s and expanded in the 1940s. Fourthly, Queensland workers were the first to receive an eight-

(Hughes and Graham, 1968) This pattern, therefore, suggests something more significant about political behaviour and Australian urbanisation than any simplistic interpretation about Labor governments and Queensland's gerrymander favouring the ALP

⁴ Universal suffrage was introduced for the first time at local government elections in Adelaide, only as recently as 1978!

hour day and later, in 1924, a 44-hour week. Fifthly, acts giving women equal pay with men were passed in the early 1920s, although responsibility for their implementation was handed to the Arbitration Court and they were not implemented until decades later. Furthermore, it was the first state, in the early 1920s, to abolish the death penalty. Also Queensland's arbitration system in the 1920s and 1930s ensured, through controls over wages and prices, that Queensland maintained a standard of living above the national average. Finally, it was the first state to introduce a universal system of insurance for workers, with the establishment in 1923 of the State Government Insurance Office and all private insurance companies were banned from such insurance activity.

While it is possible to empirically identify these working-class concessions, it is difficult to provide adequate explanation of why they were introduced so early and before other states. Two possible reasons can be suggested. One relates more directly to the outcome of conflict between capital and labour, while the other refers to direct state intervention for maintaining social stability.

The first explanation, refers to the considerable strength gained by the Queensland labour movement from the 1890s and, in the face of a weak local capital, this led to significant electoral victories for the ALP.⁵ Moreover, this combination of a strong labour movement and a relatively weak local government, leading to ALP electoral victories, could only culminate in certain working-class concessions because the Australian states until the early 1940s were relatively autonomous entities through control over their own taxation systems.

A second possible explanation rests in the central question of

⁵ Queensland is purported to have had the first labour government in the world - for four days in the late 1890s!

state intervention. The presence of ALP governments could be interpreted, as Friedland, et al (1977), Heil (1978) and Mollenkopf (1975) have similarly argued for the United States, as being a mechanism for maintaining social stability (see also Chapter 6) This seems to have some value as an explanation because Queensland workers had to pay a high price for these reforms. Workers received a good standard of living only in exchange for industrial passivity. Strikes and lockouts were declared illegal by the State Government, unless the majority of workers voted for such action, but even then, these decisions could be overruled by the courts. As a consequence of this, and of the repression indicated earlier, Queensland had one of the most quiescent workforces in the country. The number of strikes over the years from 1916 to 1956, for instance, was lower than for other states (Murphy, 1979) Both this and the previous explanation, however, require considerable further examination.

Nevertheless, concessions won by Queensland workers, despite the general quiescence, resulted in the State being identified by local and southern capital as 'socialist' (see Lewis, 1978; Murphy, 1978) This partly explains why little industrial capital gravitated to Queensland after 1915 and why, in marked contrast, it moved during the 1930s and 1940s into the equally small, but politically more conservative (as well as industrially more significant) South Australia. Under the impetus of the South Australian Government, the industrial city of Whyalla was established and industry expanded in Adelaide (see Aungles, 1978; Aungles and Szelenyi, 1979)

2. Conflicts between Fractions of Capital

The second major political factor which is pertinent to understanding Queensland's place within the process of Australian urbanisation, refers to the conflict between different fractions of capital, as it has appeared at these regional levels. That is, between the

traditional concentrations of capital in New South Wales and Victoria and the weak local capital in Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia. The latter states have continuously attempted to wrest some of the capital and labour concentrated in the two dominant states, and such conflicts have particularly resulted in secessionist moves on the part of these underdeveloped states. Moreover, the traditional domination by southern capital over the underdeveloped states is slowly changing with the huge influx of foreign mining capital to Queensland and Western Australia. This has upset the traditional pattern of domination and as Queensland and Western Australia grow in strength, the traditional control held by New South Wales and Victoria begins to wane.

Secessionist movements have been very much part of the histories of Australia's three underdeveloped states, with the nearest any of these states being to secession occurring in Western Australia when, in 1933, a referendum overwhelmingly favoured leaving the Commonwealth of Australia. However, as the State's economy began to improve during the late 1930s, there was no attempt to implement this decision.

In Queensland secessionist trends have been visible on two occasions. The first occurred in the 1890s, on an occasion when Queensland and Australia were in a severe depression. The government of the Queensland colony decided to create a separate nation, like New Zealand eventually did, when Britain's Australasian colonies were dissolved in 1901. This decision was supported both by local capital, as reflected in the stand taken by the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, and by Queensland workers, since the official view held by the labour movement was anti-federation (Dalton, 1970). However, largely as a consequence of southern pressure, Queensland capitulated and joined the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.

The second occasion was more recent and appeared as a direct consequence of the State's rapid development following from the growth of the mineral industry. The Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, as the spokesman for the State's comprador class, stressed the ability and perhaps desirability of Queensland 'going it alone'. The State, he claimed, would become one of the wealthiest regions in the world by the year 2000 and secession would provide economic advantages. Therefore, whereas the 1890s secessionist moves were defensive stances taken by a backward colony, the 1970s posture reflected an offensive demeanour of a rapidly developing region. However, political, economic and military strength resting in the south prevents the chance of Queensland separating.

Divisions between fractions of capital have always existed at a regional level, with the domination by New South Wales and Victoria over the other states. This relationship has changed somewhat with the huge inflows of mining capital to Queensland and Western Australia during the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, where the relationship between the dominant states and the underdeveloped states was one of overwhelming control from the south, the rapid development of Queensland and Western Australia is significantly upsetting this relationship. The heightened confrontation between New South Wales and Victoria, on the one hand, and Queensland and Western Australia, on the other, reflects the major division between capital within Australia: between the declining industrial capital, on the one hand, and the juvenile but increasingly powerful mining capital on the other (see Brezniak and Collins, 1977; Catley and McFarlane, 1978; Rowley, 1972). It is this division which is bringing a significant change to Australia and to regional relationships (see also O'Shaughnessy, 1979).

It is the increasing reliance upon mineral exports, as manufacturing

industry has declined, that is introducing the 'new dependency' to Australian capitalism. Where previously this dependency was based on the sale of primary produce to Britain, and then there was a degree of growth of independent capitalism with the development of manufacturing industry, it is today's reliance upon mineral exports (to Japan) that is hauling Australia back into a new dependent relationship.

The growth of Queensland and Western Australia is also bringing a change to the pattern of Australian urbanisation, for these are the 'growth states', while New South Wales and Victoria have largely ceased to expand. Not only is capital gravitating to Queensland and Western Australia, then, but people are migrating northwards and westwards from the southern states.

Queensland has had to pay a high price for this development, in the sense that the extraction of ore had to be initiated, and infrastructure established, at the same period of time (see Crough, 1978) As recently as 1973, the State received only one cent per dollar of value of production, although this increased to four cents per dollar in 1974. Therefore, over the ten-year period from the mid-1960s, foreign multinationals paid little in return for extracting huge profits

A final point can be made on the comprador class associated with Queensland's mineral industry. This comprador class, orbiting mining capital, rose from the ashes of the old comprador class tied to the export of pastoral and agricultural goods to Britain. That is, there is/was a close relationship between mining capital and rural capital, a relationship clearly seen at a political level with the National Party. The National Party is the political party most closely tied to mining capital, having previously been known as the Country Party, the party of the graziers and agriculturalists and therefore tied to rural

capital. The change in name from the 'Country Party' to the 'National Party', then, symbolised a shift for the comprador class from a position orbiting rural capital and British markets (and then after the agricultural and pastoral industries collapsed), to orbiting mining capital and Japanese markets. In Queensland, for example, the leading coalition partner in the State's National/Liberal Party Government is the National Party and both the State Premier and the Minister of Mines and Energy are National Party members. Similarly, at the federal level, the Deputy Prime Minister and the leader of the Parliamentary National Party is the Minister of Minerals and Energy.

3. State Intervention

One final observation can be made on political consequences of Queensland's underdevelopment. This appears at the level of state intervention, with particular reference to actions by the federal government. That is, the conflict between capital and labour and between fractions of capital comes to be played out through the actions of the state, and federal government interventions have been apparent at two levels. The first has been in the maintenance of the position of dominance for New South Wales and Victoria, while the second has been in ensuring integration between the dominant and subordinate states.

Lewis (1973) has indicated how the federal government acted during the 1920s and 1930s to ensure the three underdeveloped states would concentrate on primary production, leaving manufacturing industry in New South Wales and Victoria and, to a lesser extent, in South Australia. Moreover, at a speculative level, it could be argued that the federal government's takeover of taxation responsibilities in 1942 was a preliminary move anticipating the in-migration of American capital for industrial investment. Revenue from taxation could be disproportionately

diverted as social capital to New South Wales and Victoria, specifically to the Sydney and Melbourne conurbations, to aid industrial expansion. This explanation, of course, requires further, detailed analysis, but it seems to make more sense than the usual explanation for the takeover of taxation responsibilities: for wartime planning - three years after the commencement of war and two years before it finished!!

In this way, actions by the federal government have attempted to maintain the dominance of New South Wales and Victoria; thus ensuring easy capital accumulation. The bias is also seen in the fact that Melbourne was the nation's capital until 1927, when the capital was transferred to the specially built city of Canberra, although it was not until the 1950s that federal government departments began, with any momentum, to move to Canberra, with a number of these departments still remaining today in Melbourne (e.g. Transport, Employment and Youth Affairs). Moreover, the location of Canberra, halfway between Sydney and Melbourne, symbolises the pivotal role the federal government plays for New South Wales and Victoria.

In terms of the more recent clash between the developing states of Queensland and Western Australia and the two dominant states, the federal government, in late 1978, introduced regulations aimed at controlling mining and the export of minerals. The states have almost total control over rights of mineral exploitation and export and this new proposal would, if implemented, take away much of Queensland's and Western Australia's power for development. It would permit direct control over multinationals involved in mining in these states and, in effect, return a greater balance of power to the dominant southern capital located in New South Wales and Victoria. This move naturally brought strong responses from the governments of Queensland and Western Australia and from the mining companies. The federal government was

forced hurriedly to withdraw, if only temporarily. Once again, this conflict seems to be a manifestation of the confrontation between dominant southern capital and the increasingly powerful mining capital in Australia's developing north and west.

While theoretically the federal government, as the major arm of the state in Australia, has acted to maintain the regional dominance of New South Wales and Victoria, it has also, in contradiction, acted to integrate all states. For the underdeveloped states this has primarily been achieved by means of the Commonwealth Grants Commission. This scheme was introduced in the early 1930s to alleviate the exigencies of underdevelopment, which had been aggravated by the Great Depression. However, one of the political oddities was that, unlike Tasmania and Western Australia, Queensland refused to become a 'claimant state'. Unfortunately no explanation has been put forward for this, but it may relate to a fear that control by the federal government would have dissipated the victories gained by workers. Again this is speculation and requires more detailed analysis.

From the late 1940s, the federal government regularly reviewed old and introduced new measures to counteract regional imbalances, such as the formula allowing equal per capita payments. This came into effect in 1948 and was revised in 1958. But as more of these measures were implemented, New South Wales and Victoria began to identify them as attacks upon their economic development and in the 1950s they (and Victoria by itself in 1970) appealed to the High Court of Australia over what they considered economic discrimination; and lost (Holmes and Sharman, 1977)

Contrary to certain claims (see Holmes and Sharman), various federal measures have made no relative difference to the under-

developed states. Underdeveloped regions remained underdeveloped and the developed regions remained dominant, with the slow growth of Queensland and Western Australia being a consequence of foreign capital, not actions by the federal government.

V CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a first empirical statement of Queensland's position within the process of Australian urbanisation. It has shown a pattern of economic development which was subordinate to New South Wales' and Victoria's, and has highlighted certain political processes associated with this growth. After a long period of underdevelopment, Queensland, along with Western Australia, is slowly growing following investments of mining capital. Under such conditions, the traditional developed/underdeveloped distinction within Australia is slowly abating.

The history of Queensland's underdevelopment has been associated with very clear political processes. There were strong repressive measures taken by the State Government during threshold periods of development in this century and it was argued that such suppressions were attempts by capital, in controlling workers, to force the State into a period of sustained growth. However, Queensland workers did gain certain significant concessions which, it was argued, were associated with the strength of the labour movement, the weakness of local capital, the relative autonomy of the state through responsibilities for its own taxation and as state intervention to maintain stability

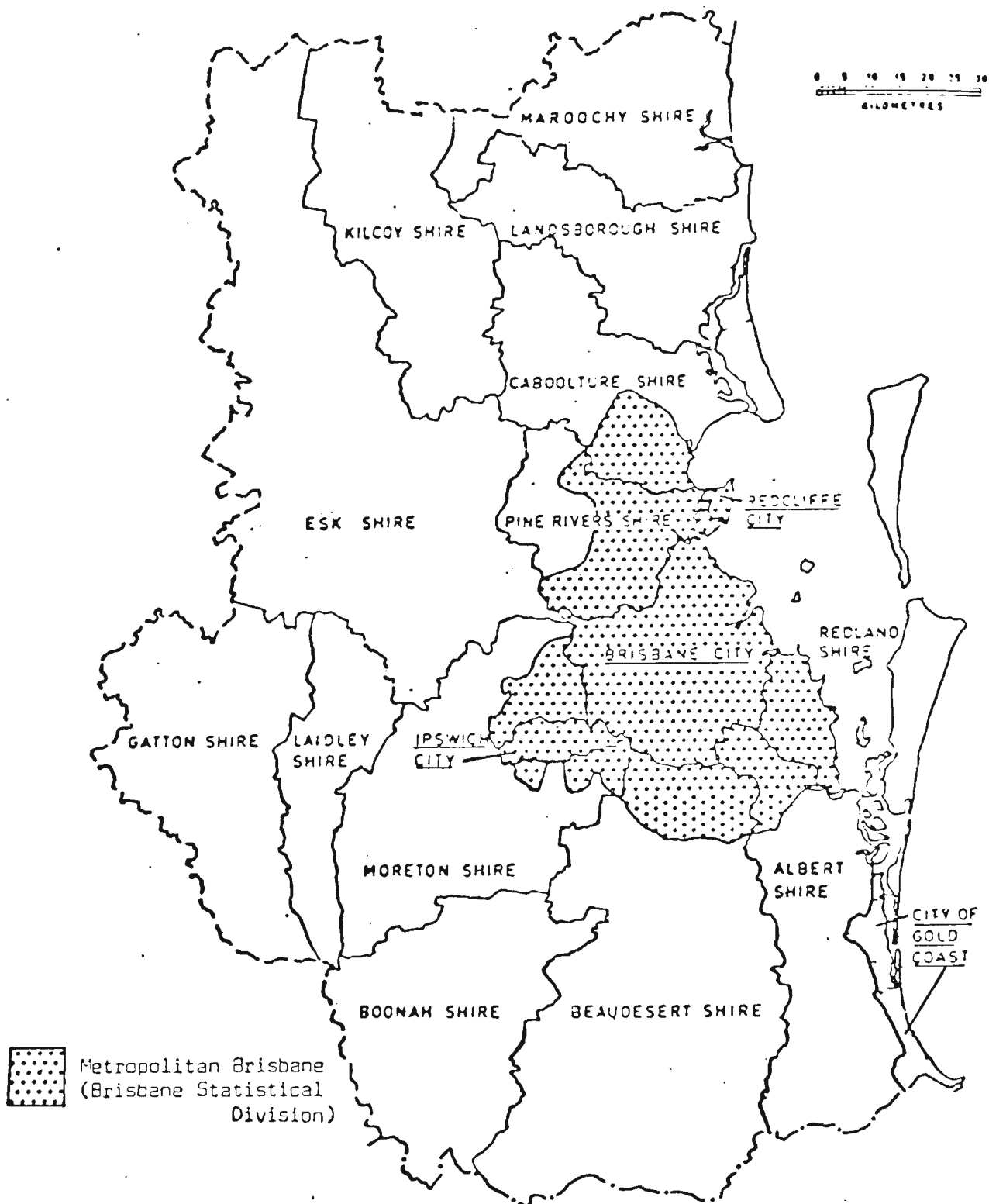
There is an increasing conflict between mining capital, located in Queensland and Western Australia, and the dominant capital in New South Wales and Victoria, as mining capital gains strength and as industrial capital declines in relative importance. This slow move to a change in the regional balance of power is bringing an increased

dependency in Australian capitalism, through mineral exports, and a rapid population growth of Queensland and Western Australia.

Finally, the state, through the federal government, has attempted to maintain regional relationships. It has attempted to counter the increasing strength of Queensland and Western Australia, following the mineral boom, by attempting to gain control of exploitation and export.

MAP 6.1

MORETON REGION
(Local Authorities)



(SOURCE: Adapted from Co-ordinator General's Department, 1973)

Chapter 6

THE RECENT GROWTH OF BRISBANE AND ITS MORETON REGION¹I INTRODUCTION

Queensland's development over the past 15 years or so, as discussed in the last chapter, was not solely the result of inflows of foreign mining capital. Another impetus was also apparent and it is the purpose of this chapter to analyse this force and to consider it as the second part of the general context within which to interpret the struggle against Brisbane's freeways.

The second and largely independent impetus to Queensland's development revolves around the rapid population growth of the dominant south-eastern corner of the state; that is, the Moreton Region, comprising mainly metropolitan Brisbane, as well as the Gold Coast, 60 kilometres south, and the towns of the Sunshine Coast stretching 100 kilometres north. The rate of population growth in the Moreton Region during the 1960s and 1970s has been faster than Queensland and Australia as a whole, and Brisbane has grown faster over the same period than almost all major metropolitan centres. Other parts of the region, particularly the Gold Coast and the Sunshine Coast towns of Caloundra and Maroochydore/Mooloolaba, have experienced even faster growth, with the Gold Coast, for instance, doubling its population between 1954 and 1966 and then again, to over 100,000, between 1966 and 1976 (see Map 6.1)

Giving special attention to Brisbane as the Moreton Region's major centre, this chapter argues that rapid growth has been a consequence of huge direct investments in urban and regional development, rather than of specific investments of industrial capital which in turn, would have

¹ A slightly shorter version of this chapter appeared as Mullins 1979a.

stimulated urban and regional growth. In other words, the Moreton Region has evolved solely as a consumption unit, being the third largest in Australia after the Sydney and Melbourne conurbations, rather than a combined production/consumption site, as with the latter two regions. The importance of consumption for the growth of the Moreton Region is apparent firstly in the massive residential development of metropolitan Brisbane and of the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, which was accompanied by, and played a mutually stimulating role for, the production and consumption of 'suburban' commodities such as cars and motor mowers, and secondly in the Region's development as Australia's major centre for tourism and recreation. Moreover, both of these consumption patterns, it will be shown, were helped along by a conducive system of local government and by the mining boom.

II A COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK: SUNBELT USA

What is striking about the rapid growth of the Moreton Region and the 'Sunshine State' as a whole, is the way it appears to parallel the post-1945 growth of marginal areas in the south, southwest and west of the United States - the 'Sunbelt' - and particularly with cities such as Atlanta, Houston, and Phoenix. In both the United States and Australia there seems to have been a relative shift of capital and labour from the spatial cores to the marginal regions. In the absence of Australian material, the American case provides a useful comparative framework within which to consider Brisbane and its Moreton Region: the works of Heil (1978), Gordon (1977), Hill (1976) and Mollenkopf (1975) are especially helpful in this connection.

Of course, there are important general differences between the two economies, reflecting their quite different histories and locations within world capitalism. Australia, for example, did not undergo the

industrial stage of capitalism and the associated industrial urbanisation that the United States experienced from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1930s/40s, when they moved into the monopoly stage. The main thrust of industrialisation in Australia is much more recent. The United States, in addition, differs because it is a dominant capitalist country, while Australia is a dependent nation: dependent upon these dominant formations through the sale of exports (see Chapter 3). However, bearing in mind such qualifications, it is still useful to develop a framework from analyses of migration to the Sunbelt; as much because the growth of the Moreton Region is unexplored and requires some relevant starting point, as for the useful contrast it provides.

Movement of capital and labour to the U.S. Sunbelt and away from the industrialised northeast was precipitated by the transformation of American capitalism, with the movement into a monopoly period of capitalism. The monopoly stage is characterised by the control of capital by fewer and fewer but increasingly larger corporations, where centralised decision-making stresses rationalisation of production and distribution through corporate management and planning. Moreover, technical advances in transportation and communication permit corporations to physically separate their administrative functions from the production process itself and it has been (partly) under these circumstances that a change in American urbanisation has occurred. Industrial plants have moved from the inner city to the suburbs, or intra-regionally to nearby cities. Meanwhile, corporate management has gravitated inwards to skyscrapers of the rapidly transforming central business districts, thus allowing easy access to the equally centralising headquarters of banks, insurance companies, advertising agencies, law offices, technical expertise (e.g. computer firms), and so on, as well as to governments and government departments. Accompanying this invasion, but going in

the opposite direction, is the movement of the retail sector to new suburban shopping towns catering for an automobilised clientele. Under such conditions, urbanisation under monopoly capital takes the form of a system of 'corporate cities'. The significance of this for the U.S. Sunbelt is that it proves to be a particularly appropriate location for such urban transformation: corporate cities can more easily be constructed in the Sunbelt because of the relative absence of physical, social, political and economic barriers, while considerable difficulties exist in the old industrial cities of the northeast since these obstacles are ever present.

Advantages offered by the Sunbelt and problems posed by industrial centres involve four related processes: differences in fixed capital; differences in the political nature of the working-class; differences in local government; and differences in pro-growth coalitions involved in building corporate cities.

The absence in the Sunbelt of the fixed capital of the earlier industrial period of capitalism has been one essential advantage in attracting capital. In contrast with the industrial north, Sunbelt urbanisation originally emerged from administrative and service demands of local agriculture and pastoralism, rather than from manufacturing. This meant that there was no requirement for the sophisticated infrastructure of the industrial city. It has partly been because of this that corporate cities developed here with an ease and rapidity after 1945. Industrial cities, in comparison, have been plagued with problems of the removal (through urban renewal) of the fixed capital of the industrial period. This involves the destruction of vacated factories, 'antiquated' transportation and communication facilities and the working-class residential districts surrounding these emptied factories, in order for the new commercial, transportation, communication and inner

city luxury residential facilities to develop. -

Such attempts to remove working-class residential areas have posed further problems because community groups have frequently forced urban renewal agencies to cancel or significantly modify their original plans. The implementation of urban renewal has also been hampered by the fiscal crises emerging in these industrial cities through losses in tax revenue following out-migrations of industries and high income-earners. Revenue is now obtained from retail establishments and the working-class remaining in the inner city, who also draw heavily on revenue through 'generous' welfare provisions; it is this small revenue base which aggravates expenditure problems for renewal. In summary, then, an absence of physical barriers in U.S. Sunbelt cities makes them attractive for capital investment, while physical difficulties in old industrial cities create problems.

The second element predisposing the in-migration of capital to the Sunbelt has been the political quiescence of its workers, in contrast with the comparative militancy of proletarianised workers in old northern industrial cities. The relative absence of industry in the Sunbelt largely explains this quiescence as well as the greater social isolation and fragmentation of workers which, in turn, results in the absence of a strong labour movement. Workers therefore receive low wages, have poor working conditions and limited welfare. All of this, of course, has proved attractive for capital relocating from the north because it has offered an avenue for escaping the expensive long-standing confrontation with powerful working-class organisations which have won good wages, working conditions and welfare provisions.

Differences between local government in the Sunbelt and in the northeast form the third factor. Local government has been important in

the development of corporate cities because these cities require an overall metropolitan plan. A large local government area is necessary to ensure that the metropolitan area and its region grows in a co-ordinated way. The nature of urban government in the U.S. Sunbelt fits this demand because its metropolitan areas are either unified, or capable of being unified, into necessary large local government areas. Heil (1978), for example, cites annexations (since 1960) by Charlotte, North Carolina, of 42 square miles of surrounding districts which allowed a broader source of tax revenue, thus stimulating urban development and allowing a lowering of property taxes for residents. As a consequence, the urban fiscal crisis, so apparent in the industrial north, is not present in the Sunbelt.

In contrast, widespread fragmentation of local government in the north has become a real thorn in the side of development. The splintering of metropolitan centres into thousands of separate jurisdictions has created problems in revenue formation for the metropolis as a whole. It has also presented barriers to co-ordinated development across local government boundaries, which is necessary for building freeways, rapid transit systems, recreational facilities, etc. Such problems emerged, according to Gordon (1977), from the industrial stage of capitalism when industry realised that political unification of a metropolitan area had the effect of raising property taxes. Amalgamation, therefore, ceased from about 1900 following pressure from industry, which saw the control of a small local government area close to the central city as a means for reducing property taxes. It was under such conditions that political fragmentation occurred in cities of the industrial north and not, at least to the same extent, in the non-industrial Sunbelt. Thus, co-ordinated urban planning for corporate urbanisation was easier in Sunbelt cities.

The political force behind corporate urban development, both in the Sunbelt and in the north, has been an amalgam of pro-growth coalitions; of business interests, 'progressive' local governments with their planning-oriented technocrats and construction unions. The coalitions have been more aggressive in the north because of the massive transformation required. Because of the relative ease in development in the Sunbelt, such coalitions have operated with greater ease; an access to capital and support from local government has been all that was necessary

Urban governments have been the driving force behind pro-growth coalitions and are symbolised particularly by a new generation of mayors with a characteristic corporate, business-like efficiency, a technocratic outlook, with strong local business and real estate ties. Frequently they have entered politics from professional careers. They are usually liberals, almost invariably Democrats, with strong working-class and ethnic support. This superficially paradoxical situation is explained by Friedland, et al (1977) as expressing the way the state, at the urban level, both stimulates the investment of capital for urban development as well as politically integrating the working-class during this time of urban transformation and so limiting class conflict.

With these various advantages of the Sunbelt for capital investment and the difficulties of the north, capital has flowed steadily in three waves to the south, southwest and west: firstly, in the transference of labour intensive industries (e.g. garments) from the north after World War Two; secondly, with the migration of capital intensive industries (e.g. electronics), which reached a peak in the late 60s/early 70s; and thirdly, the in-migration of national corporations since 1970. All this, has been stimulated by large-scale federal expenditure in defence and space centres.

III THE GROWTH OF BRISBANE AND ITS MORETON REGION: EMPIRICAL PATTERNS

In attempting to compare the growth of Brisbane and the Moreton Region against development in the U.S. Sunbelt, this section will present empirical evidence on the nature and basis of growth. It is divided into two parts. The first gives a demographic summary indicating the direction of growth, while the second provides core material on economic processes.

1. The Pattern of Population Growth

The Moreton Region contains 57 per cent of the State's population (1976) while metropolitan Brisbane alone holds 47 per cent, a share which like other state capitals has increased over past decades, although it is still considerably less than other state capitals' share of their state populations. Metropolitan Brisbane (the Brisbane Statistical Division) dominates the Moreton Region and in 1976 accounted for 82 per cent of the 1,170,978 population, with Brisbane City by itself comprising 60 per cent. The metropolitan Gold Coast (Gold Coast Statistical Division) comprised nine per cent and the major towns of the Sunshine Coast - Buderim, Caloundra, Maroochydore/Mooloolaba and Nambour - a further three per cent. Therefore, two metropolitan centres and five towns accounted for 94 per cent of the Region's population.

The Moreton Region has been one of the fastest growing areas within Australia. A recent Australian Institute of Urban Studies report (1978), for instance, predicted a continuation of the rapid growth of Brisbane and Perth, such that the two would be the principal growth centres in Australia over the next 20 years, while, conversely, there would be a relative decline of Melbourne and Sydney

The rapid growth of Brisbane and the rest of Moreton Region began in the early 1960s. Table 6.1 shows how, from 1947 to 1961 Brisbane had

TABLE 6.1

Annual percentage growth rates: State Capitals, 1947 - 1976.

	1947-54	1954-61	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76*
Brisbane	3.2	2.3	4.0	2.7	2.0
Perth	3.6	2.8	3.4	5.1	2.7
Hobart	3.2	2.1	1.6	1.7	1.1
Adelaide	3.4	2.7	4.7	2.2	1.3
Sydney	3.3	2.4	2.2	2.2	1.5
Melbourne	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.6	0.8

* Based on unadjusted 1976 Census data

[Source: Adapted from Neutze (1977:49) for years 1947-71, and from 1976 Census for 1971-76]

TABLE 6.2

Annual percentage growth rates: Brisbane,
the Moreton Region and Queensland, 1947 - 1976.

	1947-54	1954-61	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76*
Brisbane	3.2	2.3	4.0	2.7	2.0
Moreton Region (including Brisbane)	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.5
Queensland	2.5	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.2

* Based on unadjusted 1976 Census data

[Source: For Brisbane, Neutze (1977:49) and 1976 Census. For Moreton Region and Queensland, Co-ordinator General's Department, Queensland (1973:91) and 1976 Census]

the lowest or second lowest rate of growth of all six state capitals, but during the 1960s and into the 1970s this pattern was reversed, for it recorded the second highest growth rate. Table 6.2 shows how, since the 1940s, the Moreton Region has had a faster rate of growth than Queensland as a whole.

Table 6.3 gives more detail of population changes within the Moreton Region for the period from the early 1960s. It shows how the fastest urban development was in the Gold Coast and the towns of the Sunshine Coast, with Gold Coast expansion between 1971 and 1976 being particularly apparent in the Albert Shire, while on the Sunshine Coast, towns such as Caloundra, Buderim and Maroochydore/Mooloolaba have also had marked increases. In contrast, the growth of the major locus of population, metropolitan Brisbane, while being significant, was not as rapid and this has largely been associated with the slowing down of the growth of Brisbane City. The fastest growing areas within metropolitan Brisbane (and within the Moreton Region as a whole) have been the suburbanising southern shires contiguous to Brisbane City - Beaudesert, Moreton and Albert. Moreover, Brisbane City's share of the metropolitan population has fallen quite dramatically over the 1970s. It contained 84 per cent of the population in 1966, 81 per cent in 1971, but only 73 per cent in 1976. Again this shows the very high rate of growth at the outskirts.

2. The Pattern of Economic Development

Although there has been significant population growth of Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region over the past couple of decades, Queensland's economic power has not historically resided here in the same way as New South Wales' has in Sydney and Victoria's in Melbourne. Until the late 1960s Queensland's economy was based almost totally on the production of wool, meat and sugar. Since agriculture and

TABLE 6.3

Population increases: Moreton Region (major areas), 1961-1966, 1966-1971, 1971-1976.

I. Brisbane Statistical Division (Metropolitan Brisbane)

	Population 1966	% increase 1961-1966	Population 1971	% increase 1966-1971	Population 1976	% increase 1971-1976
Brisbane City	656,612	11	700,620	7	717,170	2
Ipswich City	54,592	12	61,582	13	71,270	16
Beaudesert (Part A)	2,353	64	3,503	49	9,200	163
Moreton (Part A)	948	19	1,592	68	8,125	410
Albert (Part A)	7,355	38	19,195	161	54,900	186
Redland (Part A)	11,547	26	14,928	29	28,345	90
Redcliffe City	27,345	26	34,561	26	40,220	16
Caboolture (Part A)	5,195	25	6,682	29	11,395	71
Pine Rivers (Part A)	12,246	59	25,121	105	45,295	80
Total Brisbane Statistical Division	778,193	12	867,784	12	985,920	14

II. Gold Coast Statistical Division (Metropolitan Gold Coast)

Gold Coast City	49,485	47	66,697	35	87,510	31*
Albert (Part B)	6,437	21	7,538	17	15,495	106*
Total Gold Coast Statistical Division	55,922	43	74,235	33	103,005	39*

III. Sunshine Coast

Buderim	1,063	27	1,763	66	2,863	62*
Maroochydore/Mooloolaba	4,107	34	6,374	55	10,283	61*
Nambour	6,220	1	6,807	9	7,435	9*
Total Maroochy Shire (including rural areas)	21,465	13	25,522	19	35,266	38*
Caloundra	3,661	29	6,150	68	10,602	72
Total Landsborough Shire (including rural areas)	8,319	6	8,802	29	11,314	50

* Based on unadjusted Census figures.

(Sources: Queensland Yearbook, 1974; 1976 Census)

pastoralism are scattered throughout the State, this meant that wealth and political power were distributed in relatively dispersed spatial fashion, contrasting with the way manufacturing industry had caused Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide to overwhelmingly dominate their states (see Harris, 1971) This, of course, does not deny the power resting in Brisbane as the State's major business centre, principal port and State capital The point at issue is its relative position in the State in comparison with other capital cities' role within their states.

The economic strength of regions outside Moreton began to recede during the 1950s as farming declined in relative importance. By the mid-1960s Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region had come to hold a more dominant place within the State and it was the only region to have any significant growth in employment, while all other regions (but one) experienced net losses of labour (Harris, 1971) The basis for this growth was urban-based employment: in finance, commerce, community and business activity This was a pattern shared with other state capitals, except that tertiary sector employment has always been more important in Brisbane (and Perth and Hobart) than in the dominant cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide where manufacturing has been far more influential (see Table 6.4) Manufacturing industry has always had a relatively insignificant influence in Brisbane. This is also reflected in the share of manufacturing employment in this state capital city. In 1971, for instance, 34 per cent of Queensland's manufacturing employment was based outside Brisbane, compared with only 24 per cent of New South Wales manufacturing employment being based outside Sydney, 15 per cent in Victoria outside Melbourne, 17 per cent in South Australia outside Adelaide and 23 per cent in Western Australia outside Perth (Linge, 1977)

TABLE 6.4

Employment in Brisbane and other State Capitals, 1954 - 1976.

(%)

		<u>Brisbane</u>	<u>Perth</u>	<u>Hobart</u>	<u>Adelaide</u>	<u>Sydney</u>	<u>Melbourne</u>
Manufacturing	1954	28	25	26	36	37	40
	1966	25	22	23	32	34	38
	1971	21	18	19	29	28	32
	1976+	17	16	15	23	23	27
Tertiary*	1954	48	49	49	43	43	40
	1966	53	57	55	48	46	44
	1971	60	61	60	53	55	53
	1976+	61	64	66	59	60	57

* Includes: Finance and Property; Commerce (retail trade, wholesale trade, primary produce dealing); public authority and defence community and business services; amusements, hotels, cafes, personnel services; and 'other'

+ Based on unadjusted 1976 Census data

[Source: Adapted from Stilwell (1974a, 1974b); and 1976 Census]

Thus, the development of Brisbane did not result from the growth of manufacturing industry as in the U.S. Sunbelt. Rather, it has been investments in urban development which formed the basis of Brisbane's and the rest of the Moreton Region's growth, with the bulk (77 per cent) of private investment in 1976, for example, going into residential development (see Table 6.5). This compares strikingly with private investment in the regions of northern and central Queensland (which received 49 per cent of total State private investment in 1976) where mining accounted for 77 per cent and 94 per cent respectively (State Public Relations Bureau, 1976).

Within the Moreton Region, there were certain variations in the direction of 1976 private investment. On the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, almost all went into residential construction which in a number of cases also included suburban shopping centres (see Table 6.5). Similarly the bulk of investment in those parts of metropolitan Brisbane outside Brisbane City went into this sector. Only Brisbane City had significant heterogeneity of investment, although the largest proportion (47 per cent) was still in residential growth, with a significant amount (22 per cent) going into offices. Most of this latter category comprised high-rise office blocks located in the centre of the City, 98 per cent of which was the result of investments by finance capital, specifically banks and insurance companies (State Public Relations Bureau, 1976). A significant percentage also went into hospitals, nursing homes, etc., and this may partly reflect a retired population settling in Brisbane. Finally, there was only a very small amount (seven per cent) invested in manufacturing industry and this reflects a trend which has always existed for Brisbane.

TABLE 6.5
 Commitments of private investment: Moreton Region, 1976.

	(%) Total Metropolitan Brisbane						Metropolitan Gold Coast		Sunshine Coast	Total Moreton
	Brisbane City	Other Metropolitan Cities	Metropolitan Brisbane	Metropolitan Gold Coast	Sunshine Coast	Total Moreton				
Residential	47	89	68	93	100	77				
Offices	22		11			8				
Hospitals, nursing homes, etc.	13		7			4				
Shops	7	2	5	2		4				
Manufacturing	7	6	7	1		5				
Transport and Storage	3		2			1				
Recreation				4		1				
Other		3	1			1				
Total percentage	99	100	101	100	100	101				
Total value (\$ 000)	410,000	405,000	815,000	245,000	165,000	1,225,000				

[Source: Adapted from State Public Relations Bureau, 1976]

Taking private investments in the built environment of metropolitan Brisbane for a more detailed analysis, Table 6.6 shows the pattern of capital inflow over the years 1968/69 to 1975/76; the period when the metropolitan area boomed. This table, based on completed values of buildings, confirms the pattern suggested from 1976 data on committed investments. Residential development dominated, having comprised well over half of all investment during this period and peaking during the years 1973/74.

The other feature worth noting about residential investment was the steady rise in the amount devoted to medium-density housing ('other dwellings') and this reached a peak over 1974/75. Such growth represents a general increase in housing density in inner suburbs of Brisbane, a pattern the city shares with other major centres.

Apart from investment in dwellings, much of the remaining capital went into the construction of business premises, particularly office blocks for the massive transformation of Brisbane's central business district. Table 6.6 shows how the first peak in investment occurred in 1970/71 (representing the first stage of reconstructing the central business district), before falling away and then reaching a second peak in 1975/76.

Finally, Table 6.6 highlights the small amount invested in factory construction, a situation reiterating the relative unimportance of Brisbane for Australian manufacturing. Over the entire period, expenditure never went above eight per cent of total urban investment, despite a marked jump in the amount invested between 1973/74 and 1974/75.

Table 6.7 seeks to compare the pattern of investment in Brisbane with investment in urban Australia as a whole, over the four-year period

TABLE 6.6

Private investment in the built environment: Total value of buildings completed in
Metropolitan Brisbane (Brisbane Statistical Division), 1968/69 - 1975/76.

(value \$ 000 and percentages)

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76
Houses	68,437 (56)	75,010 (48)	78,645 (47)	103,675 (52)	139,342 (53)	159,504 (53)	140,558 (48)	178,121 (51)
Other dwellings	9,045 (8)	9,362 (6)	12,387 (7)	19,196 (10)	23,922 (10)	33,632 (12)	38,349 (13)	23,501 (7)
Total dwellings	77,482 (64)	84,372 (54)	91,032 (54)	122,871 (62)	163,264 (68)	193,136 (70)	178,907 (61)	201,622 (58)
Hotels and hostels	3,847 (3)	6,464 (4)	7,870 (5)	4,758 (2)	4,426 (2)	3,188 (1)	10,210 (4)	2,107 (1)
Shops	5,079 (4)	15,078 (10)	8,233 (5)	12,491 (6)	8,509 (4)	8,079 (3)	17,481 (6)	15,416 (4)
Factories	10,175 (8)	10,009 (6)	7,064 (4)	11,552 (6)	9,441 (4)	15,297 (6)	24,031 (8)	24,881 (7)
Offices	3,833 (3)	18,525 (12)	36,779 (22)	18,491 (9)	31,720 (13)	35,638 (13)	31,550 (11)	67,397 (20)
Other business premises	9,429 (8)	10,977 (7)	10,108 (6)	18,713 (10)	9,326 (4)	11,851 (4)	12,765 (4)	15,358 (4)
Total business premises	13,262 (11)	29,502 (19)	46,887 (28)	37,204 (19)	41,046 (17)	47,489 (17)	44,315 (15)	82,755 (24)
Religious	3,297 (3)	1,111 (1)	662	653	1,171	1,435	1,183	1,614 (1)
Entertainment and recreation	1,724 (2)	2,299 (1)	2,044 (1)	3,130 (2)	2,673 (1)	3,778 (1)	5,983 (2)	6,224 (2)
Miscellaneous	6,641 (5)	7,351 (5)	5,437 (3)	5,066 (3)	9,086 (4)	5,155 (2)	11,671 (4)	10,882 (3)
TOTAL	121,507(100)	156,186(100)	169,229(100)	197,725(100)	239,616(100)	277,557(100)	293,781(100)	345,501(100)

(Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, unpublished building statistics)

TABLE 6.7

Private investment in the built environment: Total value of buildings completed in
Metropolitan Brisbane and in Total Urban Australia, 1970/71 - 1973/74

(\$m and percentage)

	Metropolitan Brisbane	Total Urban Australia
Houses	481 (55)	5,843 (48)
Other dwellings	89 (10)	1,681 (14)
Total dwellings	570 (65)	7,524 (62)
Hotels	20 (2)	352 (3)
Shops	37 (4)	533 (4)
Factories	43 (5)	1,007 (8)
Offices	123 (14)	
Other business premises	50 (6)	
Total business premises	173 (20)	1,889 (16)
Religious	4	54
Entertainment	12 (1)	305 (3)
Miscellaneous	25 (3)	471 (4)
Total	884(100)	12,135(100)

[Source: For Urban Australia, Neutze (1977:174); for Brisbane, unpublished data ABS]

from July 1970 to June 1974. This table confirms that proportionately more capital has been invested in Brisbane in dwellings (especially single-family houses) and in total business premises, while less went into factories.

In summary, the population growth of Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region has overwhelmingly been the result of urban development and was not directly related to manufacturing industry. This differs markedly from the U.S. Sunbelt's development which was based on a transfer of industries from the north and, more recently, on an influx of headquarters of national corporations.

Finally, and very briefly, this pattern of rapid development had distinct consequences for workers in Brisbane and the Moreton Region. While Queensland (with Western Australia and Tasmania) is an underdeveloped state, having traditionally had the lowest per capita incomes and the highest rates of poverty and unemployment in Australia, Brisbane and the Moreton Region, until the 1960s boom, had the highest rates of poverty and unemployment and the lowest per capita incomes within the State, a pattern which was reversed during the 1960s and 1970s boom. (For confirmation see Harris, 1970, 1971; Stilwell, 1974a; Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975; and Manning, 1976.)

IV EXPLAINING GROWTH

Urban and regional form is affected by economic development in a number of different ways. A city or region, for example, may develop because a) it provides effective access to factors of production, and/or b) because it helps solve some of the problems of social control which advanced industrial production poses, and/or c) because it effectively distributes the surplus revenue from the sale of

commodities among several groups such as financial and real estate interests, and/or d) because it effectively promotes the consumption of commodities (Research Planning Group on Urban Social Services, 1978).

Within the Moreton Region, the economic roots of growth were located within three processes: a) the promotion of consumption through suburbanisation and tourism/recreation; b) investment emanating from surplus revenue produced from Australia's post-War industrialisation; and c) investment emanating from Queensland's recent mining boom. In addition there were three factors predisposing development: i) the lack of fixed capital; ii) a smoothly operating pro-growth coalition; and iii) a system of local government conducive to growth. These two sets of elements, the economic roots and predisposing processes, can be considered separately.

1. The Economic Roots of the Moreton Region's Growth

The fundamental element which determined growth was the manner in which the Region effectively promoted the consumption of commodities. The Region is Australia's third largest consumption area, with suburbanisation being the basic stimulus to growth, yet it is perhaps the most unique consumption area because it is the country's major centre for tourism and recreation.

The massive suburbanisation of all Australian cities since 1945 has been closely tied to a rapid industrialisation of Australia for the production of suburban commodities. There was a significant increase in homeownership from 63 per cent to 74 per cent between 1954 and 1966, as well as a sharp rise in the consumption of such adjunct commodities as cars, refrigerators, washing machines, stereo sets, etc. (see Groenwagan, 1972; Rowley, 1972) In addition the

Gold and Sunshine Coasts have developed rapidly as tourist and recreation centres for residents of the Moreton Region, as well as for interstate visitors and international tourists. Gold Coast City, for instance, had 14.2 per cent of its workforce employed in the entertainment/recreation sector in 1971, compared with 5.4 per cent for the Region as a whole.

The importance of tourism and recreation has rarely been examined in any critical fashion. Under capitalism, tourism and recreation undoubtedly provide an increasingly important avenue for the consumption of commodities (e.g. surf boards, boats, etc.) However, the structure of leisure also emerges as a distinct form of social control. This is most apparent in the highly individualised character of activities, from surfing to suntanning, a feature which complements the working-class fragmentation established in the workplace and in the residential sphere (see Alt, 1976). This also involves international workers through projects such as the construction of the large tourist complex at Yeppoon (500 kilometres north of Brisbane) by the Japanese industrialist, Iwasaki, for Japanese workers. However, this relationship between tourism/recreation and social control involves complex issues beyond the scope of this chapter.

The second influence came from the investment of surplus revenue produced from Australia's post-1945 industrialisation (centred in the Melbourne and Sydney conurbations). Excess profits, rather than being reinvested in industry, came to be siphoned by financial and real estate organisations into investment in the built environment (see Harvey, 1978; Massey and Catalano, 1978). This contemporary situation for the Moreton Region parallels the nineteenth century pattern of investment of surplus British capital in Australian cities. Profit from burgeoning British manufacturing could not be totally absorbed

by industry and, as a consequence, there was the search for new arenas for investment, with Australian cities, because of rapid development from mercantile activity, offering one such avenue (see Butlin, 1976). For the Moreton Region in the 1960s and 1970s, this pattern was replicated, but this time from manufacturing industry located in Melbourne and Sydney. The investment of surplus capital in urban development, in turn, stimulated industrial activity for the production of suburban commodities. Such a pattern of southern investment in the Moreton Region is apparent, for example, in the operation of the Sydney-based land development company, L.J. Hooker, which accounted for two-thirds of total residential development in Brisbane City in 1976 (State Public Relations Bureau, 1976). Moreover, Australia's biggest property developers, based in Melbourne and Sydney, are increasingly investing in Queensland and Western Australia because these states have the fastest growing and most 'stable' economies and the fastest growing populations. Hooker, for instance, regards Queensland as only second to New South Wales as Australia's major locus of urban investment, with insurance companies such as AMP and National Mutual making Queensland and Western Australia their major locus of investment (The Australian, 11 May, 1978; see also Sandercock, 1978, for discussion of finance capital's involvement in urban development)

The third economic factor which stimulated growth of the Moreton Region has been the State's mining boom. Brisbane has become the control centre for mineral development, both because State Parliament and the increasingly large State bureaucracy are located there, but also because of the location of the State headquarters of various mining companies (and the head office of Mt Isa Mines), and of finance and other organisations associated with mining. Moreover, taxes from

mineral development have proved an important source of public revenue for infrastructural development and although these royalties were very low until 1974 (one cent per dollar of production), recent increases (to four cents per dollar) have allowed greater public expenditure in the Moreton Region. Some two-thirds of total Queensland public investment in 1976 went into this southeastern corner of the State (State Public Relations Bureau, 1976). By this means, revenues collected from mineral production in the northern and central regions of the State reappear mainly as public investment in the Moreton Region. More generally, it seems that the mining industry has a multiplier effect for Queensland's economy in that it attracts additional capital and labour to the State which further stimulates the economy and the growth of the Moreton Region specifically. It should also be noted that Queensland's mining industry is capital intensive (e.g. open cut mining) which means that Queensland's population growth is not directly tied to the mining industry.

2. Factors Predisposing Rapid Development of the Moreton Region

While the three economic factors mentioned above form the basis for growth, the rapid development has been facilitated by various predisposing elements. First, there is a relative absence of constraints imposed by fixed capital. Since Brisbane has lacked the more industrial character of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, it has not had such an extensive infrastructure. Moreover, since growth on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts has been based on a series of small towns, the overall development of the Moreton Region was achieved with considerable ease and in a fashion similar to the U.S. Sunbelt. The lack of fixed capital of an industrial period has allowed easy development. By contrast, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide (particularly the former two) have experienced difficulties in transformation - though only minor

compared with northern U.S. industrial cities. It is these latter cities that have had to initiate urban renewal schemes for removing old infrastructures, while such transformation has not been required in Brisbane. However, one consequence of this relative lack of fixed capital in Brisbane, has been the squalid character of the city. One advantage industrial cities did bring workers, as argued in Chapter 4, was the greater development of residential facilities, like sewerage. This had resulted as a spin-off effect from the productive infrastructure necessary for factories (see Harvey, 1977). In dominantly mercantile cities such as Brisbane, by contrast, residential facilities are sparsely provided because urbanisation did not require a sophisticated infrastructure.

A second element conducive to regional growth has been the pro-growth coalition operating within Brisbane and the Gold Coast. Like the coalitions in Sunbelt cities (but unlike those in the old industrial cities of the U.S.'s northeast), growth was achieved and sustained relatively easily. Just as physical barriers (fixed capital) have provided little impediment to growth, political barriers (e.g. labour confrontations) have had minimal effect. In Brisbane and the Gold Coast, distinctive pro-growth coalitions (involving development companies, real estate interests and building societies) emerged during the 1960s under the co-ordinating power of local governments. Large-scale finance capital, emerging from banks and insurance companies, did not make an appearance until the 1970s when it was involved in the transformation of Brisbane's central business district.

Although actions of local governments, as integral parts to these coalitions, have been clearly discernible, actions of pro-growth coalitions overall have not been so easy to identify. However, one significant incident in Brisbane does illustrate pro-growth

relationships, specifically between the Brisbane City Council (BCC) and large developers. The State Government initiated a Commission of Inquiry in late 1966 following numerous accusations over favouritism shown by the BCC towards large development companies, particularly with re-zoning, resumptions of land and development initiatives. The result of the Inquiry was that in 42 of the 136 cases examined, the BCC was found to have acted improperly. However, nothing came of the report and development went ahead with greater speed than before and achieved its most intense impetus by the mid-1970s.

