STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN CANBERRA—PART Ⅱ

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6 THIRD STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The third stage is the period when redevelopment of existing sites has commenced or development of a nearby new town has created undesirable effects on older areas. Such development produces detrimental impacts on established areas, such as heavier traffic, air and noise pollution, etc. More importantly, these undesirable consequences can result in property devaluation. To the home-owner, the house represents a very large investment from which a positive rate of return is expected, like that from a bank deposit. However, investment in property is different from a bank deposit in that the former is a spatially rooted investment. Therefore, the rate of return achieved depends to a great extent on neighbourhood change and its implications for home values.

Such development, therefore, represents to residents a threatened invasion of a negative development. Conflict is a common result where the threat of a negative development fails to be resolved or where the positive development does not materialise. Common recognition of the external threat gives rise to a "defended neighbourhood" (Suttles, 1972, pp. 21–43). A spirit of unity is formed among the residents concerned. Action to pursue the conflict to a fruitful outcome often takes the form of a political action group.

The situation in the third stage is examined in terms of the interests between the NCDC and residents. Forging schemes of urban planning from a city-wide point of view, the NCDC promotes developments which may disrupt satisfactory amenities in established areas. In

contrast, residents aim at conservation of their amenities. The NCDC's viewpoint conflicts with residents' interests. It is in the third stage of development that a clash of interests takes place between the NCDC and residents. Because of a conflict of interests, it is hard for the NCDC and residents to reach a compromise over such development issues.

Areas in the third stage are similar to those in the first stage in that political actions tend to be organised. However, political actions in the third stage are different from those in the first stage in that the former assume a form of "prevention" of development, while the latter aim at "promotion" of development.[12]

When a residential problem emerges, residents have a growing interest in their own area. To solve problems, residents gather together to form a community interest group. Joining such a group revitalises interaction with many neighbours. This leads to the hypothesis that political actions in the third stage of development increase residents' attention to their area and participation in their neighbourhood activities. The third stage of development is similar to the first stage in this respect.

There have been three notable occasions when conflicts in connection with development have occurred in the third stage: (1) redevelopment of a town centre, (2) urban consolidation in existing areas and (3) development of an adjacent new town. While the first two cases exemplify redevelopment of established areas, the last one is an example of development of an adjacent new town. These three cases will be outlined here.[13]

6.1 REDEVELOPMENT OF A TOWN CENTRE

The first case is the redevelopment of Civic, Canberra's central 'downtown' business district. As population increased, modification of land use policy in existing sites became necessary. Existing town centres were projected to expand with the increase of Canberra's population (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p.88). As a part of this project, the redevelopment of Civic (expansion of commercial and office space) was under way from 1985 to 1988 for the purpose of increasing the employment level up to 35,000 persons within the following five years (National Capital Development Commission, 1987b, p.77).

The construction of office buildings in the neighbourhood has increased rates, noise, traffic and car parking. These undesirable effects of the Civic redevelopment on nearby suburbs have led residents to organise the Braddon Residents Association, Turner Residents Association and Campbell Residents' Association and to reactivate the Reid Residents' Association (Cooke, 1984; Braddon Residents Association, 1987a, 1987b; Mahoney, 1987; Turner Residents Association, 1987a, 1987b; Community Spotlight, 1987a)[14]. The increased interest of residents in their suburb was apparent in the approximately 100 attendees at public meetings of each of these political action groups in 1987.

6.2 URBAN CONSOLIDATION IN EXISTING AREAS

The second case is urban consolidation in existing sites. Urban consolidation is a term used to describe the strategy of increasing the number of dwellings in existing areas, i.e., raising urban densities. The Y-Plan on which Canberra's planning has been based has resulted in a city which is widely spread, at a low density, with large provisions of open