Leadership of the pro-growth coalition, resting in local government, was symbolised by the dynamism of the pro-growth mayors of Brisbane (Clem Jones) and the Gold Coast (Bruce Small). Both of these mayors were personally linked to development companies and real estate interests. Small had a family development company and Jones was a principal partner in Brisbane's largest firm of surveyors. The Clem Jones Administration expressed the most dynamic role played by local government in urban development. With the city administrator, J.C. Slaughter, Jones introduced a corporate-style administration, bringing 'business-like' efficiency to the BCC. Moreover, Jones, who was Lord Mayor from 1961 until his retirement from local politics in 1975, was a Labor Mayor. This helped ensure political integration of the working-class which was necessary for capital to transform Brisbane easily and successfully. It was very similar to the political circumstances of local government in the U.S. Sunbelt (see Friedland, et al, 1977; Mollenkopf, 1975)

The final feature assisting the Moreton Region's development was the relative lack of local government fragmentation. Three-quarters of metropolitan Brisbane is under the jurisdiction of the BCC; the rest

is administered by councils in Ipswich and Redcliffe cities and in the shires surrounding Brisbane City. In 1979 two of these shires amalgamated to form the new Logan Shire. Similarly, four of the towns of the Sunshine Coast are under the Maroochy Shire Council, while the other is administered by the Landsborough Shire Council. Gold Coast City was created in 1959 from an amalgamation of several seaside towns.

The relative lack of fragmentation within metropolitan Brisbane is particularly significant since it has allowed a broader co-ordination of growth within this centre. Brisbane City, in fact, forms the largest local government area in Australia (and supposedly one of the largest in the world) - 1220 square kilometres - having been established in 1925 from two cities, several towns and shires. Why the Greater Brisbane Scheme should have been introduced at all and so early in this century, however, is not clear and only Laverty (1972, 1978) has given any attention to this issue. But Laverty's interpretations tend to be simplistic. While there is some accuracy in his claim that it was an attempt to rationalise local government, his belief that it followed a world-wide trend towards local government unification is not correct. In the U.S., as previously noted, there was increased fragmentation, not amalgamation, after 1900. Moreover, it is not clear why a poor city in a marginal state followed an 'international fashion' when the more dominant cities in the south did not.

The development of Greater Brisbane appears to have been the result of two processes: an attempt to provide urban infrastructure in Brisbane through a co-ordinated system of revenue collection and expenditure in order to attract industry from Sydney and Melbourne; and as part of conflict between local capital and labour which became heightened in 1920 when universal suffrage at the local government level was introduced in Queensland (the first in Australia) and Labor

saw amalgamation as an opportunity to provide the collective means of consumption for workers. However, revenue was too low to allow the expansion of the interrelated systems of infrastructure and collective consumption, as shown earlier with sewerage (see Chapter 4). Even the State Government gave little assistance since public funding went primarily to non-urban infrastructure, particularly railways for transporting rural produce. Therefore, Brisbane's urban fiscal crisis has not appeared in the contemporary period, as in a number of American cities, but was apparent over the years to the 1960s.

The State Government is now attempting to establish a more unified system of development throughout the region. This has been apparent for several years at a regional planning level, specifically in transportation (see Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970) and from programmes introduced by the Co-ordinator General's Department (see Co-ordinator General's Department, 1973), but actions by the State Government are now appearing as attempts to limit local government power and to centralise control. This is most obvious at the fiscal level with takeovers of revenue-gathering functions of local governments. It was very visible with the introduction in 1976 of the Electricity Equalising Bill, establishing the Southeast Queensland Electricity Board, which took control of electricity supply in the Moreton Region, thereby reducing by half the BCC's revenue. In addition, there is now the probability of a takeover of the Region's water supply and, at least for Brisbane, BCC buses.

The State Government is also limiting the political power of local governments, ostensibly as a means of co-ordinating growth and removing parochial interests. Since Brisbane is the major centre in the Region, most attacks have been levelled here. In 1972 the State Government reduced the number of council wards in Brisbane from 29 to

21 and introduced a system whereby the Lord Mayor is elected by councillors rather than by the electorate. However, the most significant tool open to the State Government is the right to dissolve local councils and replace them with a State-appointed administrator. This happened in March 1978 with the sacking of the Gold Coast City Council and the handing of control to a State public servant. The other comparable situation was the sacking, also in 1978, of the Arukun and Mornington Island Councils in North Queensland. Both of these cases resulted from the same basic source: problems arising from development. With the Gold Coast, local government had failed to reconcile conflicting demands in development, while in Arukun and Mornington Island it was a response to opposition from Aborigines and Islanders to mining and mineral exploration on their land. By intervening in this manner, the State Government has attempted to ensure the rapid and co-ordinated growth of a consumption centre, on the one hand, and mining areas, on the other.

The task of the State Government in these attacks upon local councils has been expedited by the fiscal control held by Australia's state governments. Unlike the American situation, state governments are far more important than local councils. In the late 1960s, for example, Australian state governments accounted for 42.6 per cent of total government expenditure, compared with only 15.7 per cent in the United States. In contrast only 7.4 per cent of total government revenue in Australia comes from local government, compared with 25.4 per cent for the United States (Stilwell, 1974a).

However, the pro-growth forces have not had it all their own way. Continual urban expansion through the 1960s and 1970s has brought increasing contradictions and opposition from residents (see Chapter 13). This has been most apparent in Brisbane, appearing both as localised

urban struggles and in local government decisions, Labor-councillors of the ALP BCC began to express dissatisfaction with development. Particular criticism was directed at the BCC's Planning Advisory Committee, a local government organisation with major structural ties to property capital and controlling the direction of growth in the city but, in effect, was not answerable to the Council. It comprised the Lord Mayor (Jones), the city administrator, the Director of the State Department of Commercial and Industrial Development, two major retailers, a lawyer, a former alderman and a university geographer. Development conflicts came to a climax with the presentation of Brisbane's first major town plan in 1975 (formulated by the Planning Advisory Committee). This plan brought a barrage of opposition from residents and it was in association with this, that there was the dissolution of the Planning Advisory Committee. Clem Jones resigned from local government and the BCC reversed numerous planning directives. The days of the free-running pro-growth coalition in Brisbane had ended and it was not until late in 1978, two years after being tabled, that the State Government grudgingly passed a considerably revised town plan.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the Moreton Region evolved rapidly as a consumption site through residential growth and tourism/recreation and was based on investments of surplus revenue produced in industries based in Sydney and Melbourne, rather than from local industrial growth. Such rapid development has been made possible by the absence of physical and political barriers, by a pro-growth coalition directing development and by a form of local and State Government intervention conducive to rapid growth. While these predisposing elements were similar to those in the U.S. Sunbelt, the economic roots differed markedly; one was

consumption based and the other has been centred on industrial production.

Chapter 7

TRANSPORT PLANNING AND THE GROWTH OF BRISBANE
AND ITS MORETON REGIONI INTRODUCTION

With this chapter we directly confront the issue sparking the struggle against Brisbane's freeways: the planned transformation of the City's and the rest of the Moreton Region's transportation system. This development was (and is) part of, and a catalyst for, the continued growth of the region (described in the last chapter) and was to be achieved mainly through the construction of a massive freeway system within Brisbane.

This chapter will examine the development and change to transport policy over the period from the early 1960s, when it was formulated, to the 1970s, when alterations were made. The essential point leading from such a discussion is that the core element in this process, the building of 'necessary' freeways, required the destruction of hundreds of working-class houses and threatened to decimate the residential life of people living in them. It was under such circumstances that defensive struggles emerged which, in hand with other social forces, brought significant modifications to original policies. Moreover, by discussing urban planning, we will inevitably be introducing component parts of the urban struggle itself since, as Castells (1977) has pointed out, the two must be considered together because in combination they form the field of urban politics. In this chapter we consider one side of the coin, urban (transport) planning, while in later chapters we look specifically at the urban struggle.

The key to understanding the formulation of, and change to, transport planning lies in the role the state plays in capitalism. The state - not capital - is largely responsible for the transport and communication systems (see Chapter 3). For purposes of organising and understanding empirical material on transport planning in the Moreton Region, the state can be viewed, as with other instances of intervention, as a condensed reflection of class relations and not, as frequently promulgated, as a neutral entity. The state, then, maintains class relations and, as a consequence, an examination of intervention in urban transport comes to express contradictory processes inherent in class struggle. These can be seen in three ways. Firstly, transport planning contributes to the domination of capital by attempting to reduce the time involved in moving goods from the production site to market and workers to and from work. It plans the 'annihilation of space' Secondly, transport planning emerges as a response to working-class confrontation with capital over transport issues, specifically the journey to work, and appears in concrete terms as occasional transport improvements for the working-class, notably with public transport. Finally, transport planning contributes towards the state's attempt to maintain unity and cohesion within a social formation, in this case a city and region, by trying to reduce conflict between capital and labour and fractions of classes over transport issues.

Elements guiding the analysis of transport policy in Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region, then, must emerge from these three elements. Planning must relate to urban demands made by capital (dominant), over the movement of goods, and by labour (subordinate), in its travel to and from work and in non-work time over leisure and recreation.

II TRANSPORT AND TRANSPORT PLANNING IN THE MORETON REGION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO BRISBANE, 1960 to 1977

This section will, firstly, consider the nature of transportation within Brisbane as the Moreton Region's major centre and therefore principal target for transport planning. This will form the basis from which to consider the second part, which gives a descriptive analysis of blueprints for plans, to the plans themselves and to the manner in which blueprints and plans were modified. Distinction is made here between 'blueprints' and 'plans' since urban planning refers to state action, while blueprints provide the guidelines for developing urban planning (see Castells, 1977)

1. The Changing Pattern of Transportation in Brisbane

Paralleling other capitalist cities, there have been striking changes to Brisbane's transportation system over the past 15 years. There was a dramatic fall in public transport patronage, on the one hand, and a sharp rise in private car usage, on the other. Between 1960 and 1969, the number of public transport passengers dropped by 27 per cent, but car use more than doubled (Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970). The pattern has continued during the 1970s where, between 1968 and 1977, public transport fell by a further 27 per cent and car patronage increased by 49 per cent (unpublished data, Metropolitan Transit Authority, Brisbane). The peak for passengers carried by BCC buses (and trams), for instance, was in 1945-46 and the greatest number of kilometres covered was in 1955-56. Since that time there has been an unrelenting sharp decline in BCC public transport.

The relationship between public and private transport over the first half of the 1960s can be clearly seen in Table 7.1. In 1960, 45 per cent of all trips within Brisbane were by public transport, but

TABLE 7 1

Daily travel (persons) within Brisbane, 1961 1964, 1981 (estimate)

(%)

	1960	1961	1981 (estimate)	Percentage change 1960-1964	Estimated Percentage change 1960-1981
Car: driver	34	44	57	+41	+237
passenger	21	26	28	+36	+171
Bus or tram	37	26	13	-24	- 31
Train	8	4	2	-38	- 41
Total	100	100	100	+10	+102
Total person trips	1,011,200	1,113,100	2,047,000		177

(Source: Adapted from Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1965:iii)

four years later this had dropped to only 30 per cent. Estimates based on these data by Wilbur Smith and Associates (1965) suggest that by 1981 only 15 per cent of all trips will be by this mode. The remainder will be covered by private vehicles and this indicates, therefore, the severity of public transport problems in Brisbane.

The fall in public transport patronage has not simply been the result of a lack of facilities because the majority (94 per cent) of Brisbane's population and 95 per cent of its workers live within half a kilometre of some form of public transport. However, almost all residents (90 per cent) were accessible solely to buses and only 10 per cent had access to rail, although somewhat more of the workforce (25 per cent) were within a half a kilometre of a railway station (Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970). This, of course, does not deny the critical considerations of timetabling, fares, etc., which eventually determine the value of public transport. What it does show is the importance of bus transport in the public transit system and the relative unimportance of rail. It means, therefore, that unless a more extensive system of rail transport is constructed, buses will continue to form the basis of Brisbane's public transport system. In fact, one of the major complaints given by Brisbane residents in the early 1970s was the inaccessibility of rail transport (Western et al, 1972).

The planning of public transport facilities is largely determined by the nature of transfers. As can be seen in Table 7.2, the majority of passengers use public transport to get to and from work, with somewhat more of those going to the central business district using public transport for this reason. The second major flow to the CBD was by shoppers while in the rest of Brisbane it was formed by children moving to and from school. This pattern, therefore, essentially conforms with transfers within all other capitalist cities (cf Castells, 1977)

TABLE 7.2

Reasons for daily public transport trips (persons):

Brisbane City, 1964.

(%)

Trip Purpose	Trips to & from CBD	Trips to & from points outside CBD	Total trips
To and from work	58	45	52
Shopping	19	9	14
Business	13	11	12
Social purposes	6	11	18
To and from school	<u>5</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	101	100	101

(Source: Adapted from Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1965:72)

Looking specifically at the journey to work, Table 7.3 compares the means used in Brisbane with those used in Australia's other capital cities over the years 1970 to 1974. During this short period, public transport patronage fell perceptibly in all centres, except Hobart. The other feature worth noting is the relatively large share of Sydney's (particularly) and Melbourne's workforces using public transport. This reflects the greater provision of public transport (as with other items of collective consumption) in these two cities, compared with their provision in other capital cities. In fact, 80 per cent of all suburban rail journeys in Australia over 1973/74 were made in Sydney and Melbourne (Neutze, 1977) and it needs to be remembered that these two cities accounted for less than half the country's total population.¹

All public transport in Brisbane converges on the central business district and the most spectacular manner of demonstrating the recent decline of public transport in Brisbane is to study the pattern of this dominant transfer. Table 7.4 shows that 40 per cent of all trips to the CBD in 1968 were by public transport, but by 1977 this had dropped to 26 per cent. This has been a consequence particularly of a decline in bus patronage (noting that this is the public mode most accessible to Brisbane residents), for patronage fell from 24 per cent in 1968 to 15 per cent in 1977. In the converse, there was a rise of private car usage from 61 per cent to 74 per cent. And this pattern is beginning to show the extent to which the CBD is becoming congested by cars.

The congestion of the CBD will increase as employment there increases, a situation which will be aggravated if the quality of public transport, particularly buses, continues to decline. Employment in the CBD is in

¹ See Manning (1978) for a general discussion on the journey to work in Sydney.

TABLE 7.3

Means of travel to work: State Capitals,
1970 and 1974.

(%)

		<u>Total Public</u>	<u>Total Car</u>	<u>Walk</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Brisbane	1970	29	64	6	2	101
	1974	21	69	6	4	100
Perth	1970	21	70	7	3	100
	1974	15	75	5	4	99
Hobart	1970	20	64	14	-	100
	1974	20	71	8	-	100
Adelaide	1970	20	70	5	-	101
	1974	17	73	6	-	101
Sydney	1970	37	53	8	2	100
	1974	30	62	6	2	100
Melbourne	1970	31	58	9	2	100
	1974	24	66	8	2	100

(Source: Neutze, 1977:125)

TABLE 7.4

Means of daily travel (persons) to Brisbane's
Central Business District, 1968 and 1977
(%)

Means of Daily Travel	1968	1977
Public Transport:		
BCC buses	24	15
Private buses	3	1
Rail (State)	8	7
Ferry (Private)	1	1
Taxis (Private)	4	2
Total public	40	26
Private	<u>61</u>	<u>74</u>
Total percentage	101	100
Total person trips	651,999	718,148

(Source: 1968 data: Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970:29
1977 data: Unpublished data, Metropolitan Transit
Authority, Brisbane)

fact growing, thus solidifying Brisbane's corporate character, and between 1971 and 1976 it increased by six per cent. However, the CBD as a locus for employment is declining relative to other parts of the metropolis. In 1968, 25 per cent of metropolitan Brisbane's labour force worked in the CBD, but this decreased to 23 per cent in 1971 and 21 per cent in 1976. This fall is partly tied to the relocation of the retail trade to suburban shopping centres. Unless a more marked increase in employment, specifically skilled white-collar jobs, occurs in the CBD, it means that the number of work journeys in this direction will continue to decline relative to other work transfers in the rest of the metropolis. This will mean that rail transport which is directed at the CBD will carry fewer and fewer of the City's workers for, where rail (and buses) are underpatronised at the moment, it seems that rail will become even less patronised in the future relative to total work trips throughout the city

With the fall in public transport and the rise in car usage government expenditure has predictably increased in terms of road development. Over the period from 1969/70 to 1973/74, 68 per cent of total Australian public authority expenditure on transport went on roads alone; only 13 per cent was invested in rail (Neutze, 1977) For Brisbane, the Wilbur Smith blueprint recommended 95 per cent of total transport expenditure between 1965 and 1985 going on highways alone and only two per cent was to be spent on public transport! Freeways, then, were seen (in the mid-1960s) to be the answer to Brisbane's transport needs.

2. Blueprints and Plans

Turning to policies which evolved to counter transport contradictions of the 1960s and 1970s, the most significant feature is the co-ordinated way it was approached, since in the past planning and

transport provision in Brisbane had been tackled in an ad hoc way. Roads, for example, had been developed from bush tracks and as recently as 1961 over half of all roads in the city were unsealed - although this is a characteristic Brisbane shares with other capital cities (though in a more dominant way) Neutze (1977), for example, notes how in 1969 one-quarter of all roads in Australia's state capitals were unsealed.

With the marked increase in car usage during the 1960s, there was an obvious need for a more co-ordinated approach to transportation to enable greater management of the overall growth of Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region. This new approach can be dated from 1963 when the State Government and Brisbane City Council met to discuss issues of urban transport. The initial meeting was dominated by representatives from the State Main Roads and Transport Departments (including ministers) and the Brisbane City Council (including the Lord Mayor and City Administrator) Representatives from the State Railways Department entered discussions as an 'afterthought' A policy committee was formed by these participants and an American firm of engineers, Wilbur Smith and Associates, was commissioned to undertake a study of the transportation and terminal needs of greater Brisbane. It commenced work in August 1964 with the specific purpose of:

- assessing the nature and extent of deficiencies in the existing transport system;
- considering improvements to the existing street system and planning new facilities for accommodating future traffic;
- planning modifications or/and extensions to existing public transport services as required by projected travel characteristics;
- providing a long-range plan for parking facilities in the central business district;
- providing a financial improvement programme for the street and highway plan. (Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1965)

The report was submitted to the State Government in August 1965 and came to form the blueprint for transport planning in Brisbane. The major recommendation centred on road construction, with 95 per cent of projected expenditure between 1965 and 1985 being on 129 kilometres of controlled access freeways, 26 kilometres of limited expressways and 475 kilometres of upgraded roads. Public transport, in comparison, was largely inconsequential. Moreover, the CBD was to be the focal point for all developments.

Eight freeways were recommended:

- a) the Central Freeway to circle the CBD and bisect the north and south banks of the Brisbane River;
- b) the Northern Freeway to run from the Central Freeway to the northern outskirts of the city and to meet the Bruce Highway to the Sunshine Coast;
- c) the Southeast Freeway which was to run from the CBD to the southern outskirts of the city to meet the four-lane Pacific Highway to the Gold Coast;
- d) the Western Freeway to run from the Central Freeway to the newly developing (1960s) suburbs to the west, such as Kenmore;
- e) the North-South Freeway which would run along the eastern perimeter of the city and eventually form a by-pass around the city;
- f) the Centenary Freeway, to run from the Western Freeway, south across the Centenary Bridge past the 1960s/70s suburbs, such as Jindalee, to meet the Southwestern Freeway;
- g) the Eastern Freeway, extending from the Central Freeway, east to Tingalpa; and
- h) the Northwest Freeway, to extend from the Central Freeway in a northwesterly direction, through Wilston and the Grange, to Aspley to meet the Northern Freeway at the city outskirts. With one exception, these freeways were to converge on the CBD.

Four expressways were suggested: –

- a) the Riverside Expressway to skirt the southern edge of the CBD adjacent to the Brisbane River;
- b) the Petrie Bight Expressway to connect the city suburb of New Farm to the inner northeastern suburbs of Newstead and Breakfast Creek;
- c) the Story Bridge Expressway to allow a rapid approach to, and descent from, the Story Bridge, which links the southern bank of the River with the CBD; and
- d) the Southwestern Expressway catering for the industrial suburbs of the southwest and joining the Southeastern Freeway to allow rapid travel to the CBD. With one exception, these expressways were located in the central city area and were aimed at alleviating traffic congestion.

The final road programme was the surfacing and widening of roads and removal of numerous 'five-ways' (several roads converging at one point). Many of these have been completed.

Of the eight freeways proposed by Wilbur Smith only one, the Southeast, is under construction. Announced in 1967, the first completed section was opened in 1972 and the second in 1977, and it presently comprises a total of about ten kilometres. It was over the first stage of this freeway, in association with the construction of the nearby Story Bridge Expressway (which was announced in 1966) that the first (limited) protest action was taken against Brisbane's freeways (see Chapters 12 and 13)

The only other freeway to be announced was the Northern and (part of) the linked Central Freeways (June 1972). Two years later, these were postponed before any start was made to construction and it was over these freeways that the major component of struggle was concentrated.

Of the expressways, only the Story Bridge (completed in 1969) and Riverside (completed 1976) systems have been constructed. The other two have been indefinitely shelved.

It is worth noting, however, in spite of the postponement of freeway construction, that the Brisbane Town Plan, passed by the State Parliament late in 1978, still lists all freeways as part of future planning, although a number of them have been substantially modified. In the current tight fiscal situation freeway development, apart from the completion of the Southeast Freeway, seems unlikely

These freeways and expressways were seen essentially as a mechanism for speeding the movement of goods and labour to and from the CBD, particularly for workers living in the western and northwestern suburbs, housing highly skilled white-collar workers (see Cities Commission, et al , 1976) They were also to be major communication links with the rest of the Moreton Region. That is, to the Gold Coast in the south and the Sunshine Coast to the north. Moreover, they were regarded as being especially congruent with the low-density character of Brisbane and even public transport, dominated by buses, was seen as suitable for use on freeways, since freeways would allow the rapid movement of workers, by bus, from outlying suburbs into the CBD, or to regional growth centres located off freeways.

The second and minor part of Wilbur Smith's 1965 blueprint related to public transport. With only two per cent of total planned expenditure, its impact was inevitably going to be negligible. The principal recommendation was the removal of antiquated trams and trolley buses and their replacement with buses (accomplished by 1969) Buses were regarded as being more suitable because of ease of efficient scheduling; replacement costs were less than for trams and trolley buses; operating

costs were less (although the 1970s oil crisis was yet to loom); services could more easily be extended; and there was a greater safety factor. With buses, the dominance of road development was once again stressed. Trains were to be converted from steam to diesel and a rapid rail corridor was recommended for the busiest suburban line between Virginia in the north and Darra in the southwest. This has been implemented and extended by the 1970s electrification plan.

Therefore, the essential point about the 1965 blueprint and the planning which followed, was the manner in which it responded to basic changes in transportation - the rise of the car and the decline of public transport patronage. Paradoxically, however, very little of the freeway and expressway systems were to be built. By 1968, the attitude towards public transport had begun to change quite dramatically. The State and local governments were now responding, with a degree of anxiety, over the crisis in public transport, although their responses, which were to be formed into transport policy (see Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970), had little impact since, as shown in Table 7.4, the use made of public transport was still very low and considerably less in 1977 than it had been in 1968.

The State Government through the Minister of Transport formed a committee in 1968, comprising this ministry, the Minister of Main Roads, Commissioners of Main Roads and Transport, the Co-ordinator General, the BCC with the Lord Mayor and City Administrator and staff of the Rail, Transport and Main Roads Departments and of the BCC. Wilbur Smith was again commissioned to undertake a second study, this time of public transport in both Brisbane as well as the rest of the Moreton Region. The report was tabled in 1970.²

² It is worth noting how local governments outside Brisbane had little say in this public transport blueprint. Their role was merely to make submissions along with numerous other organisations.

The essential recommendation of the 1970 report was the upgrading of the rail system. This entailed electrification of suburban lines in Brisbane and the construction of the Merivale Bridge which would, for the first time, link the CBD with the southern part of the metropolis. Electrification, which will be introduced in 1979, aims primarily at creating a rapid transit system and this will be accompanied by bus-rail interlinks and the construction of car parks at selected railway stations (to encourage greater use of public transport). Much of this has been completed. In addition greater comfort in rail travel has been stressed, specifically with the provision of new, air-conditioned coaches.

The Merivale Bridge was opened in November 1978 and it is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it allows CBD workers living in southern suburbs to commute directly into the city, rather than disembarking at South Brisbane and travelling the rest of the journey by bus. In this way, the bridge contributes to a reduction in travel time for these workers. Secondly, the Merivale Bridge expresses the conflict which has emerged between the declining retail sector in the CBD and the burgeoning retail groups located in the new (1960s) suburban shopping towns. Retailers in the CBD and the satellite CBD at Fortitude Valley can now attract shoppers travelling directly by rail from the southern suburbs (containing half the metropolitan population).

The final feature of rail development is the recommendation for an underground system circling the CBD. Construction is scheduled to commence in the mid-1980s.

Since the rail system was to dominate future programmes, most public transport expenditure was to concentrate there. Estimates provided by Wilbur Smith indicate that 56 per cent of total expenditure

between 1971 and 2000 would be on rail and since the rail system is concentrated in metropolitan Brisbane, it would be located there. The remaining 44 per cent of expenditure was to be on buses and ferries, almost all, again, being concentrated in metropolitan Brisbane.

Parts of the Moreton Region outside metropolitan Brisbane are to have little or no public transport development. Implicit in this decision, especially when we hark back to the 1965 report, is an understanding that trips to and from (and within) the Gold and Sunshine Coasts were to be made by private transport. The car, in fact, opened these areas and the nature of the freeways and highways stress the use of cars. The Pacific Highway is a four-lane highway for all but the last few kilometres to the Gold Coast and this last section is presently being widened into a four-lane system. On the Bruce Highway, running north from the city, a freeway has been built at the outskirts of the city through farmland and mangrove swamp and presently covers about 25 kilometres. This attempts to speed traffic flow on the north coast route.

The final two major recommendations of the 1970 report on public transport were, firstly, the creation of a control centre for public transport at the Central Railway Station to manage all public transport interchanges within the Moreton Region. The second and more significant recommendation was the establishment of a regional transport body which would co-ordinate future planning in the Moreton Region. While the first recommendation has not fully been implemented, the Metropolitan Transit Authority was established late in 1976. This authority controls transport research and planning within a corridor from Noosa, the northern-most part of the Moreton Region, to the New South Wales border, the southern boundary of the Moreton Region and includes metropolitan Brisbane. While this does not cover the whole of the Moreton Region,

it does comprise the three major concentrations of population. The Metropolitan Transit Authority, to date, has had little impact on transportation.

To conclude this section it is worth making brief reference to the 1975/1978 Brisbane Town Plan. With the tabling of this plan the heady days of the pro-growth coalition in Brisbane had ended. The essential features of the plan were to:

- i) retain and strengthen the CBD, particularly by creating high-density residential development within inner city suburbs;
- ii) concentrate retail development within the CBD as well as in five regional centres, all of which are tied to the CBD through rapid transit (bus) corridors;
- iii) provide a wide range of residential zones with medium- to high-density development, for the first time, around the major commercial centres and around transport corridors;
- iv) ensure manufacturing industry was consolidated in particular areas located around major transport nodes, such as the port, the interstate rail link and main highways;
- v) provide open space; and
- vi) ensure co-ordination of all activity. retail, residential, industrial and open space.

To summarise, three major findings have emerged from this discussion of transport policy in Brisbane and in the rest of the Moreton Region. The first was the manner in which both private and public transport were programmed to converge in a more concentrated manner on Brisbane's CBD. This was to be achieved through construction of freeways and expressways (now largely abandoned), for private transport, while with public transport it was to be ensured by a continuation (though upgraded through electrification) of the existing

radial rail system; by construction of the Merivale rail bridge to link the CBD and southern suburbs by rail for the first time; and by the continued convergence of bus transport on the city centre. The second issue was the rather dramatic switch from an almost total concern in the 1960s for planning private transport facilities, to a far greater orientation towards public transportation, specifically rail, during the 1970s. Finally, transport planning outside metropolitan Brisbane centred almost totally on private transport, largely through improvements to highways. Travel within and to the Gold and Sunshine Coasts was to be by car, with only an occasional bus to provide public transport connections.

III EXPLAINING TRANSPORT PLANNING IN BRISBANE AND ITS MORETON REGION

These blueprints and plans need now to be interpreted within the framework posed earlier, for, at the moment, they express only the visible (that is, surface) features of transport planning. Which ways did planning reflect state intervention (largely economic) in transportation? How was this a condensed reflection of class relations? In what ways is the domination of capital countered by working-class pressure and how did transport planning contribute to the maintenance of unity and cohesion within Brisbane and the rest of the region?

1 Transport Planning, Capital and the Growth of the Moreton Region

Transport planning was tied to two dominant processes in the overall growth of the Moreton Region. The first was the rapid growth of Brisbane's CBD and the second was the consumption role played by the region. Each of these can be taken in turn.

Brisbane's CBD has increasingly become important as the control centre for the State's mineral industry and for the overall growth of the Moreton Region as a consumption unit. The expansion of offices in

the CBD to accommodate headquarters of mining and related industries, administrative functions of finance capital (insurance companies and banks), investing in the region's development, and local and State Government involved in the overall management of growth in the State and the Moreton Region, brought an increasing emphasis for transport policies to be directed at the CBD. All Brisbane's proposed freeways (and the only one under construction) were to converge on the CBD. Similarly, recent rail and bus developments converge on the city centre, with the final rail link being made in November 1978 following the completion of the Merivale rail bridge. Southern suburban lines now converge on the CBD where previously they had stopped at the South Brisbane Station. The speed of this rail link, moreover, will be increased by the electrification of lines. Finally, the overall control of public transport within Brisbane will be located in the Central Railway Station.

The second component of transport policy expresses the development of the region as a consumption unit. Within Brisbane this is apparent in the upgrading of roads and the construction of freeways to allow faster car travel within the city, as well, of course, as becoming a principal mode in the movement of workers to places of employment. The freeways were to be particularly important in moving white-collar workers from the rapidly expanding western, southern and northern suburbs of the metropolis - suburbs such as Kenmore, Aspley and the shires of Albert, Beaudesert and Pine Rivers. Of equal importance was the fact that these freeways were to become vital links with the Gold and Sunshine Coasts. The Southeast and the North-South Freeways were to merge with the Pacific Highway at the southern outskirts of Brisbane and so carry traffic on to the Gold Coast, while the Northern Freeway was to link with the Bruce Highway to the Sunshine Coast. It is

significant, in this connection, that the only freeway being constructed in Brisbane at the present time is the Southeast system. This reflects the vital role played by the Gold Coast, the second largest metropolitan area in Queensland, for tourism and recreation and how much this economic activity is tied to the movement of Brisbane residents to and from the Coast. The Southeast Freeway, therefore, comes to play an essential part in the movement of these consumers. A similar pattern is emerging in the far smaller Sunshine Coast where the Northern Freeway was also to play a similar role. However, although this freeway has been indefinitely postponed, a freeway has been constructed from Bald Hills, on the outskirts of Brisbane, to carry traffic northwards. It presently extends for about 25 kilometres to the resort area of Bribie Island.

The importance of road construction for the consumption role that these coastal areas play, was apparent from the 1930s when the State Government instructed the Main Roads Department to open the Gold Coast to road traffic. At that time the Coast was barely accessible by (dirt) road, frequently being closed during the summer because of the rains, and the sealing of the road came to be the first step in the consumption growth of the area. So significant was road transport for the Gold and Sunshine Coasts that the Government tore up the rail link between Brisbane and the Gold Coast in the 1950s, a decision which is now regretted because it would have allowed rapid commuting between the two centres once the rail link had been electrified.

In these two respects, then, transport planning came to express the growth of the region. But changes to policies came to reflect working-class pressure and the intervention of the state so unity and cohesion could be maintained within Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region. To these we can now turn.

2. Working-Class Pressure and State Intervention in Modifying Transport Policies

Apart from union anger and a generally negative reaction from Brisbane residents to the removal, in 1968/69, of the tramway system, the most significant working-class reaction to transport issues related to the freeway system. As will be shown in detail in Chapters 12 to 15, these attacks on freeways and expressways became apparent in 1966 with the announcement of house resumption for the Story Bridge Expressway. In hand with residents living nearby, along the proposed path of stage one of the Southeast Freeway (resumed from 1967), limited anti-freeway action eventuated. This protest peaked during 1973/74 with confrontations over the proposed linked Central (part) and Northern Freeways. Where the latter were abandoned (at least temporarily) in 1974, the Southeast Freeway is heading for completion.

Yet it was not only this direct working-class action which halted freeway development. There were also significant effects within the state itself which brought postponement to schemes. Firstly, the Northern Freeway had been delayed by at least 12 months because of a shortage of funds. Also there had been the suggestion that it could be indefinitely shelved prior to any announcement being made. Secondly, when the Northern Freeway was announced, it was considerably smaller than that proposed by Wilbur Smith. Rather than running from the city centre to the outskirts of the city, a distance of about 20 kilometres, it was to be slashed by 70 per cent to a total of only six kilometres and was to finish at Gympie Road in the inner suburb of Kedron. Thirdly, the Main Roads Department began to publicly express considerable unease about freeway development from 1971, five years after the first expressway and the first freeway were initiated. This had partly been a consequence of the (weak) resident action against the Story Bridge Expressway and the Southeast Freeway, between 1966 and 1968, but it was

also the result of an observation of consequences of freeway construction in other Australian cities and in cities throughout the world. Such views were succinctly expressed in the Main Roads Department journal, Queensland Roads, in June 1971, 12 months before the announcement of the linked Central (part) and Northern Freeways, and in December 1972, six months after this announcement.

Apart from general cessation of freeway construction, the other significant response to transportation in the Moreton Region was the increased activity in the 1970s, relative to the 1960s, in public transport planning. This was apparent with the 1968 decision to undertake a public transport study in the Moreton Region. This resulted in the 1970 Wilbur Smith Report, which recommended (particularly) the electrification of rail and a more general co-ordination of public transport within the region. Although there were to be no new railway lines, with rail remaining a radial system extending from the city centre, attempts were being made to link different modes of public and private transport - bus/train interchanges and car/bus interchanges (with carparks at railway stations). Many of these are currently being implemented. An attempt was also made to update the bus system and reverse the downturn in patronage through such schemes as fare rationalisation and rapid bus lanes.

This switch to public transport was not only apparent from actions by the BCC and the State Government, but emerged from decisions by the Federal Labor Government (1972-1975). It had increased, very significantly, funds for public transport in 1972, while at the same time cutting back on freeway funds, plus recommending cancellation by state governments of 'unnecessary' freeways.

The pattern outlined for Brisbane and the Moreton Region, specifically the increased activity in public transport in the 1970s, parallels situations in other countries, such as that outlined by Lojkin for the Paris region (see Pickvance, 1977a). Nonetheless, as with the Paris case, this increased concern for and expenditure on public transport in Brisbane has made comparatively little change to the overall system. Rail is still radial, terminating at the city centre, and no new lines are to be constructed. Bus travel also converges on the city and the increased expenditure from both the State and Federal Governments has made little overall difference; patronage continues to fall. More importantly, public transport does not go where the need is greatest. In Brisbane, it by-passes areas with transport dependent populations; that is, locations with large numbers of manual workers, with large elderly populations, with large numbers of dependent children and areas with large numbers of households without cars (Turner, 1979)

What we have not considered here and what is given little consideration in analyses of transport planning generally, is the significance of the private car for moving workers to and from work and in the overall reproduction of labour power. One of the distinctive features about Australia, relative to most other capitalist countries, is the large ownership of cars per capita. After the United States, New Zealand and Canada, there is a higher rate of car ownership in Australia than in any other country, but in contradiction, there is also a less well developed system of public transportation. A point of qualification, however. No evidence exists to show fractions of Brisbane's working-class owning cars in equal proportions. While little specific data exists, the 1971 Census shows that Brisbane residential areas housing (male) upper white-collar workers

(professionals, etc.) were more likely to own cars ($r = .35$) than areas housing (male) blue-collar workers ($r = -.32$) (Cities Commission, et al, 1976) Such a difference has important consequences for questions of private and public transport.

One of the contradictions to emerge in association with the high car ownership in Australia is the comparatively poor roads. This is apparent both with unsealed roads as well as the absence of freeways. The problem of unsealed roads has already been discussed but only a total of 71 kilometres of freeways existed in Australia in the early 1970s. In other words, in a 'car society' there has been an absence of an extensive infrastructure to cater for this mode of transport. The relative lack of freeways, however, does not appear to have created great problems, mainly because the low-density character of Australian cities, with their large road mileages relative to higher density cities, allows traffic to flow with comparative ease (see Neutze, 1977, 1978)

In summary, transport planning can be seen as a response to major components of growth in the Moreton Region: firstly, Brisbane's CBD; and secondly, consumption development with residential growth in metropolitan Brisbane (particularly) and with the expansion of tourism/recreation on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts. However, the 1960s transport policy which was directed almost totally at private transport (freeways, expressways and roads generally) came to be substantially modified in the 1970s. This was achieved by defensive working-class action against residential destruction from freeway construction, on the one hand, and the intervention of the state (local, State and Federal), on the other

PART FOUR

RESIDENTIAL LIFE IN WINDSOR:

THE SPECIFIC CONTEXT FROM WHICH TO INTERPRET

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRISBANE'S FREEWAYS

PREFACE

1

The three previous chapters provided the general context within which to understand the struggle, for they considered the broad process of Australian urbanisation with reference to the growth of Brisbane, its Moreton Region and to the development of Queensland as a whole. The State, it was shown, grew rapidly from the 1960s following foreign demands for its vast mineral reserves and this resulted in a slow climb from a historically marginal position within Australian capitalism. Such growth also paralleled mineral expropriation in Western Australia and the relative decline of Australian manufacturing industry which is concentrated in the Melbourne and Sydney conurbations. It was as a consequence of this dual process that Australia is now slowly being pulled back into its traditionally dependent position, after a period of relatively independent capitalism following the Second World War. This time, however, dependence is based on minerals for the Japanese and American markets, rather than on agricultural and pastoral goods for Britain.

Yet Queensland's development during the 1960s and 1970s was not simply a consequence of mineral expropriation, for a second major thrust came from the rapid growth of the Moreton Region as a consumption site, as seen in the residential development (suburbanisation) of metropolitan Brisbane and with the Gold and Sunshine Coasts becoming Australia's principal centres for tourism and recreation. It was following, as well as in association with this expansion that transportation was modified, expanded and refurbished, with freeways becoming the major (at least initially) component of transport planning. It was from material threats to residential life, specifically the destruction of housing posed by these plans, that

an anti-freeway movement evolved. It is to these material issues and to the organisational aspects of social life in Windsor, which form the stakes and which determine the morphology of the struggle, that we now turn. Such material and social components of residential life form the specific context within which to understand the struggle.

The next four chapters, forming Part IV, are divided into two parts of two chapters each. The first, comprising Chapters 8 and 9 considers the material (i.e. consumption) elements of residential life, consisting of housing (Chapter 8) as the major component and the one entailing the principal cost in reproducing labour power, and residential facilities (Chapter 9), which can be distinguished as infrastructure (e.g. sewerage) and services (e.g. hospitals). These consumption items and their political imperative are a vital part of any urban struggle for they form the kernel of the urban question since the city exists mainly as the site for the reproduction of labour power, with housing and facilities being the material components of this process (see Castells, 1977, 1978a) Material issues, then, become the stakes in the struggle.

The second half of Part IV, comprising Chapters 10 and 11, refers to the manner in which social life was organised in Windsor, distinguishing between the control exerted by capital at the living place and the manner in which residents through their own social organisation counter such hegemony (Chapter 10). In Chapter 11, consideration is given to the way residents expressed their understanding (consciousness) of the living place and their attitudes towards the intrusion of the freeway. These two social features taken together help explain influences determining the form the struggle took: its morphology and dynamic.

Chapter 8

MATERIAL COMPONENTS OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE I: HOUSING IN WINDSOR

I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the case of housing in Windsor and its significance for forced relocation and the struggle against Brisbane's freeways. This is approached in two ways. The first, which is specific to the struggle itself, considers the way the threatened loss of (owner-occupied) housing, caused by freeway construction, came to be the stake in the struggle and how relocation and compensation procedures emerged as the catalyst for the struggle - that is, as the initiator of action. The second approach attempts to generalise from these empirical data on housing using the hypothesis given in Chapter 4, to pinpoint some theoretical issues on housing in inner suburbs of Australian cities, specifically cities like Brisbane which have had a strong mercantile base and which are now the epitome, as shown in Chapter 6, of consumption sites.

These two aims can be considered in four analytical sections. The first gives a descriptive analysis of housing in Windsor, the second considers the manner in which the dominant form of housing, owner-occupation, was obtained by relocating residents (and this will identify some of the historical tendencies in Windsor housing), the third part will make some specific comments about how Windsor as an inner city area expresses the remnants of the urban peasantry of the previous mercantile period, as well as some of the consequences of the contemporary stage of suburban consumerism. Finally, the fourth section discusses the relocation procedures implemented by the Queensland Government and how this state action, as a case of urban planning, created a contradiction from which the urban struggle

emerged. These four issues will be evaluated in the concluding section.

II THE NATURE OF WINDSOR HOUSING

Since the 1960s, Windsor has become one of Brisbane's major rental districts, although the majority of housing was still owner-occupied at the 1971 Census (54 per cent), with 41 per cent being rented. These percentages contrast sharply with metropolitan Brisbane for the same period - 70 per cent and 25 per cent. Moreover, 31 per cent of dwellings in Windsor were self-contained flats, compared with 11 per cent for metropolitan Brisbane, and of these, almost all (82 per cent) were rented. In contrast, the great majority (75 per cent) of the 61 per cent of dwellings that were single-family houses, were owner-occupied. Finally, it is worth noting that rentals were provided by small landlords and none were public housing in the sense that they were rented by the Housing Commission, although it could be argued that because the Main Roads Department (MRD) owns many houses in the area, in anticipation of future freeways, that this represents public housing. However, these are only temporary public dwellings since sometime in the future they will be destroyed to allow the construction of freeways. Houses owned and rented by the MRD, then, cannot be included in the city's public housing stock. Of course, if planned freeways are cancelled, as it seems they will, these inner city houses owned by the MRD may well become a permanent part of the public housing stock.

The relatively high level of rental accommodation in Windsor has been a consequence of at least two interrelated factors: firstly, because of its contiguous location to the burgeoning central city area, as a place of employment, and because it is accessible to the services and facilities that have always been concentrated in the

city centre. Secondly, Windsor is an area in transition, where high death rates among the long-resident elderly population have allowed the subdivision of their owner-occupied, single-family dwellings into two or more rented flats. These flats are mainly taken by young single and young recently married adults who eventually move to owner-occupied housing in the suburbs. Windsor, therefore, is an area where single-family owner-occupied housing is increasingly being converted into rented flats. This combination of death of the elderly population (and decline in families) and the increase in the number of flats, comes to be reflected in a declining population and an increasing housing stock. Between 1966 and 1975, then, Windsor had a seven per cent loss of population (from 18,211 to 16,900), but a five per cent increase in housing.

Most of Windsor's rental accommodation, however, is located away from the path of the proposed Northern Freeway and is situated mainly on higher ground at the eastern and western perimeters and around the Lutwyche shopping centre. This seems to be a consequence of the greater desirability of these locations ('better outlook', 'better neighbourhoods', etc.) and because of the undesirability of the area near the freeway path. Investment disadvantages in rented dwellings exist along the freeway route because of low-lying and flood-prone land, with two-thirds of the area having been under water during Brisbane's devastating 1974 floods. As a result, survey data found that only a small proportion of dwellings of relocating residents were rented (14 per cent), while the majority were either debt free (71 per cent) or mortgaged (15 per cent) [Also most were single-family houses (88 per cent).] Nevertheless, the survey under-represented renters (in flats) and over-represented owner-occupiers (in single-family houses) because of the decision to sample within rental accommodation by interviewing only one household in each

subdivided house (self-contained flats) and thus reduce the time involved in trying to catch the young and mobile occupants (see Chapter 2 and Appendix A). However, despite the relatively low numbers of renters interviewed, their characteristics and the characteristics of their dwellings and households, were confirmed by qualitative data. Qualitative data were also of importance in this context for they enabled an accurate count to be made of tenure among relocating households. From these data, then, an estimated 26 per cent of total residents along the proposed route of the Northern Freeway lived in rented dwellings, 74 per cent resided in owner-occupied-housing and one per cent had housing supplied by an employer or through some other rent-free means.

In summarising these data on housing, Windsor was found to contain four housing groups, two being major and two being minor. The principal housing group consisted of debt free, single-family dwellings containing long-term residents now in middle- and old-age. The second major group, though not as important as the first, consisted of young single and young married residents in rental accommodation, mainly self-contained flats. The third group comprised residents between 30 years and 64 years of age living in mortgaged dwellings and the fourth consisted of middle-aged and elderly residents who had resided for a considerable period in rental accommodation, mainly single-family dwellings. This pattern is shown in Table 8.1 for both the relocating and non-relocating samples. In both samples over three-quarters in debt-free housing¹ were aged 50 years or more; one-third of the renters in the relocating and over half in the non-relocating samples were under the age of 30 years; over three-quarters of those in mortgaged dwellings were aged 30 to 64 years; and finally there was a particularly large group (44 per cent) of

¹ Debt-free housing refers to dwellings where occupants fully own their home.

the relocating sample who were aged over 50 years and living in rental accommodation.

III PROCEDURES FOR OBTAINING HOMEOWNERSHIP

Having set the scene with the way housing was distributed within Windsor, an analysis can now be made of the process by which relocating residents achieved the major form of tenure, homeownership (86 per cent of all dwellings), with distinction being made between the majority living in debt-free housing and those residing in houses being purchased by mortgage.² As shown in Table 8.2, there were quite striking differences in the methods used by debt-free owners for obtaining homeownership, on the one hand, and those taken by current mortgagees, on the other. With mortgagees, the majority (70 per cent) had obtained loans from building societies and for the most part this group had bought their house within the previous ten years, at a time when building societies, specifically permanent building societies, were increasingly providing a greater share of mortgage finance (see Neutze, 1977)

When we examine those relocating households living in debt-free housing, three separate sub-groups can be distinguished. The first consists of those who had purchased their homes through mortgages. The bulk of these had utilised the War Services Home Loans Scheme, as ex-members of the armed services (mainly World War Two veterans), while the remainder had obtained loans from building societies and banks (see Table 8.2)

² Data on methods used for obtaining debt-free housing were only collected in detail for the relocating sample.

TABLE 8.1

Housing tenure and age of occupants: relocating
and non-relocating residents

(%)

AGE	RELOCATING RESIDENTS				NON-RELOCATING RESIDENTS			
	Debt-free (n=153)	Mort-gaged (n=30)	Rented (n=28)	Other (n=2)	Debt-free (n=285)	Mort-gaged (n=66)	Rented (n=187)	Other (n=6)
Under 30 years	4	10	39		5	19	56	
30 - 40 years	6	30			4	32	14	
40 - 50 years	11	17	18		18	33	14	
50 - 64 years	41	34	33		39	16	10	
65 plus years	38	9	11		35			
	100	100	101		101	100	99	

TABLE 8.2

Method of access to homeownership: relocating residents.

(%)

Method of Access	NATURE OF HOMEOWNERSHIP		
	Debt-free (n=110)	Mortgaged (n=23)	Total (n=133)
Outright purchase	16		14
Inherited (house or land)	32		26
Mortgage: War Services	27	4	30
Building Society	12	70	13
Bank	7	17	11
Other	5	9	5
Refuse	1		1
	100	100	100

The most distinctive feature of debt-free housing, however, comprising the first two sub-groups in Table 8.2, was the amazingly large number (48 per cent) who had obtained dwellings without mortgages. This is surprising since the overwhelming majority of relocating residents were, or had been, employed in manual occupations. What is particularly striking was the fact that 16 per cent of these dwellings had been bought outright, a process considered impossible for manual workers (cf Ball, 1976). This may at least partly be explained by the fact that many of these outright purchasers did not move to Windsor until middle age. At this time large personal savings, possibly following the sale of a previous dwelling, might have been available for the outright purchase of a new home.

Housing inheritance, however, was the most unique form used for obtaining debt-free housing. One-third of all such dwellings were inherited and such inheritance appears to be congruent with the notion of an urban peasantry, for not only were labour ('do-it-yourself') skills of the urban peasantry passed on to the next generation but so also were its material components, the house and yard.³ More than anything else, this inheritance highlights the mercantile influence of Brisbane, since most of these dwellings were inherited before 1950 by a group now in middle- and old-age and because Windsor is an old inner area, in a city that had a very strong mercantile character (see Chapter 4).

The critical point about this housing inheritance is not simply the act of inheritance but the fact that inheritors came to occupy the dwelling rather than selling it. Indirect evidence from qualitative data suggests that adult children who inherited housing

³ Exactly the same fraction (one-third) of debt-free housing in the non-relocating sample had been attained through inheritance (see Mullins, 1976b)

since the 1950s, sold the dwelling because they had (previously) managed to achieve a newer house in a new, outer suburb, following the widespread availability of mortgages; this having been associated with the rapid suburbanisation of Brisbane and other Australian cities from the 1950s (see Neutze, 1977) In other words, the consumption process so integral to suburbanisation encouraged these future inheritors to buy a new house in a new suburb; once they had inherited their parents' place they sold it to pay off the mortgage on their present home.

Those relocating residents living in inherited housing had achieved this inheritance at a time (pre-1950) when homeownership was much more difficult, particularly for manual workers, and inheritance came to be a means by which homeownership was easily achieved. The essential point to note is that once Australian urbanisation had passed over the threshold into the period of suburbanisation, mortgages were much more readily available and inheritance seemed to decrease markedly in importance as a mechanism for gaining homeownership.

Housing inheritance has been defined here to include the inheritance of both dwelling and/or land. In one-quarter of the cases of inheritance among these relocating residents, inheritance was solely of land, meaning that these inheritors tended to take out a mortgage to build a house. Land inheritance occurred mainly on occasions of marriage, where the couple were given part of the parents' land upon which to build a house and although in most instances only one subdivision was made, in two of the eight cases of land inheritance among relocating inheritors, multiple subdivisions had occurred. In one, the parents gave a block to a daughter and another to a son, while retaining the house and its land, and when the son's daughter

married she received half her parents' land. Thus land was subdivided four ways over three generations. In the other case, parents divided two-thirds of their land between a son and a daughter, retaining the house and the remaining third of the land.

All of these land inheritors, now middle-aged and elderly, were children of people who settled in Windsor between the 1890s (when the area was opened) and 1930 and had managed to buy several blocks of land. It is perhaps surprising that so much vacant land was still available so close to the city centre until well into this century, but this appears to be a consequence of large tracts of Windsor having been badly affected by Brisbane's worst flood in 1893. Interviews with long-term residents suggested that this devastation deterred people from building on the floodplains until well into this century. This meant that some land was still available for purchase as recently as the early 1950s.

Land inheritance occurred more frequently than indicated from residents' responses since many who had inherited dwellings had siblings inheriting land, although at different periods of time. This means, therefore, that there is, or had been, a pattern of kin living alongside who were either siblings, who had inherited the house or some land, or were parents, but most did not appear in this sample because they were either now dead or lived outside the geographic limits of the sample.

While, basically, there was no difference in the extent to which housing inheritance went to manual and non-manual workers in the non-relocating sample, more of the relocating manual workers, than non-manual workers, were inheritors (see Mullins, 1976b). But the most significant and unique finding related to the pattern of descent;

for in two-thirds of the cases of inheritance in both the relocating and non-relocating samples, inheritance had passed to women. Such a female dominance of housing inheritance seems to suggest the possibility of a dowry system, so integral to rural peasant societies, although this 'dowry' was delayed in most cases until after the death of parents, with land inheritance being the only part of the process occurring at marriage. Actually, it was not only married women who were involved in housing inheritance, since a number were (now elderly) women who had never married but had remained as domestic workers assisting their mothers (very few had been wage labourers) and had inherited the dwelling at parents' death.

The patterning of housing inheritance by women poses an interesting question for the notion of an urban peasantry, specifically the role of women under mercantile capitalism. Does it mean that women held a more important role under mercantile capitalism, in terms of housing, than women living under industrial capitalism? However, if inheritance operated as a form of dowry it may in fact indicate a relatively powerless position, for, as with rural peasant societies a dowry system traditionally indicates a subordinate role for women.⁴ Therefore, Windsor women who inherited may well confirm a general subordination of women under mercantile capitalism, rather than a relative liberation. Of interest now, of course, is whether, in the 1970s, housing inheritance is still directed at women or whether parents are dividing the asset equally between children.

In evaluative terms, then, housing inheritance appears to have operated as a mechanism for providing 'cheap' homeownership,

⁴ See Loizos (1975) for an interesting discussion of the way inheritance of house and land in peasant Cyprus has shifted from men to women over the past few decades

specifically to women, in situations (pre-1950) where rental accommodation was difficult, due to expense, a housing shortage and because difficulties existed in obtaining mortgages. It seems also to express the self-sufficiency hypothesised for the urban peasantry. However, because of the historical basis of these questions, only detailed historical research can pinpoint their significance.

IV REMNANTS OF AN URBAN PEASANTRY AND THE IMPACT OF SUBURBANISATION

While housing inheritance is the most striking indication of the remnants of an urban peasantry in Brisbane, other indications can be seen in the life of long-term middle-aged and elderly residents living in debt-free housing. Almost all of these people had settled in Windsor prior to 1950, with nearly half moving in before 1940. Qualitative data indicate that it was common for these long-term residents to make extensive use of their land for vegetables and poultry until the 1950s. This ceased, according to residents, because their children were leaving home and there was little need for such production. Theoretically, however, this decline seems more likely to have resulted from the wide range of cheap food becoming available at the new supermarkets which made vegetable and egg production less necessary. There is, therefore, little indication today of this productive labour, for only one per cent of households kept poultry and only 28 per cent had vegetable gardens, which is slightly more than the 22 per cent in Halkett's (1976) Adelaide sample. Yet, as residents aged, land came to be increasingly unused and one of the most common complaints from these elderly people about living in a single-family house was the problem of upkeep. The yard came to be merely decorative and of symbolic importance as a physical representation of the social distance between neighbours.

Also of significance in terms of an urban peasantry, were the extensive changes that had been made to the house; 85 per cent of households living in debt-free housing (74 per cent in mortgaged houses and five per cent in rental accommodation) made renovations to their house. In half of these cases, modifications were extensive, such as constructing additional rooms, enclosing verandahs, etc. In two-thirds of these cases, labour was contributed by householders although kin and friends gave extensive assistance.

The impact of the contemporary period of suburbanisation, on the other hand, has appeared in Windsor in an indirect way. While the most rapid growth in metropolitan Brisbane has been in the outlying shires, inner city areas like Windsor have had related and parallel changes. The increase in Windsor of self-contained (rented) flats from the 1960s represents the first stage for young adults in their move to achieving owner-occupied housing in new (outer) suburbs. In fact, relocating residents planning to leave if the freeway had not been forcing them out were young single and married renters. Young marrieds lived in rented flats because it was a relatively cheap form of available accommodation which enabled them to accumulate a deposit on a suburban house, and Windsor therefore came to be a stepping stone to the suburbs. In contrast, young single residents lived in Windsor's self-contained rented flats both for ready accommodation and because of convenience to the concentrated consumption facilities located in the nearby city centre: cinemas, pubs, discos, theatres, boutiques, etc.

V COMPENSATION AND RELOCATION PROCEDURES: THE CATALYST FOR THE STRUGGLE

The last of these issues on housing in Windsor refers to the system of compensation, for it was this which sparked the struggle

for residents Homeownership came to be the principal stake in the struggle, but it was not just the loss of housing which was important for it was also the fact that homeownership was the means whereby the Australian working-class saved surplus income (cf Luria, 1976) and because, for middle-aged and elderly residents, housing was a bulwark against poverty in old age (see Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975). Therefore, the threat to homeownership was not merely a threat to housing, but also a threat to the basic way of life of these residents.

If homeownership came to be the stake in the struggle, compensation and relocation procedures formed the catalyst initiating the struggle, since the major problem to emerge was getting sufficient compensation to relocate without economic or social loss. In addition, because few lived in rented housing and because a significant number of these were young adults who were also transient, the question of rental accommodation failed to become an issue in the struggle and therefore the small number of households of long-term renters, now middle-aged and elderly, were ignored in the anti-freeway struggle. The housing question was defined simply as a question of homeownership.

Because of the threat to homeownership, it was understandable, then, that the majority of residents (88 per cent) opposed the imposition of the freeway and the consequent forced relocation. In fact, only 17 per cent had any intention of leaving if the freeway was not forcing them out and, as indicated, these tended to be young renters.

At the root of compensation difficulties was Queensland's law on house and land resumption. This instructs the payment of 'market value' for housing and assumes that it will provide 'fair'

compensation. There was also a failure to provide inconvenience compensation, although residents were given small amounts to cover costs incurred in moving and in reconnecting household services. But if compensation was already low, such amounts had no impact. More importantly, since government valuations are invariably below the cost of housing on the open market, it was not surprising to find that the amount offered was too low to allow relocation to a comparable house in a comparable inner suburb. Moving, therefore, was going to create financial hardship, which would be exacerbated because of low income for many who were retired and on pensions (58 per cent of relocating residents had incomes of less than \$3,000).

Equally importantly, low compensation was an inevitable outcome because of the nature of the area. Windsor has old weatherboard housing and is flood-prone. Therefore even if a 'fair price' was offered, the amount would still be too low to allow relocation to an equivalent place. The issue constantly stressed by residents, then, was the need to move to a similar house in a similar area, preferably within Windsor, without suffering any financial hardship.

Looking now at the process of compensation and how residents evaluated their dwelling, of the 65 houses valued at the time of interviewing (49 per cent of all dwellings in which interviews were conducted), 65 per cent of owners expressed 'dissatisfaction' or 'great dissatisfaction' with the amount offered, while 33 per cent found compensation acceptable. Moreover, households which had been offered a price tended to be those with one person in employment and most of the dwellings housing elderly pensioners were yet to be valued.

The amounts offered ranged from a low of \$7,000 to an exceptionally high figure of \$38,000 although 94 per cent of valuations were below \$19,000. The median amount offered was \$13,180 and the average was \$15,860. Unfortunately there are no data indicating the median and average costs of housing in both Windsor and Brisbane over this period (1973/74) which could have allowed comparative analysis. But problems of compensation rested with households receiving the lower four-fifths of valuations; that is, the 88 per cent who had been offered less than \$16,000 (see Table 8.3). What is particularly striking about this group was the way government valuations differed from residents' estimates (see Table 8.3). Whereas 85 per cent of residents estimated their dwellings to be worth \$12,000 or more, only 54 per cent of Main Roads Department (MRD) offers were within this range, and while only nine per cent of homeowners valued their dwelling at less than \$12,000, the MRD offered 44 per cent of households this amount. It was little wonder, judging from these data, that residents expressed hostility at the MRD over compensation.

It was from such problems of compensation and particularly from actions by the anti-freeway movement (see Chapter 12) that the Queensland Government stepped in 18 months after the announcement of the Northern Freeway to provide one and one-half million dollars in housing loans, at three per cent interest per annum to be paid, with the principal, from residents' estates after death. Under such conditions problems of obtaining owner-occupation were reduced, but great bitterness was expressed by debt-free owners who, after years of living in debt-free housing were now being forced into debt.

Compensation difficulties were not only tied to general aspects of valuation, but referred also to features of the house and grounds judged to be of value by residents. Certain features were considered

TABLE 8.3

Government valuations and residents' valuations. *

Residents' Valuation	GOVERNMENT VALUATION												Total N	%			
	Refuse N	%	Less than \$8,000 N	%	\$8,001- 12,000 N	%	\$12,001- 14,000 N	%	\$14,001- 16,000 N	%	\$16,001- 18,000 N	%			\$18,001- 20,000 N	%	More than \$20,000 N
Less than \$8,000	1															1	(1)
\$8,001-\$12,000			5													5	(8)
\$12,001-\$14,000			1		6	(26)	2	(12)								9	(14)
\$14,001-\$16,000					4	(17)	7	(44)	3	(27)						14	(22)
\$16,001-\$18,000					3	(13)	3	(19)	5	(45)	4					15	(23)
\$18,001-\$20,000					7	(30)	2	(12)								9	(14)
\$20,001 or more					1	(4)	2	(13)	1	(9)				4		8	(12)
Don't know					2	(9)			2	(18)						4	(6)
	1		6		23	(99)	16	(100)	11	(99)	4			4		65	(100)
	(2)		(9)		(55)		(25)		(17)		(6)			(6)		(100)	

* Excludes those whose dwellings had not received government valuation.

important because considerable time, money and effort had been spent on the house and yard over the years of residence, with the place being 'just the way they wanted it', and it was under such conditions that residents felt the Government Valuer should give a financial weighting to these factors. Valuations, they said, failed to adequately consider structural changes made to interiors and exteriors of dwellings and to the work done on the yard, from levelling to building up a garden, as well as to the continuous bits and pieces done over the years of residence. It is significant in this context that the freeway official receiving the greatest personal abuse was a valuer who, according to residents, rudely dismissed attempts to point out parts of the house and yard considered of value and therefore worthy of financial recompense. These features, of course, were the result of the distinctive domestic labour of the urban peasant.

The political outcome of compensation procedures, then, was a vehement condemnation by residents of the State Government, which they considered had acted in an undemocratic manner; in addition they argued that low compensation meant, in effect, that they were subsidising the cost of the freeway. The basic issue for residents was to obtain a sufficient sum from the sale of their house to be able to reconstruct as closely as possible the residential life of the old neighbourhood. It was this difficulty that brought residents' involvement in the anti-freeway movement.

Apart from direct problems of compensation, another major difficulty rested on the administration of relocation, for responsibility was placed squarely on residents and not the relocation agency, the MRD. At every stage, residents took administrative responsibility for their own relocation, from the sale of the house to moving into the new dwelling. Residents were required to arrange for the Government

Valuer to assess their house and yard and, once this was determined they then finalised settlement with the MRD. Once 'agreement' was reached, residents then hunted for a house commensurate with the amount offered, which was a particularly difficult task because this period (1972-1974) was the peak of Brisbane's and Australia's major twentieth century urban boom. Therefore if the cost of the new dwelling was beyond the amount offered, residents had to arrange a bridging loan, but if this was not possible, they were forced to search for another house - at least until the Government introduced housing loans. Once a new dwelling was purchased, residents arranged and paid for costs involved in transporting goods to the new house and then arranged and paid the cost of reconnecting services.

The administrative burden was placed upon residents not the MRD. In defending itself from accusations of neglect, the MRD claimed it had intended establishing units within Windsor which were to carry administrative responsibility for relocation, but found that increasing costs and the eventual curtailment of the freeway forced the abandonment of this intention (Main Roads Department, et al , 1978)

Some indications exist that the Queensland Government is now moving towards a more 'liberal' approach to compensation and relocation procedures (see Main Roads Department, et al , 1978) These approach the type introduced in the United States in the early 1970s (Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act) which attempts to remove economic and social hardship from both homeowners and renters, through 'fair compensation' and by providing a sizeable 'inconvenience compensation' (see Hartman, 1972) Whether this in fact will achieve these goals is yet to be seen.

To conclude, unlike case studies of forced relocation in North American and European cities (most of which were centred around urban renewal schemes), the Windsor case shows that the housing question was located within homeownership and not rented accommodation. The real problem for the present case study is the absence of detailed empirical material suitable for comparative analysis. As it is, these findings stand essentially in isolation.

VI CONCLUSION

As clearly shown, the basic housing question for Windsor residents rested on problems of compensation; that is, obtaining sufficient cash from the sale of the house to allow relocation to an equivalent dwelling in an equally accessible area and thus not suffer economic and social disadvantage. These compensation problems occurred because Windsor is an old, flood-prone area and because government valuations make compensation inevitably below the market price for housing. Moreover, these difficulties were aggravated by residents being forced to administer their own relocation.

The major theoretical implication that can be drawn emerges from the changes occurring within Windsor. Windsor, it can be seen, is an area undergoing change, for it appears as a 'zone in transition' (cf Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex, 1968, 1971). There was a shift since the 1960s from an area dominated by single-family owner-occupied dwellings, housing (now) middle-aged and elderly residents, most of whom settled there before 1950, to an area with increasing numbers of self-contained flats, made from the subdivision of single-family housing following the deaths of elderly owners, and housing young transients.

It is the homeownership by long-term middle-aged and elderly

residents that evidences the remnants of the material form of an urban peasantry, since occupants settled in Windsor during the mercantile period. It is also particularly visible in the large numbers of inherited houses, in the extensive modifications made to houses and yards over the years of residence and in the claim that vegetables and fruit were grown and fowls kept until the 1950s. Today, however, there is little indication of this distinctive domestic economy because productive activity, like the tilling of the 'small-holding' and the making of commodities, is largely non-existent. All that remains is the upkeep of the yard and household chores.

This appearance of remnants of an urban peasantry was not unexpected because Windsor is an old area in a city that was the most characteristically mercantile of Australia's cities during the former period of urbanisation (see Chapter 4). If a leftover of the urban peasantry was to be seen today, then it should be most visible in places such as Windsor. Interestingly the discovery of this remnant parallels the unearthing in the 1950s by Gans (1962a) and Young and Willmott (1962) of remnants of occupational communities (in Boston's West End and in London's Bethnal Green); communities of the former industrial urbanisation.

The construction of freeways within Brisbane's central city area will inevitably destroy remaining remnants of the city's urban peasantry. However, the indefinite postponement of inner city freeways, including the Northern Freeway, has brought a reprieve in this destruction and these (elderly) remnants will now simply die away.

Another major material characteristic of Windsor as a zone in transition is the rise in rental accommodation, in the form of self-

contained flats. This was indirectly the result of suburbanisation since Windsor is used by young adults as a 'staging post' for making the leap to the suburbs. They live for awhile in rented flats, because of their easy availability, as well as because inner city areas such as Windsor are within easy reach of consumption opportunities located in the city centre; opportunities which are aimed at young single adults and range from boutiques and discos to concert halls and pubs. Once married, however, they move, after saving the deposit on a house, to homeownership in the suburbs and exchange the consumption pattern of a single adult for the consumption pattern of the nuclear family.

Apart from the remnants of the urban peasantry and the presence of young transients, there is a third group which is slowly making its appearance in Windsor - although it is emerging with greater speed in other inner areas of Brisbane. This group comprises people residing in renovated manual workers' cottages or in new owner-occupied home units (condominiums)⁵. While renovated cottages are not as widespread in Windsor as they are in such inner suburbs as Spring Hill and Petrie Terrace, home units are increasingly appearing on the hill forming Windsor's eastern boundary (Albion Heights) and around the Lutwyche shopping centre. Some of these home units house retired people, but they are coming increasingly to be dominated by highly skilled white-collar workers who are employed in the burgeoning central city office blocks. They live in locations such as Windsor not only for easy access to work, but also because of the consumption ('cultural') opportunities offered by the city centre, ranging from art galleries to theatres and from museums to restaurants.

⁵ This group was not clearly evident in Windsor from quantitative data and generalisations made here are taken from qualitative data.

These highly skilled white-collar workers, who have been variously described as the 'new working-class' or the 'new petty bourgeoisie', form that class fraction with the potential, according to Alt (1976), of creating a new occupational community. If there is this trend towards a new occupational community it offers an interesting contrast with the occupational community of manual workers under industrial urbanisation. Where the occupational community of industrial urbanisation housed manual workers in inner city areas located around workplaces (factories/docks), the contemporary occupational community of the highly skilled white-collar worker will also house occupants in the inner city, but this time around their workplaces of huge office blocks of the new corporate urbanisation.⁶

6 While the mass media has long identified increasing concentrations of highly skilled non-manual workers in inner areas of Australian cities, there are no analyses detailing this process. Maher (1978), however, does give quantitative information of this trend for inner Melbourne during the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter 9

MATERIAL COMPONENTS OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE II:
RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES IN WINDSORI INTRODUCTION

While housing was the principal issue in Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle, residential facilities, both in infrastructure (e.g. with sewerage) and in services (e.g. with hospitals), came to be a second economic stake and it is the purpose of this chapter to briefly explore the significance of these for the struggle. The first part provides a brief descriptive analysis of the manner in which facilities had been established in Windsor, for this allows an objective evaluation to be made of the situation. The second considers subjective issues, that is, the manner in which Windsor residents assessed local facilities, since this judgement offered an important determinant for political action.

Overriding and providing the framework for these two approaches is the hypothesis posed in Chapter 4, which states that variations in residential facilities are determined by the historical nature of capitalism and its urbanisation process. Accepting, firstly, that residential facilities are a necessary part of the process of reproducing labour power and must therefore be provided to some extent in all capitalist countries, the hypothesis states that facilities have historically been more developed under industrial urbanisation than under Australia's traditionally mercantile urbanisation.

For purposes of this chapter a brief addition to the hypothesis can be made with reference to residential infrastructure. This is, that there was a wave-like effect, flowing out from the spatial core

of industrial and mercantile cities which determined the speed at which this infrastructure was provided. Therefore the closer the living place was to the city centre, the earlier it received residential infrastructure. This step-by-step movement outwards to residential areas, however, only followed after the provision of productive infrastructure to the spatial cores, which for the industrial city was the factory zone and administrative centre located in and around the central city, while under mercantile urbanisation it was the commercial core located around wharves or other transport modes. This wave-like effect meant, therefore, that house construction was not necessarily accompanied by a widespread provision of facilities, although such a delay was much less likely under industrial urbanisation because the concentration of high-density housing around factories made the provision of residential infrastructure much easier. In contrast, the very low-density, sprawling character of mercantile urbanisation (which already had the problem of a very 'unsophisticated' infrastructure) meant that the spin-off effect from the city centre could never have been comparable to that under industrial urbanisation. Some indication of this slow provision of facilities has been shown for Melbourne in the 1880s where

the 'essential services' - water, sewerage, gas, roads - were, as their name implies, necessary but never really decisive in setting the pace and shape of development. They generally followed in the wake of private developments and railway promoters. (Davison, 1974:84)

The process posed by this hypothesis, however, changed with suburbanisation and the post-1945 monopoly period of capitalism. Housing and residential facilities were now more likely to be provided simultaneously because they form essential components of the contemporary process of mass consumption. Under such circumstances

the previous marked differences between former mercantile and former industrial nations in terms of residential facilities, are beginning to diminish.

II THE PROVISION OF RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES IN WINDSOR

From this hypothesis we can now explore the nature of residential facilities in Windsor, with infrastructural aspects being considered firstly and residential services secondly. Much of the data on infrastructural development has been drawn from the Greenwood and Laverty (1959) history of Brisbane, which is the only published work indicating the process of facility provision in the city. What these authors clearly show is the existence of a very slow wave-like effect moving out from the commercial core to the suburbs.

Brisbane's spatial core, its commercial centre, was established around the wharves and warehouses of the Port of Brisbane, 25 kilometres upstream from the mouth of the Brisbane River, on what is still the central business district, although today the wharves have relocated downstream to deeper water nearer the river mouth. It was to this commercial core that supplies of electricity, water, sewerage, etc., were first provided and as a mercantile city, with transport and storage facilities being the central element of productive infrastructure, the construction of port, storage and rail facilities was well established by the 1870s and it was such transport concentrations that led to the outward movement in a radial fashion of a suburban rail and tramway system in the 1890s. It was under the impetus of these public transport provisions that Windsor began to develop and although Brisbane's trams were removed in 1969, two railway lines still bisect Windsor, one heading directly north and the other going to the northwestern suburbs. It has largely been as a result of this rail system that Windsor now contains the best public transport

facilities in Brisbane, for the greatest volume of commuter rail traffic is carried between Windsor's three stations and the city centre, and there is an extensive bus system operating throughout the area as a result of the convergence of numerous bus routes which originated in outer suburbs but terminate in the nearby city centre (see Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970; Main Roads Department, et al , 1972, 1974, 1978)

Sealed roads were completed in Windsor between 1925 and 1930, thus removing problems of winter dust and summer mud, and allowing easier road travel. This construction, however, was considerably earlier than most other suburbs, specifically middle and outer areas, since half of Brisbane's roads were still unsealed in the early 1960s. Moreover, there was and still is a poor provision of footpaths throughout Brisbane and today only 17 per cent of the streets along Windsor's proposed freeway path have footpaths on both sides of the street, with 54 per cent being totally without footpaths.

Although Brisbane was only satisfactorily sewered by the 1970s, Windsor was one of the first areas to receive this provision and this was determined by its nearness to the city centre. Spring Hill, the suburb backing on to Brisbane's commercial core, was the first to receive sewerage (in the 1920s) with Windsor, along with numerous other inner suburban areas, having most of its houses connected between the early 1930s and 1942, although it was not completed until 1952 (Greenwood and Laverty, 1959). Yet Windsor's provision was still earlier than middle and outer suburbs, with St Lucia, for example, a middle suburb housing highly skilled white-collar workers, not being completed until the early 1970s.

With reticulated water the commercial core of Brisbane was serviced by 1886 but provision was not completed in Windsor until

1926, although most households were on town supply by 1912 (Greenwood and Laverty, 1959) Nevertheless, this is still earlier than most middle and outer suburbs since the water supply to the city did not become adequate until late in the 1950s (Gough, et al , 1964) There are still parts of the outlying metropolitan area, however, without reticulated water and as with the earlier period, these households are required to rely upon house tanks for collecting rainwater

An electricity supply was provided in the city centre during the 1880s and by the latter part of that century it began moving to the suburbs. Windsor was fully serviced by the mid-1920s.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this brief discussion is that infrastructure serviced the commercial centre first and, once established, moved to the suburbs, first to those contiguous to the city centre and then outwards in a wave-like fashion to other suburbs. However, because of problems in public finance, these facilities were provided very slowly, resulting in a situation where only inner suburban areas were well serviced by the 1960s, while outer suburbs were without many facilities

Long delays in providing residential infrastructure in Brisbane can partly be explained by the fiscal weakness of local government. In both Queensland and in Australia as a whole, as shown by Stilwell (1974a), local governments have always played a minor role in total government expenditure (seven per cent in Australia over 1969/70, compared with 25 per cent in the United States) State governments, in contrast, play a much more significant part (43 per cent in Australia and 16 per cent in the United States over 1969/70). This fiscal weakness of local governments becomes even more striking when it is realised that these governments are responsible for the

provision of all urban productive and non-productive (residential) infrastructure - except rail, freeways, ports and airports (see Bowman, 1977) Local governments, then, have never had sufficient funds to provide the wide range of residential infrastructure expected of them (see Chapter 4)

From an examination of State Government expenditure we find an additional explanation for Brisbane's low level of infrastructural provision. As these were given in more detail in Chapter 4, only brief comment needs to be made. Since Queensland has always been a primary producer, government expenditure in the State has disproportionately gone to the rural sector, rather than to cities such as Brisbane (see Laverty, 1970; Lewis, 1978) In marked contrast, those states with stronger industrial and therefore urban bases (New South Wales and Victoria) have disproportionately located public investment in cities and therefore in urban infrastructure. Under these conditions, as argued in Chapter 4, cities like Sydney and Melbourne have had better residential infrastructure than have cities such as Brisbane and Perth.

Apart from infrastructural provisions, which are primarily the responsibility of the Brisbane City Council, the remaining residential facilities comprise major services such as hospitals and schools which, for the most part, are provided by the Queensland Government. Brisbane's public hospitals, firstly, with one exception (the Prince Charles Hospital at Chermside), are concentrated in inner suburbs and the City's major hospital and the largest in Australia, the Royal Brisbane, together with the Women's and Children's Hospitals, is located at the southern boundary of Windsor Such positioning has been important for Windsor residents because, since the 1930s, Queensland has provided free hospital care and free out-patients'

clinics throughout the State. For Windsor residents, therefore, having easy access to cheap health care came to be important, particularly since many were elderly or approaching old age and frequently consulted doctors¹ Yet in marked contrast, this concentration of public health care in the city centre has created considerable difficulties for low-income populations living on the outskirts of the city who, because of economic necessity, are forced to use outpatients' clinics in these public hospitals. However, because of bad public transport, difficulties are experienced in getting to clinics, a problem well documented by Adams and Tilse (1976). Recently, however, many of these outer suburbs have agitated for improved residential facilities and as a consequence community health centres have begun to be established there.

Welfare services, both public and private, are also located in the inner city and while these are convenient for Windsor residents, they are again inaccessible to residents in low-income outlying suburbs. Finally, state primary schools are located within Windsor and a secondary school located on the northern perimeter adjacent to the North Brisbane College of Advanced Education. Because the population is middle-aged to elderly there are comparatively few children in Windsor and therefore the demand for pre-school, primary and secondary schools is limited.

One of the most distinctive features of Australian residential life is the very clear demarcation existing between the domestic situation of the home, on the one hand, and recreational facilities, on the other. Recreational facilities tend to be concentrated in the central city, rather than in residential areas. But because

¹ This information was obtained during the course of interviews

Windsor is an inner city location, there is easy access for residents to a wide choice of facilities located in the central city. These range from cinemas to pubs and from concert halls to major sports complexes.

The final feature worth mentioning was residents' great accessibility to a wide variety of shopping centres, not only by car, but also (and particularly) by train and bus. Within Windsor there were two medium shopping centres located at Albion and Lutwyche, with the latter having recently expanded in response to the transition in population composition (influx of young adults) as well as a growth of a catchment population outside Windsor. Windsor residents were also within minutes of Brisbane's major inner city shopping centre and its satellite centre at Fortitude Valley, and immediately north of Windsor there are two of Brisbane's major shopping towns, created in the boom years of the 1960s: Chermside and Toombul. Moreover, almost half of the residents did their shopping within Windsor, mostly at Albion and Lutwyche, and the rest tended to use the City/Valley and Toombul.

Therefore, in terms of access to such services, Windsor residents were well placed. Hospital, welfare and recreational facilities were concentrated in the inner city, contiguous to Windsor, and it is this accessibility which gives real economic and social advantages for the working-class residents living there.

III RESIDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF FACILITIES

From this objective evaluation, we can now turn to the residents' assessment of facilities located in and near Windsor. In the course of interviews, residents were asked to assess the convenience/quality

of a number of infrastructural elements and services and their responses are contained in Table 9.1. Considering the points made in the last section, it might be expected that both samples of Windsor residents would respond positively to questions about these matters.

With respect to residential infrastructure, firstly, all except footpaths and, to a more limited extent, maintenance of streets, were rated as satisfactory. Considering the lack of footpaths in the area, as mentioned earlier, this criticism was inevitable.

Public transport was judged particularly accessible, with rail being more convenient to the relocating sample and buses to residents in the rest of Windsor. The convenience of trains for the former was inevitable because the proposed freeway route runs alongside and parallel to the railway, and the smaller percentage of non-relocating residents identifying trains as accessible seems a function of distance for they tended to live further from railway stations; their greater positive response to bus transport indicated they lived closer to bus routes.

Public services were also considered adequate, with many being concentrated at the Albion and Lutwyche shopping centres. Health services were conveniently placed, particularly with the nearness of the Royal Brisbane Hospital and with the exception of pre-school centres (reflecting the relative lack of children in Windsor), educational facilities were also considered conveniently placed.

Of all facilities, recreational amenities were regarded as the least conveniently located. This view was held particularly by the non-relocating residents; and this may partly be explained by the

TABLE 9.1

Attitudes to the provision of residential facilities in Windsor.

(%)

	RELOCATING SAMPLE (n=213)			NON-RELOCATING SAMPLE (n=546)		
	Good Provision or Access	Poor Provision or Access	Don't Know	Good Provision or Access	Poor Provision or Access	Don't Know
<u>Residential Infrastructure</u>						
Street lighting	90	9	1	81	18	1
Sewerage	99	1		99	1	
Paved footpaths	52	48		60	39	
Garbage collection	100			99	1	
Well-maintained streets	84	16		75	24	1
<u>Public Transport</u>						
Rail	85	14	1	79	20	1
Bus	88	11	1	95	4	1
<u>Residential Services</u>						
Post Office	95	4	1	87	12	
Post Box	98	2		93	6	
Public Telephone	100			96	4	
<u>Health Services</u>						
Doctor	90	4	6	89	7	4
Dentist	78	9	13	74	19	7
Hospital	92	7	1	92	8	
Pharmacy	99	1		97	3	
<u>Educational Services</u>						
Pre-school	37	9	54	44	15	41
Primary School	84	1	15	79	8	13
Secondary School	79	3	17	68	16	16
<u>Recreational Facilities</u>						
Parks for children	86	12	2	76	18	6
Parks for sport	90	6	4	78	17	5
Parks for walking	90	7	3	73	22	5
Swimming Pool	45	31	24	30	58	12
Pubs	95	3	2	82	17	1
Cinema	95	4	1	82	17	1
Library	75	9	16	57	25	18
<u>Shops</u>						
Supermarket	93	6	1	78	21	1
Major Shopping Centre	93	5	2	80	19	1
<u>Access to Work</u>	96	4		91	6	4

greater youthfulness of this sample for they would be more frequent users of recreational facilities. Greatest criticism from both sets of residents was centred on the lack of swimming pools, a finding confirming an earlier (1971) housing survey (Gibbings, 1973; Western, et al, 1972). Also non-relocating residents were particularly critical of the lack of libraries, a facility which has only recently become widespread in Brisbane.

Shopping facilities were regarded as being convenient, although less so by non-relocating residents. The greater convenience of shops for the relocating residents reflected the closeness of the freeway route to the Albion and Lutwyche shopping centres. Finally, almost all employed residents considered work conveniently located, with the bulk of relocating (78 per cent) as well as non-relocating (70 per cent) residents being employed within Windsor or in nearby areas, including the city centre.

These data on subjective evaluations of residential infrastructure and services conform to the objective data. Therefore there are very real social and economic advantages in living in Windsor and, in fact, the single most important feature identified by two-thirds of residents was accessibility - convenience to public transport, to work, to recreational facilities concentrated in the city, to health care, to shops, etc. It is within this context, then, that severe social and economic disruptions will occur if residents are forced to relocate outside the area, and it is under such conditions that this stake comes to underlie the urban struggle.

Yet despite these numerous advantages, Windsor did have disadvantages resulting from the fact that it was an area undergoing rapid change. Physically there was the slow transformation from an

area of single-family houses, to one now of more and more self-contained flats. This change represents a social division between the middle-aged and elderly residents, in owner-occupied single-family housing, and young (transient) tenants in self-contained flats. Such a social division was frequently expressed as an antagonism between the long-term residents, with a commitment to the area, and the transients who have no interest in the area or wish to conform to 'traditional neighbourhood standards'

Issues concerned with the southern part of the area have long attracted the attention of residents. Recently there has been the intrusion of small industries and warehouses and such a land use change has aroused negative reactions from residents, particularly following the dumping of waste into the Enoggera Creek, since this had aggravated Windsor's perennial flood problem. One of the counter-acting measures taken by residents was to establish, in early 1972, a flood action committee and, in response, the Brisbane City Council has undertaken a massive flood mitigation programme which has recently been completed.

Accompanying land use changes have been increases in traffic volume and traffic noise. With the flood problem these issues had been identified by residents as features most disliked about the area. General increases in car consumption throughout Brisbane had made some of Brisbane's major roads, bisecting Windsor, both unsafe and noisy, but the increased number of non-residential activities in Windsor also brought more trucks and vans and therefore increased traffic problems

Despite these numerous complaints, including physical devastations caused by numerous floods, Windsor was still identified as a 'very satisfactory' or 'satisfactory' place to live, particularly for the

many elderly residents reliant on easy access to facilities, like public transport, since only 47 per cent of households had cars.

CONCLUSION

This modest chapter has merely attempted to provide, in a descriptive way, the nature of residential facilities in Windsor. Both objectively and subjectively, Windsor was shown to be an exceptionally convenient place in which to live in both social and economic terms, relative to other parts of Brisbane. Under such conditions these residential facilities come to be a basic economic stake in the fight against the Northern Freeway and it is within such a context that we can understand, as pointed out in the last chapter, residents' demands for compensation which would provide both an equivalent house and a location in an equally accessible area. Since this had not been forthcoming, overt struggle emerged.

Chapter 10

SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE I:
THE STRUCTURE OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN WINDSORI INTRODUCTION

Having considered in the two previous chapters the material components of residential life and how they formed the stakes in Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle, this and the next chapter will analyse the manner in which social components of residential life, in both their structural and ideological forms, came to shape the struggle. In other words, while the stakes (housing and residential facilities) were the basis for mobilisation, the political stance adopted was largely determined by the structural and ideological character of Windsor as a working-class community. Understanding these issues, then, will tell us the way the social base became the foundation for the social force that challenged freeway construction.

Structural elements of residential life can be defined as comprising local social groups as well as informal social networks linking residents, while the ideological character appears in the form of residents' understanding (consciousness) of everyday life.¹ The purpose of this chapter is to analyse these social structural elements and to delineate their influence on the shape of the struggle, while the input from ideological aspects and their importance for the struggle will be considered in the next chapter.

In tackling these social questions there is also a more general

1 A 'social network' refers to the complex interweave of relationships which link individuals (or social groups) as an enmeshed social entity and which lacks the clear structural boundary of a social group (see Mitchell, 1969a; Boissevain, 1974).

aim. This is the attempt to work towards an elaboration of a wider theory of Australian residential life by using the present empirical findings on Windsor, for, while a few empirical bits and pieces on Australian residential life do exist, no attempt has been made to bring these findings together into a broader framework which contributes, in turn, to a theory of Australian urbanisation. This chapter and the next one, then, will relate empirical findings on Windsor to the hypothesis posed in Chapter 4. They will specifically attempt to discern the relationship between urbanisation and residential form as posed alternatively for mercantile urbanisation ('the urban peasantry') and that currently existing under corporate urbanisation ('the suburban community'), noting particularly whether Windsor, as an old inner city area displayed remnants of an urban peasantry, as was suggested materially from the finding on housing inheritance, or whether it was simply a product of the contemporary suburbanisation process.

Yet the basic empirical problem concerning the hypothesis rests in the structural similarity between the urban peasantry (the previous residential form) and the suburban community (the current residential form), since both appear as privatised communities. Certain difficulties will therefore be present when interpreting Windsor data and the essential task will ultimately be to discern characteristics the two types of community share and those which they do not. Windsor, hypothetically, should appear as a suburban community, because of the contemporary presence (since the 1940s) of corporate urbanisation, yet it is also likely that elements of the urban peasantry will appear because it is an old residential area with many residents settling there in the 1940s, 1930s and even earlier. Attempting to answer such questions, then, should provide some first steps towards a theoretical elaboration of social components of Australia's residential life. But before commencing the analysis it is worthwhile reiterating the

relevant elements of the hypothesis: on the suburban community and the urban peasantry.

The suburban community can be distinguished by the following:

- i) It emerged from the new consumption demands of capitalism and from a need to control, in dominant capitalist countries, the radical workforces living in occupational communities.
- ii) There is a clear division between work and community and an occupational community therefore cannot exist. Work is solely for pecuniary interests to allow the purchase of consumer goods, so basic to the suburbanisation process.
- iii) Individual achievement, in pecuniary and consumption forms, comes to be the central life interest. Consumption exists in the ownership of single-family housing, the ownership of a car and of numerous household commodities. These were attained from high wages. All of this, both consumption and wages, attests to a degree of economic independence and freedom for workers - however illusory.
- iv) The family becomes the consumption unit, with leisure being based primarily within the house.
- v) Overall, then, social life is highly privatised and is located physically within low-density residential areas, with the physical distance between neighbours coming to symbolise the social distance between them. Neighbours tend not to know one another very well and there is an absence of local ties of kinship and friendship and, as well, of high rates of geographic mobility. As a result, communal solidarity is absent. This, in turn, expresses a political passivity that contrasts so much with the radicalism of proletarian workers in the former occupational communities (of dominant capitalist countries)
- vi) Domestic labour (women's work) increasingly revolves around consumption and women more and more enter employment for pecuniary

purposes to increase consumption.

The urban peasant community, in contrast, can be distinguished by the following:

- i) It emerged from the mercantile stage of capitalism and urbanisation (1850s to the 1940s in Australia).
- ii) There was a clear division between work and community and no occupational community could therefore exist. Wages were central to maintaining the self-reliant basis of life, particularly for buying a single-family house, or at least renting this housing form, to enable the development of the advanced form of domestic economy that is the urban peasantry.
- iii) Self-sufficiency came to be the central life interest. The ownership of a house and land enabled the production of commodities, particularly food, for household consumption. Under such conditions, therefore, there was a degree of economic independence and a release from the social and economic oppressiveness present under industrial capitalism.
- iv) The family came to be the productive unit for the domestic economy, although this was based on the nuclear family rather than on any extended kinship system.
- v) Social life was highly privatised, but with a distinctive communality between people sharing the residential area. People had roots in the locality based on the residential 'smallholdings', but there was also a form of casual communality resulting from long-term residence in, and commitment to, the area. Residents settled there about the time of the first child and since geographic mobility came to be limited after this time, a social content did develop between neighbours.
- vi) Domestic labour (women's work) went beyond the immediate confines

of housework, for it was also tied to productive activity within the smallholding.

II THE EMPIRICAL PATTERNING OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN WINDSOR

With this hypothesis, covering both the contemporary suburban community and the previous community of the urban peasant, we can now turn to examining everyday life in Windsor. This is approached in four ways: i) from the network of informal ties between residents and those extending to others living outside the area; ii) from group life, specifically voluntary organisations; iii) from leisure and consumption; and iv) from the domestic economy. Whether life is privatised under the self-sufficiency of the urban peasantry or under the consumerism of the suburban community should become apparent from these data. The network of informal ties, including neighbour relationships and associations with 'intimates', will sketch the basic structure of residential life, while group activity will indicate the extent of formal organisations and their political significance within Windsor. Leisure and consumption practices will pinpoint whether a consumption base existed (i.e. suburban basis) and the domestic economy, finally, will indicate women's work as the labour force for the reproduction of labour power and therefore as the central social unit within a residential area.

1 The Network of Informal Ties

Analysis of certain sectors of Windsor residents' social networks comes to be the basic mechanism for testing the hypothesis. It distinguishes four main areas: neighbour relationships, the core association between intimates, ties with other kin and relationships with other friends.

a) Neighbour relationships form the most general tie within Windsor

and they help summarise the overall residential structure. Resident responses reveal that the great majority knew their neighbours 'very well' (44 per cent) or 'fairly well' (32 per cent), with manual workers tending to respond in these terms more commonly than non-manual workers. In general no differences existed between men and women, but older women tended to know neighbours better than all the men and younger women. This finding on extensive neighbour ties is a little misleading when the nature of contacts is juxtaposed. Extensive qualitative data show that neighbour relationships, in fact, are defined primarily as weak ties. Residents knew one another well and ties were amicable and reciprocally courteous, but they were also socially distant. Comparatively few relocating residents (42 per cent) and even fewer of the non-relocating sample (28 per cent), for example, took part in activities with neighbours. Those that did, tended simply to 'chat', rather than make the commitment of an intimate involvement. Even under conditions of long-term residence, neighbour contacts were slight and rather surprisingly, perhaps, the few who had lived in the area from childhood were observed to maintain only loose ties, rather than having any intimate relationship that may have been assumed from such long-term co-residence. For example, three households in the street in which I lived, who lived alongside one another (none of whom were relocating), were observed to interact on only one or two occasions over the entire fieldwork period. This was despite the fact that they were now in middle-age (the children of the original inhabitants) and had grown up together and had inherited their houses. Relationships were nevertheless warm but actual contact was very rare. Therefore the extensive neighbouring said to characterise old working-class communities was absent. Neighbourhoods were places where social life was privatised and people maintained distant, but friendly contacts. People were expected to keep to themselves, yet express

goodwill and concern towards neighbours

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Social distance within Windsor was also observed by the fact that few people exchanged or borrowed items - 29 per cent of relocating and 24 per cent of non-relocating residents. Except in very rare circumstances, this activity was considered inappropriate and counter to the norm of self-sufficiency.

However, the greatest social distance within Windsor was apparent in the relationship between the long-term, middle-aged and elderly residents living in owner-occupied single-family housing and the new, and youthful, transient population residing in self-contained flats. Considerable hostility was directed from the former to the latter because newcomers were defined as deviant from their frequent breaching of neighbourhood norms, e.g. of quietness and of conscientiously maintaining the upkeep of the house and yard.

Privatisation was also observable from the scattered locations of employment. [The location of work is important because cohesive occupational communities evolve from a contiguity of work and residence.] Although a large proportion of relocating residents (46 per cent) compared with 20 per cent of those not relocating were employed within the eight suburbs of Windsor (and almost all remaining workers were employed in the nearby city centre or other northside suburbs), there was no common employer, as is characteristic in the employment of workers living in occupational communities. However, there were two relatively significant employers for 15 per cent of relocating male workers. The stevedoring industry employed ten per cent of men (as waterside workers), although their residences were scattered throughout the suburbs of Windsor rather than being concentrated in a common neighbourhood, and the nearby Mayne railway yards, the principal

marshalling yards for Queensland Railways, employed five per cent of the male relocating population, who also lived in scattered neighbourhoods throughout Windsor. Nevertheless, personal ties within these two groups were negligible, for there was no carry-over of contact from the workplace as the men tended not to be employed in the same area of work.

This privatisation of Windsor neighbourhoods, then, suggests an apolitical character to the area, unlike the proletarian character of the (collective) occupational community. One rather rough indication of this political noncommitment was seen in the relatively small proportion giving support to political parties, specifically to the working-class party, the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Only 46 per cent gave any such commitment although most who did (78 per cent) supported the ALP. However, much of this low commitment can be traced to houseworkers, where the isolation of the home and the containment within the monotony and trivia of housework, in comparison with the education and knowledge derived from employment as wage labour, ensured a political passivity and a low level of political consciousness among women (see Della Costa and James, 1972). Therefore only 34 per cent of houseworkers compared with 57 per cent of manual and 61 per cent of non-manual workers were committed to a political party. However, for those houseworkers and manual workers who did support a political party, the overwhelming majority supported the ALP (74 per cent and 95 per cent respectively). This compares with only 41 per cent for non-manual workers.

In summary, neighbourhoods were places where people knew one another well, but where they also tended to keep to themselves. Little other than cursory contact was maintained and there was a general containment of life within the home.

b) Residents' intimates, in contrast with other relationships, can be defined as forming the core of working-class everyday life, for they comprise the most important ties. 'Intimates' refer to what Boissevain (1974) calls 'the personal cell'; that is, that cluster of relationships residents consider of greatest importance to them.²

Very few relocating residents (four per cent) were without intimates and negligible differences existed between manual workers (four per cent), non-manual workers (three per cent) and houseworkers (four per cent). Non-manual workers, however, had on the average slightly more intimates (4.0 than either manual workers (3.4) or houseworkers (3.8).³

In considering these intimate ties, four major elements can be distinguished: the nature of the ties; intimates' places of residence, particularly whether they were local or non-local; the pattern of sociability; and the density of relationships between intimates and between intimates and neighbours - that is, the extent to which these

2 Some clarification needs to be given to certain types of intimates: 'neighbour-friends' and 'friends', and to 'neighbours'. 'Neighbour-friends' are localised intimate friends (within the neighbourhood); 'friends' are intimate friendships which are non-localised; and 'neighbours' are localised ties which are not intimate.

3 A brief qualifying comment needs to be made at this point: manual and non-manual workers have been distinguished for purposes of comparison with other research findings, specifically Goldthorpe et al's (1969) work. These two groups of workers are both considered part of the working-class, and not as separate classes as commonly defined in sociology [this follows Wright's (1978) valuable discussion]. Moreover, houseworkers have been distinguished separately to enable explication of characteristics distinctive of women working full-time as domestic labourers. Among the relocating group this comprised 80 per cent of all women, with the remaining 20 per cent being women who currently were employed, either full-time or part-time, or had recently retired. Although no distinction has been made for sex among those employed (or formerly employed) as wage labourers, almost all were men. The pattern to emerge, then, is for manual and non-manual workers to represent male wage labourers.

people knew one another. These four elements taken together will highlight in greater detail the nature of the community, specifically the extent to which everyday life is localised and the political implications for the struggle. The sparser and less localised are the relationships, the more privatised will the community be and thus the lower the opportunity for widespread mobilisation. Mobilisation, therefore, is more likely to occur; it is hypothesised, in communities with dense and localised ties; characteristics, of course, of occupational communities.

As shown in Table 10.1, friendships (58 per cent) comprised the largest number of intimate relationships. Manual workers (66 per cent) and non-manual workers (64 per cent) were more likely to have these ties than were houseworkers. In contrast, the intimate relationships of houseworkers showed about equal proportions of kin and friends. The relatively greater kin component of their personal cell expressed the pivotal role played by women in the kinship system and many of these kin ties were with adult daughters and sons.

Also the greater likelihood of houseworkers to have neighbour-friends, expressed the central position of women within residential areas as the labour force for the reproduction of labour power. This role gave women sharing a neighbourhood an opportunity to develop friendships. In addition, this was also tied to length of residence in Windsor.

When the place of residence is examined, the majority (67 per cent) of intimates were found to reside outside respondents' suburbs, a finding which points immediately to a privatised community. However, manual workers and houseworkers were more likely than non-manual workers to have intimates domiciled within their suburb (see Table 10.2)

TABLE 10.1
Intimate relationships and respondents' occupation[†]
(%)

Intimate Relationships	RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION			
	Houseworkers (n ¹ =395)* (n ² = 99)**	Non-manual Workers (n ¹ =155) (n ² = 37)	Manual Workers (n ¹ =234) (n ² = 65)	Total (n ¹ =784) (n ² =201)
<u>Kin</u>				
Mother	3	3	1	3
Father	1	3	1	2
Brother(s)	1	2	5	2
Sister(s)	9	6	2	6
Son(s)	10	3	8	8
Daughter(s)	12	4	5	8
Father-in-law		3		1
Mother-in-law		3	2	1
Brother(s)-in-law	1	1	1	1
Sister(s)-in-law	2	1	3	2
Other kin	9	8	5	7
Total kin	48	37	33	41
<u>Friends</u>				
Neighbour-friends	21	10	18	18
Friends	30	54	48	40
Total friends	51	64	66	58
Not given	1			1
	100	101	99	100

TABLE 10.2
Place of residence of intimates and respondents' occupation[†]
(%)

Place of Residence of Intimates	RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION			
	Houseworkers (n ¹ =395)* (n ² = 99)**	Non-manual Workers (n ¹ =155) (n ² = 37)	Manual Workers (n ¹ =234) (n ² = 65)	Total (n ¹ =784) (n ² =201)
Same street	20	10	21	19
Same locale	11	6	11	10
Same suburb	2	3	6	3
Contiguous/nearby suburb	31	32	33	32
Other northside suburb	25	34	21	25
Other Brisbane	9	15	7	10
Other Queensland		1		
Not given	2			1
Total	100	101	99	100

[†] Excludes four farmers

* n¹ represents total intimates identified by respondents. Percentages have been based on these figures

** n² represents total number of respondents

In fact, twice as many houseworkers and manual workers, than non-manual workers, had intimates living in their street. Such a difference again seems largely determined by the greater age and longer period of residence of the former two and in the case of manual workers it also confirms the pattern identified in Britain by Goldthorpe, et al (1969) Nevertheless, the general trend for all three occupational groups was for intimates to reside non-locally and in this context it is particularly worth noting how intimates were concentrated in Brisbane's northside suburbs, for only ten per cent, in fact, lived on the southside (see Table 10.2) When this northside concentration is studied in conjunction with other features of social life (e.g. place of employment, location of voluntary associations, etc.) the physical location of Windsor residents' everyday life shows a convergence within a triangle of settlement covering an area of about seven and one-half square kilometres, north from the city centre to the suburb of Nundah, west to Everton Park and then southeast, back to the city centre, a district housing about 150,000 manual and unskilled non-manual workers (see Cities Commission, et al , 1976). Moreover, those who relocated within two years of receiving resumption notices from the Main Roads Department resettled within this residential triangle. It is clear from the data, then, that there is no limited geographic concentration of social life, as with occupational communities, or the very wide dispersal, characteristic of the suburban community But a containment of social life within a very specific but fairly large sector of Brisbane's inner and middle northside suburbs (cf Wellman, 1976)

Perhaps a clearer way of demonstrating this concentration of intimates is to distinguish the extent to which residents had all, some, or none of their intimates living in their suburb. Table 10.3 summarises this information. Only ten per cent had all intimates residing locally, a finding contrasting sharply with the pattern for

TABLE 10.3
Localisation of intimates and respondents' occupation⁺
(%)

Place of Residence of Intimates	RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION			Total (n=201)
	Houseworkers (n=99)	Non-manual Workers (n=37)	Manual Workers (n=65)	
All local (i.e. within same suburb as respondent)	10	5	12	10
Some local/some non-local	33	24	31	32
All non-local (i.e. all outside respondents' suburb)	<u>57</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>58</u>
Total	100	99	100	100

+ Excludes four farmers

occupational communities where a sizeable chunk clustered together Fried, et al (1973), for example, in their study of an occupational community, found that 48 per cent of the intimates of West End residents lived within that locality. There are, of course, certain difficulties in making this comparison since each suburb within Windsor, being low-density and together making a much larger area, had smaller populations than the higher density locale of the West End. Nevertheless, the comparison is still useful.

Table 10.3 also shows houseworkers (10 per cent) and manual workers (12 per cent) being more likely than non-manual workers (5 per cent) to have all intimates living locally (within the same suburb). This tends to be associated again with the greater length of residence of the former two groups.

Detailed information on the pattern of residence for each category of intimate, whether kin or friend, is contained in Table 10.4. Manual workers are shown to have more kin living in their suburb than the other two occupational groups and siblings tended to dominate these local kin, while the remaining kin tended to be concentrated in other northside suburbs. In fact, the pattern of siblings living nearby and adult children residing in other northside suburbs suggests that there was, for a small number of manual workers, a generational movement of population, with respondents and their siblings living in the same suburbs and their children, on reaching adulthood, moving to newer suburbs located further out on the northside of the city.

The places of residence of houseworkers' intimate kin tended to be similar to those described for manual workers. However, houseworkers had fewer siblings living in their suburb than did manual workers, but about the same proportion of all kin were on the northside (see

Table 10.4). For non-manual workers, practically all kin lived outside the suburb, but still within northside centres.

Table 10.4 shows that not only did manual workers and houseworkers have more neighbour-friends, but they were also more likely to have friends living in the same suburb, than were non-manual workers. This, again, tends to relate to differences in length of residence.

Generally, then, these findings coincide with those from Goldthorpe et al's (1969) research on affluent workers, where both manual and non-manual workers were shown to have intimates living outside the area, although manual workers were more likely to have local intimates. These Australian working-class residents, therefore, appeared also to exhibit characteristics of the 'privatised worker' although some care needs to be taken over whether this reflects the suburban community of the affluent worker or whether it is a privatisation reflecting remnants of the urban peasantry of the previous mercantile urbanisation. These issues will be clarified below.

The pattern of sociability between respondents and their intimates shows some interesting variations. Over half (54 per cent) of all intimates were met in private homes, either residents' or their intimates', while 20 per cent were met in clubs (including pubs) and 18 per cent in the neighbourhood. There were, however, rather striking differences between manual and non-manual workers. Manual workers (35 per cent) were more likely to meet intimates in clubs than were non-manual workers (19 per cent) who tended to meet them in private homes (54 per cent). The difference between manual and non-manual workers is even more striking when only friends (excluding neighbour-friends) were considered. Almost three-quarters (70 per cent) of all manual workers met friends in clubs, compared with non-manual workers

TABLE 10.4
Intimates, their place of residence, and respondents' occupation*.

Intimates' Place of Residence	INTIMATES									
	Parents & Parents-in-law (n=18)	Siblings & Siblings-in-law (n=51)	Children (n=87)	Other Kin (n=31)	Total Kin (n=187)	Neighbour-Friends (n=70)	Friends (n=132)	Total Friends (n=202)	Not given or other (n=6)	Total (n=395)
1. Houseworkers										
Same suburb	22	24	2	16	12	100	27	52		33
Other northside suburb	61	57	81	68	70		65	43		56
Other Brisbane suburb	11	12	17	10	14		8	5		9
Other part of Queensland							1			
Not given	6	8		6	4					2
Total	100	51	100	100	100	100	101	100		100
2. Non-manual Workers										
	(n=17)	(n=14)	(n=10)	(n=14)	(n=55)	(n=15)	(n=85)	(n=100)		(n=155)
Same suburb				7	2	100	16	28		19
Other northside suburb	76	86	80	79	80		68	28		66
Other Brisbane suburb	24	14	20	14	18		15	13		15
Other part of Queensland								1		1
Not given										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		101
3. Manual Workers										
	(n=11)	(n=25)	(n=32)	(n=12)	(n=80)	(n=38)	(n=116)	(n=154)		(n=234)
Same suburb	27	52	12	33	30	100	24	43		38
Other northside suburb	64	36	72	66	59		51	51		54
Other Brisbane suburb	9	12	16		11		6	5		7
Other part of Queensland							1	1		
Not given							1	1		
Total	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	101		99

* Excludes intimates of four farmers

(35 per cent) and houseworkers (34 per cent) In contrast, non-manual workers (36 per cent) and houseworkers (48 per cent) were more likely to meet friends in their homes.

This finding of a large number of manual workers' intimates being met in clubs is very significant and tends to repeat somewhat the pattern existing in occupational communities where work groups met in pubs or in workingmen's clubs. However (and very importantly), these Windsor manual workers' club-based friendships were not with workmates but with people met in other situations. Also, almost all these friends were met in social clubs, particularly the Returned Services League, and sports clubs, particularly lawn bowls clubs, although a number did in fact meet in pubs. Moreover, the chance of these club-based friendships comprising workmates was virtually impossible because only four per cent of manual workers' and six per cent of non-manual workers' friendships had emerged from the workplace. The largest proportion of manual workers' friendships (42 per cent) emerged from the day-to-day activity of the neighbourhood and suburb (the present one or a previous one) (40 per cent for houseworkers and only 26 per cent for non-manual workers), with 28 per cent originating in clubs, compared with 35 per cent for non-manual workers and 40 per cent for houseworkers. Most of the remaining bases for friendships were through the spouse, kin or other friends - 23 per cent for manual, 25 per cent for non-manual and 28 per cent for houseworkers. These data, then, quite clearly show how friendships evolved from non-work situations, particularly the neighbourhood, suburb and clubs. Such a finding should have significance for mobilisation, both because it indicates opportunities to involve local residents as well as opportunities to gain access to various resources such as those held within clubs (e.g. political support, funding, administrative help, etc.)

Finally, the pattern of sociability between respondents and intimate kin centred in private homes. Adult children met parents in the parents' place and siblings reciprocated contact in each others' homes and there were no differences between occupational groups in this regard. However, this contact between kin tended to be the only occasion when residents admitted people to their home. It was rare for friends to meet in one another's homes (except for non-manual workers) and it was exceptional for a neighbour to be admitted. Ties of friendship were reinforced in other settings and neighbours met in the semi-public area of the yard and the street.

To conclude this analysis of intimate relationships, comment needs to be made on the density of ties - that is, the extent to which intimates knew one another. This information is contained in Table 10.5, where it is shown that little over half knew one another extensively, although significant differences existed between manual and non-manual workers, with more of the former's intimates knowing one another than the latter's. In other words, the density of the personal cell was greater for manual workers, followed by houseworkers and then non-manual workers. But overall, considering the small numbers involved in the personal cell, it was significant that density was not greater.

Table 10.6, in contrast, shows the extent to which intimates and neighbours knew one another. Two-thirds of respondents said some contact existed and much of this was achieved through children who were brought up in Windsor but were now adults living elsewhere. Differences were apparent between manual workers and houseworkers, on the one hand, and non-manual workers on the other. Ties were sparse (more loose-knit) between neighbours and intimates of the

TABLE 10.5
Nature of links between intimates and respondents' occupation⁺
(%)

Nature of links between intimates	Houseworkers (n=99)	Non-manual Workers (n=37)	Manual Workers (n=65)	Total (n=205)
All or most intimates know one another	53	41	72	56
Some intimates know one another	15	16	9	13
Very few intimates know one another	19	14	8	15
No intimates know one another	13	27	8	14
Only one intimate		3	3	2
Total	100	101	100	100

TABLE 10.6
Nature of links between intimates and neighbours, and respondents' occupation⁺
(%)

Nature of links between intimates and neighbours	Houseworkers (n=99)	Non-manual Workers (n=37)	Manual Workers (n=65)	Total (n=205)
Strong ties (most known)	20	16	18	19
Intermediate ties (some known)	31	11	18	24
Weak ties (few known)	18	19	25	20
None known	30	54	38	37
Total	99	100	99	100

⁺ Excludes four farmers

latter than they were of the former two. In other words, although the overall tie between these two network segments was not strong, there were greater ties for those of manual workers and houseworkers.

To summarise this mass of information on intimate ties, these data tend to indicate a generally privatised existence which closely reflects the pattern shown by Goldthorpe, et al (1969) for British affluent workers. There tended to be a segmentation of relationships, distinguishing between neighbours, kin and friends, although this did not deny that contacts existed between them, but nevertheless each tended to fulfil quite different aspects of residents' everyday life. Neighbours were well known but took a secondary and localised place within the network. Kin, on the other hand, were those providing the greatest intimacy. They were the network members most frequently admitted to the house, while friends tended to play a mainly expressive role and were frequently met in clubs, particularly in the case of manual workers.

It is this compartmentalisation of network sectors, then, which tends to pinpoint privatisation. Yet whether, as with the British sample, Windsor residents' everyday life was a consequence of the contemporary suburban process or whether it reflected the privatisation of a remnant of an urban peasantry, is not clear from the data. The urban peasant argument makes somewhat greater sense because Windsor is an old area and is not a new location constructed for consumption (as are new suburbs) but with the data at our disposal it is still not possible to say with any degree of confidence that the privatisation of Windsor is a remnant of the previous mercantile period, or whether it is simply a consequence of the contemporary stage of urbanisation. The core of the problem rests in the fact that the urban peasantry and the suburban community are structurally very similar - unlike the

occupational community and suburban community of dominant capitalist countries, where striking differences existed. The urban peasantry and the suburban community are both privatised. However, some of these issues should be clarified from additional data. We can firstly consider the extent to which residents had other kin and friends living closeby

- c) Kin who lived closeby, apart from those identified as intimates, need also to be considered in determining the nature of Windsor as a working-class community, for these kin can also play an important part in determining the extent of localisation of social life. Only one-third of respondents indicated they had 'other kin' living nearby (the rest being scattered throughout Brisbane and elsewhere), with somewhat more manual workers (44 per cent), than houseworkers (38 per cent) and non-manual workers (34 per cent) expressing this pattern. While a significant number of these kin lived within residents' suburbs (43 per cent), the majority (55 per cent) were concentrated in other northside suburbs and only one per cent lived in southern suburbs. Also manual workers were more likely to have such kin living in their suburb. Therefore, the overall pattern for these data confirm the way social life of Windsor residents was concentrated in a larger swathe of Brisbane's northside suburbs rather than being restricted within one neighbourhood or suburb.
- d) Friends who lived closeby, apart from those identified as intimates, form the final network sector, with almost all respondents (84 per cent) indicating such friends. Somewhat more houseworkers (92 per cent) than manual workers (82 per cent) and non-manual workers (87 per cent) said they had nearby friends and over three-quarters for each occupational group said these friends lived within their suburbs (many in their neighbourhoods) and the remainder were in other northside suburbs

Such data on the pattern of friendship concentration proves to be of great interest since it suggests that where the most important friends tend to be located outside the suburb (but in other northside locations), 'other friendships' were concentrated in residents' suburbs. Moreover, for two-thirds of residents these nearby friends comprised all other friendships and in most cases these other friends were neighbours residents had known for considerable periods of time. Therefore these data suggest a pattern which is quite distinct from that found for suburban communities where it was unlikely for friendships to evolve from the neighbourhood. The considerable period of residence in Windsor was an important determinant for the development of these 'other friendships'

2. Group Life

The second element of everyday life in Windsor, which can be considered, comprises the formally organised components, that is, voluntary organisation membership. It was significant in this context that a relatively large proportion of residents (45 per cent) were members of one or more voluntary associations, with few differences in participation existing between manual (54 per cent) and non-manual (50 per cent) workers and between men (48 per cent) and women (42 per cent). This pattern is significant because it tends to differ from that assumed to exist for manual and non-manual workers and for men and women, since a number of British and American studies have shown manual workers and women being substantially under-represented in such organisations (see Tomeh, 1973). One reason for the higher rate, at least among women, seems to be associated with age, since the concentration of women in middle and old age, with the release from childcare, had provided opportunities for women to participate more in voluntary organisations. The relatively high rate among manual workers

confirms Bryson and Thompson's (1972) finding and it possibly reflects a distinct component of Australian working-class life, where the relatively long non-work time (e.g. two-day weekend) had allowed not only the development of the urban peasantry but also the widespread involvement (at least for men) in sports clubs and in social clubs, like the Returned Services League.

While there were significant numbers involved in voluntary associations, only a relatively small proportion of these were located within Windsor (29 per cent) and these were primarily in sports clubs, the most notable being the Windsor Bowls Club. Yet of the remaining 71 per cent, almost all were centred within the nearby central business district or in other northside suburbs (none were located in southern suburbs). Therefore, although memberships were not concentrated in a small geographic area, like the resident's suburb, or even Windsor as a totality, they were located within the wider area of Brisbane's northside in the same way that intimate ties had been concentrated there.

The distribution of memberships in various organisations is given in Table 10.7 and it distinguishes between memberships for men and for women. The greatest concentration was in social clubs, one-third belonging to the Returned Services League, another one-third being members of the Pensioners League and one-fifth in ethnic clubs (Irish and Italian). There were, however, marked differences between men and women. Almost all men were concentrated in social clubs and sports clubs, while women were more equally spread between social, sports, children's and church clubs. The basis for this distinction can be traced to women's involvement in the reproduction of labour power. It means that the clubs they join will not only be more female-oriented but will also be more likely to be local.

TABLE 10.7

Voluntary association membership.

(%)

	Men (n=43)	Women (n=52)	Total (n=95)
Social Clubs	42	25	32
Sports Clubs	49	29	38
Children's Groups	5	21	14
Church Groups	2	21	13
Political Party	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	100	100

Apart from membership in voluntary organisations, local churches also proffer an avenue for understanding local social life. Of the 58 per cent who were churchgoers, 85 per cent attended local churches and half of these were parishoners at Windsor's two Roman Catholic churches - one in the suburb of Windsor and the other in the suburb of Woolloowin, two kilometres away. This indicates the significant Catholic population in the area, the majority of whom were of Irish descent, although there are also residents of Italian birth and descent.

Apart from these formal organisations, the pub has traditionally been identified as the meeting place of the male working-class, a pattern specifically observed for occupational communities, and while no quantitative data were collected on pub activity in Windsor, qualitative data, collected from visits to the Albion pub, did show a very distinctive pattern of pub attendance for a small proportion of male residents. In one of the three bars (one of the two male bars) in this pub, about one-tenth of the male relocating population (all middle-aged and elderly men) would meet every Saturday morning. This is a tradition which these men claim goes back several decades to their fathers and grandfathers. Moreover, this is a practice not only characteristic of Windsor, for it exists in other inner suburbs as well. In the Buranda/Woolloongabba area, for example, inner suburbs south of the river, exactly the same pattern exists⁴. Such a finding is quite significant, at least in terms of the middle-aged and elderly males, and suggests a residential tradition emanating from the urban peasant period.

⁴ This is based on data collected from a number of residents who were forced to relocate because of Brisbane's first freeways (1966/67; see Chapter 2)

3. Leisure and Consumption

In dominant capitalist countries, the transition from the occupational community of industrial urbanisation to the suburban community of contemporary corporate urbanisation was accompanied by a shift in leisure from a collective orientation to individualised activity: from the shared time of men and their workmates in pubs and (to a lesser extent) of women and their female kin and neighbours in the home, to the present situation where leisure is individualised and consumption-oriented, based in the home around, for example, the television set and the stereo system. How far this privatisation of leisure appeared in Windsor can now be examined and whether this was a consequence of the rise of the suburban community or whether, in fact, it is a distinct remnant of the urban peasant community.

Leisure based in voluntary organisations has already been shown, and when we examine this activity in association with a selected number of leisure pursuits, we find that 47 per cent of all residents' leisure could be classified as 'home-based', while the remaining 53 per cent were divided between the home, the suburb and outside the suburb, with home-based activities still being the most numerous, even for this group. Therefore, the overall picture shows that when all these are taken together, home-based activities predominated.

Participation in specific leisure pursuits is given in Table 10.8, with major activities confirming the home-based dominance - specifically of television viewing, listening to the radio, both of which are consumption oriented, and in the less consumer-oriented activities of gardening/pottering and entertaining visitors. Of the non-local activities, watching and playing sport and visiting were the most important. Considering Australians' supposed predisposition

for horse races, it was rather surprising to find very few going to the race track, although this does not deny the possibility (or probability) of large numbers betting on horse races. Also, the popular mass consumption activities based in the cinema, in concerts, in shows, etc., were largely ignored.

It is worth noting that expressive recreational activities such as parties were largely insignificant. Only young adults living in rental accommodation tended to give parties, at least of the expressive (i.e. noisy) variety, and this was one of the bases for the hostility felt by older residents towards these young renters. Such parties breached what the older people considered neighbourhood norms - of being quiet and not intruding on neighbours.

The overall picture to emerge, then, was of privatisation of leisure, with major activities being centred within the house, although not all of these were consumption based. While these findings coincide with assumptions made about the privatisation of leisure under suburbanisation, there is some doubt about whether Windsor's pattern was a direct consequence of the contemporary suburbanisation process. Since most of Windsor's residents were middle-aged and elderly (and retired or near retirement), the mass consumption was not so evident. While most households had a television set and a radio, negligible numbers had a stereo system (although about one-quarter had a record player). Only 47 per cent had a car (compared with the 71 per cent in Windsor as a whole and 78 per cent in Brisbane), which was not so much associated with the fact that they were elderly people who had given up their car but with the fact that they had never owned one in the first place due to the convenience of public transport. Even as mundane an item as a gas or electric cooker was not universally used, for five per cent of households had combustion (mainly wood) stoves

TABLE 10.8

Participation in selected leisure activities.

(%)

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>			Total
	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Never</u>	
<u>Home-based:</u>				
Watching television	83	9	8	100
Listening to the radio	82	6	12	100
Gardening/pottering	43	10	47	100
Reading	22	25	53	100
Entertaining visitors	10	45	46	101
Hobby	33	-	67	100
Cards	4	6	90	100
Listening to records	5	9	86	100
Giving parties	2	14	84	100
<u>Other:</u>				
Watching sport	28	1	71	100
Playing sport	23	1	75	99
Visiting	10	45	46	101
Party-going	1	17	82	100
Going to horse racing	8	11	81	100
Cinema	6	18	76	100
Theatre	1	2	97	100
Night clubs	0	2	98	100
Concerts	0	1	99	100
Other shows	1	7	92	100
Other	14	1	86	101

which had been installed at the time the house was built, many decades earlier

These brief comments, then, suggest that there was not the mass consumption of commodities in Windsor, as there is in new suburban developments. This was not only tied to the age and low income of the population, but more importantly it was a consequence of the fact that the mass consumption process is directed at younger and more affluent workers, particularly those with families. The family unit is the major locus of consumption and middle-aged and elderly people residing in old working-class areas like Windsor tend to be excluded from such consumption processes. The only significant consumers living in Windsor were young adults in rented accommodation who made great use of facilities concentrated in the inner city, but these tended to be temporary residents, in transit, before moving to the suburbs.

4. The Domestic Economy

We now turn to the important sphere of domestic labour and the domestic economy. Details of domestic activity are given in Table 10.9 where, predictably, women are shown to dominate domestic work except for outdoor activities such as mowing lawns and tidying the yard. The areas dominated almost totally by women were cooking, washing dishes and shopping. There was also a considerable sharing of activities between men and women, particularly in looking after children and deciding how money should be spent. Nevertheless, these figures on shared chores tend to exaggerate the influence of men, for what they do not show is that 'shared activities' invariably mean that on occasions men participated, for women still did the bulk of the work. Nevertheless, one of the interesting trends thrown up by qualitative data is that men, as they enter retirement, tend

TABLE 10.9

Selected elements of domestic activity
(percentage participation)

	Wife	Husband	Shared	Other*	Total
Cooking	85	3	8	3	99
Washing dishes	57	3	27	12	99
Shopping	56	6	34	3	99
Puts young children to bed	37	3	60		100
Takes children on outings	3		89	8	100
Decides on children's education		10	90		100
Pays bills	44	24	32		100
Decides on how money is spent	21	10	69		100
Mows lawns	7	79	3	12	101
Tidying yard	2	79	12	6	99

* Includes children, other kin or others living in household

increasingly to be involved in housework (as distinct from domestic labour), for they come to share the shopping, tidying of the house and even some of the cooking.

Findings contained in Table 10.9 coincide with the pattern of activities between men and women discerned by Goldthorpe, et al (1969), although it is difficult to interpret this similarity since the two refer to quite different working-class populations. The Windsor residents lived in an old working-class area and had lived there for a considerable period of time, while the Luton workers were relatively young and were recent arrivals.

The most significant feature of domestic labour in Windsor, however, appears to be its characteristic demise. If domestic labour is defined as labour carried out by women for the reproduction of labour power, we should note that this process has become insignificant in Windsor, as women enter middle- and old-age, with children leaving home and men retiring from wage labour

With Windsor housing mainly middle-aged and elderly residents, 69 per cent of the relocating women being over the age of 50 years, women's role in producing and reproducing the workforce was essentially completed. Domestic labour (but not housework) had been removed by the loss of childcare with children becoming adults and establishing their own families of procreation in newer suburbs, and by the completion of domestic support for wage labourers because husbands were now dead, retired or near retirement. (Further discussion to this question will be given in Chapter 14.)

These comments on age and residential life are significant because they point to the way certain residential areas come to be dominated by old people, particularly old women. This is a process which is

increasing in significance as more and more people live beyond their productive years. Residential areas, such as Windsor, then, increasingly house ex-domestic and ex-wage labourers and in terms of urban struggles, this has important connotations. Since political power essentially derives from the work situation, it means that once men retire from wage labour and women 'retire' from domestic labour (but not housework), access to political power comes to be removed. These people, in effect, are disenfranchised. For Windsor residents, this was politically important because it suggested the presence of a barrier to mobilisation. Such issues of women, age and urban struggle will be considered in Chapter 14.

In conclusion, we should not ignore the fact that this disenfranchisement of the aged creates a contradiction and thus a political reaction against the dominant class. That is, it is leading to a political upheaval of potential immensity in the form of 'grey power', as more and more elderly people live beyond their day of retirement and move into years of possible poverty.

5. Summary

We can now pull together the major threads from this long and detailed analysis of the empirical patterning of everyday life in Windsor. Overall, social life can be defined as privatised, but it lacked the highly segmental character of suburban living where there is little tie between certain parts of social life. In Windsor, primarily because of age and length of residence, there was a moderate rate of carry-over between different sectors of social life. The major findings were:

- i) Neighbours were well-known but relationships tended to be distant.
- ii) The closest ties, the 'intimates', were with people located outside residents' suburbs, but concentrated in a series of northside

suburbs housing about 150,000 people which included the suburbs of Windsor

- iii) Two-thirds of the intimates of both manual and non-manual workers were friends, while more equal proportions of houseworkers' intimates were kin and friends.
- iv) Manual workers' intimate friends tended to be met in clubs
- v) Friendships did not emerge at all from the workplace, but came from contacts made in neighbourhoods and suburbs (the present ones or past ones) and from clubs.
- vi) Kin were met in private homes. Such entry to private homes tended to be restricted almost totally to kin (except for some friends of non-manual workers).
- vii) Overall, intimate ties were relatively loose-knit (sparse).
- viii) Ties between intimates and neighbours were also relatively loose-knit.
- ix) Kin living nearby, other than those who were intimates, were concentrated in northside suburbs
- x) Friends living nearby, other than those who were intimates, were concentrated in residents' suburbs (many being neighbours) and in other northside suburbs
- xi) Overall, a clear segmentation tended to be made between kin, friends and neighbours.
- xii) Half were members of voluntary associations, but only one-quarter of these were located within Windsor, the remainder being concentrated in other northside suburbs. Men were more likely to be in either sports or social clubs, while women were more evenly spread throughout sports, social, service, and church clubs
- xiii) Leisure was home-based, but was not totally consumption oriented.
- xiv) Domestic labour was 'ceasing' with children having left home and husbands retiring or dying.

The essential feature of life for Windsor residents, then, was that although privatised, it was centred within a series of northside suburbs, including the city centre, covering about seven and one-half square kilometres moving north and then westwards from the city centre, rather than being concentrated in a very restricted geographic area as for the occupational community, or spread throughout a much larger area, as for the suburban community. Within this wedge of settlement Windsor residents lived, shared the immediate locale with neighbours, had their places of employment, spent their leisure time, which included voluntary association membership, and shopped. It was the area in which their intimates lived and where their nearby 'other' kin and friends resided. Therefore, while social life in Windsor did not have the intimacy and intensity of an occupational community, it did not appear to be as sparse and segmentalised as life in the suburban community, for there was somewhat greater integration than, for example, among the affluent workers studied by Goldthorpe, et al (1969) and by Gans (1968). Nevertheless, difficulties do exist in making such a comparison since Windsor data are not strictly comparable with those reported by Goldthorpe, et al and by Gans. In general it would appear, however, that the somewhat more integrated pattern for Windsor, seemed to be tied to the greater stability (at least until recently) of the large number of middle-aged and elderly residents who had lived in the area for a considerable period of time.

III CONCLUSION

It is now possible to draw certain conclusions about the social structuring of residential life in Windsor, with particular reference to the implications of this form of community for the urban struggle. Where housing and residential facilities formed the stakes and therefore initiated the struggle, the nature of residential life

determines the manner in which the social base of residents came to be the social force.

Life in Windsor was privatised, meaning that it expressed the residential form of either the suburban community of the contemporary stage of urbanisation, or the urban peasantry of the previous period of mercantile urbanisation. Determining the direction of influence, however, can only be drawn inferentially because no historical data exist on the urban peasantry and very little exists on Australian suburban communities. The only detailed Australian study on suburbanisation, which has comparative implications, is Bryson and Thompson's (1972) study of a government-built, but now owner-occupied, suburb located on the outskirts of Melbourne ('Newtown'). While their conclusion on social life also showed a privatised pattern, this study and the present one are not comparable because, although both are working-class areas, Windsor is an old residential locale with middle-aged and elderly residents who had lived there for considerable periods of time, while Newtown was a typical suburban development, with owner-occupied dwellings housing young adults and young children.

The implication to be drawn from the Windsor data, then, is that the age of the population, plus the long period of residence, meant that the basis for Windsor's social form was not suburbanisation, but the previous mercantile urbanisation. That is, it appeared as a remnant of the urban peasantry. While much of the material form of the urban peasantry has been removed (see Chapter 8), the social form has been able to continue because it is congruent with the privatisation of the suburban community. The essential difference between the social life of Windsor residents and the suburban community rests on the less loose-knit character of social networks and the lower level of consumption. Social privatisation, then, has not been based on the

mass consumption of goods, for old areas like Windsor are not important consumption sites, in the way the new and burgeoning suburbs are. The houses are old, residents are on low incomes, there are few private motor vehicles and there is a relative lack of consumer durables.

The fact that neighbours were well-known but relationships were distant, the location of intimates, both kin and friends, in other northside suburbs, the tendency to segment kin and friends, with the former being met in private homes and the latter in more formally organised settings such as clubs, all point to a distinct pattern of privatisation that appears to go back several generations to the mercantile period. The ease by which suburbanisation emerged in Australian cities since 1945 attests to the path laid by the privatisation of the urban peasant. While the domestic economy of the urban peasantry has changed, the nature of residential ties remains structurally the same today, with the presence of the suburban community.

The other important feature of social life in Windsor which distinguishes it from suburban communities is the fact that domestic labour is 'completed'. Being an old area which houses middle-aged and elderly residents, childcare for women has finished and the maintenance of the wage labourer is coming to an end as increasing numbers of men retire or die. This contrasts sharply with the suburbs where domestic labour is at its most developed, because families are young, with women forming the domestic labour force and men the wage labour. The height of domestic labour in Windsor, occurred over the decades 1930 to 1950, the period when Australian urbanisation was being transformed to the corporate period.

Chapter 11

SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF RESIDENTIAL LIFE II:
IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN WINDSORI INTRODUCTION

Where the previous chapter considered the way life was organised in Windsor and pinpointed structural possibilities for mobilising the social base, the present chapter adds to this analysis by examining the ideological basis of residential life, for what we also need to realise is that residents' understanding (consciousness) will further specify the direction and strength of mobilisation. Some indication has already been given of these ideological questions in Chapters 8 and 9, with discussion of value orientations on housing and residential facilities, and in Chapter 10 on meanings given to neighbour relations. The purpose of this chapter is to pull together these threads and to extend discussion to a broader consideration of the relationship between ideology, residential life and urban struggle.

Central to this analysis is the question of class consciousness, or the manner in which labour is cognizant of its existence as a class. Working-class consciousness emerges as a consequence of class conflict, specifically from clashes between the dominant ideology of the ruling-class and the counter-ideology that the working-class evolves from experiences of work and everyday life. Yet, because of the power held by the ruling-class, it is ruling-class ideology that is mainly expressed in working-class consciousness and in concomitant fashion this subordinates counter-ideology. In this way, then, working-class consciousness can largely be seen as a 'false consciousness' for it expresses a spurious understanding of life and one that comes effectively to legitimate the power held by the ruling-class. This,

in turn, blocks opportunities for the working-class to develop any real knowledge of itself and of class relations. This hegemony, however, should not be seen in any simple mechanistic way because it is persistently challenged by counter-ideology. There is, therefore, a continuous ideological shift in the balance of power between classes.

It is with one element of working-class consciousness that we are concerned here. This is what can be termed 'residential consciousness', or working-class understanding of the material objects necessary for its reproduction (housing and facilities). This consciousness specifically arises from confrontations between the dominant ideology and the counter-ideology over such objects and, again, it comes to be expressed mainly in a hegemonic way.

The theoretical significance of this ideological control by the ruling-class rests on one important fact. This is that capital attempts to control workers both inside and outside the workplace, but where labour in the workplace is overtly controlled by direct physical coercion through supervision and procedures for hiring and firing, no such systematic control exists in the residential setting, although it is true that a form of direct control is evidenced by landlords (over renters) and mortgage companies (over home buyers) and in the police force and the legal system. But relatively speaking, control in the living place is still maintained without direct and overtly oppressive means and under such circumstances residential life tends to give the illusion of being 'free'.¹ Nevertheless, and this is the central

¹ There have been isolated occasions when capital has attempted to control labour in a direct and overt way at both the workplace and the living place through the creation of physically isolated occupational communities. This experiment, however, has had disastrous consequences for capital. When strong working-class action emerged, both the industry and the community were destroyed. The most famous case occurred in the United States' town of Pullman (see Buder, 1967).

issue; residential life is controlled in a covert way for it is managed ideologically. Where labour is primarily controlled by overt coercion at the workplace, it is primarily controlled through ideology at the living place.

This ideological control, then, or 'hegemony' as Gramsci (1971) calls it, is the process whereby the ruling-class extracts a consent, an agreement, from workers over its political, economic and ideological dominance. It is established from the inculcation (socialisation) of values, beliefs, attitudes, morality, etc., which are directly responsive to capital and which are provided by specific social institutions, notably the family, religion, education and mass media. In concrete terms this process comes to be located (principally) in the residential area, with nuclear families, neighbourhoods, local schools, local churches and in the television and radio programmes viewed and heard in the home. In other words, ideological apparatuses for the maintenance of hegemony are found concentrated at the level of residential life.

When we confront empirical data from Windsor, however, certain difficulties are present, the principal one being the relative lack of detailed empirical research on ideology and working-class consciousness which could allow a comparative analysis to be made - although notable exceptions do exist (see Bulmer, 1975; Goldthorpe, et al, 1969). More specifically there is no detailed empirical research relating ideological aspects of residential life to urban struggles, although Pickvance (1977b) has given brief discussion to residential consciousness and the way the social base becomes a social force, and Piven (1977), in a theoretically different paper, gives a more general account of working-class consciousness and the emergence of social movements (see also Piven and Cloward, 1977). Even the major urban

writings by Castells (1977) and others (see Harloe, 1977; Pickvance, 1976a; Tabb and Sawers, 1978; Alcaly and Mermelstein, 1977; and the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research) have failed to consider urbanisation and ideology, despite the fact that Castells (1977), for example, gave extensive discussion to the ideological basis of urban sociology.

II IDEOLOGY AND RESIDENTIAL LIFE

While we lack these necessary comparative data, one way we can usefully evolve a comparative framework is by examining the conceptual issues of ideology and community form. Different residential situations, arising from particular types of urbanisation, have varying ideologies. These can be seen in the residential forms identified in previous chapters: the occupational community (emerging from industrial urbanisation), the suburban community (emerging from corporate urbanisation) and the urban peasant community (emerging from Australia's mercantile urbanisation)

The occupational community, housing the 'traditional proletarian', has had the most developed class consciousness because of the strong solidarity that developed from the tie between home and work. Life was defined in class terms as 'us and them', although the social isolation of such tightly-knit class conscious communities prevented this radical consciousness from extending beyond the community

With the rise of the suburban community, housing the 'affluent worker', the primacy of labour (of the occupational community) was replaced by the privatisation of the consumption process. The central life interest is now in consumption which came to be expressed in pecuniary terms, for wages are the means whereby consumption is possible. This, in turn, expressed the highly individualistic basis

of life with its strong emphasis upon status. Political activity, channelled through trade unionism, is directed at increases in wage levels to enable an increase in consumption and status, rather than as direct challenges to the capitalist mode of production.

Finally the urban peasant community shares a great similarity with the suburban community, with its strong individualism and emphasis upon the home. However, the domesticity of this community was not based on consumption but revolved around thrift, respectability, self-help and the self-sufficiency of an advanced form of domestic labour. Therefore, the material experience of the urban peasantry was at the core of this ideology and political activity revolved around demands for self-sufficiency.

Hypothetically, as shown in previous chapters, the ideological basis of Windsor should express remnants of an urban peasantry, although because of similarities with the suburban community, ideological expression may also show suburban features. The basic difference between the two should appear as the relative lack of consumption demands in the urban peasant ideology.

III IDEOLOGY AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN WINDSOR

For analytical purposes, distinction has been made in this section between ideology directed at material issues and ideology as it relates to social organisation.

1 Ideology and Material Issues

The material basis of residential life, centring primarily on housing, appeared among relocating residents as the owner-occupation of single-family housing. The ideological expression of this home-ownership emerged as a 'personal tie to the house and land', for the house and yard were seen as a central component of their way of life.

(cf Rose, et al , 1976) Under such circumstances, remnants of an urban peasantry were discernible in Windsor, for as shown in Chapter 8, considerable time, money and effort had been put into the 'property' and the domestic labour tied to this activity expressed thrift, respectability, individualism, self-sufficiency and creativity. Homeownership, moreover, came to fulfil values of economic independence, for it attested to the ability of a family to maintain itself as an independent unit (despite long mortgage commitments by some) and the occupancy of a single-family dwelling came to be symbolic of residential independence, for it physically represented the social distance existing between neighbours.

The house and yard in Windsor, then, were not seen by residents as objects for consumption or as a means for expressing status, as is the case with the suburban community, but as offering a social independence detached from the oppressiveness of work. More significantly, as Harvey (1977) implies, the house and yard provide a situation in which workers could achieve (however illusory) some relationship with nature. It is this relationship with nature, he claims, which expresses the most fundamental association in life, for it refers to the process whereby raw materials from nature are transformed into use values by labour. More generally, we can also argue that the productive (non-capitalist) labour of the urban peasantry (during the mercantile stage of capitalism) allowed workers to produce some use values (e.g. building furniture) rather than having their total labour expropriated as surplus value from wage labour.

Under these conditions, then, a tie existed between work and nature; a tie which had long been destroyed in dominant capitalist countries through the factory system. Therefore, Australia's mercantile

period was probably the nearest Australian workers (and most capitalist workers) have been to a relationship with nature; a relationship which Stretton (1976) currently advocates in his discussion of homeownership and domestic labour and a relationship which in Australia has been replaced by the consumerism of suburbanisation (see Chapter 4)

In concrete terms, the relationship these remnants of an urban peasantry had towards the 'constructed nature' of the yard and garden was quite distinctive. It was one of rigorous control, where lawns were closely and neatly cropped, where only a limited number of trees were permitted because residents thought too many hampered surveillance of the street, because the leaves ruined the lawn or clogged the house gutters, because they attracted mosquitos and blocked the light. It was an area where gardens, while sparse, were neatly laid out and where the house and grounds were kept in a disciplined way. There was therefore an almost obsessive need to control the residential environment and this seems to express the relationship residents had with nature and perhaps appeared more as an exploitative, rather than as an accommodating, relationship. Considerable hostility was directed from the middle-aged and elderly homeowners who were the guardians of this residential ideology, towards the young transients who lived in 'unkempt housing'. Very strong sanctions were placed on keeping the neighbourhood neat and tidy.

Extending this discussion onto a more general theoretical level, additional comments need to be made about the ideology of homeownership since this issue forms the core of residential ideology. Recent discussion has suggested that homeownership is a mechanism whereby workers become committed to private property because they have a stake in the system and as a consequence it commits them to a legitimation

of capitalism. Homeownership also forces workers to pay off mortgages over a long period of time and therefore ensures that they are diligent and hard working and these also are values of advantage to capital. This, at least, is the way the argument goes, specifically as applied to Britain and America (see Ball 1976; Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975; Saunders, 1978; Harvey, 1977), and the question we need to ask now is whether this also relates to the Australian situation as Kemeny (1977a, 1977b, 1977c) suggests.

The starting point of this evaluation is a realisation that these comments essentially refer to the period since 1945 when suburbanisation pushed up the rate of homeownership. The unique situation in Australia, as pointed out in Chapter 4, has been one where there have always been high levels of homeownership and it is very striking in this context that the level of homeownership in the 1890s (Butlin, 1976) and again at the 1911 Census (50 per cent) was exactly the same as the British rate in 1971, 80 and 60 years later!! Therefore, does this finding say that Australian homeownership represents an earlier commitment by Australian workers to capitalism, on the one hand, and a later commitment by British workers, on the other, or does this notion of an ideological relationship between homeownership and capitalism need some critical qualification?

What we could have assumed was that homeownership would be higher in dominant capitalist countries like Britain because the most developed forms of capitalism and the most powerful workforces have historically existed there. Under such conditions homeownership would have been introduced to diffuse working-class action by giving them 'a stake in the system'. This did not happen, as shown in Chapter 4, but the reverse, in fact, was the case. Countries with the lowest levels of homeownership tended to have the most powerful workforces, while those

(e.g. Australia) with the highest levels of homeownership had 'weaker' workforces. As a consequence, some doubts must exist on the interpretation that high rates of homeownership represent an ideological commitment by labour to private property. In stating this, no claim is being made that no such ideological sanction is present. There is little doubt that it is applicable to suburban consumption. The point is that the empirical patterning of homeownership throughout capitalist countries raises some doubts over the universal and historical accuracy of the hypothesis

In Australia it seems that the historically high rates of homeownership may relate to other ideological processes. These would appear to emerge from within mercantile urbanisation and therefore from the urban peasantry. While ideological demands for self-sufficiency and individualism offered by homeownership have clearly existed throughout the first half of this century, and even back into the nineteenth century (see Davison, 1978; Sandercock, 1975; Spearritt, 1978), it appears that, while these demands have had an encapsulating effect through the privatisation of an urban peasantry, it does not necessarily mean that this containment represented a commitment to the capitalist mode of production. Rather, this demand for self-sufficiency in a 'property owning democracy' seems more closely to resemble the ideology of a rural peasantry with its close tie to the land and a subsistence economy centred on self-sufficiency. In other words, the simple ownership of house and land in Australia until 1950 may not necessarily have indicated any ideological support by Australian workers for the capitalist mode of production. Rather, it may have reflected the ideology associated with another mode of production: the peasantry. Of course, there is no substantiation for this; yet the argument given in Chapter 4 on widespread home-

ownership and the urban peasantry indicates the possibility of this ideology. However, there is a need to sort out comparatively the ideological and structural differences between the (historical) patterning of homeownership in Australia and that in other capitalist countries.

A final point is worth making on residential ideology and urban peasantry. One of the persistent themes appearing in Australian history has been that of the 'bush ethos' - a rural ideology. In other words, a positive ideological association with the countryside (see Lawson, 1973; Ward, 1958). The puzzling thing about this is that it exists in a country where people have always been urban dwellers and where no large rural population has ever been present. Why should such a paradox exist? It seems possible that this ethos is tied in some way with the urban peasantry, with its self-sufficiency and its link to the 'soil'. Of course, it is also plausible that this rural ideology was linked to the rural basis of Australian capitalism. The essential point nevertheless is that the persistence of the bush ethos may well have been sustained by the presence of the urban peasantry. This, again, is sheer speculation and would require careful empirical and theoretical research to explicate the exact ideological pattern.

2 Ideology and Social Organisation

Turning now to the second of these ideological considerations, social organisation, the essential character of Windsor was its privatisation, as shown structurally in the previous chapter. Although neighbours tended to know one another well, the nature of the relationship was socially distant. The 'good neighbourhood' was a place where people kept to themselves and did not intrude upon others - they 'kept out of one another's pockets'. The social consequences of this meant that not only was social contact restricted,

but residents physically refrained from going into one another's houses and yards unless invited (which was rare) They were contained within their own houses and yards

The social distance between neighbours was also expressed in the relatively small proportions who said they had 'a lot' in common with neighbours - 34 per cent of relocating and only 12 per cent of non-relocating residents. In fact, 61 per cent of the non-relocating sample said they had 'not much' or 'nothing' in common with neighbours, compared with 32 per cent for relocating residents. It was the longer period of residence which brought a greater sharing between relocating residents. For the most part those who said they had something in common expressed such communality as either 'casual friendships' or as ties with people who 'shared similar views'

While this notion of privatisation can pinpoint the social introversion of Windsor, it tells us little about residents' understanding of class, with particular reference to the potential for urban struggle. If there was a clear identification and strong political allegiance to the working-class as a social class there would be a strong suggestion of a proletarianisation. Logically this is unlikely from notions of privatisation previously given.

When people were asked whether others living in their area were of the same social class, two-thirds answered positively, although more manual workers (two-thirds) and houseworkers (three-quarters) than non-manual workers (one-half) responded in this way. Of those who did identify a similarity of class, only 25 per cent considered residents to be 'working-class' and comparatively little difference existed between non-manual, manual and houseworkers. Even fewer considered the area to be 'middle-class' (eight per cent), but

considerable numbers (28 per cent) said it housed 'old-aged pensioners' and 'working-class pensioners' and 29 per cent said it housed 'average and ordinary' people. In terms of the latter two responses, there was surprisingly little disagreement between the three occupational groups. Overall, then, the area was defined loosely in 'class' terms, with over half using the terms 'working/average/ordinary' and one-quarter identifying 'pensioners'

In contrast with residents' 'class' evaluation of the locality, when residents were asked to identify their own 'class', marked differences existed. The largest number (42 per cent) said they were 'working-class', with 20 per cent saying they were 'middle-class', 24 per cent 'ordinary or average' and four per cent, 'old age or working-class pensioners'. Predictably, variations existed between the three occupational groups, with manual workers (44 per cent) and houseworkers (45 per cent) being more likely than non-manual workers (29 per cent) to identify themselves as 'working-class', while half of the non-manual workers (47 per cent) considered themselves 'middle-class', in comparison with 17 per cent of houseworkers and seven per cent of manual workers. Of the remainder, 33 per cent of manual workers, 22 per cent of houseworkers and 13 per cent of non-manual workers defined themselves as being 'ordinary or average'. Finally, considering the large numbers who defined the area as housing 'old age and working-class pensioners', it was surprising that very few of the houseworkers (six per cent), manual workers (five per cent) and non-manual workers (none) defined themselves in these terms.

Therefore, in contrasting residents' class definition of the area with that of their own class definition, quite marked differences were apparent. Many more of them defined themselves as working-class than defined the area as working-class, while many more identified the

area as housing 'old-aged and working-class pensioners' than defined themselves in this way. It was significant, moreover, that no more than 44 per cent of the manual workers defined themselves as 'working-class' (although the majority of the rest indicated 'average or ordinary'); this seems to suggest a relative lack of class identification among workers. The pervading impression from the interviews was that 'class' was used by residents merely as a type of classificatory system rather than in the strict sense of the word as access to the means of production. Under such conditions there is a relative lack of conscious class solidarity, or class consciousness among those living in Windsor.

Little opportunity existed for residents to develop such class consciousness because appropriate structural and ideological avenues were not present. The privatisation of life kept people apart and contact tended to be maintained only on a very casual basis. Political and ideological issues were never discussed within the neighbourhood, although politics was occasionally debated among the small groups of men who met in the local pub on Saturday mornings. There was, in fact, a very strong sanction against discussing 'controversial' issues within the neighbourhood for these were seen as being irrelevant to residential life. The living place was viewed simply as the area for bringing up children and for escaping (for men) the control of the workplace: it was the location for an atomised independence. Such a situation, then, clearly presents little opportunity for evolving class consciousness and strong political action.

Moreover, there was little structural opportunity for developing counter-ideology since there were few opportunities for people to meet in local formal organisations. There were few local clubs, comparatively

few were parishoners at local churches, and there were few children in the area, which meant schools could not be used as an avenue for political contact. In other words, there was a dearth of organisations which could bring local residents together for political purposes. Even a 'trade union of collective consumption', as Castells (1978a) calls it, which plays the role for residential life that trade unions maintain in the workplace, does not appear structurally possible.

The relative lack of political awareness was reflected in the small percentage (three per cent, which is about average for the population) who belonged to political parties, with two-thirds of these being members of the ALP. Also only a relatively small percentage (46 per cent) were committed to a specific political party, although more manual (57 per cent) and non-manual workers (61 per cent), than houseworkers (34 per cent) made such commitments and with the exception of non-manual workers, the overwhelming majority supported the ALP.

What was equally important about this passive political stance was the (perhaps) surprising general acceptance of freeways as a necessary part of Brisbane's transport system, despite the fact that almost all opposed the imposition of the Northern Freeway. Sixty-five per cent of the relocating residents, compared with 68 per cent of non-relocating residents accepted the necessity of freeways. Even of those residents who were members of the anti-freeway protest group, one-half (57 per cent) accepted the necessity of freeways. Much of this response, then, can be seen to be related to a broader ideological acceptance of technological change and developments like freeways are seen as 'progress', irrespective of whether there are severe social consequences. Residents' fatalistic acceptance was expressed on numerous occasions as 'I suppose we can't stand in the way of progress'

Overall, then, these views clearly express a political encapsulation arising from a political isolation of the residential area. Windsor was markedly different from the proletarianised situation of the occupational community described earlier. There was a lack of class consciousness, little political commitment and a general accession to the notion of 'progress'

Yet we cannot assume from these data that Windsor residents were entirely passive or failed to express antagonism over urban issues, and we need to realise that we cannot measure working-class consciousness solely in terms of some unified conception of class relations, because class conflict also appears in a sporadic and frequently isolated manner. Within Windsor there was a number of very distinct issues that identified class conflict, even if only in embryonic form. That is, there were signs of a fairly widespread popular dissent throughout Windsor, expressed as common grievances, which forced residents to develop some rudimentary diagnosis of power and social class.

These observable political reactions within Windsor occurred in response to urban development; that is, to physical changes within the area. Firstly, there was opposition (largely unorganised) from long-term residents in owner-occupied housing to the intrusion into what they defined as a residential area by industries, offices and shops and to the residential transition from single-family housing to home units and flats. Secondly, urban development brought severe problems to residential life with greater volumes of traffic (from the 1960s). This was particularly inevitable since Brisbane's major road north cuts through the centre of Windsor, but also the increased number of factories brought more and more trucks into the area. Thirdly, the most significant political opposition during the 1970s, apart from

the anti-freeway movement, was agitation against the flood problem (see Chapter 8).

This re-development of Windsor is part of the larger development of Brisbane and the Moreton Region, dating from the early 1960s, and much of the criticism from Windsor residents was directed at the Clem Jones City Government which had spearheaded the pro-growth coalition involved in Brisbane's expansion (see Chapter 6). Including the freeway, these developments were perceived as disadvantaging Windsor residents and seen to be giving advantages to the Clem Jones administration, to developers, to factory owners, to shopkeepers, and to people living outside the area.

This scattergun attitude by residents towards development meant there was no united or clear formulation of dissent. All this small-scale antagonism suggests is that a counter-ideology was present for confronting the intrusion of property capital. Nevertheless, this was not very well developed and we can conclude that residential consciousness, generally, expressed a political passivity and lacked a radical component.

Therefore, when we evaluate the ideological base of Windsor with reference to a potential for widespread mobilisation, little possibility seems to exist. Using Harvey's (1977) continuum identifying the relationship between ideology and urban struggle, we can define Windsor as having a mixture of 'possessive individualism' and 'community consciousness' (see Chapter 4). The former, at one end of the continuum, refers to the process whereby each worker independently seeks to gain access to as many resources as possible, while with the latter, workers go beyond purely individual self-interests and come to initiate collective action over scarce public

resources, but with the consequence of communities frequently coming to oppose one another. At the other end of the scale is 'full class consciousness' where struggle is directed against all forms of exploitation, whether in the workplace or the living place, a consciousness lacking in Windsor and in Australia.

IV CONCLUSION

The consciousness expressed by Windsor residents was centred within the privatisation of households, located in single-family, owner-occupied dwellings and expressed as an individualism of thriftiness, self-help, respectability and self-sufficiency. This ideology differed markedly from the acquisitiveness of the contemporary suburban community, for consumption demands were not present. It is under such circumstances that we can define the ideological basis of Windsor as reflecting the remnants of an urban peasantry.

The consequence of the social isolation emerging from privatisation was a relative lack of class awareness and it was this which helped place a strong ideological barrier to political mobilisation. Under such circumstances there is a strong hegemonic control evident in Windsor, although there was not total quiescence, for sporadic actions against urban development did occur but these tended to be diffuse and isolated, frequently without an organisation to direct protest.

PART FIVE

THE STRUGGLE

PREFACE

At last we directly confront the question that is the focus of this work; the anti-freeway struggle itself. The discussion so far has focused on the sociological contexts within which the struggle emerged. As argued at the outset, to be capable of interpreting an urban struggle, we must understand the structural conditions and processes giving rise to it. For present purposes, these sociological contexts were defined as the urbanisation process generally and as residential life.

Urbanisation was viewed firstly in terms of the slow emergence of Queensland from an historic state of underdevelopment, following the rapid development of the State's mineral industry, and then in a more specific way, from the perspective of the rapid development of Brisbane and its Moreton Region as a consumption site; with suburbanisation in Brisbane and tourism/recreation on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts. It was from and in association with this latter development that a massive restructuring of Brisbane's transport system occurred. The car came to be its basis and an extensive system of freeways its infrastructure. Freeways, then, were to extend suburbanisation and tourism and recreation, and struggles emerged over the necessity to destroy numerous Brisbane residential areas to enable construction of freeways.

The second sociological context, residential life, was analysed in terms of the specific case of Windsor, for this was the residential area directly affected by the Northern Freeway. An understanding of residential life is critical, for it pinpointed the manner in which the struggle evolved and it related directly to the contradiction - the destruction of the material basis of residential life: housing

and facility access. It was these material issues which became the stakes in the struggle, with Windsor's social organisation and its ideological basis coming to determine the shape the struggle took - that is, the manner in which the social base became the social force.

The central theoretical importance of analysing this (and other) struggles is to be explained from the perspective of class relations, specifically the manner in which there is a loosening of control (however temporary or permanent) by the dominant class over the dominated class in terms of urban issues. In other words, urban struggles (through urban social movements) lead to advantages for the dominated class (e.g. in housing). Since the city exists primarily as a mechanism for reproducing the workforce, and since the major component of this process appears, in a concrete way, as housing and facilities, it means that actions by the working-class over these issues make urban struggles and urban politics, generally, the kernel of the urban question. Therefore, the theoretical issue which concerns us here, is the manner in which this struggle modified class relations within Brisbane and within Australian urbanisation. What gains were made by the working-class in terms of housing and facilities? And in terms of the general class struggle?

To be capable of interpreting these effects, the analysis has been placed within the two broad contexts identified: the urbanisation process and residential life. Part V, then, comes to be divided into four chapters, with the first chapter, Chapter 12, setting the scene. It gives a descriptive analysis of the evolution of the struggle from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s, by identifying the critical questions of the issues, actions and effects. It provides the groundwork for interpreting the structures and processes leading to urban effects. These are considered in the two core chapters, 13

and 14. Chapter 13 attempts to place the movement and its effects within the broader question of Brisbane's development and of Australian urbanisation generally. In this way it comes to be directly tied to the analysis provided in Part III (Chapters 5, 6 and 7)

Following this general structural analysis is the specific question of mobilisation and the extent to which the social base initiated urban effects. Chapter 14 considers the process by which the struggle emerged within Windsor, or, in other words, the way the social base became a social force (how it moved from 'a class in itself' to become 'a class for itself') and led to urban change. In this way Chapter 14 corresponds with the empirical analysis made, and the theoretical questions raised, in Part IV (Chapters 8 to 11). Finally, in Chapter 15, findings are brought together in a typological form allowing comparative analysis to be made with struggles in other capitalist countries. In this way, then, Part V moves from a chapter setting the stage, to two chapters attempting to explain both the nature of change and the processes by which it emerged.

Chapter 12

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRISBANE'S FREEWAYS:
ISSUES, ACTIONS AND EFFECTS, 1966-1974¹I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide empirical details of the struggle itself. It gives a descriptive analysis of the structural conditions generating resistance to Brisbane's system of expressways and freeways. It distinguishes the evolution of struggle, in the 1960s, when the first expressway and the first freeway were introduced and when action in opposition to their introduction was stringently contained, from the period 1972 to 1974, when strong and widespread contestation occurred following the announcement of the second freeway system; the linked Central (part) and Northern Freeways. It was the Northern Freeway which was to bisect Windsor. Following the 1970s action this freeway and extensive parts of Brisbane's freeway system were either postponed or shelved.

This chapter is divided into two parts and follows the analytical distinction made between the quiescent 1960s and the insurgency of the 1970s. More detailed discussion, however, will be given to the 1970s action, both because this was the major focus of the present research, as well as because this was the most significant period of struggle since it gave rise to particular effects in terms of both the transport system and the urban system, generally. The two periods were divided by a four-year gap when the anti-freeway movement lacked any focus because no organisation was present to fuse issues and direct action. Over that period no new freeways had been announced and there was

¹ This chapter is based on Mullins, 1977a, 1979b.

therefore no specific political act that would spark the anti-freeway movement into taking overt action.

II ANALYTICAL COMPONENTS FOR THE STUDY OF URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As a means of organising the empirical data, Castells' (1977) framework for analysing urban social movements has been used. This framework will enable us to see the extent to which the struggle brought about a change, firstly to Brisbane's transportation system and then to the broader urban system and to the Australian society as a whole. In other words, it will help us trace the extent to which there was a shift in class relations, specific to the urban level, which brought advantages to labour

Castells' framework for the study of urban social movements stems from his analysis of the urban system which, in turn, flows from Althusser's (1969) understanding of social structure. Urban social movements, he states, spring from contradictions within the urban system, most significantly from problems over the material components of residential life (housing and facilities) which, in essence, form the central economic elements of the urban system since they relate directly to the principal role the city plays under capitalism: as the reproducer of labour power. These material components, then, come to form the stakes in urban struggles and the higher the stakes defined by these contradictions, the more likely will mobilisation eventuate, with the actions taken thus leading to urban change and thus to a shift in the balance of power between classes.

The achievement of a qualitatively new effect is the critical definitional criterion for an urban social movement. That is, there must be certain victories for the working-class at the urban level. If no urban effect results, then the movement cannot be defined as an

'urban social movement' but must be seen as a lower level influence integrated within the system and evaluated, for example, as a reformist movement. As pointed out in Chapter 1, we need to distinguish carefully in our analysis between urban struggles ('historical practices'), which are actions occurring at particular points in time having a number of different consequences ranging from reform to dissolution to urban effects, and urban social movements ('transforming historical practices'), which are those urban struggles that specifically bring about urban change ('urban effects') and, in turn, contribute towards transforming the wider society ('political and ideological effects'), again to the advantage of the working-class. As a consequence, of all urban struggles only urban social movements initiate change. All others relate to issues of reform and integration.

Urban effects, resulting from urban social movements, exist either at the 'level of structures' in the sense that structural change occurs (e.g. in the transformation of housing to a more equitable system) or at the 'level of practices' in that a wider groundswell of urban action develops in parallel fashion with this struggle, which broadens the challenge to the dominant political structure (e.g. in the mass mobilisation of working-class communities over residential facilities)

The presence of an organisation is crucial for the success of a movement since it highlights and links contradictions, specifies stakes and fuses urban practices. Without an organisation, a movement lacks a political focus. But the characteristics of participants involved in the organisation, according to Castells, are unimportant since actions pursuing issues and ensuring outcomes form the central analytical questions. Also, as pointed out in Chapter 3, the social movement is quite different from the organisation. The

movement is a shared consciousness accompanied by social action over particular issues aimed at structural and/or ideological change and may exist with or without an organisation (a protest group). The organisation, in contrast, is a formally organised entity which spearheads a movement and fuses issues into certain forms of social action. Therefore, a movement can exist without an organisation (though it will be politically ineffectual) but an organisation cannot exist without a movement, for in urban struggles, as in other struggles, the organisation gives the movement its political directive and provides the essential political impetus for change.

The political viability of the movement is largely determined by the support from the social base, that is, from the population directly affected or directly concerned with the issues at stake (e.g. residents threatened with forced relocation because of an urban renewal scheme). A high degree of mobilisation from this social base contributes significantly towards the development of an urban social movement and thus of urban change, while the absence of support, despite a high stake, is unlikely to lead to urban change. Movements studied by Olives (1976) in Paris were successful, Olives claims, probably because of the existence of a 'lower-class social base' which allowed the establishment of 'revolutionary political organisations' having 'strong local support'. Moreover, movements with bases in residential areas become specially powerful when linked with political action in the workplace. Unfortunately no detailed empirical work has been undertaken to show the process by which the social base comes to be mobilised as a social force and only Pickvance (1977b) has given any consideration to the conceptual procedures involved in this process (see Chapter 14).

Urban effects are more likely to result from contestatory actions

(e.g. squatting, demonstrations, etc.) than from legal, institutionalised methods integrated within the existing political order (e.g. appealing to councillors). Moreover, if repression occurs (e.g. arrests), the movement will receive a political fillip from additional recruitment and support (see Olives, 1976). In association with these questions of action we also need to consider the structural interests opposed to the movement, including their organisational character and the actions taken to counteract the urban movement, particularly as they come to be expressed through the state (e.g. with the police force and the law courts).

Castells concludes his analysis by stressing that urban social movements can never be purely 'urban'. Since the urban system is a product of the society, urban effects come to be linked with other parts of the social structure, e.g. with the economic system. A purely 'urban' movement, then, is a contradiction in terms.

Pickvance (1975, 1977b) introduces a number of criticisms of Castells' framework, for he questions the assumption made by Castells and Olives that the actions of urban social movements necessarily determine change, arguing that urban effects can also be achieved by governments and government departments (cf Mollenkopf, 1975), they can occur through institutionalised means, as well as contestatory action, and also can come about as a result of the resources available to the organisation (e.g. funds, information). He suggests, moreover, the need to examine the nature of residential life, specifically in terms of the ties existing between residents making up the social base - organised groups and institutions and the network of kin, friendship and neighbour associations linking them, etc. - for this will show the process by which a social base becomes a social force (see Chapter 14).

Turning briefly to the local scene, a dearth of empirical data exists on Australian urban struggles, despite widespread activity over the past decade. Available information tends to provide general discussion rather than detailed empirical analyses (see Condon, 1975; Cox and Howard, 1973; Jakubowicz, 1973; Sandercock, 1975). The most useful work is contained in a non-academic analysis of the Builders Labourers Federation (see Thomas, 1973)

III THE EVOLUTION OF STRUGGLE

In order to see the process from which the 'struggle' emerged, we can take what is essentially a chronological perspective. Its 1960s development, in terms of issues, actions and consequences, will be considered firstly, followed by an analysis of the 1970s issues, actions and effects. To make sense of this process, we need now to briefly reiterate the situation within which the struggle emerged.

The freeway programme was introduced in 1966 with the Story Bridge Expressway at Kangaroo Point and 12 months later the nearby Southeast Freeway was announced which, in this first stage, was to cut through the inner southern suburbs of Buranda and Woolloongabba, but it was not until June 1972 that the second major step in Brisbane's freeway system was taken in the form of the now postponed Central (part only) and Northern Freeways which were to bisect the suburbs forming Windsor. Taken together, these were to speed the north/south flow of traffic within Brisbane and form intra-regional links between Brisbane and the Gold and Sunshine Coasts (see Chapters 6 and 7).

The freeway system led to inevitable urban contradictions. In attempting to ease traffic congestion, the city's housing problem was aggravated by the planned destruction of hundreds of old weatherboard single-family, owner-occupied dwellings, housing mainly long-term

middle-aged and elderly working-class residents in inner suburban locations containing Brisbane's major concentrations of public facilities and other amenities and services. These two issues, then, the loss of housing and threatened migration from accessible facilities, emerged as the principal stakes in the urban struggle. The contradiction, however, was also located within transportation with problems of traffic congestion, commuting difficulties from middle and outer suburbs and in the flow of goods between centres of production and consumption.

In concrete terms, the housing question revolved around problems these homeowners had in obtaining adequate compensation (see Chapter 8), for Queensland's laws on compensation simply instruct the payment of 'market value', which meant, because such assessments are invariably below the cost of housing on the open market, residents received amounts which made it difficult to buy similar housing in the same or nearby areas. The only realistic alternative, it seemed, was to move to cheaper housing in underequipped and inaccessible outer suburbs. Compensation difficulties, moreover, were exacerbated by the age of dwellings and, in the case of the Northern Freeway area, by the frequent summer flash flooding of local creeks.

Questions of housing and facility access remained critical over the entire period of freeway development from 1966 to 1974, but in the 1970s the stake broadened to include other issues, bringing changes to the political character of the movement. Moreover, where the 1960s was politically passive and residents were tightly contained, the 1970s became a period of urban upheaval with widespread action against the State Government. This change in the movement came to be the major political feature of the struggle and this evolution from quiescence to contestation can now be analysed separately.

1: The Containment of Protest, 1966-1968

As a preliminary explanation, the encapsulation of protest over the years 1966 to 1968 was tied to the internal structure of the movement, or to be more precise, to the organisation directing the movement, the Stage One Southside Citizens Advisory Association (SOSCAA), through control exerted by conservative forces represented particularly by the Liberal Party, one of Australia's two major conservative political organisations. While there was no official involvement of the Party, a number of Liberals were active in establishing the SOSCAA and dictating its political orientation. The campaign leading up to the 1966 Federal election coincided with the announcement of the Story Bridge Expressway, including the delivery of resumption notices to Kangaroo Point residents and their efforts to get adequate compensation from the Main Roads Department (MRD). In the course of this campaign, the Liberal candidate for the local electorate (Griffith) came in contact with residents and, in association with his campaign committee and a number of other Liberals, a meeting was called of these residents as well as of those living in the contiguous suburbs of Buranda and Woolloongabba who were likely to have been affected by the first stage of the (then unannounced) Southeast Freeway. It was in this way that the SOSCAA was organised.

Through this conservative dominance by Liberals, the SOSCAA came to operate within a framework of carefully orchestrated reformism. Working closely with the MRD, its stated purpose was to act solely as an agent for helping residents get the best possible compensation. Yet in taking this action, it presented the more insidious goal of rigorously suppressing any political opposition to freeways and any dangers of contestatory action from residents over compensation difficulties, by introducing in a formal way a tightly worded

constitution allowing the expulsion of antagonistic forces which might arise. Consequently, if residents wanted to make a collective stand, they were forced to accept the reformism offered, otherwise they had to deal with the MRD in an isolated manner as individual households - which in fact they did - since taking alternative collective initiatives was structurally difficult because of the power held by the SOSCAA and because, at an ideological level, the privatised nature of Australian residential life tended to dissipate working-class solidarity.

The SOSCAA failed in its attempt to improve compensation. By its own admission it benefitted only about five households over the two years of operation and, in effect, it can be seen primarily as a mechanism for controlling residents, thus preventing confrontation with the State Government and so assuring the implementation of freeway plans.

While there was, in effect, containment at the social base, a strong contestatory potential did occur during early stages of the movement. This was apparent at the first meeting of the SOSCAA when Kangaroo Point residents bitterly rejected the reformism offered because they had already found it impossible to obtain better compensation and felt justice could only be achieved by directly confronting the Government. In association with those who might be affected by the Southeast Freeway, a statement was formulated and directed at the Minister of Main Roads demanding more details of resumption and relocation programmes (remembering the Southeast Freeway was yet to be announced), criticising the fetishistic quality of cars which was leading to the destruction of low-income housing of the elderly in well serviced suburbs, and that "failing a satisfactory answer to all questions we the community affected, should as a joint effort, resist

to the utmost the acquisition of our properties" This threat, however, was easily thwarted by the structural disadvantages already mentioned - the conservative control of the SOSCAA and the socially isolating character of working-class residential life.

Under this shroud of the SOSCAA, then, Kangaroo Point, Buranda and Woolloongabba residents were quietly removed and by 1972 the Story Bridge Expressway and stage one of the Southeast Freeway were built. Yet the events of the 1960s did have another effect. Although the freeway programme continued and compensation laws remained unchanged, the MRD did express a political awareness of dangers from resident action, a sensitivity confirmed by actions against freeways in European and North American cities, and in an effort to maintain stability following the introduction of other freeways the MRD formulated a detailed social impact study to assess the precise effects the next freeways (Central and Northern) would have upon relocating residents. The present work is one product of this research and the major social impact statement from this has appeared as a series of reports (see Mullins, 1976a; see also Chapter 2).

2. The Insurgency of 1972-1974

In marked contrast with the earlier period, the announcement in 1972 of the Central (part) and Northern Freeways and stage two of the Southeast Freeway, led to a sharp increase in the struggle and an overt confrontation with the State Government. This political transformation was associated with the broadening of issues and the concomitant structural change within the movement and within the new organisation directing it - the Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee (BFPCC) Furthermore, no organisational tie existed between the BFPCC and the SOSCAA, mainly because by the time for former came into existence, the latter had been disbanded for

four years.

Although questions of housing and facility access remained as the central issues, four others transpired during the 1970s.

- i) There was now a consciousness of the basic contradiction inherent in freeway construction: the attempt to solve traffic congestion by freeways leads to a worsening housing problem.
- ii) The freeway was seen as destroying not only the material basis of residential life (housing and facilities), but it was also seen to threaten the social and ideological content, particularly opportunities for extending working-class counter-ideology
- iii) There was criticism of the increasing dominance of private transport at the expense of the potentially more equitable mass public transit systems and particularly to the control held by the auto-oil-rubber cartel
- iv) As with the last point, issues were now moving beyond local questions to include a general concern with the 'quality of urban life', especially the destruction resulting from air and noise pollution, a problem which would be accentuated by constructing freeways, with their encouragement of motor vehicle use.

With the broadening of issues, the internal structure of the movement expanded and this was signified in a number of ways, especially with the diversity of representation within the BFPCC. In concrete terms it included the following.

- i) An important new thrust from the environmental movement, which was organisationally represented in the BFPCC by the Queensland Conservation Council (QCC), the major environmental organisation in the state, and the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) This environmental tie and its political influence continued within

Queensland and much of the force opposing uranium mining in the late 1970s rests with this movement; an opposition which sparked the State's suppression of civil rights in 1977

ii) The environmental movement was closely tied with the trade union movement in concern over the 'urban environment' and although the Queensland Trades and Labour Council (TLC) did assist the anti-freeway movement with bans on housing demolition, the Builders Labourers Federation was much more effective in Sydney in urban struggles with prohibitions ('green bans') on certain development schemes

iii) Direct support, particularly in contestatory action, such as street marches, picketing and squatting, was now provided by a range of student groups, from welfare sections to radical remnants of the anti-Vietnam War and student movements of the late 1960s/early 1970s. Also planning students formed the Planning Action Group to formulate alternative transportation systems.

iv) The student movement was allied with youth groups of the Catholic Church [viz. Young Christian Workers (YCW)] who came to be important to the BFPCC with the provision of office space and organisation assistance.

v) Ties were also forged with the Australian Labor Party (ALP) from the involvement of State and Federal representatives, as well as other members of the Party, and through sympathy and support from the Federal ALP Government (1972-1975), who came to be critical of inner city freeways. In addition, the Federal Government departments of Urban and Regional Development and Bureau of Roads advocated the cancellation of unnecessary freeways.

vi) Unlike the 1960s, residents were mobilised in a more radical fashion because other contradictions were creating problems. A pre-existing flood action group, for example, attempting to counter the worsening flood problem, plus the presence of the Pensioners League in

an area with many elderly people, contributed significantly towards mobilising the social base.

Interestingly of equal importance was the identical move (to the 1960s) made by the Liberal Party to wrest control of the organisation and so direct the movement towards a 1960s reformism and away from the likelihood of contestation. A number of Liberal State parliamentarians had undertaken a survey of residents shortly after the announcement of the Northern Freeway to assess problems of compensation and two of them were present at the first two meetings of the BFPCC to argue for a reformist stance to be adopted, but unlike the case of the SOSCAA, these Liberal Party members did not establish the BFPCC. Heated clashes occurred in these early meetings over the direction to be taken by the BFPCC, with the more powerful Left factions rejecting the reformism proposed and easily forcing the conservatives out, thus limiting their influence on the movement. Under such conditions the Liberal Party parliamentarians withdrew from the BFPCC but raised questions in parliament about the 'communist infiltration' into the organisation. Therefore, while the reformist issue of compensation for homeowners remained, the movement began to take a more radical stance, towards environmental and public transport issues.

The organisational character and ultimately the social force, then, was made up of a number of different groups and social entities which provided a wide range of resources for the struggle. The environmental movement, represented organisationally by the CPA and QCC, provided organisational skills and physical resources, the Catholic Church's YCW provided office space and organisational help, the ALP gave parliamentary access, students provided an ideological base to the movement as well as the numbers for various contestatory acts (e.g. demonstrations), the Trades and Labour Council gave political

assistance, the Pensioners League had ties with the elderly in Windsor which were important for mobilisation, the Planning Action Group provided planning information on freeways and set out alternative plans, and the pre-existing flood action group acted as an impetus for mobilising the social base.

At this juncture, it is worth pausing and adding some comments on the specific steps taken to establish the BFPCC, before moving on to discuss the actions and effects. The organisation was established five months after the announcement of the Central and Northern Freeways and was created from actions taken by non-residents mainly concerned with the impact freeways would have on the 'quality of urban life', specifically environmental and transportation issues, although there was also concern for social consequences, in both material and community senses, that would befall residents forced to relocate. Local residents played an inconsequential role in the establishment of the BFPCC, although there was the presence of the flood action group, comprising residents from southern neighbourhoods which, so it is claimed by some residents, was preparing to mobilise the social base at the time the BFPCC's first meeting was announced.

The seeds creating the BFPCC were germinated within the YCW where the family of one of the members of the group was to be evicted because of the freeway. The basic problem was compensation and political action at this stage was envisaged in terms of pressuring the State Government to increase compensation, rather than being action directed at stopping the freeway.

In the initial steps leading to the creation of the BFPCC, I was approached by the YCW, through its chaplain, following an item in Brisbane's major morning newspaper on the research I was starting on

the social impact of the Northern Freeway. The suggestion was that I help establish an oppositional group to facilitate improved compensation. However, because my research commitment and teaching responsibilities limited available time and, more importantly, because I felt I needed, for research reasons, to keep the organisation at some distance, I declined direct involvement but nevertheless maintained 'backseat' participation within the organisation and contributed various information as a participant observer (see Chapter 2)

The YCW, through its chaplain, then contacted a local businessman, following the publication of a letter from him (the businessman) to the editor of the main morning newspaper complaining about the problems he would experience when part of his premises was resumed for the Central Freeway. This man was a well-known Catholic undertaker and it was his coffin-making factory which was to be taken (!). It was from discussions between these two men that a meeting of affected residents was proposed. The businessman had notices printed and delivered to houses located along the planned route of the Central and Northern Freeways, and the first meeting was held in the chapel of his funeral parlor, a rather 'Gilbert and Sullivan' location for the first meeting of what was to become a politically significant group!

Meanwhile the YCW chaplain met with the CPA candidate for the 1974 State seat of Brisbane. Much of the Northern Freeway was to be located in this electorate and as part of his electoral platform, this candidate took an anti-freeway stance, although his concern was not so much with the immediate circumstances of the relocating population, but on the broader questions of private versus public transport and on the depletion of natural resources by the motor vehicle and allied industries. It was from this contact that the environmental and welfare committees of the CPA came to be active in

the BFPCC, with a number of members taking executive positions in the BFPCC. The welfare committee was also tied to the Pensioners League and the environmental committee to the QCC, and it was under these circumstances that the QCC and the Pensioners League came to be involved in the BFPCC.

At the time of these developments, a number of social work students from the University of Queensland were on placement in Windsor studying the welfare consequences of relocation, particularly among the elderly. These students were early activists in the BFPCC and one was appointed the group's first secretary, the main office holder and only (paid) full-time executive position. These students also provided links with social work students and other students at the University of Queensland and with the social work profession.

Therefore, it was the combination of the YCW (emphasising the economic and social impact upon residents) and the QCC/CPA (emphasising ideological questions of the environment), plus students, who came together to establish the BFPCC and, in this context, it is significant that the social base itself was not in evidence. Residents were not directly instrumental in its establishment and in fact, they approached the organisation and the movement, generally, in a more pragmatic way. They saw the purpose of the BFPCC in strictly economic terms: obtaining sufficient compensation to be able to relocate to an equivalent owner-occupied dwelling in an equally accessible area. At the political level this meant they were not directly concerned with ideological questions on the environment, but saw the organisation as a force to pressure the government.

It was this division between the basic economic stance made by residents, an ideological approach by the environmental movement and a

political stand by others over public transport, that gave the BFPCC and the anti-freeway movement a three-pronged political directive and it was this division within the organisation which contributed to residents' early desertion from the BFPCC. They saw little reason to maintain attendance at meetings if action was not going to be directed at issues of compensation.

This political division between residents and non-residents and their relative strengths was clearly apparent at the first meeting of the BFPCC when the name of the organisation was being decided. It was agreed that the political stance of both residents ('compensation') and others ('protest') should be included, but debate ensued over which of the two should have precedence. Since residents were numerically dominant in this first meeting, the organisation was voted as the Brisbane Freeway Compensation and Protest Committee, but since militant non-residents came to form the executive, the political core of the organisation (almost to the exclusion of residents), the group became, after the first month, the Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee.

This division between residents and non-residents, however, should not be exaggerated, for although non-residents emphasised the wider environmental consequences of freeways (e.g. with pollution) and concern over the control held by the oil-rubber-auto cartel, they were also concerned about the immediate issues of residents' housing and the fact that Windsor and other inner city areas are locations for cheap housing, accessibly placed. What the division did in fact do, was to frequently dissipate political action away from the most basic (economic) issue around which struggles generally develop considerable power - the economic question of housing. Instead, ideological ('the environment') and political ('public transport planning') issues

tended to dominate - through non-resident groups.

Returning now to the movement, the political stance adopted by the BFPCC was specified as a series of graduated demands, each being less stringent than the former one. The most uncompromising stance and the principal one adopted dictated the complete abolition of the freeway plan. This was mainly stated in environmental terms rather than in terms of residents' housing. The second demand stressed the provision of relocation housing for residents, rather than the current procedure of paying compensation and expecting residents to find a dwelling priced at the amount offered. At the third level (if the former failed), the demand was for a rate of compensation allowing relocation to a comparable housing in a comparable area and for the payment of a dislocation allowance. This series of demands, therefore, both distinguishes the environmental (ideological) and housing (economic) demands of the movement as well as identifies a pragmatic approach to the struggle ('if one fails try another').

Forces opposing the anti-freeway movement were clearly apparent from actions taken by the State Government, but they were also clearly expressed in criticisms by various automobile associations. Underlying these overt oppositional moves was the basic force within Brisbane demanding the construction of freeways. This was the pro-growth coalition involved in the development of Brisbane and the surrounding Moreton Region, whose views came to be particularly evident in statements by the Lord Mayor, Clem Jones, who persistently pushed for freeways (see Chapter 6). Freeways were seen to be a vital part of the development of the outer areas of metropolitan Brisbane as well as being an essential link between Brisbane and the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, as volumes of traffic increase on these routes. Under such conditions it was not surprising that the only freeway currently under

construction in Brisbane, the Southeast Freeway, links Brisbane's central business district with the four-lane Pacific Highway to the Gold Coast, Queensland's second largest and most rapidly growing city.

Actions taken by the BFPCC were primarily institutional in nature. Deputations were made to the Minister of Main Roads, appeals to Federal and State politicians, there were neighbourhood and general meetings of the BFPCC, fund-raising barbecues, a petition, rallies, street marches, distribution of leaflets, posters and popularising the cause through the media. None of these had any significant impact and it was not until contestatory action was taken that any response was forthcoming from the State Government. The most successful action was squatting and on two separate occasions, nine months apart, vacant houses due for demolition were occupied. On the first occasion (September to October, 1973), the squatters remained, with little reaction from the government, for six weeks, and it was only when a second house was occupied that the police moved in and they were evicted. This resulted in a clash and two arrests were made. The impact of these actions brought additional money in the form of housing loans for relocatees. This, however, produced a vehement response from the BFPCC, who stressed the right of owner-occupiers to be relocated without expense, for people who previously lived in debt-free housing were now being forced into debt. The second occasion of house occupation (June, 1974) resulted in a widely publicised clash with the police which culminated in three arrests being made. Charges against these three and the previous two, were later dropped. It was a few months after this final confrontation that the Minister of Main Roads announced an indefinite postponement of the Central and Northern Freeways and the shelving of all other planned freeways. The BFPCC claimed a victory.

Two types of demands were therefore won. The first saw the release of \$1½ million in housing loans at three per cent interest to be paid either after death or if residents moved from their new dwelling. In Castells' terms, this cannot be considered an urban effect since no structural change resulted. The release of extra cash, while perhaps ensuring easier relocation, did not affect the freeway plan and it must therefore be judged integrationist in character. The second successful demand was related to the indefinite postponement of the freeways. In a general sense this may be an urban effect since a status quo situation had been achieved at the 'level of structures' along lines similar to those outlined by Olives in his Paris study. In both cases the result was postponement rather than cancellation, but this Olives considers significant since it "...enables the long term plans of the bourgeoisie to be delayed" (Olives, 1976:186). Brisbane's massive freeway system is still shelved and there is no sign that the original 1965 scheme will ever be resurrected. Only the Southeast Freeway, linking the Pacific Highway through to the Gold Coast, is destined for completion. Of course, as indicated in Chapter 7, when discussing the manner in which transport planning in Brisbane in the late 1960s began a slow shift towards public transport and away from private transport and freeways, we cannot simply see actions of the BFPC as initiating this indefinite postponement of the freeway system. A more complex structural situation that cuts across Brisbane as an urban system and related to Australian capitalism and urbanisation as a whole, was present in determining this influence. More detail of this will be given in Chapter 13.

At the 'level of practices', the anti-freeway movement can be seen as the most powerful urban struggle ever to appear in Brisbane. It was tied, through the BFPC, to other struggles, specifically

action against the expansion of Brisbane's airport into a low-income residential area, against the intrusion of a retail group on to public land, the destruction of environmentally unique areas on the outskirts of the city, high-rise office construction and the intrusion of public buildings on to parkland. While it is difficult to causally link the BFPC and the movement it directed to these struggles, there is some indication that it acted as a catalyst. Chronologically it preceded other struggles since it began at the time Brisbane was beginning to expand (the mid-1960s), politically it was the most powerful urban struggle to have existed within Brisbane and organisationally it provided assistance in the formation and continuation of a number of these groups and tended to maintain a brokerage role in linking organisations and disseminating information. More accurately however, we must see the anti-freeway movement as part of a broader political action over consumption items which had evolved during the time of Brisbane's rapid development. It appears as though many of these struggles peaked around 1974/75, when the freeway system was shelved and when changes to the political character of the pro-growth coalition eventuated (see Chapters 6 and 13).

The BFPC was dissolved early in 1975 shortly after the postponement of the freeways but it re-formed immediately as the Public Transport Action Group (PTAG). Under these conditions the goals of the anti-freeway movement expressed a more explicit demand for improved public transport and action was centred on southern suburbs of Brisbane over inadequate bus transport.

Having sketched the issues, actions and consequence of the anti-freeway movement over the years 1972 to 1974, it is now necessary to consider in more detail the involvement of the social base, that is,

the involvement of Windsor residents. Such an analysis is critical since, hypothetically, the basis of the social force is the social base, for as indicated, the viability of an urban movement is largely determined by support from the social base. The real problem with such an analysis is determining what is meant by support. The fact that almost all Windsor residents (88 per cent) opposed the imposition of the Northern Freeway and the destruction of their housing, could suggest that they were an integral part of the movement (what Castells calls 'the reference horizon'), but when we look at actual participation in the BFPCC ('the membership horizon') there was quite a different situation. Actual membership of Windsor residents was low, for only 17 per cent of relocating residents attended one or more meetings of the BFPCC, with a further three per cent indicating that others in their household were members and seven per cent saying that they were in contact with neighbours (who were members) who passed on information about the political activity of the organisation. This attendance figure contrasts with the negligible numbers (0.4 per cent) of non-relocating residents who had ties with the BFPCC.

Only homeowners, of all Windsor residents, became involved in the BFPCC, since, as pointed out in Chapter 8, the housing question was defined simply in terms of compensation for homeowners and it thus precluded renters. Under such conditions renters played no political role in the organisation, a situation tied to the structural fact that Windsor renters were defined as being transients; they were expected to leave after a short period of residence to purchase a house in the outer suburbs. They therefore were not seen, either by residents or the State Government, as being pertinent to the stakes; an assumption of some accuracy except when it comes to long-term renters now in middle- and old-age who had a considerable commitment to the area.

Attempts to mobilise more relocating residents through the establishment of local neighbourhood chapters of the BFPCC were unsuccessful. Five neighbourhood groups were organised along the Northern Freeway path and two along the Central Freeway route, but only 11 per cent of the former had attended one or more meetings of these neighbourhood chapters.

Participation in both the main meetings of the BFPCC and in its local chapters was concentrated in the first two or three meetings. Approximately 100 residents attended the first general meeting, but only about ten attended the fourth meeting, four months after the group's inception. Meetings I attended in my neighbourhood had on the average about eight residents present, representing approximately 40 households. These meetings ceased through lack of participation after only a few months.

As a means of solving problems in mobilising the social base, the movement through the BFPCC came to concentrate activity and set up its headquarters in one locality (Bowen Hills) along the Central Freeway route, just outside the southern boundary of Windsor, which contained less than a dozen households. It was within this area that squatting and other contestatory acts occurred, and it appears that residents living here came to be seen by the organisation as representative of the social base and were used in a symbolic fashion as 'typical relocatees'. But, more importantly, this area was of great political significance since it was the only place where houses were collectively destroyed, a destruction which had resulted from the construction of a railway overbridge that was indirectly required for the Central Freeway system. It was the direct implementation of the plan to construct the overbridge and the adjunct widening of the railway

cutting that caused the destruction of housing and thus the implementation of squatting by the BFPC and ultimately clashes with the police. Therefore, what these data suggest is that contestatory acts occur when there is the actual implementation of plans (e.g. destroying houses) rather than from questions of proposals to implement plans, as was the case with the Central and Northern Freeways. It was inevitable, then, that the anti-freeway movement's BFPC should locate its headquarters and actions here.

With this low involvement of the social base, these data suggest at an inductive level, that large numbers of residents who are active participants are not necessary for the attainment of urban effects. The most active residential participation given to the BFPC was from a locality containing less than a dozen households, and it was here that actions came to be concentrated. In Castells' terms, then, data suggest that urban effects can result where there is a small 'membership horizon' (actual resident membership) and a degree of support and sympathy from a large 'reference horizon' (remaining affected residents). Equally importantly, it shows how non-residents came to establish and control the BFPC, and therefore the anti-freeway movement, over issues that were not of direct concern to residents (the 'environment' and 'public transport')

Unfortunately, few comparative data exist on the size of social bases and the proportion of those comprising any particular social base who are involved in movements, and the number and proportions necessary for success. Olives (1976) claims large-scale participation in the movements he studied, but these are misleading since the numbers actually involved (17, 49 and 73 in the cases he quantifies) are small. Under such circumstances (and since most members of these

groups lived in the same dwelling unit), a high degree of mobilisation inevitably occurred. However, Lipsky (1970) does show for a New York rent strike that participation was considerably less than the organisation claimed. Therefore, until more comparative information is available, it will be difficult to assess the extent to which the social base must be involved in a movement for urban effects to be attained.

We must, however, be careful not to be blinded by these issues over the social base as being central to the development of the social force. While urban struggles must revolve around a particular social base, the determining elements giving rise to urban effects are not so much the kinds of actions taken and the number of people and organisations involved, but the nature of the interests present - who opposes whom - and the way the dominant class responds. Therefore, in the end, success can only be understood with reference to the balance of power between opposing forces in the struggle; how this is related to broader issues in class struggle, to the prevailing political climate and to the importance capital places on the issues concerned (Cherki, et al , 1978). Nevertheless, it is still necessary to observe the process whereby the social base becomes the social force since this pinpoints the manner in which the working-class is mobilised for class struggle.

These two different components in the analysis of urban struggle, the major structural perspective identified by Castells (1977, 1978a) and by Cherki, et al (1978) and the political process of mobilisation pinpointed by Pickvance (1977b) and Piven (1977), will form the two basic chapters to this section. The next chapter will analyse the struggle in terms of the structural basis, while Chapter 14 will consider the process whereby the social base became a social force.

IV CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the evolution of struggle against Brisbane's freeways from the perspective of the issues involved, the actions taken and the resultant effects. The struggle changed character in a remarkable way over its decade of existence, from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s. In the former period the struggle was tightly contained within a reformist mold while over the 1970s it expanded to include other issues and had a wider organisational representation, to become a significant social force which contributed to the indefinite postponement of the freeway system.

Chapter 13

TRACING THE WIDER STRUCTURAL BASIS OF THE STRUGGLE
AND THE SOURCE OF URBAN EFFECTS¹

I INTRODUCTION

With the previous chapter indicating how the anti-freeway movement emerged and what changes were made to Brisbane's freeway system, it is now time to see just how the struggle made its appearance, in terms of the wider urban and social structural contexts, and the manner in which the changes themselves occurred. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to tackle the basic question underlying the entire work: how the anti-freeway movement, as an urban struggle and therefore as part of the wider working-class struggle, brought changes to the balance of power between the dominant and dominated classes at this urban level, in terms of the specific issues of housing and transportation. More particularly, this chapter will attempt to trace those factors structurally predisposing the establishment of the struggle and those which pinpointed the actual processes involved in creating change. We need to know whether the effects were the direct result of the struggle itself or whether they were tied to additional political influences, both urban and non-urban in origin. Therefore it is important to realise at the outset, that, as with this work as a whole, this chapter provides a structural interpretation of the struggle.

In attempting to answer this question we can return to a theoretical precept identified earlier (in Chapters 3 and 12) which stated that an urban struggle cannot be viewed in political isolation but must be seen as linked to other urban struggles, as well as to various non-urban

¹ This chapter is a considerably extended version of Mullins (1979b)

influences, and these together form part of the wider working-class struggle. In the first place, structural links exist between all urban struggles because these actions emerge from a common source - problems involved in the process of reproducing labour power (i.e. with the provision of housing and residential facilities). In the second case, since the city is a product of the social structure, it means that urban struggles can never be purely 'urban' but must be structurally related to non-urban struggles (e.g. industrial action) - although we need to realise that such a tie is weak when compared with ties between urban struggles, since non-urban forces are located at a more socially diffuse level than are urban movements. Therefore, while an urban struggle emerges from a particular issue located within the reproduction of labour power, we can conclude hypothetically that it does not, in itself, totally bring about urban effects for other forces and influences, both urban and non-urban in origin, contribute towards change.

We can now hypothesise, then, that changes to Brisbane's freeway system emerged from both the anti-freeway movement itself, as the dominant political force, as well as from a structural tie with the following:

- i) from other Brisbane urban struggles, meaning therefore that the contradiction sparking the anti-freeway movement was one urban contradiction within a totality of Brisbane urban contradictions, all of which resulted from the rapid growth of Brisbane and its Moreton Region during the 1960s and early 1970s;
- ii) from other urban struggles in other metropolitan centres, meaning therefore that all Brisbane urban contradictions and urban struggles were part of a mass set of urban contradictions and urban struggles placed within the broader process of Australian urbanisation; and

iii) from non-urban struggles, as structurally related influences, meaning therefore that when these actions and the urban struggles are considered together, we can partly comprehend the totality of Australian class struggle.

In organising this analysis, two complementary perspectives are taken. The first is a temporal one tracing the actual course of the struggle from the quiescent years of the 1960s to the occasion of insurgency and resultant effects in the 1970s and secondly, and placed within each of these decades, are separate analyses of a) other urban contradictions and other urban struggles appearing in Brisbane and, to a lesser extent, in Australian urbanisation as a whole; and b) of relevant societally-based contradictions and struggles. Such an approach will show the complex influences involved in the process evolving the anti-freeway struggle and the changes which eventuated in the 1970s.

More broadly, interpretations given in this chapter will relate back to the analysis of Australian urbanisation given in Part III (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) which specified the development of Queensland as one of Australia's six major regions and the growth of Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region as a sub-region within Queensland and as the locale within which the freeways were introduced and the struggle emerged. Finally, the structural interpretation given here will point to the inappropriateness of a linear interpretation of causality ($a + b + c = z$), for urban change and social change generally, must be seen as resulting from a complex structural interplay of factors rooted in class relations.

II EXPLAINING THE QUIESCENT 1960s

Taking the first of these two decades in terms of urban and social

influences, we found in the previous chapter that although the anti-freeway movement made its appearance in 1966 following the announcement of the first stage of freeway construction, it failed to become a strong and overt force. An initial and preliminary explanation given for this in Chapter 12, was the presence of a conservative control, emanating from members of the Liberal Party, over the organisation directing the movement at that time; the Stage One Southside Citizen's Advisory Association (SOSCAA). While this was a very real and structurally important influence, it provides too simplistic an explanation for quiescence. What we need to do now is to explore the more deeply rooted processes located within both Brisbane and within the wider Australian society. These urban and non-urban factors can be considered in turn.

1 The 1960s Quiescence: Its Urban and Regional Basis

There were four major reasons, located at an urban and regional level, which help explain the urban passivity of the 1960s. The first is the historic quiescence of Queensland workers as a regional workforce and the even greater quiescence of Brisbane workers as a sub-regional workforce within Queensland. Secondly, specific ideological factors maintained a hegemonic control over residents. Thirdly, the state successfully managed, through the Brisbane City Council, to integrate the working-class within the 'system', during these formative years of development and this helped reduce overt action over the freeways. Finally, there was a low level of accumulated contradictions during these early years of Brisbane's development and this helped keep the anti-freeway movement in a political vacuum, devoid of potential allies that could have stimulated contestatory action.

i) The rapid growth of Queensland from the 1960s, through mining investments, and of Brisbane and its Moreton Region, from investments

in urban and regional development, was preceded on a quiescent workforce. At the beginning of the 1960s Queensland had, with the two other marginal states, the most passive workforce in the country and this had resulted from decades of poverty, unemployment and low wages (see Chapters 5 and 6 and particularly Murphy, 1979). Yet the situation in Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region was even more marked, for, during the early years of the 1960s, the formative years of rapid development, workers in this city and region had even higher rates of poverty and unemployment and lower wages than the rest of Queensland (see Chapters 5 and 6) Under such circumstances, then, it was likely that a quiescence should flow on to residents affected by the 1960s freeway system. (Unfortunately there are no analyses similar to the present one which could provide comparative support for such an assertion.)

ii) Containment could also be observed inferentially at an ideological level with the demand for Brisbane workers to make occasional 'sacrifices' in the name of 'progress', during this time of rapid urban development. That is, there was a hegemonic control over workers, although this was challenged by a working-class counter-ideology that had for decades demanded improved residential facilities, notably infrastructure such as sewerage and sealed roads. Therefore in return for these necessary facilities (which incidentally were basic to the role of Brisbane as a consumption site), there was the 'expectation' that Brisbane workers would accept the imposition of disruptive programmes such as freeway systems. Therefore it was significant even in the 1970s when action became overt and strong that Windsor residents still reflected this hegemony, with their acceptance of the necessity of freeways for Brisbane and the inevitability of sacrifices for 'progress' (see Chapter 11) ²

² A brief qualification must be made at this juncture. One of the

iii) Closely associated with the hegemonic condition was a third constraining force - the integration influence of the state. Through the Brisbane City Council, the state played an important integrating role with Brisbane's working-class during the 1960s period when social stability was essential to enable rapid urban development and therefore easy capital accumulation. The integrative role of local governments has been identified for United States cities during the time of rapid transition to corporate urbanisation over the 1950s and 1960s. As leader of pro-growth coalitions directing these changes, local governments provided a wide range of welfare measures for the working-class with the intention that these would integrate them within the system and thus gain their acceptance for rapid urban development. It is interesting to note that U.S. local governments in question, tended to be 'Democrat' - those with strong working-class (including ethnic) support (see Chapter 6) Under such conditions, action over urban issues could be limited. The rationale behind this integrative mechanism is well expressed by the following:

Urban areas are critically important sites at which both economic growth and political integration are organised. Government structures in urban areas must therefore perform key functions both to support urban economic processes and to promote the political integration of the urban population. On the one hand, urban governments must be responsive to the infrastructural and service requirements of capital accumulation, and to changes in these requirements generated by economic growth. On the other hand, they must also manage political participation among the masses of the urban population who do not control capital accumulation and may not benefit from it either (Friedland, et al , 1977:449)

difficulties in making a structural analysis is the limitation of language. Therefore, certain words used in this and other chapters, may imply some clearly conscious intent or understanding on the part of groups or organisations when, in fact, this is not intended. The word 'expectation' in this paragraph would suggest a clearly conscious understanding on the part of Brisbane workers over these facilities, when this was not intended. What it is intended to convey is that the establishment of certain structural conditions is likely to give rise to certain responses.

The integrative role of the BCC was centred on the ALP local government. It was no coincidence that in 1961 the ALP gained control of the BCC and has remained in power ever since. The year 1961 dates the commencement of the City's rapid development, with this ALP government providing the most satisfactory mechanism for ensuring working-class acceptance of development proposals during these formative years of Brisbane's growth. In return for acquiescence, workers were provided very rapidly during the 1960s with a great range of services and facilities that they had been without for decades and the city began slowly to move out of its squalid place within Australian urbanisation (see Chapters 4 and 6)³ It was in this way, therefore, that the 1960s stage of freeway development was pacified.

iv) The final major issue contributing towards the 1960s quiescence of the anti-freeway movement was the general lack of accumulated urban contradictions. These accumulated contradictions were not evident because it was still early years in Brisbane's development and consequently groups which would form alliances in the course of urban struggles had not yet emerged.

The anti-freeway movement, however, was still the major urban struggle and there were still too few other struggles in existence. Even the presence of the non-urban, but politically powerful, anti-Vietnam War movement failed to have any direct effect on the anti-freeway movement and Brisbane's 1967 Civil Rights Movement, which had developed in response to street march bans placed by the State Government to quash opposition to the War (and, one suspects, also to limit class struggle at a time when the state itself was beginning to rapidly develop from mineral exports), also failed to influence the struggle or even to establish direct contact with the SOSCAA or with

³ Refer to comment made in footnote 2.

residents themselves. Therefore, the anti-freeway movement remained in political isolation and it was not until the 1970s that there was the accumulation of contradictions and the development of other urban struggles, which offered an urban political alliance centred on a unified power base.

Limited urban protest relevant to Brisbane's transport system, however, did make a brief appearance over 1968/69, coinciding with the occasion of the SOSCAA's disbandment. The removal of the City's trams in 1968, as part of the plan to convert the BCC's public transport system to buses, brought considerable public hostility, although this public outcry never evolved any significant organised protest. The only relevant formally structured opposition came from the tramway workers union. By 1969, all trams were removed and opposition ceased although strong feelings remain among residents of the city (see letters to the Editor, Courier-Mail, of this period)

In summary, then, the quiescent years of the anti-freeway movement can partly be explained from a combination of four factors: a quiescent workforce; ideological influences; the integrating influence of the state; and the lack of accumulated urban contradictions. There are, however, two additional but more general urban reasons for this 1960s inertia.

v) At a pragmatic level, the economic stability experienced throughout Australia during the 1950s and 1960s, not only brought full employment and good wages, but there was also a stability in house prices; at least relative to the 1970s when house prices jumped by 23 per cent between 1971 and 1973. This therefore allowed southside residents much easier access to homeownership following forced relocation than it allowed those moving during the urban boom of the

early 1970s, and this may partly explain why protest was more limited in the 1960s than the 1970s

vi) Finally, residential life has, historically, never had a political content comparable to that of the workplace. In other words, there is no permanent and politically powerful organisation, like a trade union, which has battled over issues involved in the reproduction of labour power. Changes, however, have been made since the late 1960s following the politicisation of residential life, because of intrusions such as freeway programmes and urban renewal schemes. This has given rise to a greater urban consciousness. An increased number of residential organisations such as tenant groups have made an appearance, although these appear far more numerous in cities of the United States and in European cities than in Australian cities.

2 The 1960s Quiescence: Its Societal Basis

Having observed urban conditions that reduced overt action in the 1960s, we can now move on to the more broadly based societal issues to provide additional understanding of this 1960s passivity. What we find, in fact, is that during the 1950s and 1960s there was a general containment of the working-class and it was paradoxical that these two decades represented the major years of Australia's twentieth century economic boom (1945 to 1971) and were years when workers were fully employed, when there was a high labour demand and when wages were high. Normally, these conditions provide a setting which is conducive to industrial action (see Brezniak and Collins, 1977). The security of such years permit workers to increase demands. However, in Australia there was limited industrial unrest at this time. The years 1955 to 1960 had on the average only 0.47 days lost by each worker in the productive sector, compared with 1.029 for 1945 to 1955, and 2.562 for the years prior to the Great Depression (Brezniak and Collins, 1977)

Inductively, we can conclude therefore that this general-quiescence of Australia's working-class during the 1960s contributed towards a general passivity over urban contradictions.

The industrial somniferousness of the working-class over the 1950s and 1960s can be explained by a working-class fragmentation (see Collins, 1978) Workers had been divided over these years by a number of unique social circumstances:

- i) there was ethnic division of the workforce following the mass immigration of cheap labour from (mainly) Italy and Greece after 1945 to feed Australia's industrial development, located in the Sydney and Melbourne conurbations;
- ii) there was an increasing sexual division as married women began to enter the labour force during the 1960s and as women became an increasingly important component of the workforce. Such ethnic and sexual divisions, then, divided the workforce which had been dominated by male Anglo-Saxon/Celts;
- iii) there was an increasing division between workers according to occupation, specifically between manual ('blue-collar') and non-manual ('white-collar') workers, following the new administrative and technical demands of monopoly capital. In Australia, for example, professional, technical and related workers, alone, grew from five per cent of the total workforce in 1947 to 12.4 per cent in 1976 (Encel, 1978). This division between manual and non-manual occupations comes to be apparent not only from wage differentials but, more importantly, is visible at an ideological level, since these two occupational groups see themselves (and are seen by others) as being quite different. Manual workers are seen as 'working-class' while non-manual workers are seen as 'middle-class' or upper middle-class', despite the fact that they also sell their labour - except on occasions when they are petty bourgeoisie

(see Wright's 1978 discussion of this question). Yet there are political changes occurring between these occupational groups. Non-manual workers are increasingly becoming unionised and more and more of these unions are becoming affiliated with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU);

iv) there was a catastrophic split in the ALP and trade unions in the mid-1950s following conflicts between the left and the right. The ALP divided into a 'left' grouping (the ALP) and the right, in the form of the now defunct Democratic Labor Party. This split had a lasting effect throughout the 1960s, although the rift was partly healed in 1972 with the election of an ALP Federal government;

v) fragmentation was established ideologically from an hysterical attack on communism and the left, generally, during the 1950s and early 1960s and workers were easily contained by this abusive propaganda.

Such fragmentation of the working-class had an inevitable effect on Brisbane's anti-freeway movement. It reinforced the existing quiescence.

3 Summary

These data clearly show, then, a working-class inertia during the 1960s located both at an urban and a societal level. In the former case, there was the quiescence of a regional workforce, an urban hegemony, the integration of workers during the early and sensitive years of development and an urban political isolation of the anti-freeway movement. From the social structure, the Australian working-class was generally quiescent as a result of fragmentation.

III EXPLAINING THE INSURGENT 1970s

If the urban and social structures were so tightly contained during the 1960s, what then was the source of the markedly different political circumstances of the 1970s: the insurgency of the anti-freeway struggle? This striking transformation can be explained, firstly, by a general increase in urban contradictions and thus in urban struggles within Brisbane and within Australian urbanisation as a whole, and secondly, as a result of the marked increase in industrial action and in social struggles generally. These new urban and social structural influences can be considered separately.

1 The 1970s Insurgency: Its Urban and Regional Basis

Three issues, with urban bases, contributed to the power of the anti-freeway movement over the years 1972 to 1974 and thus ultimately to the movement's success in significantly modifying the freeway programme. The first was the broadening of the social base and this, in turn, brought changes to the nature of the social force. In fact, two distinctive, though related, social bases and social forces became apparent. Secondly, it was an occasion when considerable numbers of other urban struggles appeared in Brisbane and in other metropolitan centres as a result of an accumulation of contradictions, following rapid urban development in Brisbane and in Australian cities generally. These, in turn, formed a federated force of urban struggles which together acted in a united way to counter problems involved in the reproduction of labour power. Finally, the state played a distinctive contradictory role in both exacerbating the struggle as well as attempting to contain it.

i) The announcement in June 1972 of the linked Central (part) and Northern Freeways and the establishment in November of that year of the Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee (BFPC), as

the new organisation directing the anti-freeway movement, led to significant changes in the political direction of the movement. As shown in the previous chapter, there was a significant broadening of the social force, with the inclusion of other movements. The environmental movement was the most powerful component and even more important, politically, than the social base of affected residents. What in fact happened with the appearance of the environmental movement was the establishment of a new social base which, unlike the residents, was ideologically oriented in terms of demands over the 'quality of urban life' - specifically in terms of air and noise pollution, which would increase with freeways encouraging greater car usage. It took the form of an attack on the exploitation of natural resources, for profit, by the auto-oil-rubber cartel. Complementing this criticism was the recommendation for public transportation since this mode was less environmentally wasteful. In contrast with the environmental base of the movement, with its ideological orientation, and the political demands for improved public transport, the social base formed of affected residents centred on very basic economic issues - the destruction of housing and removal from accessible facilities. And it is this material orientation, as the most central issue of the urban question that, theoretically, should predispose a powerful urban movement (see Castells, 1977, 1978a). The fact that the environmental movement, not the residents, provided the greatest power for the anti-freeway movement was clearly inconsistent with the theory.⁴

4 There are a couple of issues which need to be raised here. The first, which will be mentioned again in the next chapter, is the popular assumption that manual workers ('the working-class'), such as Windsor residents, do not become involved in actions such as urban struggles because they lack the organisation skills knowledge, etc., of non-manual workers ('the middle-class/upper middle class'). While there may be an element of truth in this, it is an ideology which is particularly disturbing. There is, in fact, little reason to suppose that manual workers are more incapable of organising protest than non-manual workers, as witnessed by the trade union movement. It is true that they

Trade unions also became directly involved in the anti-freeway movement during the 1970s and this represented not only a concern for general environmental issues, but it was an indication of increasing involvement of the unions over urban questions. The trade union movement in Brisbane, through the Queensland Trades and Labour Council (TLC), organised a day-long symposium on freeways in March 1973, with the main speakers including Jack Munday, the President of the strongly urban-oriented New South Wales Branch of the Builders Labourers Federation and the man who led the most significant urban political attacks by unionists in Australia (in Sydney), and Tom Uren, the Federal Minister of Urban and Regional Development in the ALP Government (1972-1975). The symposium was ideological in tone, attacking the

may not be able to debate technical points of a town plan, the way a professional may be able to, but such debates tend frequently to be a form of ritual interaction which may hide the basic question over which the struggle is being fought. One suspects that many of these comments made about manual workers' supposed deficiencies in political organisation evolve from the ideological question of class and intelligence: that is, manual workers are 'stupid'; non-manual workers have the 'brains'; and capitalists have the 'money'. In other words, only the brainy 'middle-class/upper middle-class' (particularly professionals) can possibly organise an urban struggle. The 'simple, but honest' manual worker really is too stupid to be effective!!!!

The second issue concerns the popular belief that people considered 'outsiders', in what has been identified as a local issue, are involved in urban struggles 'for their own political ends'. That is, there is the assumption that a sort of conspiracy exists where these people have 'jumped on a bandwagon' in order 'to blow their own trumpet' for 'their own political ends'. This sort of argument, from a scientific point of view, is ludicrous - except in terms of the fact that it is a popular belief. What will be clearly shown in this and later chapters is that the so-called outsiders involved in the anti-freeway movement (e.g. environmentalists) were fighting over very clear issues and from data collected on these groups there was no sign of a conspiracy existing in the sense that they were involved 'for their own political ends' - a statement which, in its obscurity, implies some sort of insidiousness being present. But the demonic interpretations popularly given to these 'outsiders' more closely resembles fiction, than fact: they more closely resemble SPECTRE of the James Bond novels or the Daleks of the television series Dr Who, not actual situations of political movements

general social and environmental impact of freeway development, particularly on low-income inner-city areas, but it failed to specify the case of residents affected by the Central and Northern Freeways in terms of housing compensation and facility access.

The trade union movement, through the TLC, did however place black bans on the destruction of houses awaiting demolition in Bowen Hills and the houses in which members of the BFPCC squatted. This housing, however, was destroyed by non-union labour

More minor roles were played by the women's movement, church groups and students. Fuller discussion will be given to the role of women in the anti-freeway movement in the next chapter, but the women's movement played a somewhat peripheral role in attempting to mobilise women-residents in the Bowen Hills area. Such a move was of particular importance because, as the domestic labour force, women form the social core of residential life and thus have the potential as a strong force in any urban struggle. The churches were particularly represented by the Catholic Church through youth groups and through the involvement of priests and nuns. These members of the Catholic Church were central to the establishment of the BFPCC and in providing necessary resources to the group. The students provided the numbers for actions such as squatting.

ii) Apart from the broadening of the social base of the anti-freeway movement, a second impetus resulted from an increase in urban struggles throughout Brisbane. Where other urban struggles were largely non-existent in the 1960s, there was a sudden outburst of activity, mainly on a small scale, in the 1970s as contradictions emerged from the rapid urban development of the 1960s. They had accumulated to an extent that they led to urban struggles. This, in turn, led to a mutually reinforcing political situation for the anti-freeway movement.

The most significant of these parallel struggles, like the anti-freeway movement, revolved around questions of housing and facility access and two can be identified. The first was/is the action taken by residents living in the isolated, low-income Cribb Island, which is destined for destruction by the planned extension of Brisbane's Airport. Construction, however, is delayed and the extension is not anticipated until the second half of the 1980s. However, the State Government and the BCC have 'frozen' all sales of houses in the area and sales can now only be made to the government. The second of these basic economic struggles was initiated by the flood action committee located in and around Windsor, that had developed in response to perennial flooding of Enoggera Creek. This group was organised in early 1972 and following the devastating 1974 floods, it was able to have some influence on the BCC in instituting a flood mitigation scheme which has now essentially been completed.

Other more broadly-based urban political struggles were also present and also located within the realm of the reproduction of labour power:

- a) action was taken over the presence of noxious industries in and near residential areas: over a quarry in a western suburb and a partial victory was achieved here when the BCC banned an extension to these works in 1975; over a gravel crusher in a southwestern suburb, with no effects being sustained; and over a cement works in an eastern suburb. This also had no effect;
- b) a rather controlled action was taken by residents living in isolated southern and southwestern areas, containing large tracts of public housing, over the lack of residential facilities, particularly transport and health care. Limited victories resulted;
- c) there was and is strong opposition to the intrusion of commercial and other activities on to parkland or public land: residents in a

southern suburb were successful, after years of fighting, in preventing a national retail company from building a shopping complex on a local showground; and residents in an inner city suburb failed to prevent the BCC from building a library in a local park, although they were successful in preventing the extension of the local lawn bowls club on to the same park.

The remaining struggles appearing in the early 1970s tended to be small-scale actions based (ideologically) around environmental issues, with many attempting to counter development in areas considered environmentally distinct:

- a) there has been opposition to housing development in environmentally distinct parts of the western suburbs;
- b) there was/is opposition to the development of the Samford Valley at the northwestern outskirts of the metropolis;
- c) there were unsuccessful environmentally-based objections to the construction of the new port at Fishermans Island, at the mouth of the Brisbane River;
- d) there have been many skirmishes over relatively small environmental issues, such as the destruction of trees;
- e) finally, there has been an on-going fight over buildings of historic significance, the most important being the six-year fight to save the hundred year old Bellevue Hotel, located in the historically unique parliamentary precinct. This hotel was destroyed in 1979. There is also a continuing battle, already lasting ten years, over the destruction and rebuilding of a war memorial park in the city centre; for an underground carpark. This is still to be resolved.

While these other struggles were tied structurally to one another, since most shared a common basis in the reproduction of labour power and all were consequences of Brisbane's rapid urban development, direct

organisational ties between them and the BFPCC have only-existed in terms of those involved in the basic economic question of housing. There was an organisational tie, therefore, between the BFPCC and the flood action group (not surprising since they shared the same locality) and the Cribb Island group. All other struggles were either centred in more broadly-based urban questions (e.g. over parklands) or on ideological issues (e.g. the environment). This finding follows Castells' (1977, 1978a) interpretations on the nature of urban struggles which state that the most powerful struggles emanate from the most crucial and immediate economic question of housing and the less powerful evolve from more broadly-based urban questions (e.g. urban zoning) or from ideological issues (e.g. on 'the environment' or 'community development'). However, despite the greater diffuseness of non-economic urban struggles, Brisbane's anti-freeway movement was also tied indirectly to many other urban struggles through the environmental movement, specifically the QCC.

Brisbane's urban struggles, however, failed to reach the level of federation experienced by struggles in Sydney and Melbourne where there was a formal structuring of urban movements into a coalition - the Coalition of Resident Action Groups (CRAGs). The presence of CRAGs in Sydney and Melbourne and its absence in Brisbane cannot be interpreted in simplistic fashion as the result of superior organising skills of residents of Sydney and Melbourne. What, in fact, it does point to is the way in which Sydney and Melbourne are structurally different from Brisbane. As pointed out in Chapters 5 and 6, Australian urbanisation and capitalism were characterised as 'mercantile' until the transition to the corporate period in the 1940s. It was because of the presence of this mercantile urbanisation that Australian cities, unlike the industrial cities of Europe and the United States, had few transitional

problems, for in the industrial cities, devastating changes were required in order to remove the old fixed capital of the industrial period (e.g. deserted factories) to be replaced with the new infrastructure of the corporate period (e.g. skyscrapers) It came to be the urban renewal process which achieved this transition.

While Australian cities have had an easy transition from mercantile to a corporate urbanisation, the country's major conurbations, Sydney and Melbourne, were the centres which experienced the greatest difficulties. This was because these have traditionally been Australia's industrial centres and it is under such conditions that they were also forced (though to a more limited extent) to introduce urban renewal schemes to remove old fixed capital in a fashion similar to the industrial cities of dominant countries. In Sydney, for example, urban renewal has been visible in the redevelopment of the Rocks, Glebe and Woolloomooloo (see Cox and Howard, 1973; Jakubowicz, 1973) It is in this way that urban struggles came to be more widespread in Sydney and Melbourne than in Brisbane. The transition to the corporate city was much more difficult in the former two because of this previous industrial development. Therefore the most devastating programmes to ensure rapid urban development were introduced there in the form of both urban renewal and freeway schemes - one to replace fixed capital and the other to introduce a new transportation system - while in Brisbane only a new transportation system was introduced, simply because urban renewal was not necessary since there was no old fixed capital needing destruction. Urban development was achieved with relative ease in Brisbane.

Therefore because both urban renewal and freeway schemes were introduced in Sydney and Melbourne, with their widespread destruction of housing and residential life, it was inevitable that more widespread

urban action should occur in these cities and since both these types of struggles revolve around the very basic economic question of housing, the struggles were not only more likely to be politically powerful, but they were also more likely to fuse together into a wider and even more powerful united action. Thus the presence of CRAGs in Sydney and Melbourne, and thus its absence in Brisbane.

Finally, it is worth noting that there was an informal organisational tie between various struggles in the different metropolitan centres. The BFPC had contacts with the anti-freeway movement in Sydney and Melbourne and with the CRAGs and such a tie aided the development of a united front in confronting problems emanating from Australian urbanisation as a whole. But perhaps more importantly, there was also a clear structural tie between Brisbane's anti-freeway movement and urban movements located in Sydney and Melbourne. There was a coincidence, for example, of contestatory actions taken against Brisbane's freeways and those taken to counter urban renewal and freeway schemes in Sydney. For example, in October 1973 there was a clash between squatters and police in the Sydney Rocks over the destruction of housing for a redevelopment scheme. This resulted in 50 arrests. Such confrontation occurred in the same month as the first clash between squatters and police over the destruction of housing in Brisbane's Bowen Hills when two arrests were made. Moreover, in January 1974, squatters were evicted from an urban renewal scheme in Sydney's Kings Cross. This resulted in 40 arrests. In contrast, in June of that year, squatters from Brisbane's anti-freeway movement again clashed with police over the destruction of housing. This time three arrests were made. In Sydney, in October 1974, there was confrontation between police and demonstrators over the Northwest Freeway and 11 arrests eventuated. Therefore, in a very simplified way, these data show the coincidence of actions taken by Brisbane's anti-freeway movement and movements against

urban renewal schemes and freeway programmes in Sydney during the years 1973 and 1974.

iii) The significant rise of urban struggles during the first half of the 1970s came also to be reflected in, and associated with, actions taken by the state. This was especially true with reference to the ALP BCC as the leader of Brisbane's smooth-running pro-growth coalition (see Chapter 6). The significance of the BCC to the anti-freeway movement was only indirect since all actions were directed at the State Government. However, the strong opposition to Brisbane's 1975 Town Plan came to represent not only the demise of the City's free-running pro-growth coalition and the end to the City's rapid development, but it came also to be the final political act in the shelving of the freeway system (see Chapter 6). In effect, the massive public outcry against Brisbane's Town Plan, where almost 30,000 separate objections were made, summarised the totality of Brisbane's urban struggles of the 1970s and the substantial changes made to the Plan came to represent the relative success of the totality of Brisbane's urban struggles of the 1970s. This strong public opposition to the Town Plan signified the end of the pro-growth coalition (in its present form) and this was symbolised by the resignation in 1975 of the Lord Mayor and the Planning Advisory Committee, which formulated the City's development, was reduced to an ineffectual force. Earlier the ALP aldermen had revolted against the Lord Mayor, the Planning Advisory Committee and the Town Plan by revoking considerable sections of the Plan that had allowed developers almost total access to the City. The collapse of the Plan and its drastic revision represented an end to the excesses in Brisbane's rapid urban development, of which the freeway system was part.

The most direct state action taken over freeways in Australia was

by the Victorian Government in halting, in 1972, the planned extensions of Melbourne's freeways (the same year the Central and Northern Freeways were announced) and in early 1973 it cut Victoria's proposed freeways by half. Of all governmental action, however, the most politically significant was that taken by the ALP Federal Government (1972-1975). While never totally opposing freeways, it did create a strong platform for criticism. Starting in December 1972, the Minister of Urban and Regional Development announced that the Government would attempt to slow down freeway development in Australia's cities and, in contradiction, encourage the provision of public transport. In response to this decision, the Premier of Queensland foresaw the cutting of federal freeway funds and thus the likelihood of all future Brisbane freeways, including the Central and Northern Freeways, being abandoned. By March 1973, the new Federal Government had instituted a study on the social, economic and environmental consequence of freeways and three months later it recommended that states halt all inner city freeways and reappraise all future systems.

However, the Federal Government failed to introduce any direct policy which would force states to halt freeway development. The nearest it came to this was a condemnation from the Federal Bureau of Roads of Sydney's freeway system. Such inactivity led an amalgamation of Australia's anti-freeway organisations to condemn the Government. But despite inactivity, the Federal Government still played an important role in countering the dominant ideology favouring freeways, as described above, and in this way contributed towards the general cessation of freeway programmes throughout Australian cities.

Brisbane's freeway system was also halted by fiscal problems. The nationwide abandonment of freeways in 1974 coincided with the start of Australia's post-1974 recession and it was a time when governments began

to drastically cut public expenditure, including freeway funds. Moreover, the mini-recession of 1970/71 had a similar impact on Brisbane's freeway system, because it forced a delay to the Central and Northern Freeways. Destined for late 1970 or early 1971, these freeways were not announced until the middle of 1972 and up until that time there was the very real possibility that they would be abandoned indefinitely. The expansion of the country's economy in 1972 and particularly the marked jump in investment in Brisbane, encouraged the release of funds for these freeways - only to be shelved again with the onset of the 1974 fiscal problems.

Doubts about the value of Brisbane's freeway system can, in fact, be traced back to 1968, three years after Wilbur Smith had recommended an almost total reliance on private vehicles and large-scale abandonment of public transport development in the City (see Chapter 7). The year 1968 was when the State Government commenced a study, through Wilbur Smith, of public transport in Brisbane and the surrounding Moreton Region, for it was beginning to show concern over the dramatic increase in car congestion in Brisbane (from the early 1960s). This was a concern directed particularly at the congestion of the central business district since the CBD was becoming the administrative core for Brisbane's role as a corporate city (see Chapter 7).

From these complex series of factors, we can see how the state came to play an important role, if only reflective of the conflict between capital and labour. We can now extend what has been an urban analysis into consideration of societally-based influences operating during the 1970s.

2. The 1970s Insurgency: Its Societal Basis

Just as the first half of the 1970s was an occasion of widespread urban action throughout Australia, it was also a time of widespread

social struggle. After 1969 and following the decades of labour quiescence, there was a marked increase in labour militancy, made easy by two decades of full employment, high wages, high labour demand and a general prosperity. It also happened to be a time when the ideological climate was changing. From the latter half of the 1960s, American imperialism had been challenged through the anti-Vietnam War movement. There was the emergence of a powerful women's movement; the development of a strong anti-racist struggle by Australian blacks and by non-English speaking migrants; there was the discovery of poverty during a time of considerable prosperity; and there was a marked increase in the civil rights movement, over such issues as drugs, prostitution, homosexuality, divorce and abortion.

While these social struggles were of considerable indirect importance to urban struggles and they generally reflected a heightening of class struggle throughout Australia at that time, the most significant action was formed of the most basic component of working-class struggle: industrial action. There was the beginnings of labour militancy from 1969 which had resulted from the changing nature of Australian capitalism, for during the years 1970/71 there was a minor recession following the decline in manufacturing industry. In 1972/73 the economy recovered dramatically with increased investment in urban development and in mining, and this was followed by a decline in unemployment and very marked increase in industrial unrest and strikes which were the most extensive and intensive since 1929 (Brezniak and Collins, 1977). Such intensified class struggle resulted in dramatic increases in wages over the years 1973 and 1974, as well as the introduction by the Federal Government of huge increases in public expenditure. There was the introduction of Australia's first universal health insurance system (since abandoned), a massive growth in educational expenditure, particularly in tertiary education, increases

in pensions and other welfare allowances and the introduction of a measure of public participation, similar to Britain's Community Development Projects, with the Australian Assistance Plan (now abandoned). The steady increase in industrial action from 1969 to its strident peak in 1974, paralleled the jump in urban struggles in Brisbane, specifically with Brisbane's anti-freeway movement, and in other Australian cities. The successes gained by workers in 1974 in terms of wages and welfare measures coincided with the shelving of Brisbane's massive freeway system, and in urban victories in other Australian cities.

IV SUMMARY

While the anti-freeway movement was a significant force instituting changes to Brisbane's freeway system, since it fused issues and directed actions, the power of the movement was shown to be closely related to other urban struggles, both within Brisbane and in other metropolitan areas, to social struggles generally, and to fiscal problems in providing freeway funds. To clarify this process of evolution of the struggle and the resultant change, with its containment in the 1960s and its insurgency in the 1970s, the major findings can briefly be summarised.

- 1 The containment of the struggle during the 1960s was the result of:
 - a) the following urban influences
 - i) Brisbane's quiescent workforce;
 - ii) an ideological containment;
 - iii) the successful integration of Brisbane's workers by the state;
 - iv) the absence of other urban struggles which could have provided a mutually supportive role for the anti-freeway struggle;
 - v) at a more pragmatic level, the relative stability of house prices making it easier for residents to buy another house;

- vi) residential life lacking the political content of the workplace;
- b) the following societal influence
 - i) the fragmentation of the working-class.

2. There was a remarkable reversal of the political position of the anti-freeway movement in the 1970s. It developed into a powerful force and it was this which contributed to urban effects. The insurgency of the anti-freeway movement between 1972 and 1974 was the result of:

- a) the following urban influences
 - i) the broadening of the social base, particularly with the presence of the environmental and trade union movements;
 - ii) the marked increase in other urban struggles in Brisbane and other Australian cities. These proved to be mutually supportive;
 - iii) actions by the state;
- b) the following societal influence
 - i) there was a marked increase in working-class action generally, particularly industrial action, leading to sharp wage rises and an increasing provision of collective consumption.

In other words, the power and success of Brisbane's anti-freeway movement in the 1970s was part of a wider power and success of working-class struggle.

IV CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt has been made to place Brisbane's anti-freeway movement into the specific urban and societal context which contributed towards its evolution and success. That is, it has provided a structural interpretation.

The fact that the power and success of the movement was closely

tied to the wider power and success of working-class struggle as a whole, raises the important question of whether urban struggles can achieve urban effects on occasions when working-class struggle, generally, is quiescent. Some of these issues will be raised in Chapter 15. What we need to do now is to look more closely at the social base of affected residents since what we have shown so far is the relative insignificance of this social base to the social force. Why was there no greater involvement and direction from Windsor residents? In fact, how important is such a social base to a movement, particularly since both Castells (1977) and Olives (1976) have argued that they provide the political core of the movement? These questions are considered in the next chapter

Chapter 14

FROM SOCIAL BASE TO SOCIAL FORCE:
BARRIERS TO THE MOBILISATION OF WINDSOR RESIDENTSI INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided the principal means for understanding the power and effects of Brisbane's anti-freeway movement. It showed at a general structural level how action was tied to other urban struggles as well as to industrial conflict (the major component of working-class action) and to various social struggles such as the women's movement. In other words, this urban struggle could be seen to be part of the Australian class struggle as a whole, with such urban struggles being class action over issues involved in the reproduction of labour power

What Chapter 13 could not do, however, was to explicate the important and structurally specific process of mobilisation. That is, it could not show the steps by which the social base (specifically Windsor residents) evolved as a social force to counter freeway construction. This was not possible because Chapter 13 was placed at too general a level of structural argument to account for mobilisation. We need now, therefore, to bring the analysis down to a more specific plane to allow such interpretations.

As has been stated in theoretical terms, an urban struggle emerges when a social base is mobilised as a social force. But such a theoretical assertion failed to coincide with empirical reality in the present case, for as shown in Chapters 12 and 13, Windsor residents did not organise, control or form the bulk of membership of the Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee (BFPCC) since only 17 per cent

had attended one or more meetings, meaning therefore that the overwhelming majority (83 per cent) had no contact at all with the group. That is, this social base did not become the major social force. This finding is particularly perplexing, not only because it contradicts theoretical wisdom but, in a very pragmatic sense, we might have assumed greater mobilisation because almost all residents (88 per cent) objected to forced relocation and because compensation offered was too low to allow easy movement to a comparable house in an equally accessible area.¹

What happened with Brisbane's anti-freeway movement, in fact, was that political control came to be centred primarily within the environmental movement. Environmental issues of air and noise pollution, which would be aggravated by freeway construction with its encouragement of motor vehicle use, came to form a major stake in the struggle. Public transport, moreover, became a significant issue as well.² It was in this way, then that another social base came to be present. This social base was Brisbane, because it is the city which experiences, in totality, problems of pollution and problems of transportation. Admittedly this is a very much more diffuse social base than Windsor, but it was under this dominance that Windsor residents came to play second fiddle in the anti-freeway movement.

From another theoretical stance, Windsor residents, not the environmental movement, should still have organised and controlled the BFPCC and thus come to direct the anti-freeway movement. This is because a central theoretical precept states that when the stakes

1 Of course, other studies have shown low levels of participation in other situations which are of importance to people - for example, voting behaviour

2 These other issues were very evident from literature distributed through the BFPCC by the Queensland Conservation Council and the Communist Party of Australia.

involved are located in material (economic) questions (housing and facility access), the social base upon which these are placed will come to dominate the movement. This is because the economic system and parts of the economic system (from the logic of marxist analysis) hold precedence over other elements (i.e. political and ideological factors) for, in the last instance, the economic system is determinant (see Castells, 1977) In contrast, action emerging over ideological and political issues as with environmental and public transport questions, is subordinate and less likely to dominate when elements of the economic system are present. Theoretically, then, ideological questions such as environmental issues are more likely to be defused and absorbed by the social formation, while economic questions such as housing are more likely to dominate. As Castells notes in his analysis of urban struggles:

The more the contradictions are in the economic or derived from contradictions in this instance, the more important they are. On the other hand the more political or ideological, the more capable they are of being integrated into a regulation of the system. (Castells, 1977:271)

However, this theoretical assumption failed to hold true for Brisbane's anti-freeway movement.

A final theoretical point can be made. The purpose of analysing how a social base becomes, or fails to become, a social force rests on a fundamentally important theoretical foundation: how the working-class institutes or fails to institute political practice to challenge the dominance of the ruling-class and the nature of capitalism (see Pickvance, 1977b). That is, it is a question of how the working-class, as an objectively observable entity ('a class in itself'), evolves an awareness of particular economic, political and ideological issues and comes to organise itself as a social force to take direct action to

counter these contradictions ('a class for itself'). At an urban level, then, discerning the way a social base becomes a social force contributes towards an understanding of the way the working-class moves from 'a class in itself' to 'a class for itself' over urban issues - i.e. over issues involved in its reproduction. Therefore, in terms of Windsor, the theoretical question is why this social base did not become a dominant social force and control the anti-freeway movement.³

Empirical material presented in Part IV, particularly in Chapters 10 and 11, provide the key to understanding Windsor residents' low level of mobilisation, since it is a comprehension of the nature of residential life which will allow us to answer this puzzling theoretical question of political passivity. Of the major writings on urban struggles, only Pickvance (1975, 1977b) and more recently, Cherki, et al. (1978), have indicated the importance of residential life in illuminating our understanding of mobilisation and the power and success of an urban struggle, with Pickvance's (1977b) paper giving the most extended discussion to this question. Nevertheless, there is an increasing awareness among urban researchers of the need to understand residential life in order to comprehend urban struggles and the urbanisation process generally. Nowhere is this change more apparent than in a recent realisation of the importance of women and domestic labour [see Castells (1978a) and the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 2 (October), 1978].

The degree of urban political mobilisation, then, is largely

³ In case the reader thinks there is a tendency here to belabour the obvious, a brief comment needs to be made. The essential question is that the empirical data do not fit the theory. What the theory states (as mentioned) is that Windsor residents should have established and dominated the struggle because the issue which concerned them was the basic economic one of housing and facilities.

determined by the nature of association between residents: their contacts, discussions and their exchanges of information, etc., with the greater the social solidarity, the greater (it can be hypothesised) the mobilisation. In contrast, the weaker the association, the weaker the mobilisation. Therefore, hypothetically, when a residential area is an 'occupational community', mobilisation will be extensive and powerful, but when it is characteristically privatised, as with 'suburban communities' and remnants of 'urban peasant communities', mobilisation will be weak or less likely to emerge. Was it Windsor's privatisation, as a remnant of an urban peasant community, then, that restricted involvement in and control over the anti-freeway struggle?

In tackling this question of Windsor residents' limited involvement, a number of avenues, located within residential life, can be explored. Two of these are in direct response to hypotheses raised by other researchers; one on network structure and the other on women and domestic labour. Four locations for exploration are taken:

- i) at an ideological level, the most immediate and obvious avenue is to see what residents themselves said about their participation or lack of participation. There is also need to explore the relationship between privatisation, self-sufficiency and political involvement. These two together will pinpoint the nature of ideological control which limited political activity;
- ii) the first structural perspective refers to the social network within which residents were placed and this will show the type of structural barriers present;
- iii) the second structural plane centres on the critical role played by women through domestic labour. Since domestic labour is central to residential life, women should be central to any urban struggle. Because of the theoretical importance of this question, detailed

discussion will be given women, domestic labour and urban struggle;

iv) finally, structural changes occurring within Windsor will be seen to be at the root of residents' passivity.

II IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON MOBILISATION

The two ideological perspectives can be considered separately.

First, residents' attitudes.

i) Basic to any understanding of limited involvement, is the way residents themselves judged the BFPC and how they assessed their own position with reference to it. These can indicate the ideological control which was present within Windsor.

What was found from residents' evaluation of the BFPC and their own place within it, was a social distance between themselves and the organisation. Firstly, when asked what they saw as the purpose of the BFPC, the largest proportion (35 per cent) said they knew nothing about it, including its aims. Of the remaining two-thirds, half said it was attempting to improve compensation and 28 per cent saw it as an attempt to stop the freeway. Finally, one-tenth, with some timorousness, saw the BFPC as simply 'out to make trouble' which, they felt, would result in the MRD taking revenge against residents by offering even lower compensation.

In contrast with these general views, those residents who went along to one or more meetings of the BFPC explained their involvement primarily (60 per cent) as an attempt to force the MRD to provide fair compensation. Very few (five per cent) said they joined to stop the freeways, although three per cent indicated their participation was both for improving compensation as well as for blocking freeway construction. Finally, 16 per cent explained participation as 'fighting for our rights' and while this tended to express a political pessimism

about either improving compensation or stopping the freeway, it did reflect a defiant stance over the way the government was 'walking all over us'

The majority of protesting residents, then, saw the BFPC as an organisation for fighting to protect immediate material interests (i.e. housing). In contrast, the environmentalists who took control of the organisation placed the struggle at a more general political level - as action to stop freeway construction, since this was the only way aggravation to the pollution problem could be averted. Such a clear division between residents and environmentalists appeared at the first meeting of the organisation when the aims and the name of the group were being decided (see Chapter 12). Residents persistently and angrily stated the aim as forcing the MRD to provide better compensation to enable the purchase of an equivalent house in an equally accessible area without financial hardship and they came to accept, within this context, the inevitability of freeway construction. Housing was their immediate concern. Environmentalists, on the other hand, said the environment could only be protected by stopping freeways completely. Such a division between the two, therefore, came to be symbolised by the name taken by the group, with an agreement that both the views of the residents ('compensation') and the environmentalists ('protest') should be included. As mentioned in Chapter 12, the former initially gained precedence in the name, because they dominated the first meeting, but because environmentalists took control, the latter eventually took precedence and it was this shift in name which paralleled the withdrawal of residents from the organisation.

While it is true that residents withdrew from the organisation because few signs were forthcoming of an immediate and active confrontation over compensation problems, the dominant control held by

environmentalists should not be seen as causing residents' withdrawal, since residents had failed to institute an organisation of their own to fight the government before the BFPCC was established, and it was not until the first meeting of what was to become the BFPCC that they had come together as a body. And despite claims by some residents that a pre-existing flood action committee was going to establish a protest group, five months had elapsed before even the BFPCC was set up, which raises doubts about whether residents would ever have made such an independent move. Moreover, once the BFPCC was established, residents failed to take control of it, despite having the numbers in the first meetings. In these ways, then, residents' disorganisation and withdrawal from the BFPCC cannot be seen as a direct result of the control by the environmentalists. Other factors, shortly to be discussed, were present.⁴

Turning now to reasons why the overwhelming majority (83 per cent) of residents failed to become active in the organisation, the data show that almost half explained their reticence in what can be summarised as 'powerlessness'. They felt nothing could be done to alleviate their predicament since the government maintained total control over the situation. But more generally, this feeling was associated with an expression of the apolitical content of residential

4 The question of the 'middle-class/upper middle-class' involvement in urban protest needs briefly to be repeated. We should not see the involvement of these people as representing political usurpers who take political control from residents. In fact, as shown earlier and as will be discussed in Chapter 15, these 'outsiders' were fighting for quite different issues from Windsor residents. These were the non-local issues of pollution and public transport and not the local questions of housing and facilities, which concerned Windsor residents. The fact that non-local issues came to the fore in the struggle, relates to particular structural circumstances and not to some conscious attempt by non-residents to disenfranchise Windsor residents.

life. Political activity was considered alien to the living place. Political discussion and political activity had simply not been part of residential life and it is in this way, then, that hegemony could be observed within the residential context.

A further 24 per cent explained their absence from the BFPCC as the result of barriers to participation. These included obstacles created from working night shifts and from transport difficulties, but the most significant deterrent evolved from age. Since Windsor housed many elderly residents, the social curtailment placed upon them resulted in a retreat into the home and the cessation of organisational life which blocked chances of widespread political activity.

Finally, no renters were involved because the housing question was defined solely in terms of homeowners (see Chapter 8). This blocked both the renters who were transients, as well as long-term renters who would have remained if the freeway was not forcing them out.

Overall, then, reasons why the majority did not become members of the BFPCC reflected an ideological control, specifically in the apolitical character of residential life and the hegemony placed upon the aged. It was not surprising, then, that only six per cent of residents saw the BFPCC as having any chance of either stopping the freeway or improving compensation, although slightly more residents involved with the BFPCC (29 per cent) saw chances of success.

ii) A further limitation to political involvement arose from the privatised character of residential life. There was a mutual expectation among residents that social distance be maintained with neighbours and households were expected to operate as independent, self-sufficient units working out their own problems rather than attempting to highlight them through some form of collective action (see Chapter 11)

'Do-it-yourself' skills in each household, then, not only referred to the maintenance of the house and yard, but also identified the mechanism used for solving various problems.

This privatisation, with its adjunct self-sufficiency, had its roots in the economic independence - however illusory - afforded by homeownership. The ownership of a single-family house came to represent the ability of households to survive as individual nuclear families, independent of others, with the single-family dwelling being symbolic of the social distance existing between them. This, then, came to be the visible expression of an ideological control so dominant in Australian residential life.

Therefore, when Windsor residents were confronted with problems arising from forced relocation and compensation laws, it was inevitable that they would handle these as individual households, rather than trying to amalgamate into a federation of households for collective action. It is because of this situation that most residents refrained from becoming involved in the BFPCC. The freeway problem was seen as an individual responsibility and not a collective one. In the end, even those who became members of the BFPCC withdrew from the organisation and handled problems of housing and compensation individually. As the organisation's goal came to centre around general issues of the environment, rather than on residents' immediate concern for compensation, they withdrew to chance their luck, with equal pessimism, in dealings with the MRD as individual households.

Privatisation and self-sufficiency were organisationally reinforced by MRD relocation procedures. Since dwellings were owned by households, it inevitably meant homeowners were forced to approach the MRD individually to sell their house and this contributed to a further

division between residents. They were further divided by the MRD instructing them not to tell neighbours how much compensation was received. This limited protest even further and dangers of political repercussions were defused.

In sum, ideological factors, based on privatisation, self-sufficiency, the apolitical character of residential life and age, limited involvement in the BFPC.

III STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS ON MOBILISATION: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND POLITICAL MOBILISATION

Having considered the two ideological questions, we can now evaluate the two structural constraints. The first structural approach centres on the social network of Windsor residents. It is within this context of network analysis that one of the two major hypotheses on urban political mobilisation is located. By tracing the ties linking individual residents and the ties extending from them to people residing outside the community, an understanding of the structural barriers to or/and structural opportunities for mobilisation should be obtained. If ties exist between residents and if the nature of these associations is closely meshed and conducive to political activity, mobilisation should be fairly extensive and, in the present case, considerably greater than that with the BFPC. Therefore, we can hypothesise that the more closely meshed networks are, the greater will mobilisation be, while the more loose-knit (sparse) these ties are, the less likely is mobilisation to occur.

The explanatory potential of network analysis for comprehending the process whereby a social base becomes, or fails to become, a social force has been put forward by Granovetter (1973), Pickvance (1975, 1977b) and Crenson (1978). Granovetter, in reconsidering Gan's (1962a)

finding on the relative absence of protest within the occupational community ('urban village') of the West End, threatened by an urban renewal scheme, posits the lack of 'weak ties' as a principal reason for political apathy. Gans' data showed the West End to comprise a series of socially isolated clusters of dense and localised networks, and it was the presence of this series of isolated sub-communities that Granovetter claims prevented the development of a viable political force. Extensive residential protest would have been likely, he claims, if bridging ties had been present to link these isolated clusters.

These bridging ties, Granovetter suggests, would more than likely be 'weak ties' - that is, contacts between people who vaguely know one another, such as friends of friends, people met through work, etc. Frequently these are established from common membership of formal organisations such as work or voluntary associations and in communities with rich local organisational membership, many weak ties would be present to allow large numbers to be contacted if threats existed to the survival of the community. The problem in the West End, Granovetter suggested, was the paucity of voluntary association membership, both within and outside the community, which could have allowed the development of weak ties and thus a potential series of bridging ties for political mobilisation.

No empirical application has been made of Granovetter's 'weak ties' hypothesis, although Gans (1974a, 1974b) has made a number of critical comments about its application to the West End (see also Granovetter, 1974). The only published work on networks and community organising has been made by Crenson (1978) who shows that close-knit neighbourhoods do not necessarily elicit a strong political force, although strong informal ties can be a valuable resource when mobilisation occurs.

However, the most valuable work, if rather limited, on network structure and urban political mobilisation has been made by Pickvance (1975, 1977b). He ties this question to the present theoretical approach on urbanisation and urban struggle rather than leaving it at the empiricist plane taken by Granovetter and Crenson. Pickvance identifies network analysis as an additional, though lower level, structural perspective on the way the social base becomes a social force. Such a theoretical and empirical approach is impossible under conditions of the highly generalised framework proposed by Castells (1977). Moreover, network analysis can be valuable for showing how political and economic resources are obtained; either as 'free services' or under some form of 'social exchange'

Observing the relevance of network analysis for Windsor and the struggle against Brisbane's freeways can be approached in the following way:

- i) by examining the nature of the network formed by the social base and seeing the extent to which widespread mobilisation was possible; and
 - ii) by observing relationships located within voluntary organisations, since Granovetter identifies these as locations for creating contacts ('weak ties') which could establish bridging ties and thus increase mobilisation.
- i) The most basic means for seeing whether network structure blocked extensive mobilisation is by tracing links between individuals forming the social base. Residents were asked to name all others known who were also relocating. Unfortunately the matrix showing these relationships is too large to be reproduced here, but certain of the ties can be summarised.

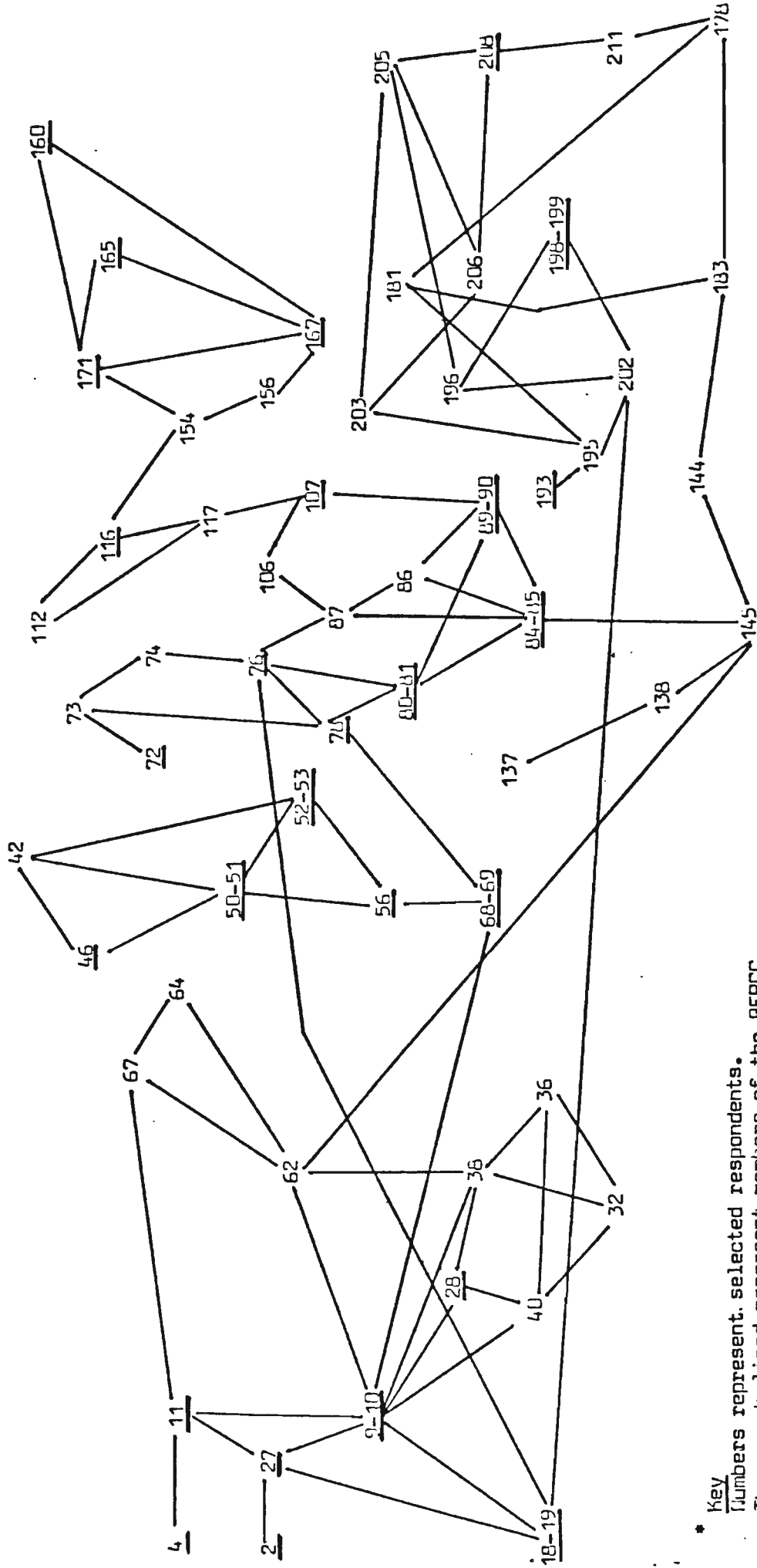
When the network is viewed as a totality, it is loose-knit (sparse) Using Mitchell's (1969b) formula for distinguishing density of a network $[\frac{200a}{n(n-1)}]$, where a represents the actual number of links within the network and n the total number of people, the density was a very sparse nine per cent, a finding not unexpected considering the privatised character of Windsor and the fact that the freeway path was to cut a swathe three kilometres long, meaning, therefore, that relocating residents were unlikely to know many others beyond their immediate residential vicinity

The great majority of these network ties (83 per cent) were, understandably, neighbour relationships, with only five per cent being intimate ties and most of these were neighbour-friendships. What appeared from closer examination was the existence of a series of dense neighbourhood clusters for, as shown in Chapter 10, although the nature of neighbour relationships was defined as distant, with residents keeping to themselves, neighbours nevertheless knew one another well. The density of these neighbourhoods was found to be between 80 and 100 per cent.

In testing Granovetter's hypothesis, there is need to see whether these clustered Windsor neighbourhoods were totally isolated or whether there were bridging ties linking them which could have allowed additional mobilisation. The procedure adopted is to trace a limited number of the more critical contacts between residents, extending from people living in Windsor's southern neighbourhoods to those in northern neighbourhoods, but including all members of the BFPC since, potentially, they could act as catalysts for stimulating mobilisation. An attempt was made to trace ties from the first respondent (Respondent 1), who lived in the most southerly neighbourhood, to the last person (Respondent 213) residing in the most northerly neighbourhood.

Figure 14.1

Interpersonal Links between members of the social base



* Key
 Numbers represent selected respondents.
 Those underlined represent members of the BFPCC
 Respondents linked thus: 9-10 represent members of
 the same household.

Respondents 1, 212 and 213, however, were renters who were recent arrivals and knew no other relocatees. Therefore, links have been traced from Respondent 2 to Respondent 211. As shown in Figure 14.1, the shortest distance between these respondents flows through seven links:

1. From Respondent 2 (man) to Respondent 27 (man): a relationship identified by 2 as an intimate tie (neighbour-friendship), but reciprocated by 27 as a neighbour relationship.
2. From Respondent 27 (man) to Respondent 19 (man): a reciprocal neighbour tie.
3. From Respondent 19 (man) to Respondent 202 (woman): this is the most significant of all seven links. It covers most of the three kilometres from the first neighbourhood to the last neighbourhood. The link is a reciprocal work tie since both are school-teachers employed in a state school just outside Windsor.
4. From Respondent 202 (woman) to Respondent 195 (woman): this is a former work tie since 195 was formerly employed at the same school that 202 and 19 are presently employed.
5. From Respondent 195 (woman) to Respondent 181 (woman): a kin tie (cousins); both being elderly long-term residents living in owner-occupied dwellings (both inherited).
6. From Respondent 181 (woman) to Respondent 178 (woman): a neighbour tie.
7. From Respondent 178 (woman) to Respondent 211 (woman): a kin tie (mother-daughter)

It is also possible to reach Respondent 211 through eight links, from 2 to 27, to 9 (a neighbour), to 62 (a non-intimate friendship), to 145 (a non-intimate friendship) to 144 (a neighbour), to 183 (a sibling-in-law), to 178 (a neighbour) and then to 211.

What these summary data suggest is that it was possible to link the dense clusters of Windsor's neighbourhoods to allow additional mobilisation. Because of the presence of these bridging ties, then, some doubt exists over the viability of Granovetter's hypothesis. It cannot simply be the presence of network ties which stimulates mobilisation; additional predisposing influences must also exist, such as a counter-ideology expressing a collective orientation rather than a privatised ideology

The strong privatised character of Windsor appears to be the constraining influence behind the mobilisation of these dense neighbourhood networks and it is significant that the introduction of neighbourhood chapters of the BFPC, in an effort to stimulate mobilisation, failed (see Chapter 12). They made no impact - irrespective of the dense neighbourhood networks. Therefore, if the simple presence of ties was all that was necessary, a powerful and widespread mobilisation should have resulted in each neighbourhood. The barrier to mobilisation was the meaning attached to neighbour ties and it is in this way that the privatisation of residential life ('keeping to yourself'), once again, came to define how ideology was central to non-mobilisation.

ii) Voluntary association membership was also given by Granovetter as a basic mechanism for linking residents for political mobilisation. Disparate parts of a residential area, in other words could be tied through contacts located in organisations. As shown in Chapter 10, about half the residents were members of various voluntary associations, but a relatively small number of these (29 per cent) were located within Windsor and of these, most were within sports clubs, particularly the Windsor Bowls Club. With few exceptions, the remaining memberships were centred in the nearby central business district or in other

northside suburbs

Of those holding memberships within Windsor, 12 per cent shared membership with at least one other resident, the most usual organisation being the Windsor Bowls Club. In contrast, 24 per cent belonging to non-Windsor organisations shared membership with at least one other resident. These data, then, suggest certain opportunities, though not great, for contact between Windsor residents both within and outside the locality which could have been used to stimulate additional involvement in the BFPCC.

Apart from membership in voluntary associations, local churches proffered opportunities for involving a larger proportion of the social base. Of the 58 per cent who were churchgoers the majority attended local churches and over half of these were parishioners in Windsor's two Roman Catholic churches. Interestingly, resident members of the BFPCC had particularly close ties with these Catholic churches since the 54 per cent of them who were churchgoers, primarily belonged (73 per cent) to these two parishes. There were significant opportunities available, then, for additional mobilisation from this church setting.

In summary, although the ties linking Windsor residents were sparse, or loose-knit, there were certain structural opportunities present for increasing residents' involvement in the BFPCC. Therefore, if the single presence of network ties had been sufficient, a much greater impetus to the movement should have eventuated. In reconsidering Granovetter's hypothesis, then, data on the social network of Windsor suggest that while network analysis may provide some (minor) influence for resident action, it cannot fully account for why so few Windsor residents took part in the BFPCC.

IV' STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS ON MOBILISATION: WOMEN, DOMESTIC LABOUR
AND URBAN STRUGGLE⁵

A second and very important hypothesis which has been posed to help explain the way a social base becomes, or fails to become, a social force centres on women and domestic labour. As pointed out in Chapter 10, since residential life functions to produce and reproduce the workforce and since it is domestic labour that fulfils this function, women must logically be central to any urban struggle. The hypothesis states that because women's lives are anchored within the residential sphere, as the domestic labour force, they experience more directly deprivations of the living place (with their children) and thus come to be the force behind urban struggles. For our purposes, interest rests on the extent to which Windsor women established and dominated the BFPCC and the extent to which they became the force behind actions leading to the indefinite postponement of the freeways. Hypothetically, what should be found is that women established and directed the movement because of their role as domestic workers; that is, as the structural core of residential life. Extended discussions will be given to this question because of its theoretical importance.

Although the major theoretical work on urban and regional development has ignored the relationship between women, domestic labour and urban struggle, a number of writers working within the same theoretical framework have highlighted, both conceptually and empirically, how women are intrinsic to the evolution of urban conflict and Cockburn (1977), Ettore (1978), Gallagher (1977), Rose (1978), Weinbaum and Bridges (1979) and Whyatt (1978) have particularly attempted to tease out such circumstances (see also Barton, 1977; Corrigan and Ginsburg,

5 This section is a slightly shortened version of Mullins 1979c.

1975; Schifferes, 1976) Writing about her work in London, Cockburn (1977:177) states that

a striking feature of the instances of working class housing action in Lambeth. . . is the key role that women played in them. This is in strong contrast to industrial action, where among union and rank and file activists women are as a rule greatly under-represented. In tenants' associations and street groups in Angell Ward and elsewhere women were among the organisers. Their involvement sprang direct from their experience in the home. The engagement of mothers in employment is usually provisional, being placed second to care of children and home. There is thus little time or energy left for organising at work. But hit by intolerable housing conditions, or by actual homelessness, a woman becomes the most likely member of the family to take defensive political action.

Nevertheless, this work on women and urban struggle is still very limited, for there has been no development of theoretical arguments or of conceptual clarity. Even the work by the authors mentioned above does little more than raise a few issues and their 'empirical findings' are more anecdotal than detailed analyses of concrete issues and effects.⁶ As a consequence, explanations given here must necessarily be introductory and seen as hypotheses for further research; not as the testing of an existing theory

i) If there was little involvement by the relocating population generally, there was even less among Windsor women, specifically, for, contrary to the hypothesis, women were overwhelmingly underrepresented in the BFPC. Only 28 per cent of all resident-members of the organisation were women, which is particularly striking because women dominated the area demographically with 58 per cent of the total population. Moreover, with the exception of two unmarried women, all

6 Roddewig (1978), however, has briefly indicated how local women living in the Sydney suburb of Hunters Hill ('upper middle-class') led the fight to save a local forest area from a home unit developer

accompanied their husbands, thus demonstrating how their place within the group simply reflected the sexual division of society. Yet it was surprising that more unmarried women were not involved since one-quarter of all Windsor women were widows and seven per cent had never married. This marital situation should have allowed them a greater degree of freedom in joining the BFPC, but it appears that any political advantages the lack of a husband may have afforded were removed by the social confines placed upon them as women in late middle- and old-age.

In hand with their absence from the organisation, women lacked influence in establishing the BFPC. In fact, it was inaugurated by (male) non-residents who were not only concerned with the destruction of this working-class area, but also campaigned against the non-local issues of air and noise pollution, which freeways would help aggravate, and against the stranglehold the auto-oil-rubber cartel has over transportation to the benefit of private motor vehicles and the detriment of the potentially more equitable mass transit systems. This control by non-residents, of course, also meant that Windsor men, like the women, were similarly inconsequential in creating the BFPC.

As an extension of these political circumstances, women inevitably lacked power in determining the general orientation of the movement, or in leading contestatory acts, for these too were under the directive of non-resident men. But women also did not initiate any alternative organisation aimed solely at women, which may have given them a degree of political clout to counteract the destruction of housing. Therefore, if Windsor men were politically subordinate to non-resident men in the BFPC, Windsor women, as a structural entity, were politically even more constrained.

While resident women played little part in the BFPC, women from outside Windsor were politically more compelling. This was most apparent through one of them becoming the second of BFPC's three secretaries (the group's principal officer) and it was during her time in office (1974) that some of the most significant protest actions occurred (such as the repeat of the previous year's squatting) and when the major effect of the struggle resulted (the indefinite postponement of the freeway). In many ways this secretary symbolised a period in which (non-resident) women held some sway over the organisation and the movement. They were politically active, contributed to the day-to-day running of the group and were notable in their attempts at mobilising women living in the small neighbourhood where the BFPC had established its headquarters and had concentrated squatting. The special women's meetings which were called, however, failed to attract local women and all further efforts at mobilisation were consequently abandoned. In evaluative terms, then, although non-resident women, of all women involved in the BFPC, had an impact, it must be understood that their influence was only marginal to the power held by non-resident men.

Following presentation of the empirical situation we can now provide an introductory explanation of why so few were involved in this action. Discussion is divided into two parts. The first explores a number of immediate and visible explanations for women's low rate of participation, specifically those reasons the women themselves gave, while the second attempts to go beyond these surface explanations and interpret findings within the (structuralist) urban sociology which threw up the hypothesis. The essential feature to bear in mind is that women have been considered theoretically central to urban struggle because they dominate residential life by being the domestic workforce. Why, then, did women not dominate urban struggle in Windsor?

ii) In explaining women's lack of involvement, we can first cover a number of non-structural, subjective factors; specifically what women themselves said about their lack of participation. These essentially are the same as those mentioned above for the entire sample.

a) Almost half the women did not join the BFPCC because of powerlessness - the feeling of being incapable of changing the situation, irrespective of whether a protest group existed or not: 'we can't do anything' For women, this can be viewed in conjunction with their tendency to underrate themselves, the general discouragement received from men over political involvement and a balking at the aggressiveness and assertiveness required of protest, all of which reaffirm feelings of powerlessness.

b) One-fifth of the women said there were barriers preventing their attendance at meetings: old age, lack of transport, poor health. The majority of these reasons, in fact, relate to old age. Since many of the residents were elderly there was considerable curtailment of social activity and while much of this was aggravated by physiological factors (ill health), sociological reasons dominate; there is a retreat into the home and a general cessation of organisational life, relative to younger people.

c) A little less than one-tenth of the women, who were renters, said they had not bothered to join the BFPCC because they felt it concerned homeowners, not renters

d) Four per cent did not attend because husbands were members and they saw no reasons for joining.

e) A final issue frequently mentioned as a barrier to women's organisation participation is the 'double shift' situation for employed married women: before and after work they must do domestic work and this restricts their participation in organisations such as protest

groups. For Windsor women, however, this was not significant since only 13 per cent were employed. Therefore there was no serious deterrent to political action.

The real difficulty with these explanations is that they are merely surface observations, essentially immediate, and tell us nothing about the underlying, deeper processes which limited women's participation. Why did women (and men) feel powerless? What was the situation which created this? These questions require a basic structural explanation and such an underlying process, as Gimenez (1978) has argued, provides the major avenue for understanding the position of women under capitalism and, in the present case, explains women in this urban protest. It is to these structural reasons that we now turn.

iii) Three interrelated structural factors appear to be important in explaining the lack of women's participation. All are tied directly to domestic labour. Because domestic labour is the major structural element in residential life, it logically must provide the major source of explanation.

a) The most general structural reasons for Windsor women's containment seems to stem from the relatively weak association between the women's movement, domestic labour and urban struggle. For the existence of widespread involvement of resident women in an urban struggle, a more direct link appears necessary between the women's movement and residential life at a grass-roots level, for, as Castells (1977) argues, all urban struggles are structurally (though not necessarily organisationally) tied to other actions; most notably conflict at the workplace. In the present case, women's urban struggle comes to merge more generally with the women's movement. This does not mean local women need belong to a formally organised women's group, but

there must be a political consciousness, emerging from direct experience, which initiates action. This did not transpire in Windsor because of constraining forces on women generally and because the women's movement had not totally penetrated the living place, or been actively involved in urban struggle in the sense of organisational representation, like, for example, the way the conservation movement was represented in the BFPCC by the Queensland Conservation Council

In making this claim for a necessary link between domestic labour, urban struggle and the women's movement, no causal relationship is being suggested. That is, an attendant women's movement in an urban protest group does not, of itself, cause local participation. Rather, if the women's movement was organisationally represented and if local women dominated the protest group (or vice versa), both elements would have resulted from the same structural circumstance: an (as yet unachieved) extensive power of the women's movement which extends as far as the residential context. An understanding of this somewhat complex idea was seen in Windsor, where the weak presence of feminists in the BFPCC was related to a weak political response from resident women, or viewed in the converse, the weak political response from local women, was associated with a minor involvement of the women's movement. Both were tied to the same structural condition: constraints placed upon women generally and on the women's movement specifically.

b) Since housing and local facilities form the material objects for domestic labour, issues of collective consumption must be considered in any explanation of urban struggle and, in this connection, Gallagher (1977) maintains that women are most likely to become politically involved and organisationally dominant under the most deprived living conditions. It is both the severity of the problem which sparks women's involvement in urban struggle, as well as the concomitant

political and economic disenfranchisement of their men arising from an unstable work situation. Low and irregular wages and perennially high unemployment removes men's structural legitimacy in the sexual division of labour, culminating in greater power to women and a leadership in any urban political movement which may emerge. In contrast, economically secure working-class areas show an opposite trend; women are almost totally subordinate - exactly the position found in Windsor - which Gallagher attributes to stable male employment and good housing, although she fails to bring these reasons within a more precise structural interpretation. For Windsor, however, the structural circumstance, within the sphere of collective consumption, which had a depoliticising effect upon women seems to be homeownership. Almost all housing along the freeway path was either fully owned (71 per cent) or being bought on a mortgage (15 per cent), and women were economically and therefore politically unimportant because homeownership was tied directly to male earning power (a situation which no longer holds true in Australia) Mortgages were obtained through the assured long-term employment of men and the certainty of obtaining sufficiently high wages to enable payment of interest on the loan and the principal over a 20 or 30 year period. In addition, men's economic and therefore political dominance is cemented by do-it-yourself skills for the upkeep of the house. It is this direct economic tie between owner-occupier housing and men's employment which gave men political dominance in Windsor and brought the economic and political subordination of women in this residential context. Women appear to have greater economic power only in residential areas of private rentals where they become responsible for paying the rent (which may or may not be based on men's wages) and in dealings with the landlord over repairs and other housing problems Therefore, it is the administrative control over the finance of renting which gives women such political influence, a control which

does not exist in homeownership situations.

There was one finding, however, which appears to contradict the argument relating homeownership to Windsor women's political containment. This was the large amount of inherited housing, which mostly went to women. One-third of fully owned housing had been inherited and in 66 per cent of these cases, women were the inheritors (see Mullins, 1976b; and Chapter 8). This finding seems to suggest, then, that these women would hold some power within the residential area because of inheriting this asset and, in turn, should be the most active women in the BFPCC. But this was not the case, since women inheritors were even more underrepresented in the organisation than women as a whole, although the number of these politically active inheritors (only one) was too small to allow any degree of confidence to be expressed in this finding. It is difficult to know, however, why so few women inheritors were involved in the BFPCC, but it could suggest that housing inheritance, by itself, does not indicate economic and political power but, on the contrary, may confirm political subordination if it operated for women as a form of 'dowry'. This was seen in women inheritors receiving i) part of their parent's housing block at marriage so they and their husbands could build a house, or ii) inheritance after the last parent died; or iii) inheriting the house as in the latter manner but after a long co-residence between herself and her husband and her parents. If housing inheritance did operate as a form of 'dowry' (however long it was delayed) - and since the dowry system traditionally reflects the economic subordination of women - housing inheritance may well confirm economic and political subordination, rather than the reverse, and thus help explain why women inheritors were not more active in the BFPCC.

c) The third structural avenue, which initially appeared most

productive, is the character of domestic labour in Windsor. The critical feature of domestic labour (defined as the reproduction of labour power) and women's struggle, as pointed out in Chapter 10, was the 'insignificance' of domestic labour to the area. Since Windsor housed middle-aged and elderly residents, with 69 per cent of the women and 71 per cent of the men being over the age of 50 years, women's role in producing and reproducing labour power was essentially completed (only 25 per cent of women, in fact, were in the years 15-44). It was this 'cessation' of domestic labour which seemed to hold the key to political containment. Women's economic and therefore political legitimacy, based in domestic labour, was removed by the loss of childcare, when their children became adults and established their own families of procreation in other suburbs. A further factor was the completion of domestic support (as distinct from housework) for workers because husbands were now dead, retired or near retirement. This is not to say that women were not involved in any domestic labour. Close ties, in fact, were maintained with adult children and their children, and it is primarily in this context that these women were still involved in domestic labour. Of the women 50 years of age or over who were, or had been, married, 62 per cent had close ties with adult children and their families living within a distinct sector of Brisbane's northside suburbs (including Windsor) housing about 150,000 people, while a further three per cent had such kin located elsewhere in Brisbane. Moreover, these relationships were important for mutual support in times of emergency. Yet, despite this, the argument being made here is not whether Windsor women were engaged in any domestic labour, but their involvement relative to younger women who had children at home and a husband in employment. It is under this relative circumstance that domestic labour can be seen as having 'ceased' and it is within such a context that Cockburn (1977) and Gallagher (1977) argue that

young women with children, directly experiencing problems in domestic labour, come to the fore in urban struggles. As a means of testing this hypothesis relating age and domestic labour to protest in Windsor, it is possible to get some idea of its significance by looking at the ages of women involved in the BFPCC. Table 14.1 briefly shows that middle-aged to elderly women (50-64 years) were overrepresented in the BFPCC, although women over the age of 65 years were underrepresented. This seems to suggest that it is doubtful whether a diminution of domestic labour further limits, at a structural level, political activity. Nevertheless, the numbers involved in the urban struggle were too small to allow confidence in this finding and it still seems worthwhile to pursue an analysis of the relationship.

As a means of comparison and complementing the suggested relationship between 'cessation of domestic labour' and women's political containment, it is useful to see whether retired men, those over the age of 65 years, were less likely to belong to the BFPCC, since these men's structural legitimacy would also have been removed after leaving the workforce. Again, data do not confirm this. Men over the age of 65 years were fully represented in the protest group (see Table 14.2) But this hypothesis is also worthy of further consideration.

Essentially what this argument on women, domestic labour and urban struggle is stressing is that political action emerges firstly from material experiences - in domestic labour - and a diminution of this may limit political activity. It is this which explains why women with young children are the most active in urban struggles (at least according to Cockburn and Gallagher), for they are 'totally involved' in domestic labour, relative to older women whose children have left home and whose husbands are retired or dead. This assumption follows from complementary class action at the workplace which shows

TABLE 14.1

The age of resident women involved in the BFPCC.

(%)

Age	Members of BFPCC (n=10)	Non-Members (n=114)	Total (n=124)
15-34		14	13
35-49	20	18	18
50-64	70	32	35
65 and over	<u>10</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>34</u>
	100	100	100

TABLE 14.2

The age of resident men involved in the BFPCC.

(%)

Age	Members of BFPCC (n=26)	Non-Members (n=63)	Total (n=89)
15-34	4	21	16
35-49	19	11	13
50-64	50	41	44
65 and over	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>
	100	100	100

confrontation being strongest in areas of high and secure employment and lowest in areas with perennially high rates of unemployment.

Whether a comparable argument can be carried over from the workplace to domestic labour, however, is yet to be seen.

iv) To summarise, the strong political curtailment of women emerged primarily from three elements: a) from a lack of economic power because housing, in the form of homeownership, was tied to men's wages; b) from the absence of a carryover of the women's movement into the residential sphere; and c) in a general sense, from the cessation of domestic labour, which removed women's structural legitimacy under capitalism. The importance of these findings and explanations, however, can only be realised by further (comparative) research.

V THE MOST BASIC STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINT: RESIDENTIAL CHANGE IN WINDSOR

The interpretation given so far of why Windsor residents were politically quiescent has been provided in an isolated and disparate form. We need now to determine whether there is some overriding factor which links these issues and which could provide a more coherent understanding of barriers to mobilisation. This unifying factor, it will be argued, is located in the residential change that occurred in Windsor from the 1950s.

In residential terms, Windsor has experienced a decline from an urban peasant community (with relocating residents being a remnant of this) to one which is now characterised as a mixed community comprising three aggregates: a) elderly remnants of an urban peasantry; b) young transients living in rented flats, which have been converted from former owner-occupied houses of urban peasants; and c) highly skilled non-manual workers residing in owner-occupied home units or in refurbished urban peasant cottages. It has been this steady and

persistent decline of the urban peasant community which brought an inevitable political disenfranchisement of relocating residents because they are middle-aged and elderly remnants of this community type. It was the imposition of the Northern Freeway, as part of the ongoing process of change, which accelerated the destruction of the old community and reinforced political disenfranchisement. The planned freeway came to be a mechanism for speeding up the residential change in Windsor and thus for reinforcing relocating residents' declining political influence.

This steady decline of the urban peasant community and the rise of the new mixed inner-city community, was a consequence of the post-1945 process of urbanisation, with its rapid increase in suburbanisation, particularly in the massive rise in the homeownership of single-family dwellings. Moreover, the central business district has now become an office centre, with the retail sector being relocated to suburban shopping towns. Paralleling these changes have been increases in wages and in consumption. This allowed young adults to leave their parents' house and establish their own households in a rented dwelling in the inner suburbs where rental accommodation was most readily available. They remain there until married and before they make the leap to the suburbs. In addition, the contemporary period of monopoly capitalism brought with it a revolution in the administrative control of this mode of production. This resulted in a huge increase in the number of non-manual workers and, in terms of urbanisation, the city centre is the administrative focus for production. These white-collar workers have now increasingly come to live within the city centre and inner suburbs because of easy access to work, as well as because of the location there of consumption opportunities which are basic to their way of life - the museums, art galleries, restaurants, fashionable

shops, etc. It is in this way, then, that there has been a decline in the Windsor of the previous urban peasant community and an increase in rental accommodation for young transients and the recent signs of increasing numbers of non-manual workers

In other words, the changes experienced in Windsor are as a consequence of the change in Australian capitalism and urbanisation, from the mercantile period to the corporate/monopoly period; changes which began in the 1940s and began to be experienced in Brisbane most particularly from the 1960s with the massive transformation of the city (see Chapter 6) This transformation was accompanied, at the residential level, by a shift from the urban peasantry of the mercantile period to the suburbanisation of the contemporary period (see Chapter 4). Under such conditions it was inevitable that massive changes should appear within Windsor (see Chapter 8)

The intrusion of the Northern Freeway came to be part of this transformation with its removal of remnants of the urban peasant community. The freeway merely speeded up a process which was already well under way. Therefore, the devastation that the freeway would bring was well under way by the time the freeway was announced; as witnessed by the principal changes residents had recently observed: the construction of home units and the subdivision of houses for flats, the intrusion of industry, warehouses and offices, the increasing clearance of the area, and the death of old people. The freeway, then, was going to achieve community changes more quickly, for it was destined to destroy, en masse, hundreds of houses. It came therefore to herald the death knell of these remnants of an urban peasantry, although the indefinite postponement of the Northern Freeway has given them a reprieve. However, since these people are in the latter years of their lives, their impending death will achieve the ultimate removal

of this community type.

One final point as an epilogue. It is worth considering what would have happened if Windsor was still a municipal district rather than part of Brisbane City (following the introduction of the Greater Brisbane Scheme in 1925; see Chapter 6) If it had been a separate local government, it is possible that many of these freeway problems experienced by the urban peasant remnants might have been taken up by the local government. In comparable terms, this is what happened in Melbourne where several local governments opposed the intrusion of the Victorian Government's freeway system into their areas, to the extent that one of the councils, including the mayor in full regalia, clashed with the police during a 1977 confrontation. It seems possible, then, that in spite of the political and economic weakness of local governments in Australia, relative to the state and federal governments, a local government in Windsor might have provided an additional impetus to resident political involvement (see Castells' 1978a discussion of the use by the Left of local government elections for achieving victories for the working-class)

VI CONCLUSION

The major problem in the mobilisation of Windsor residents rested, therefore, in the nature of residential life. The continual change occurring from the 1950s, which was transforming the area from a previously urban peasant community, had a depoliticising influence upon these remnants of the urban peasantry. Being a community of a previous mercantile stage of capitalism meant a political weakness, relative to the new suburban community. The low level of political mobilisation, then, was rooted in the demise of Windsor's urban peasantry.

Finally, returning to the hypothesis relating a high degree of

mobilisation to occupational communities and a low level of mobilisation to privatised communities (suburbs and an urban peasantry), certain problems have emerged from the empirical data discussed here. When we compare Windsor with what happened in the West End (Gans, 1962a) and Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott, 1962), this hypothesis is not supported, for, paradoxically, mobilisation was much greater in privatised Windsor than in the occupational communities of the West End and Bethnal Green (cf Moorehouse, et al, 1972). Therefore, it cannot simply be the degree of cohesiveness of a residential area which determines the extent of mobilisation. Other factors must also intervene.

One explanation which can be given for the greater mobilisation in privatised Windsor and the lower level in the collective West End and Bethnal Green, was a temporal influence. The 1970s was quite a different period in terms of capitalist urbanisation than the 1950s, with the last chapter, for example, showing the markedly different political response within Brisbane over the decade from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s - the former was quiescent, the latter insurgent. A similar situation possibly occurred in the West End and Bethnal Green. These communities were among the early (1950s) ones to experience urban renewal, long before the mass of urban contradictions began to appear in the late 1960s/early 1970s which led to mass urban protest. This, therefore, meant a fairly limited likelihood of urban struggle. Moreover, change was already occurring in these areas and their respective cities, for the change to monopoly urbanisation could be dated from the early 1940s. Therefore, it could be argued that the transformation of these antiquated communities was well underway in the West End and in Bethnal Green, and this had contributed to a reduction in the likelihood of urban struggle.

This chapter has attempted to trace those issues involved in reducing the mobilisation of Windsor residents against the freeway system. Theory dictated that they would establish and guide the struggle. Analysis started with an examination of the ideological basis of the area, which was shown to have a significant influence in reducing mobilisation, and then moved on to examine the extent to which the social network linking residents may have placed barriers to mobilisation. While, overall, this network was sparse, it was still possible to use contacts to extend mobilisation. Therefore, the simple presence of network ties was not sufficient to aid understanding of limited mobilisation. Moreover, contrary to the hypothesis that women should dominate urban struggle, because they are the domestic labour force and thus form the structural core of residential life, a number of factors placed barriers on women's involvement. Finally, the major factor curtailing mobilisation, which included these previously identified issues, was the slow decline of the residential community (pre-dating the freeway by ten or so years), for this brought a political disenfranchisement to residents and therefore came to reduce involvement in the struggle. Limited mobilisation, then, had been predetermined.

Chapter 15

CLASSIFYING THE STRUGGLE: A SUMMARY STATEMENT

I INTRODUCTION

The analysis provided so far of Brisbane's anti-freeway movement has been given in three parts. In Chapter 12, a descriptive analysis was provided of the issues, actions and effects and covered the period from the struggle's inception in the mid-1960s to its occasion of impact in the mid-1970s. Secondly, Chapter 13 tackled the basic question of how and why the struggle developed and how and why successes occurred. Finally, Chapter 14 provided specific discussion to the perplexing question of why the social base of Windsor residents failed to be extensively mobilised and so dominate the movement, as theory would suggest.

Contrasted against these analytical chapters, the present chapter summarises the struggle. It attempts to classify it to allow comparison to be made with other Australian urban struggles and with urban struggles in other capitalist countries. This aim will be approached in two ways. The first is through classifying the struggle in terms of a typology of struggles (i.e. a framework of issues and actions), while the second is to classify it in terms of the all-important typology of effects (i.e. a framework of consequences). The link between these two typologies and the question which underlies the whole summary is an understanding of the extent to which this struggle developed into an urban social movement or whether it remained as a lower level influence, having little impact upon the City. There is need to see whether these impacts changed the process involved in the reproduction of labour power to the advantage of the working-class (e.g. with housing), for such change underlies the whole urbanisation

process. This presentation, therefore, will lead logically on to the next chapter where a summary is made of the theoretical significance of this and other urban struggles to the growth of Brisbane and to Australian urbanisation as a whole.

Two difficulties, however, exist in making this classificatory statement. The first is that there is a relative lack of detailed theoretical and conceptual work which could allow a more specific summary to be made. A major theoretical publication on urban struggles is yet to appear (in English) which would go beyond the valuable introductory remarks made by Castells (1977). While Castells' work is theoretically central, it is presented at too abstract and too general a level to allow a full and concise analysis of specific cases of urban struggle.

A second and related problem rests on the dearth of empirical data on urban struggles (at least in English) which would allow useful comparisons to be made with the present struggle. No substantial empirical work (in English) has appeared. The only reports of empirical investigation have been papers by Castells (1977, 1978a) and a paper by Olives (1976) and, more recently, several other papers have appeared over the last two years in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (see Borja, 1977a; Castells, 1978b; Della Seta, 1978; Dunleavy, 1977; Janssen, 1978)

II A FRAMEWORK FOR CLASSIFYING THE STRUGGLE

Despite the lack of comparative material, it is possible to develop a framework for classifying Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle. This will draw upon a set of typologies, provided by Castells (1978a, Chapter 6) and by Cherki, et al (1978; see also Borja, 1977b) which distinguishes different types of struggles and different types of

effects emanating from these struggles.

1 A Typology of Urban Struggles

Castells (1978a) and Cherki, et al (1978) identify three types of struggles. These range from those which are mobilised in a powerful way and therefore more likely to lead to an urban social movement, to those which are only weakly mobilised and least likely to initiate change. There are three sets of such struggles.

The first is urban economic protest, which centres around the immediate and major material issues involved in the reproduction of labour power, specifically housing. These come to be the most powerful of all urban struggles because they are centred on the basic economic questions of everyday life and therefore come to have the strongest level of mobilisation. They are thus more likely to initiate direct action and so evolve as urban social movements. These struggles are defined by Castells as 'trade unions of collective consumption' and by Cherki and his colleagues as 'militant movements'

The second, urban political protest, is also struggle which revolves around the process of reproducing labour power, but in this case, issues and actions are placed at a more general level than are economic protests. Where the latter are concerned with central questions (e.g. housing), urban political protests concentrate on more broadly-based reproduction questions, such as transportation. These struggles tend to have a medium level of mobilisation and are therefore less likely to emerge as urban social movements. Castells calls them 'urban political movements' and Cherki, et al, 'urban-based political movements'.

Finally, protest over ideological questions of urban life centre

on the general questions of everyday life, particularly on environmental issues (e.g. pollution) and on the nature of ties existing between residents sharing a neighbourhood (e.g. over the lack of social solidarity at the residential level) These protests have a low level of mobilisation and under such conditions are the least likely to become urban social movements. Although they may irritate the dominant class, it is unlikely, because of their weakness, that the dominant class will intervene (through the state) to absorb or scatter them. Young people, frequently students, often provide the social force for these struggles Castells defines them as 'ideological urban movements' and Cherki and his colleagues, as 'ideological movements'

2. A Typology of Effects: Defining an Urban Social Movement

It is not sufficient to simply classify the struggle in terms of issues and actions, for an understanding must also be given to the dynamic of the struggle: to its effects. This is in terms of whether the struggle develops as an urban social movement or not; i.e. whether there is a change in the relations between classes at the urban level (the reproduction of labour power) to the advantage of the working-class. According to Castells (1978a), effects defining an urban social movement occur on three potentially independent levels.

The first, at the level of the urban system, appears in terms of a reorganisation of basic aspects used in the reproduction of labour power, particularly with changes to housing and facilities (e.g. in improved housing) These types of changes are defined as 'urban effects' and tend to be positively correlated with actions by 'trade unions of collective consumption' They are the most important consequences of urban struggles since they represent positive changes to basic material conditions of the working-class.

Secondly, at the level of class political relations, changes occur in terms of the balance of power between classes at the urban level and, in turn, at the societal level. These 'political effects' occur in terms of broadly-based aspects of reproducing the workforce (e.g. over demands for improved public transport) and are positively correlated with action from urban political movements, although they can also arise from actions by trade unions or collective consumption.

Finally, class ideological relations initiate change in terms of the ideological balance between classes at the urban level and, in turn, extending to the social structure (e.g. increased social solidarity in residential areas). These 'ideological effects' occur in terms of ideological issues of urban living and are positively correlated with actions by ideological urban movements, although they can also arise indirectly from urban political movements and from trade unions or collective consumption. These effects form the lowest level of change and are thus in danger of readily being defused and absorbed by the urban system.

In assessing urban struggles we find that, of those studied, few have evolved as urban social movements. That is, few urban struggles have produced urban effects and/or political effects and/or ideological effects. In fact, the majority succeed only in making slight modifications to the urban system in a regulatory sense. Projects, for example, are suspended, delayed or modified in the light of demands made by the struggle. In their survey of urban struggles in Europe (since 1968), Cherki, et al (1978) show that only three of the European urban struggles they studied could be classified as urban social movements. These were actions over urban renewal schemes - one in Brussels and two in Amsterdam - which were destined to destroy working-class

housing and the businesses of small shopkeepers. Urban effects were visible from the abandonment of the urban renewal scheme, thus the retention of housing and small businesses, but more importantly, from government action to refurbish these areas to the benefit of the working-class residents and the local shopkeepers.

Most urban struggles, then, if they have any impact, have a regulatory effect. It is under such conditions that we can introduce, for present purposes, the notion of a) an 'urban regulatory effect' where slight modifications are made to the basic components of the process of reproducing labour power (e.g. to housing); b) a 'political regulatory effect', where slight modifications are made to the balance of power over the reproduction of labour power (e.g. to transport planning); and c) an 'ideological regulatory effect', where slight modifications are made to the hegemony placed on the working-class at this urban level (e.g. over environmental issues)

II CLASSIFYING BRISBANE'S ANTI-FREEWAY STRUGGLE

1. The Type of Struggle

The first feature to note about the anti-freeway movement was the manner in which it dominated all other Brisbane urban struggles, for it produced the greatest mobilisation and made the most significant impact (see Chapters 12 to 14). Yet it was unique in another way. Unlike most urban struggles, it was distinguished by a diversity of stakes since it revolved around issues of housing, questions of the environment and problems of public transport. It was this diversity of stakes which made the struggle impossible to classify under one of the three types identified above. It was not simply a trade union of collective consumption or an urban political movement or an ideological urban movement. In fact, it was a composite of all three for it

contained major elements of these three types of struggles.

This 'three in one' character of the anti-freeway movement is an important finding since no empirical evidence is available of comparable situations. Castells (1978b) does, however, show the diversity of struggles present within Madrid's Citizen's Movement, although these struggles were diversified actions with different organisational directives, while Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle was diversified in terms of the stakes, but it was placed under the directive of a single organisation. It had, in other words, a much more specific structural unity than the Citizen's Movement.

The political character of these three fractions differed. One was defensive in demeanour, while the other two maintained offensive stances. Relocating residents, firstly, who provided the social base for the housing question, approached the struggle in a defensive manner and although their wish was to remain in Windsor, they accepted the inevitability of forced relocation. It was under this condition that their major political thrust was the demand for improved compensation to allow easy residential mobility. They did not, however, object to freeways but stoically accepted them as an inevitability.

In marked contrast, the ideological and political fractions, both of which emerged from the environmental movement, took offensive stands. Both demanded total abandonment of the freeway system, since implementation would threaten the environment (by encouraging increased car usage) and further limit public transport facilities (because less and less funding would go into mass transit systems). In this way, the ideological and political fractions took an anti-freeway orientation.

The three-pronged approach came to divide the struggle. As discussed in earlier chapters, there was a marked split between the

ideological (environmental) and economic (housing) fractions, with the former managing to dominate because Windsor residents were politically weak and vulnerable since they were remnants of a now largely non-existent community type: the urban peasantry. Residents' lack of power in dominating the movement was visibly seen in their relatively low level of mobilisation and, particularly, by their early withdrawal from the protest organisation.

The nature of freeway systems, with their great range of contradictions made it inevitable that elements of the three types of struggles should appear. Basic economic contradictions emerged with the threatened destruction of housing, ideological questions emerged over the environment, but also from the threatened loss of neighbour, kin and friendship ties, and political questions emerged over the broad question of transportation planning - public versus private.

By its very nature, then, few other struggles can be as politically diverse as an anti-freeway movement. It tends to be concerned with three questions: housing; transport; and the environment. Most other struggles, in contrast, centre on only one issue, although many can revolve around two issues. For example, both housing and environmental issues appeared in actions against Sydney's urban renewal schemes, with the Builders Labourers Federation placing 'green bans' on housing destined for destruction.

Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle, then, was a three-pronged movement, but with the ideological (environmental) fraction dominating, followed by the political (transport) entity, with the economic (housing) component being subordinate. Now to the effects.

2. The Production of Effects

Although there is an indefinite postponement to Brisbane's freeway system and specifically to the Central and Northern Freeways, the anti-freeway movement cannot be defined as an urban social movement because urban, political and ideological effects did not eventuate.¹ To have been an urban social movement the City's freeway system would have had to be cancelled outright and a massive refurbishing of the public transport system introduced, plus the lifting of control by the MRD over housing in Windsor and in other parts of the City where freeway routes have been proposed, and, finally, an ideological shift would need to have occurred over the environment.

While the struggle failed to make these basic changes, it can be seen as having 'regulatory effects', for there was some significant, but limited, impact upon the urban system, upon urban political issues and upon urban ideological elements. These three regulatory influences can be considered separately as: urban regulatory effects, political regulatory effects and ideological regulatory effects.

Urban regulatory effects emerged with the postponement of the freeway, since the threat of forced relocation and the destruction of housing had been removed (however temporarily) Windsor residents could remain in their houses and not have to face finding alternative accommodation with the limited amounts offered in compensation. Postponement, however, is merely a stay of execution since the

¹ This is a change in interpretation from the first paper published on the anti-freeway struggle (Mullins, 1977a), where it was classified as an 'urban social movement'. Such an error in classification, however, was inevitable since analysis had been based on Castells' (1976c) paper which failed to clarify, in empirical terms, when an urban struggle was an urban social movement and when it was not. Even the 1977 edition of his major work (Castells, 1977) fails to make this empirically explicit.

possibility remains of the Central and Northern Freeways being built at some future date. Since this likelihood is so far in the future, the middle-aged and elderly residents currently residing along these planned routes may well be dead by then.

The Main Roads Department (MRD) still maintains legal rights over the purchase of houses located along the proposed routes of the Central and Northern Freeways and along routes of all other proposed, but unannounced, freeways. Householders wishing to leave must sell to the MRD and, in steadily buying up these houses, the State Government can remove all potential political opposition - unless, of course, by the time freeways are reintroduced (if at all) there has been a change in the housing situation, with rental accommodation playing a more dominant role. The MRD may well then find considerable opposition from tenants. Finally, with this steady purchasing of houses, including rapid purchases between 1972 and 1974, the MRD is now the major landlord in Windsor.

At an urban reformist level (an even more minor influence than urban regulatory effects), certain other changes had been introduced. Firstly, the State Government released money for loans to these relocating Windsor residents who were finding it difficult to obtain an equivalent house - at three per cent interest to be paid after death. Secondly, the State Government began assessing its relocation and compensation procedures. This was undertaken in the light of findings from the Law Reform Commission, from experiences of other state governments, and from its own experiences. It concedes that

the present law on compensation is too rigid.
 More scope is warranted to enable assistance
 in looking for alternative housing, moving and
 if required interest free loans to bridge
 differences in value of properties
 (Main Roads Department, et al, 1978:83)

The need to provide direct administrative assistance to relocating residents was acknowledged, although the MRD claims that it had intended providing residents with such help following the announcement of the Central and Northern Freeways:

The Department did propose setting up units... to be closer to affected properties and give assistance on acquisition procedures. This was not proceeded [sic] with because of the curtailment of the freeway construction program which resulted in deferment of the relevant projects.
(Main Roads Department, et al, 1978:83)

This claim, however, is questionable, for it took the Government two years to postpone these freeways and it had been purchasing dwellings almost until the end of 1974. A two-year period was plenty of time to locate relocation offices within Windsor. What this tardiness seems to imply is that within months of announcing the linked Central and Northern Freeways the MRD knew it could not go ahead with construction and merely spent available funds in purchasing housing. This, in turn, would allow easy construction when (or if) the plan was reintroduced. This delay was nothing new for, by the time these linked freeways were announced in June 1972, they had already been delayed for two years. Originally intended for 1970, the announcement was then postponed until 1971, but the minor depression present at this time once again delayed it. With the start of the 1972-74 mini-boom, the announcement was thus made.

In summary, the urban regulatory effect appeared as a cessation of the intention to destroy housing and this allowed the middle-aged and elderly residents to see out their last years in their Windsor homes. Nevertheless, the very announcement of the freeway programme has changed Windsor. During the two years from 1972 to 1974, over one-third of households approached the MRD to sell their houses and the MRD now rents these dwellings. In this way the process of

residential change in Windsor, dating to the 1950s, has been speeded up with the demise of the urban peasant remnants being accelerated and the numbers of transients in rented housing being increased.

The most significant impact appeared as political regulatory effects. Not only was there the possible curbing of private motor vehicle use through the direct postponement of freeways, but there was also a slight shift towards public transportation, as the state began to realise a need for mass transit systems to allow easy movement of workers to and from work, particularly in the central business district. Therefore there was abandonment of Wilbur Smith's 1965 recommendation of an almost total concentration on private motor vehicles in Brisbane (see Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1970; and Chapter 7) Public transport was now being reconsidered.

Unlike the postponement of freeways, the slight change towards public transport did not start during or after the contestatory years of the anti-freeway movement (1973/74), but had been visible as early as 1968, two years after the freeway system had been introduced. In other words, no sooner had the State Government implemented freeway construction than it was forced to reconsider the role of public transport; a forced reassessment brought about by the increasing traffic congestion in the central business district following universal car ownership in the 1960s.

In 1968 the State Government instructed Wilbur Smith to undertake a public transport study of the Moreton Region, giving particular attention to metropolitan Brisbane. This report was tabled in 1970 and came to be the basis for the public transport plans implemented during the 1970s.

Therefore, it was not the anti-freeway struggle which directly

brought an improvement, however slight, to the public transport system. It appeared more as a dictate from capital over problems in getting workers to work. By having workers consuming transport privately (through ownership of cars) a contradiction had been created. Although an essential part of our post-1945 economy, mass private transport clogged the central business district, resulting not only in an increase in the time taken to get to work, but also in a threatened reduction in the time workers spent at work and this threatened productivity. Under these conditions the state intervened as an urban (transport) planner.

This new concern for public transport has not resulted in any marked increase in public transport, for it has referred, essentially, to moving workers into the central business district or to places of employment located along existing transport routes. In this way, the refurbishing of the public transport system occurred for very specific production reasons.

Moreover, the concern with getting workers to the central business district was not so much a response to the fact that the CBD is the largest employment centre in metropolitan Brisbane - although employing only 21 per cent of workers (1976) - but because of the basic economic and political importance of the CBD. CBD workers are central to the City. With Brisbane moving into the corporate period of urbanisation, the CBD had become a control centre for capitalist production. As the retail industry relocated to the new suburban shopping towns, massive high-rise office blocks have been constructed to locate these all-important non-manual workers. It is for such workers that the new public transport developments were introduced. This is, of course, not only distinctive of Brisbane. Similar programmes have also been implemented in United States' cities but

with an even greater sophistication and verve. For example, San Francisco's Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART) attempts to move large numbers of non-manual workers with ease and speed into the office blocks of the CBD (see Beable, et al , 1971).

The refurbishing of Brisbane's public transport system has brought electrification to the rail system and this is destined to start in late 1979. Secondly, and symbolically expressing the new and dominant administrative role of the CBD, there is the new rail link between the CBD and the southern bank of the Brisbane River, which was made possible by the Merivale Rail Bridge (opened at the end of 1978). This bridge provides the first rail link between the CBD and the City's southern suburbs. Previously workers had to disembark at the South Brisbane Station and either walk to the CBD or take a bus. Now trains disembark passengers at the CBD stations of Roma Street, Central and Brunswick Street. In addition, the electrification of rail has brought new coaches, which provide more comfortable seating, carpets and air-conditioning.

Even with rail converging on the CBD, the majority of workers (79 per cent) still do not benefit from such transport unless they are employed in locations along a rail route. While no new railway lines are under construction or exist on blueprints, the State Government has recently suggested the extension of rail links to Redcliffe City, on the northern side of the metropolitan area, and to Redland Bay, on the southeast. However, these proposals will merely extend the existing radial pattern.

There has also been the upgrading of Brisbane City Council (BCC) buses. A new fleet has recently been purchased (also air-conditioned) and attempts have been made to introduce bus-only lanes to reduce travel time.

In an effort to co-ordinate transport planning, particularly the development of a public system, the State Government established in 1976 the Metropolitan Transit Authority. Its brief not only covers metropolitan Brisbane but extends throughout most of the Moreton Region, specifically the coastal strip from Noosa in the north to the New South Wales border in the south, where over 90 per cent of the region's population is located.

Finally, some comments on the freeway system. While the Central and Northern Freeways are indefinitely postponed and the remainder of the system shelved, the Southeast Freeway is still under construction and is destined for completion in the early 1980s when it will meet the Pacific Highway and thus allow rapid movement from Brisbane's CBD to the Gold Coast. Undoubtedly the freeway is being completed because of the vitally important link between Brisbane and the Gold Coast, Queensland's two largest cities.

A freeway is also being constructed outside Brisbane to link the city with the Sunshine Coast. This freeway commences at the outer suburb of Bald Hills and currently extends 25 kilometres to Bribie Island, the first of the resort areas north of Brisbane. By 1982, it will extend to the Sunshine Coast's major and contiguous population concentrations at Caloundra, Maroochydore and Mooloolaba. This speedy construction is part of the 1970s boom in the Sunshine Coast and parallels the 1960s growth in the Gold Coast when the four-lane Pacific Highway was completed.

Of course, in considering these various influences, we should not ignore fiscal problems, for interwoven into these questions of transport infrastructure are questions of public expenditure. Over the past few years, in response to the 1970s recession, all governments have moved

towards restricting public expenditure and this includes funds for freeways as well as public investment in other areas.

In conclusion, although the anti-freeway movement can be seen as the major force in the abandonment of the Central and Northern Freeways and in the postponement of freeway proposals, Brisbane's transport system still remains under the dictates of capital, since new developments in public transport are directed at the important central business district and current freeway construction is a response to the growth of the Gold and Sunshine Coasts. However, political regulatory effects brought by the anti-freeway movement have also appeared in the constant demand to update public transport. This is most apparent in attempts, often unsuccessful, by the BCC to introduce rapid bus services to provide new routes, more comfortable buses and improved fare structures.

Finally, it is much more difficult to pinpoint ideological regulatory effects because they do not have the visibility of urban and political regulatory effects (see Castells, 1978a). However, the environmental demands which emerged with an attack on pollution and on the exploitation of natural resources by the auto-oil-rubber cartel, have been further strengthened during the 1970s as the environmental movement developed increased momentum. In Brisbane there is a constant barrage over the quality of urban life and a greater sensitivity has resulted. Both the Brisbane City Council and the State Government express concern over issues such as air, noise and water pollution and over the City's green belts.

IV CONCLUSION

Brisbane's anti-freeway movement, then, existed as three struggles in one: there was economic action over the destruction of Windsor housing; ideological action over increased dangers of air and noise pollution and over the exploitation of the environment by the auto-oil-rubber cartel; and political action over the inadequacy of public transportation. The effects of this 'three in one' struggle did not make an appearance as an urban social movement, but emerged as regulatory effects brought about following the indefinite postponement of announced freeways and of all future freeways. There was a reprieve to house destruction ('urban regulatory effect'); a contribution to an increased emphasis on public transport ('political regulatory effect'); and a contribution to the ongoing ideological attack on the exploitation of the environment ('ideological regulatory effect').

PART SIX

CONCLUSION

Chapter 16

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS ON AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION,
RESIDENTIAL LIFE AND URBAN STRUGGLESI INTRODUCTION

So, Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle was not an urban social movement since no significant changes were made to the urban system. It was, however, a struggle which brought a number of regulatory effects, with the indefinite postponement of the freeway system, specifically the Northern Freeway, leading to a cessation in both the forced relocation of Windsor residents and the destruction of their houses. It also pushed the State and local governments towards increased activity in public transport planning and there were certain ideological victories in the battle over urban living conditions, specifically with environmental questions.

The purpose of this, the concluding chapter, is to round off discussion by pulling together the threads of the argument and then relating them back to the contexts from which they emerged and upon which they acted. These contexts are i) the general question of Australian urbanisation, with particular reference to the recent rapid growth of Brisbane and its Moreton Region, and ii) residential life (in Windsor) as that specific component of the urbanisation process relating directly to the reproduction of labour power and which emerged as the principal stake in the struggle (housing and facility access)

Urban movements, then, revolve around the process of reproducing labour power. That is, the process of ensuring the presence of a capable and quiescent workforce through the provision of housing (the basic element), residential infrastructure (e.g. water supply), health,

educational, transportation and recreational facilities and of the political and ideological factors which link these material conditions. To be capable of analysing an urban struggle, then, we must understand this reproduction process as well as the broader aspects of the urbanisation process within which it is placed. It was from this need that the present case study was preceded by a detailed analysis of general components of Australian urbanisation (Part III). This took a regional perspective based on the states but with particular reference to Queensland. It then gave a detailed analysis of the recent rapid growth of Brisbane and its surrounding region and within such a framework was placed an examination of the role played by transport planning, particularly freeway development. From this general level of analysis, attention was switched, in Part IV, to specific elements operating in the reproduction of labour power. Detailed analysis was given to residential life in Windsor in terms of both its material form (housing and facility access) and its social components (social and ideological organisation). It was these elements in the reproduction process which, for residents, became the stakes in the struggle and provided the social mechanisms for determining the extent of their mobilisation. From these two contexts, one general and the other specific, analysis was then made of Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle. Therefore, although the present work essentially is a case study of an urban struggle, it has necessarily provided two additional analyses: one on broad issues of Australian urbanisation and the other on a particular type of Australian residential life.

The present chapter is organised in two parts. The first provides a summary of the major findings while the second will attempt to tease out a number of quite distinctive features which are pertinent to further explorations of Australian urbanisation, particularly from a comparative perspective.

II SUMMARISING THE CASE STUDY

The most general context within which Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle could be understood, was the broad process of Australian urbanisation. A general analysis was located at a regional level, contrasting Queensland's situation with reference to the other states. What was shown was a very distinctive pattern, with Queensland, along with Western Australia and Tasmania, having historically been Australia's underdeveloped regions. Capital accumulation had been slow, relative to the dominant states of New South Wales and Victoria, and as a consequence workers had traditionally experienced the highest rates of poverty and unemployment and the lowest per capita incomes in Australia. For Queensland and Western Australia, however, underdevelopment declined from the mid-1960s as foreign-based multinationals moved in to mine these States' minerals. In this way, workers' incomes increased and unemployment declined (Chapter 5)

Queensland's growth over the past decade or so, however, was not simply the result of mineral exploitation and export (from the central and northern parts of the State), for a major component also appeared from the rapid development of the southeastern corner of the state - the 'Moreton Region' - where a boom period, beginning in the early 1960s, led to the growth of the country's most dynamic consumption site. There was the rapid suburbanisation of metropolitan Brisbane and the unique development of tourism and recreation in metropolitan Gold Coast (principally) and in the towns of the Sunshine Coast. Such rapid growth had been made possible by a number of factors. Firstly, because the Moreton Region effectively promoted the consumption of commodities; it formed the third largest population concentration in Australia and it had climatic and physical advantages ('sun and surf') congruent with major Australian leisure pursuits. Secondly, the mining

industry boosted Brisbane from a port and the State capital, to a powerful administrative centre for the mining industry. Thirdly, and perhaps more importantly, development had been possible from investments of surplus revenue produced in industries located in Sydney and Melbourne. Interestingly, this capital came from industries established since 1945 which produced those commodities (e.g. cars, television sets) that were to be consumed in sites such as the Moreton Region (Chapter 6). Moreover, this development had been rapid because, firstly, there was an absence of old fixed capital since Brisbane had not been an industrial city. Secondly, the strong pro-growth coalitions in Brisbane and the Gold Coast worked with great speed and efficiency, possibly because they lacked such difficulties as having to remove old fixed capital. Finally, local governments were not fragmented in any significant way. Brisbane City, for example, forms the largest local government area in Australia and is reputed to be one of the largest in the world. Such unity, then, allowed easy co-ordination of growth within the city but also throughout the region. However, the State Government is increasingly taking over responsibilities for what previously were local government activities in an effort to increase the co-ordination of growth in the Moreton Region (Chapter 6).

It was within this context of rapid development of Brisbane and the Moreton Region that freeways were introduced in the mid-1960s as an attempt to speed the flow of traffic within Brisbane and region. Cars and freeways were seen as the principal mechanisms for increasing suburbanisation and for aiding the growth of the tourist and recreation industry. However, while forming the major component of the transport plan, freeway development was only one part of an overall attempt at refurbishing the transport system within Brisbane and the rest of the Moreton Region. There is, therefore, the current construction of a

new seaport at the mouth of the Brisbane River, the planning of a new airport on the existing airport site and changes to Brisbane's public transport system, with the removal of trams and trolley buses, the upgrading of diesel buses and the electrification of rail (Chapter 7)

Freeway construction, however, created severe urban contradictions, for it led to an inevitable destruction of housing. There was the removal (for the Southeast Freeway) and the planned removal (for the Central and Northern Freeways) of single-family, owner-occupied dwellings, housing middle-aged and elderly residents in highly accessible areas. The housing problem, specifically, emerged from a failure by the Main Roads Department to provide sufficient compensation to allow relocation to equivalent housing in equally accessible areas. The price for attempting to reduce traffic congestion, a necessary goal to maintain productivity, then, was a destruction of housing, a necessary element for the reproduction of the workforce (Chapters 8 and 9)

In the 1970s, other contradictions emerged. There was an increasing perception of threats to the environment posed by the internal combustion engine, with freeways being seen as a means of encouraging car usage and thus increasing pollution, and there was increasing concern over the decline in public transport facilities as increased emphasis was given to private transport. These two elements now came to be central components in the 1970s struggle. Urban contradictions had therefore gone beyond the immediate local question of housing and facilities to include non-local issues as well. Three stakes therefore emerged in the 1970s stage of the struggle: the economic questions of housing and facility access; the ideological questions of the environment; and the political questions of public transport planning (Chapters 12 and 13)

Although the anti-freeway movement made its appearance in 1966 following the announcement of the first stage of the freeway programme, the movement came to be tightly constrained by the organisation directing it at that time. This repressive force comprised a conservative faction that took a strong reformist stance by working with the Main Roads Department. This had the effect of preventing any contestatory action being instituted by residents. More importantly, the 1960s containment had been achieved through a general quiescence of Brisbane workers and the Australian working-class at that time. It was not until 1972, when the second stage of the freeway programme was introduced, that the movement began to evolve as an insurgent force and this became possible through the presence of new non-local power centred around questions of the environment and public transport (Chapters 12 and 13)

The 1970s outburst of activity, however, was seen to be part of a wider emergence of urban struggles throughout Brisbane and in other Australian cities, as well as being part of a significant upsurge in working-class action that led, in 1974, to workers gaining considerable wage increases. The year 1974 was also the occasion when Brisbane's Central and Northern Freeways were indefinitely postponed and when blueprints for further freeways were shelved (Chapter 13).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the struggle was the relative lack of involvement of residents - both in the 1960s, when the organisation was controlled by a conservative force, and in the 1970s when a radical force, in taking contestatory action, fought primarily over environmental and planning questions. Theoretically, residents should have formed the core of the struggle since the contradiction affecting them - the central economic questions of housing and residential facilities - holds precedence (in any urban struggle) over ideological (environmental) and political (transport planning)

questions. Part of the explanation for this quiescence could be seen in the privatised character of Windsor, where local ties between people sharing a neighbourhood were seen to be distant, and where residential life was defined, ideologically, as being privatised and being based on self-sufficient households (Chapters 10 and 11).

Yet, it was not simply privatisation that restricted Windsor residents' mobilisation. A more important reason arose from changes which had occurred in Windsor over the previous ten or 15 years, for it was an area in transition, with an increase in non-residential activities (e.g. warehouses) and in changes to the residential structure. It was rapidly changing from an area housing remnants of the original urban peasant community which included relocating residents, to an area housing young transients in rented accommodation who eventually would move to homeownership in outer suburbs and, in a far more limited way, of highly skilled non-manual workers living in home units. It was this change to Windsor that led to a vulnerability of the relocating residents and thus to their political quiescence and their lack of control over the anti-freeway movement (Chapter 14)

Residential demise also seems to explain why those living in British and American occupational communities of the 1950s and early 1960s, under threat from urban renewal schemes, failed to be mobilised. In fact, they were even less mobilised than the privatised Windsor residents. Theoretically, we should have expected far greater mobilisation from these occupational communities because of their considerable social solidarity. Yet their political quiescence seems also to have resulted from the relative lack of accumulated urban contradictions present during the 1950s and early 1960s. These were years when there was a low level of urban struggle; since relatively few urban contradictions had appeared in an overt way. It was not until about 1968

that a watershed appeared and urban struggles became widespread.

Finally, Brisbane's anti-freeway struggle was not an urban social movement since no basic change was made to the city. The Central and Northern Freeways were simply postponed and other blueprints temporarily shelved. Nevertheless, regulatory effects appeared with the extended life granted to Windsor housing, the possible limitations to private transport use and increases in public transport, and the increase in environmental protection. In reality, however, these so-called minor victories were only achieved through actions taken by capital via the state. Doubts on the freeway and on private transport dominance, and increased concern for public transport, had begun several years before a contestatory stance had been taken by the anti-freeway movement (over the years 1973 and 1974). In effect, then, the decision to cut freeways and pay greater attention to public transport was primarily brought about because capital, through the state as the urban planner, was fearful that increased inner city congestion, created by private motor vehicles, was increasing the journey to work and thus threatening productivity. Ironically, this interest in public transport was, once again, creating a contradiction, for theoretically an increase in public transport should have the effect of threatening the mass consumption of cars which has been one of the major components of Australian economic development since 1945.

This finding on the central manipulative involvement of capital in urban struggles coincides with theoretical statements made by both Castells (1978a) and Cherki, et al (1978). They point out that victories gained by urban struggles are largely determined by the level of importance placed upon the stakes by capital. Where the issues are central to capital, urban struggles are very unlikely to succeed, but where they are viewed as being of minor importance, urban struggles

are more likely to achieve victories. The regulatory effects appearing from this anti-freeway movement, then, can be explained in these terms (Chapter 15)

III AUSTRALIAN URBANISATION, RESIDENTIAL LIFE AND URBAN STRUGGLE: SOME HYPOTHESES

This final section will attempt to highlight a number of issues which emerged from this work and to pose them as hypotheses for future research. Initially discussion will focus on factors which have given rise to urban struggles in Australia and in other capitalist countries, and then an attempt will be made to briefly pinpoint where and under what conditions future urban struggles may appear in Australia cities.

A number of factors have been raised throughout the course of this work to help explain the general conditions under which urban struggles emerge. What is needed now is a set of hypotheses which will further clarify these conditions for Australia and for similar capitalist countries, such as Argentina, Canada, New Zealand and Uruguay (all of which have been strongly influenced by a long period of mercantile capitalism) These countries can then be contrasted with dominant capitalist countries, such as West Germany and the United States and it will be suggested that the two sets of countries have quite different levels of urban contradictions and thus urban struggle. Urban struggle, for instance, has been more extensive, as well as more intensive, in dominant capitalist countries than in countries such as Australia with histories of mercantile urbanisation. The reasons for this difference can be hypothesised in the following terms:

a) Countries such as Australia have had fewer transformation difficulties in moving from the mercantile stage of urbanisation to a monopoly/corporate stage, while dominant capitalist countries have

experienced considerable problems in their transition from an industrial to a monopoly/corporate urbanisation. The greater ease in transformation in Australia is primarily related to the absence of large-scale fixed capital which had been necessary for industrial urbanisation. Since mercantile urbanisation simply did not require extensive productive infrastructure, it meant that Australian cities did not have to make the massive changes to the built environment, by way of urban renewal, that cities in dominant capitalist countries had to, to ensure the development of the corporate city (refer back to arguments given in Chapters 4 and 6) This relative lack of fixed capital allowed Australian cities to be transformed with relative ease. It was cities in dominant capitalist countries which were forced to institute urban renewal to remove old fixed capital, including housing containing residents, and it was this destruction of housing and the forced relocation of residents which led to extensive urban struggles in countries such as Britain, France and the United States during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, urban renewal schemes, as they have appeared in dominant capitalist countries, have been the catalyst for a major form of urban struggle. In Australia they have virtually been non-existent.

b) Of all Australian cities, only Sydney and Melbourne, as the cities with some industrial development (prior to 1945) have instituted urban renewal schemes. Therefore, these have been the cities which have had urban struggles evolving from such urban plans. In contrast, urban renewal schemes have never been introduced in Brisbane, Australia's pre-eminent mercantile city, simply because there has not been a necessity to remove old fixed capital, since it was of the limited mercantile variety (see again arguments developed in Chapters 4 and 6)

c) Not only has this lack of fixed capital and therefore the absence

of urban renewal schemes helped explain the more limited urban struggle in Australia, but the transition of Australia's urban peasant community of mercantile urbanisation, to its suburban community of the contemporary corporate period of urbanisation, has occurred with greater ease than has the transition in dominant capitalist countries from the occupational community of industrial urbanisation to the privatised communities of corporate urbanisation. This has been because there was a far greater similarity between the urban peasant community of mercantile urbanisation (with its high level of homeownership, its self-sufficiency centred in individual households and its privatised way of life) and the suburban community of corporate urbanisation (also with its high level of homeownership, its consumerism based in individual households and its privatised way of life) In marked contrast, considerable changes occurred in dominant capitalist countries in the transformation from the occupational community of industrial urbanisation (with its rental accommodation and collective way of life) to the suburban and public housing communities of corporate urbanisation (with their high rates of homeownership, in the former, and public rentals, in the latter, and the privatised way of life in both instances) Australia's move from a mercantile to corporate situation, had created, in the process, far fewer material and social problems at a residential level, than had the move in dominant capitalist countries from industrial to corporate urbanisation.

d) When we look internally within Australia, in terms of the arguments given in (c) above, we find a situation identical in nature where urban struggles were far less likely to occur in the more mercantile of Australia's cities, like Brisbane, because urban peasant communities were more predominant, than in Sydney and Melbourne. Therefore, Sydney and Melbourne were more likely to have occupational communities and therefore were more likely to experience difficulties in the change to

the suburban community of corporate urbanisation.

e) A further factor reducing the likelihood of urban struggles in Australia emerged from house tenure. Since Australia, historically, has had a low level of rental accommodation and since most of what there is has been provided by small, rather than large, landlords, rent strikes have not appeared. In contrast, in dominant capitalist countries with their principally rental accommodation (now increasingly rented from the state), rent strikes have been a central component of urban movements. It seems that the economic independence and self-sufficiency demanded of householders who own or are purchasing their houses as in Australia has been a mechanism for defusing the possibility of urban housing movements, although it is perhaps important that strikes have not occurred from householders who are making mortgage repayments. This quiescence has probably been assured through the isolation of such mortgagees.

Therefore, of all urban struggles, actions against freeways have probably been the most prominent of Australian urban movements. However, actions against these transportation systems of the new corporate city have, as in Brisbane, largely been postponed and any danger of political repercussions have therefore been curtailed.

While the Australian state has played a very strong role in urban and regional development, it has historically concentrated investment in productive infrastructure (e.g. railways for bringing wool to the ports for export), rather than in residential infrastructure (e.g. sewerage plants). Moreover, as argued in Chapter 4, the lack of much residential infrastructure is a product of Australia (historically) being a mercantile rather than an industrial nation and therefore extensive fixed capital which would have allowed a spin-off effect for residential areas, in the provision of residential infrastructure,

did not eventuate. The extension of residential facilities by the state has only occurred since 1945 and particularly during the 1960s.

In the future the most significant urban struggles in Australia may well appear in the regions with the most dynamic growth; that is, in Queensland and Western Australia. More particularly, future urban struggles may well go far beyond the immediate economic necessities of housing and facilities and come to concentrate increasingly in leisure facilities as increased emphasis is placed on non-work time. For the Moreton Region, particularly for the Gold and Sunshine Coasts as Australia's major centres of tourism and recreation, this would be highly significant. Possibly a centre such as metropolitan Gold Coast, which doubled its population twice in 20 years to over 100,000 in 1976, could be the location of a quite new and unique form of urban struggle, for as non-work time is increased, either forcibly through unemployment or demanded by workers themselves (e.g. in the present campaign for a 35-hour week), cities such as the Gold Coast may well become politically significant within the whole process of Australian urbanisation. Also within other cities, new recreational opportunities which extend beyond the privatisation of the home, may well provide the basis for new urban struggles.

These various hypotheses can only be tested by detailed comparative research. Comparison must be made between Australian urbanisation and urbanisation in similar capitalist countries such as in New Zealand and Argentina, and between Australia and urbanisation in dominant capitalist countries such as in Britain, France and West Germany. In this way, increased understanding will be made of urbanisation as a structural entity and urbanisation as a process which is changed through urban struggle.

IV CONCLUSION

Finally, brief comment needs to be made on the theoretical perspective adopted in this work. Comments raised originally in Chapter 1 and repeated throughout the work, need now to be reiterated. Firstly, it should be apparent that the present case study is not only a specific analysis of an urban struggle, but it is also a study, albeit introductory, of Australian urbanisation. This was inevitable since urban struggle is integral to the urbanisation process; as the principal force behind urban and regional transformation.

The present analysis, of course, was not without its problems. As indicated in the first chapter, the theoretical framework adopted (from marxist structuralism) is relatively recent. This means that much confusion is present, in terms of a lack of theoretical specificity, in that the theory is still placed at too general a level to be capable of adequately considering specific structural relationships, and because its generality and abstractness pose problems when attempts are made at interpreting detailed empirical data. Such criticism does not deny the value of the work. It raises a number of very basic and essential questions which, very helpfully, point the research in the 'right' direction. But beyond this, researchers, particularly empirical researchers, are given little guidance.

Nowhere are these problems more evident than in the work of Manuel Castells - particularly Castells (1977). While not denying the great value of his contribution, his work was placed at too general and too static a level to aid the empirical work considered in the present study. Surprisingly, for a theorist who is so concerned with social change, as with his discussion of urban social movements, his work is essentially incapable of guiding observations and interpretations of the dynamics

of a social formation. While he defines, at a general level, when an urban struggle becomes an urban social movement, the staticness of his work cannot show the actual processes of change. He provides a rather vague and abstract formula which is virtually useless once confronted by empirical data. His problem, then, is a lack of a historical perspective.

Fortunately there are a number of works which are now appearing which transcend such problems of Castells' (French) structuralism. This is particularly seen in the recent work by a number of urban political economists, such as David Gordon (1977, 1978). They place urbanisation and urban struggle more centrally within the process of capitalist development. There is some indication, then [and this also is apparent in Castells' recent (1978) work], that theoretical and empirical research is now breaking away from the structural obsessive-ness so evident in Castells' The Urban Question. By taking a comparative perspective, this more balanced approach will provide a more coherent understanding of the structure and process of capitalist urbanisation.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLING AND INTERVIEWING PROCEDURES

I INTRODUCTION

Procedures used for interviewing the relocating sample have already been discussed in the body of the text (Chapter 2). Therefore most of what is discussed in this appendix refers to the mechanism for sampling and interviewing non-relocating residents. However, some brief additional comment can be made on the relocating sample.

In all dwellings destined for destruction, interviews were conducted with both husbands and wives where conjugal units existed; in all other situations, only one adult was interviewed. Moreover, as a means of limiting the possibility of over-representing rental dwellings, interviews were obtained in only one dwelling where a complex of flats (usually two or three dwellings) were present. Unfortunately, however, this decision had the opposite effect, for there was, in fact, an under-enumeration of rental dwellings. However, this did not appear to detract from the ability to generalise from data collected (see Chapter 8). Finally, on those occasions when no one was home, up to four callbacks were made.

II SAMPLING AND INTERVIEWING PROCEDURES FOR THE NON-RELOCATING SAMPLE1 The Sample

The non-relocating sample was drawn in January 1973, using the 1966 Census, since the 1971 Census data were not available. At the 1966 Census, Windsor had a population of 18,211, although when interviews were undertaken and completed in 1973, the population had dropped to 17,450 (Main Roads Department, et al, 1972)

A three per cent sample was drawn from this 1966 Census population, but rather than spreading interviews throughout Windsor's 21 Census collectors' districts, it was decided to concentrate interviews in a randomly selected sample of half of these districts. In fact, ten districts were selected under the assumption that this would allow easier observation of interpersonal relations within neighbourhoods and within suburbs.

The sample was drawn by means of systematic random sampling, resulting in a total of 546 personal interviews being completed in 367 dwellings. These interviews were undertaken by a team of interviewers who were mature-aged (late 20s and older) social science students at the University of Queensland. They already had basic training in methodology from university courses, but in preparation for these interviews, they had a detailed and thorough briefing.

Interviewers were instructed to obtain interviews in the following way:

- i) The number of interviews for each collector's district was determined by the percentage of the population of this collector's district to the total population of the ten districts, from which the sample had been drawn. Thus, if a particular district contained 30 per cent of the population of the ten districts, then 30 per cent of the sample of 546 interviews was to be obtained from that district.
- ii) Within collectors' districts particular streets were randomly selected and within these streets interviews were to be obtained in every fifth house. The random selection of streets ensured the appropriate quota of interviews from that district.
- iii) Interviews were to be obtained from both husbands and wives where dwellings contained a conjugal unit, while in all other dwellings,

interviews were to be obtained from one adult only

iv) If the fifth house was a block of flats or home units, interviews were to be obtained in only one dwelling in each block.

v) If there was a vacant lot, shop, etc., interviewers were then to move on to the next fifth dwelling.

vi) If interviews were refused, interviewers were to move on to the next fifth dwelling. Refusals, in fact, were minimal

vii) If no one was home at the selected dwelling, interviewers were instructed to make four callbacks.

2. Adequacy of the Non-Relocating Sample

Tables I to VI compare the characteristics of the sample population with the characteristics of the population of Windsor at the 1971 Census. As shown, the non-relocating sample was generally representative of Windsor

Tables I, II and III contrast the sex, age and religious affiliation, respectively, of the sample population against the population of Windsor. As can be seen, the sample resembles the population closely, with respect to these factors.

Table IV compares the occupational distribution in the sample population and the population at the 1971 Census. Because the occupational code used for the non-relocating population was slightly different from that used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, no comparative breakdown could be given for manual occupations in the 1971 Census material. However, apart from an over-estimation of professional workers, the sample population was generally comparative with the 1971 Census

Finally, Tables V and VI contrast dwelling type and tenure. Table V shows an over-estimation in the sample for single-family

dwellings, while Table VI shows an over-estimation of owner-occupied dwellings. Both of these situations resulted from the decision to interview in only one dwelling where a building contained a number of rental dwellings. Nevertheless, these differences did not detract from the ability to generalise on house type and tenure (see Chapter 8)

TABLE I

Comparison of the sex composition of the non-relocating sample and the population of Windsor at the 1971 Census, for people over the age of 20 years.

(%)

	1971 Census (n=12,578)	Non-Relocating Sample (n=533)
Male	46	44
Female	54	56
	100	100

TABLE II

Age distribution of population of Windsor at 1971 Census and non-relocating sample for people over the age of 20 years.

(%)

	1971 Census (n=12,578)	Non-Relocating Sample (n=533)
20 - 24 years	17	12
25 - 29 years	10	10
30 - 34 years	6	6
35 - 39 years	6	5
40 - 44 years	7	9
45 - 49 years	8	10
50 - 54 years	9	9
55 - 59 years	9	10
60 - 64 years	8	8
65 - 69 years	7	7
70 plus years	14	14
	101	100

TABLE III

Comparison of religious adherence between the non-relocating sample and the 1971 Census.

(%)

	1971 Census (n=17,758)	Non-Relocating Sample (n=546)
Church of England	27	24
Baptist	1	1
Presbyterian	8	6
Methodist	7	6
Congregational	1	1
Lutheran	1	1
Salvation Army	1	2
Roman Catholic	36	39
Church of Christ	1	2
Other	3	2
No religion	6	17
Refuse	<u>7</u>	<u>-</u>
	99	101

TABLE IV

Comparison of occupational distribution between non-relocating sample and the 1971 Census.

(%)

	1971 Census (n=8,024)	Non-Relocating Sample (n=362)
Professionals	10	18
Managers	5	3
Clerical/Sales	32	28
Farmers	1	-
Skilled	53	14
Semi-skilled		5
Unskilled		32
Other	-	-
	<u>101</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE V

Comparison of house type at the 1971 Census
and in non-relocating sample.

(%)

House type	1971 Census (n=6,164)	Non-Relocating Population (n=367)
Detached (single-family) house	61	74
Attached) Home Unit)	4	- 9
Self-contained flat	31	15
Flat- shared facilities	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

TABLE VI

Comparison of housing tenure at the 1971 Census
and in non-relocating sample.

(%)

Tenure	1971 Census (n=6,114)	Non-Relocating Population (n=367)
Owner (including buyer)	54	64
Renter	42	35
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
	101	100

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: RELOCATING SAMPLE

A. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

1. When is the MRD resuming your house/flat?
2. Is this dwelling - a detached house; attached house; home unit; flat or apartment (old house subdivided) - self contained; flat (old house subdivided) - shared facilities; other (specify)?
3. Is this dwelling fully owned by this household; being bought by this household (mortgaged or borrowed money); rented solely by this household; share rented; other (specify)?
4. IF OWNED OR BUYING: When did you buy this house/flat? (Year)
5. How much did this place cost when you agreed to buy it (dollars), and by what means was it purchased?
6. Has the MRD offered you a price for your house/flat?
IF YES: How much?
7. Do you find this an acceptable price?
IF YES: When are you planning to leave?
Do you have a place to go?
Where is this place?
8. IF NO: What would you say your house/flat is worth? (Price)
What do you think your chances are of getting this price: very good, good, a slight chance, no chance at all, DK?
9. Have you a time planned for leaving?
IF YES: When do you plan to leave?
Do you have a place to go?
IF YES: Where is this place?
10. IF RENTED: How much is your weekly rental?
11. How many rooms do you have apart from the kitchen, bathroom and toilet?
12. Do you know the size of your property?
IF YES: What is the size in perches?
13. Since living here, do you feel you've made any improvements to your house and yard? (Include any major repair jobs such as painting; nature of improvement, when completed, who did the job, about how much did it cost?).
14. Do you have a vegetable garden, a flower garden, fruit trees, other trees and shrubs?
15. Does this household have a radio; TV; record player or radiogram; car (owned, buying, firm's, hired, other); running hot water; flush toilet; vacuum cleaner; swimming pool (fixed, portable); telephone; refrigerator; gas stove; electric stove; pets [dog(s), cat(s), other)].
16. How many people live in this house/flat?

- 17 How many are there under the age of 18 years (relationship, age, sex, employment status)?
18. How many are there over the age of 18 years (relationship, age, sex, employment status)?

B. I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS HOUSE/FLAT IN WHICH YOU LIVE.

19. Overall, how sorry or pleased are you about having to leave this house/flat because of the construction of the freeway? Very sorry to leave, sorry to leave, makes little difference, somewhat pleased to leave, very pleased to leave, DK.
20. Are there features of your house/flat which you particularly like?
IF YES: What are these features?
- 21 Are there any features of your house/flat which you particularly dislike?
IF YES: What are these features?
22. Overall, then, for your present purposes how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with this house/flat? Very satisfied, satisfied, don't feel strongly one way or the other, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied, DK?
23. If the freeway wasn't forcing you to leave this house/flat, how much longer would you have remained living here? If planning to leave why would you have left, when would you have gone, where would you have gone to?
24. When you arrived here, was there anyone living in this area who you knew (relationship, where lived then, where live now)?
25. Would you say you've lived in this house for a long or short time, or for a medium length of time only?
26. When in fact did you come to live in this house/flat?
- 27 Why did you come to live in this house/flat?
28. Did anyone encourage you to come and live in this house/flat in this area?
IF YES: Relationship, where lived then, where live now?
29. Did anyone discourage you from coming to live in this house/flat in this area?
IF YES: Relationship, where lived, where live now?
30. Did you especially want to live in this area?
IF YES: Why?
IF NO: Was there another area you preferred?
Where is this area?
Do you still prefer to live there?
- 31 Would you please tell me all the places you have lived and the approximate time you lived there. Would you start with the place in which you were born. (Distinguish: city, town, rural non-farm, rural farm)
32. Would you please tell me where your parents and grandparents were born?

33. In having to leave this house, what type of place are you looking for?
34. Have you thought at all about applying for a Housing Commission house?
IF YES: Why?
IF NO: Any reason why not?
35. If a Housing Commission house was offered to you would you accept it?
36. Do you spend any time gardening - including mowing lawns?
IF YES: How much time do you spend gardening?
Do you enjoy gardening?
37. Do you spend any time around your house and yard doing handyman jobs?
IF YES: What sorts of jobs do you do?
How often do you do handyman jobs?
Do you enjoy these handyman jobs?
38. Are there any things you especially like about your yard and garden?
39. Are there any things you especially dislike about your yard and garden?
40. MARRIED COUPLES ONLY
In working around your house, garden and yard, do you and your husband/wife have separate jobs to do? Who mostly washes up; mows the lawn; does most of the shopping; takes the children on outings (if applies only); puts the children to bed (if applies only); does repairs around house; does repairs around yard; does most of the cooking; decides on how the money should be spent; pays the bills most often; decides on the children's education?
41. Some people have already moved because of the freeway, although they did not need to move until later. Do you know of anyone who has already moved? Would you please tell me their name(s) as I would like to talk to them as well
42. Apart from these people who have already moved, what other people do you know who must move?
43. Have you spoken to anyone living closeby who doesn't have to move about the effects of the freeway?
IF YES: What sorts of views have they expressed?
44. Overall, then, how do you think other people living in this area who must move or who have already moved, feel (or felt) about leaving?
45. How do you think people living in your area who do not have to move feel about the construction of the freeway and the fact that so many people have to move?
46. Do you belong to the Brisbane Freeway Compensation and Protest Committee?
IF YES: Why did you join?
How many meetings have you attended?
IF NO: Why haven't you joined?

- 47 Do you belong to a local branch of the BFC&PC?
 IF YES: How many meetings have you attended?
 IF NO: Why haven't you been to any meetings?
48. What do you see as the aim(s) of the BFC&PC? What chances do you see it achieving these aims? Very good chance, a good chance, DK, not a good chance, no chance at all
49. Have you signed the protest petition?
50. Have you attempted to obtain any legal aid?
 IF YES: Who was it you obtained aid from, or are obtaining aid from?
 IF NO: Are there any reasons why not?
- 51 If free legal aid was available, would you make use of it?
- C. I'D NOW LIKE TO SHOW YOU A NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOUSES AND FLATS AND I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT YOU THINK OF THEM.
52. Which of these houses do you think looks most like your house?
53. Do any of these places look like the place in which you lived for most of your childhood - up to the age of 12 years?
54. Of all these house types, and flats, which do you most like and what is it you most like about it/them?
55. Are there any you dislike? What do you dislike about them?
56. Do any of these places look like dwellings in which friends and/or relatives are presently living?
- D. I'D LIKE NOW TO TURN TO TALKING ABOUT THE AREA IN WHICH YOU LIVE.
- 57 Would you say there was an area around here where you are now living which you would say you belonged to and where you felt at home?
 IF YES: Could you tell me the approximate boundary of this area?
58. Are there any features of this area in which you live that you particularly like?
59. Are there any features of this area in which you live that you dislike?
60. Overall, then, how do you feel about living in this area? Would you rate it: very satisfactory, satisfactory, don't feel strongly one way or the other unsatisfactory, very unsatisfactory?
- 61 If you remember, I asked you how you felt about having to leave your house. I would now like to ask how you feel about having to leave this area in which you are living. Will you be very sorry about leaving, somewhat sorry about leaving, makes little difference, somewhat pleased about leaving, very pleased about leaving?
62. Since living in this area, what changes have you seen occur?

E. JUST AS I SHOWED YOU A NUMBER OF PHOTOS OF HOUSES AND FLATS AND ASKED YOUR OPINIONS OF THEM, I'D LIKE NOW TO SHOW YOU A NUMBER OF PHOTOS OF STREETS AND HOUSING AREAS AND SEE WHAT YOU THINK OF THEM.

63. Which of these areas do you think looks most like the area in which you live?
64. Do any of these areas look like the area in which you spent most of your childhood up to the age of 12 years?
65. Of all these areas, which do you most like and what is it that you most like about it/them?
66. Are there any you dislike? What do you dislike?
67. Do any of these areas look like the places in which you have friends and relatives living?

F NETWORKS

68. How many adult relatives and in-laws, not living in this household, do you have living closeby? (Relationship, location, frequency)
69. How many friends do you have living closeby? (Location, frequency)
70. Would you say you have most of your relatives living closeby?
71. Would you say you have most of your friends living closeby?
72. Overall, how well would you say you knew your neighbours?
Very well, fairly well, not very well, not at all
IF ANY NEIGHBOURS KNOWN: Which neighbours are these?
73. If you wanted temporary accommodation in Brisbane at any time, who would you turn to?
74. In the case of an emergency who would you turn to first?
(Excluding spouse and other adults in this household)
75. SUBJECTS WITH CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 12 YEARS ONLY
If you wanted your child/children minded and your husband/wife (or another adult member of this household) was not available, who would you turn to?
76. Generally speaking, would you say you had much in common with the people living around you? Yes - a lot; Yes - something; No - not much; No - not at all
IF YES: What do you see as having in common with these people?
77. Generally speaking, would you say the people living around you would be mostly of the same social class?
IF YES: Which social class is this?
IF NO: Which social classes do they belong to?
78. Which social class would you say you belonged to?
79. Are there any activities in which you and your neighbours take part together?
IF YES: Which activities are these?

80. Do you and your neighbours exchange or borrow things from one another such as gardening tools, magazines, groceries, etc?
IF YES: How often?
81. Outside working hours and apart from the other people living in this household, who are the other people you see most often and spent time with? (Name and location, relationship, time known, how met, where usually meet, how often seen)
Do any of these people mentioned know each other?
IF YES: Which ones?
Have you all ever met together?
IF MARRIED: Does your husband/wife know any of these?
IF YES: Which ones?
82. Apart from these people already mentioned, are there any others you would regard as important to you, but who you do not see very often? (Name and location, relationship, time known, how met, where met, where usually meet, how often seen)
Do any of these people know each other?
IF YES: Which ones?

G. FACILITIES AND SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES

83. I'd like now to ask you some questions about shopping.
NB: IN THE CASE OF MARRIED COUPLES, ASK THE SPOUSE WHO DOES MOST OF THE SHOPPING.
Is there any one day of the week when a large shopping is done?
IF YES: Which day is this?
IF NO: When is the shopping done?
84. Which shops do you use most often; where are they located?
85. Do you make use of any travelling food vendors?
86. Do you have a newspaper delivered?
87. How do you use your spare time - that is, the time outside working hours and/or housekeeping? Playing sport (specify); watching sport (specify); hobbies (specify); card playing; youth activities (specify); gardening and pottering around; building things (e.g. boats, etc.); reading; watching TV; listening to the radio; listening to records or tapes; going to parties; giving parties; visiting; entertaining visitors; going to the races (horses, trots, dogs, speedway cars); going to the pictures; going to plays; going to live shows; going to concerts or opera; going to a night club.
88. Do you usually go away for a holiday every year? Usually, occasionally, rarely, never
IF OTHER THAN NEVER: Where do you usually to?
IF NEVER: What do you usually do at holiday time?

89. Are there any clubs or organizations you belong to?
If you do, would you tell me how often you attend meetings and gatherings; whether it's regularly, occasionally, rarely or never and would you tell me where these meetings and gatherings are held. Parents & Friends Association or Home & School Groups; Rotary; Jaycees; Lions, etc; women's groups or clubs; R.S.L.; Sport's clubs; Political Party; Trade Union; Business or Professional group; Church group; Social clubs; Charity or welfare organizations; other (specify)

90. Is there one particular political party you support?

91. In thinking about this area in which you live, would you please tell me if you find the following amenities conveniently placed?

Railway station	Telephone box
Bus stop	Post box
Work	Post office
Church	Swimming pool
Grocery store	Doctor
Butcher	Dentist
Fish shop	Hospital
Supermarket	Chemist
Pre-school or Kindergarten	Restaurants
Primary school	Cafes and milk bars
Secondary school	Picture theatre
Public library	Other types of entertainment
Park for children to play	A shopping centre
Park for sports	Halls for meetings
Park for walking	Service station
Pub	

92. I'd like now to know how important you regard the following for the place in which you live:

Is an attractive looking place
Is a place where people are safe from physical attack
Is a place which is quiet
Is a place where there is good street lighting
Is a place where there are regular police patrols
Is a place where there is a proper sewerage system
Is a place where the people are friendly
Is a place where there are regular rubbish collections
Is a place where houses, yards and gardens are neat and tidy
Is a place where there are trees along the front of houses
Is a place where houses and yards give people plenty of privacy
Is a place where all footpaths are paved
Is a place where people have trees and shrubs in their yards
Is a place where the houses are in a good state of repair
Is a place where streets and footpaths are in a good state of repair

H. JUST TO FINISH OFF I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME MORE GENERAL QUESTIONS

93. Sex
94. Marital status
95. Age group.
96. How old were you when you left school?
97. Did you receive any qualifications at school?
IF YES: What qualifications was this/were these?
98. Did you complete any further education after school?
IF YES: What was this?
99. Do you ever attend church or some other religious building?
IF YES: How regularly do you attend and would you please
tell me which church/religious building you go
to (location)?
100. Do you belong to a particular religious group?
101. Are you employed?
102. What is your occupation?
103. Where is your usual place of work?
104. How long does it usually take you to get to work?
105. What means of transport do you mainly use to get to work?
106. Would you like to live closer to work, further away, or is
this just the right distance?
107. What is your weekly income (including pensions)?
108. Would you tell me what occupation your father had (if
retired, before he retired), father's father and
mother's father?
109. Finally, do you feel freeways are an essential part of
Brisbane's transportation? Essential, not really essential,
not at all essential)

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: NON-RELOCATING SAMPLE

- A. I'D FIRST LIKE TO ASK YOU A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO MUST MOVE BECAUSE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FREEWAY
- 1 Do you know anyone who must move because the Main Roads Department is resuming their house/flat to build the freeway?
IF YES: Would you please tell me who these people are (name and address)?
 2. Some people who must move because of the freeway have already left. Do you know any of these people?
IF YES: Would you please tell me who these people are (name, old address, new address)?
 3. How do you think the people who must move, or who have already left, feel about having to leave because of the freeway?
 4. How would you feel if you were told you must leave this house/flat because the land on which it stands was wanted for a freeway?
 5. I would now like to ask you how you feel about freeways in Brisbane. Do you think they are essential for the city's transport, not really essential, or not at all essential?
 6. Do you belong to the Brisbane Freeways Compensation and Protest Committee?
IF YES: Why did you join?
 - 7 What do you see as the aim(s) of the BFC&PC?
 8. What chances do you see the BFC&PC achieving the(se) aim(s)? (Very good, good, don't know, not good, no chance, other)
 9. Have you signed the protest petition in favour of more compensation for the people who must move and against further freeways?
- B. I'D NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR HOUSE AND YARD.
10. Is this dwelling a detached house; an attached house; home unit; flat or apartment (old house subdivided) - self contained; flat (old house subdivided) - shared facilities; other (specify)?
 - 11 Is this dwelling fully owned by this household; being bought by this household on a mortgage; rented solely by this household; share rented; other (specify)?
 12. How many people live in this house/flat?
 13. Are there any household members under the age of 18 years? (number, relationship to head, sex, age, employment status)
 14. How many are there over the age of 18 years? (number, relationship to head, sex, age, employment status)

15. IF HOUSE/FLAT IS OWNED:
What would you say the value of your property is? (dollars)
16. IF HOUSE/FLAT IS RENTED:
What is the weekly rental?
17. Would you please tell me the size of your property (in perches)?
18. How many rooms does your house/flat have - apart from the kitchen, bathroom and toilet?
19. Since living in this house/flat have you made any improvements to your property (house and yard)? (nature of improvement, who did job, when completed, how much)
20. Do you have a vegetable garden, a flower garden, fruit trees, other trees and shrubs?
21. I will now read out a list of different household facilities and I would like you to tell me if you have these or not:
radio; TV; record player or radiogram; car (owned fully, buying, firm's, hired, other); other means of transport (specify - other car); running hot water; running cold water; flush toilet; vacuum cleaner; swimming pool (fixed, portable); telephone; refrigerator; gas stove; electric stove; pets [dog(s), cat(s), other (specify)].

C. HOUSING ATTITUDES

22. For your present purposes, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your house/flat? Very satisfied, satisfied, don't feel strongly either way, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied, DK.
23. What features of your house/flat do you especially like?
24. Are there any features of your house/flat you dislike?
25. When did you come to live in this house/flat?
26. Would you say you have lived here a long time, a fair while, a short time only?
27. Why did you come to live in this house/flat?
28. Did anyone encourage you to come and live in this house/flat?
IF YES: Who was/were this/these person(s)? (relationship, where lived then, where live now)
29. Did anyone discourage you from coming to live in this house/flat?
IF YES: Who was/were this/these person(s)? (relationship, where lived then, where live now)
30. Did you especially want to live in this area?
IF YES: Why?
IF NO: Was there another area you preferred?
IF YES: Do you still prefer this area?
31. When you arrived here, was there anyone living in this area you knew?
IF YES: Who was/were this/these person(s)? (relationship, where living then, where living now)

32. Do you plan any time in the future to leave this house/flat?
 IF YES: Why would you leave?
 Where would you go?
 When would you leave?
33. Would you please tell me all the places you have lived and the approximate length of time you lived there. Would you start with the place in which you were born (distinguish between cities, towns, rural non-farm, rural-farm)
34. Would you also please tell me where your parents and grandparents were born?
- D. I WOULD LIKE NOW TO SHOW YOU A NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOUSES AND FLATS AND ASK YOU A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THESE.
35. Which of these houses/flats looks like the place in which you are living?
36. Do any of these places look like the place in which you lived for most of your childhood - i.e. up to the age of 12 years?
37. Of all these house-types, which do you most like, and what is it you like about it/them?
38. Are there any you dislike? What do you dislike about them?
39. Do any of these places look like dwellings in which friends and/or relatives are presently living?
40. Do you spend any time gardening - including mowing lawns?
 IF YES: How much time do you spend gardening?
 (a little every day, several times a week, weekends only, several times a month, once a month, less than once a month)
 Do you enjoy gardening?
41. Do you spend any time around your house and yard doing handyman jobs?
 IF YES: How much time do you spend on these jobs?
 (a little every day, several times a week, weekends only, several times a month, once a month, less than once a month, whenever necessary)
 Do you enjoy these jobs?
42. MARRIED COUPLES ONLY
 In working around your house and garden, do you and your husband/wife tend to have separate jobs to do? I will read out a list of these jobs and would you please tell me whether one of you tends to do the job or whether you share:
 Mowing the lawn; washing the dishes; cooking; shopping; repairs around the house; repairs around the yard; putting the children to bed (if applies); taking children on outings (if applies); deciding on children's education (if applies); pays the bills mostly; decides on how money should be spent.
43. Is there anything you especially like about your yard?
44. Is there anything you dislike about your yard?

E. I'D NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AREA IN WHICH YOU LIVE.

45. Would you say there was an area around here where you are now living which you would say you belonged to and where you felt at home?
IF YES: Could you tell me the boundaries of this area?
(use streets)
46. Are there any features of the area in which you are living which you especially like?
47. Are there any features you dislike?
48. Overall, how do you feel about living in this area? Would you rate it very satisfying, satisfying, don't feel strongly one way or the other, unsatisfactory, very unsatisfactory?
49. Since living in this area what changes have you seen occur?

F. I WOULD NOW LIKE TO SHOW YOU A NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIFFERENT HOUSING AREAS AND ASK YOU A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THESE.

50. Which of these areas do you think looks most like the area in which you are living?
51. Do any of these areas look like the place in which you spent most of your childhood - up until the age of 12 years?
52. Of all these areas, which do you most like and what is it you like most about it/them?
53. Are there any you dislike? What do you dislike about them?
54. Do any of these areas look like places in which friends and/or relatives live?
55. In thinking about this area in which you live, would you please tell me if you agree with the following statements:
The area in which you live -
Is an attractive looking place
Is a place where people are safe from physical attack
Is a place which is quiet
Is a place where there are regular police patrols
Is a place where there is a proper sewerage system
Is a place where people are friendly
Is a place where there are regular rubbish collections
Is a place where houses and yards are neat and tidy
Is a place where there are trees along the front of houses
Is a place where houses and yards give plenty of privacy
Is a place where all footpaths are paved
Is a place where people have trees and shrubs in their yards
Is a place where houses are in good state of repair
Is a place where streets and footpaths are in good state of repair

56. I will now read another list. This time it is a list of amenities found in cities and I would like you to tell me if you find them conveniently placed to where you are living:

Railway station	Telephone box
Bus stop	Post office
Work	Post box
Church	Swimming pool
Grocery store	Doctor
Butcher	Dentist
Fish shop	Hospital
Supermarket	Chemist
Kindergarten	Restaurants
Primary school	Cafes and milk bars
Secondary school	Picture theatre
Public library	Other entertainments
Park for children	Shopping centre
Park for sports	Halls for meetings
Park for walking	Service station
Pub	

G. I'D NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS AREA.

57. How many adult relatives and in-laws, not living in this household, do you have living closeby (relationship, frequency of contact, location)?
58. Would you say you have most of your relatives living closeby?
59. Would you please tell me where the following relatives live (NB: if Brisbane, get suburb): parents, grandparents, children, siblings, uncles/aunts, other)?
60. How many friends do you have living closeby (location, frequency of contact)?
61. Would you say you have most of your friends living closeby?
IF NO: Where do your friends live?
62. Overall, how well would you say you know your neighbours?
Very well, fairly well, not very well, not at all
Which neighbours are these?
63. Would you say you had much in common with the people living around you? Yes - a lot; Yes - something; No - not much; No - nothing at all
IF YES: What do you see as having in common with your neighbours?
64. Would you say the people living around you were most of the same social class?
IF YES: Which social class is this?
IF NO: Which social classes do they belong to?
65. Which social class would you say you belonged to?
66. Are there any activities which you and your neighbours take part in together?
IF YES: Which activities are these?
67. Do you and your neighbours exchange or borrow things such as gardening tools, magazines, groceries, etc?
IF YES: How often? Often, sometimes, rarely, never.

68. If you wanted temporary accommodation in Brisbane at any time, to whom would you turn? (relationship, location)
69. In the case of an emergency who would you turn to first, if your husband/wife or any other person in this household was not available? (relationship, location)

70. SUBJECTS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE ONLY

If you wanted your child/children minded and your husband/wife or other member of this household was not available, who would you turn to? (relationship, location)

71. Outside of working hours and apart from other people living in this household, who are the people you see most often and spend time with? (Name and location, relationship, time known, how met, where met, where usually meet, how often seen)

Do any of these people know one another?

IF YES: Which ones?

Have you all ever met together?

IF MARRIED: Does your husband/wife know any of these?

IF YES: Which ones?

72. Apart from these people already mentioned, are there any others you would regard as important to you, but whom you do not see very often? (name and location, relationship, time known, how met, where met, where usually meet, how often seen)

Do any of these people know one another?

IF YES: Which ones?

73. I'd now like to ask you some questions about shopping.
(NB: IN THE CASE OF MARRIED COUPLES, ASK THE SPOUSE WHO DOES MOST OF THE SHOPPING)

Is there any one day of the week when a large shopping is done?

IF YES: Which day is this?

IF NO: When is the shopping done?

Which shops do you use most often and where are they located?
(shops, location)

H. I'D LIKE NOW TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SPARE TIME ACTIVITIES.

74. Do you take part in any of the following and would you tell me how often you take part in them?
Playing sport (specify); watching sport (specify); hobbies (specify); card playing; youth activities (specify); gardening and pottering around; reading; watching TV; listening to the radio; listening to records or tapes; going to parties; giving parties; visiting; entertaining visitors; going to the races (horses, trots, dogs, speedway, cars); going to the pictures; going to plays; going to live shows; going to concerts or opera; going to a night club; any other (specify)

75. Do you usually go away for a holiday each year? Usually, occasionally, rarely, never
 IF OTHER THAN NEVER: Where do you usually go?
 IF NEVER: What do you usually do at holiday time?
76. Are there any clubs or organizations to which you belong?
 (NB: find where they are located)
 Parents & Friends Association or Home & School Groups;
 Rotary; Jaycees; Lions, etc; Women's groups or clubs;
 R.S.L.; sport's clubs; political party; trade union;
 business or professional group; church group; social clubs,
 charity or welfare organizations; others (specify)
77. Is there one particular political party you support?
 IF YES: Which party is this?
78. Do you ever attend church or some other religious building?
 IF YES: How regularly do you attend and would you please
 tell me which church/religious building you go
 to (location)?
79. Do you belong to a particular religious group?
 IF YES: Which one?
80. How old were you when you left school?
81. Did you receive any qualifications at school?
 IF YES: What qualifications?
82. Did you complete any further education after school?
 IF YES: What was this?
83. Are you employed?
84. What is your occupation (including occupation before
 retirement)?
85. Where is your place of work?
86. Would you tell me the occupations of your father, father's
 father, mother's father?
87. How long does it usually take you to get to work?
88. What means of transport do you mainly use to get to work?
89. Would you like to live closer to work, further away, or is
 this just the right distance?
90. What is your weekly income (including pensions)?
91. Sex.
92. Marital status
93. Age group.

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