space. Against this urban planning strategy, by the mid 1980s there emerged a recognition that the dispersed settlement in Canberra was costing a great deal. Population decline in long established areas resulted in under-utilisation of land, housing and infrastructure. For instance, the three major sewer systems in Canberra were utilised at around 40 per cent capacity (Adrian, 1986, p.21). Maintenance of excess capacity in existing housing stock and infrastructural services was proving too costly. Despite under-utilised community facilities and services in established areas, the NCDC had plans for the additional new towns according to the Y-Plan. Gungahlin, adjacent to the New South Wales border to the north, was identified as the next major area for expansion and development (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a). If excess capacity in existing areas were fully used, the cost of infrastructure and services for new suburban areas would be unnecessary. Moreover, the preservation of huge open spaces represents substantial maintenance costs as well as associated amenities costs to the community-at-large such as providing bus services over uneconomical distances. Much more attention is paid to the cost of dispersed settlement under the Y-Plan, probably because the recent economic recession and Australia's longer-term economic difficulties made this factor significant[15].

This drawback has led to urban consolidation in existing areas, in combination with suburban expansion. The NCDC has undertaken three programmes of urban consolidation (National Capital Development Commission, 1986a, pp.62-64, 1986b, 1986c, pp.30-33, 1987c). They include: (1) the infill programme (development on vacant land in existing areas), (2) the conversion programme (This includes the conversion of houses to multiple occupancy, the subdivision of large blocks, and the conversion of non-residential premises to dwellings.) and (3) the redevelopment programme (demolition of buildings and the construction of new buildings on site with an alteration of use or intensity).

Urban consolidation provides the opportunity for making better use of currently under-utilised facilities and services, such as shops, open spaces, schools and water and sewage networks (Canberra Chronicle, 1986a; National Capital Development Commission, 1986a, pp.21-33, 1986b, 1986c, p.62, 1987c). This programme was recommended by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory (Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory, 1987, pp.26-40 and pp.52-62) and some academics (e.g., Day 1984, 1986; Adrian, 1986).

Since consolidaion programmes sometimes change the atmosphere of the neighbourhood and diminish the property value of surrounding housing, they tend to generate conflict between the NCDC and the residents in the neighbourhood. The Ainslie Residents' Association in north Inner Canberra is a case in point. Because the development of Ainslie started in 1926, there are many old houses there. Small-scale residential development proposed by the NCDC (National Capital Development Commission, 1986b) is mainly aimed at such old houses. The Ainslie Residents' Association was formed in 1987 because of concern about small-scale residential redevelopment. The association asked the NCDC to consult with the association before implementing a dual occupancy programme in Ainslie (Community Spotlight, 1988)[16]. The fact that 80 residents were present at its public meeting in 1987 testifies to their concern for this suburb.

6.3 DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADJACENT NEW TOWN

Road construction in existing areas which connects a nearby new town with the centre of the city is the third case. The NCDC was to develop Gungahlin from 1989, and there was a plan for road construction for the commuters in Gungahlin (see Figure 1). Since these projects will probably have environmental effects on areas along planned roads in Inner Canberra (e.g., denser traffic, noise and air pollution, and impairment of property value), some residents near projected roads organised themselves into an association to make the NCDC withdraw their proposals.

The NCDC developed three alternative plans for the construction of a road (or roads) linking Gungahlin and Civic in October 1985 (Longhurst, 1984; Hooper, 1985; National Capital Development Commission, 1985). One plan was to widen access roads within existing suburbs (i.e., Lyneham, O'Connor and Turner). Perceiving its undesirable effects, some residents whose properties bordered the road organised the Lyneham/O'Connor/Turner Residents' Group in 1985. Another plan was to construct a new road on bushland on Black Mountain and through O'Connor (John Dedman Parkway). This plan activated the Black Mountain and O'Connor Foothills Protection Association (Scott, 1986; The Chronicle, 1988). The other option was to construct a road through bushland on the eastern side of north Inner Canberra (Monash Drive). This project activated the Mt. Ainslie/Majura Protection Association in 1985. Projects of this nature are perceived by the residents involved as being of no value to them and this results in a competition between residents of different neighbourhoods to repel the threat.

Large attendances demonstrate residents' regard for their area. A public meeting of the Lyneham/O'Connor/Turner Residents' Group in 1985 was attended by about 300 people. About 100 people were present at a public meeting of the Black Mountain and O'Connor Foothills Protection Association in 1985. About 300 people attended a public meeting of the Mt. Ainslie/Majura Protection Association in 1986.

A remark by a committee member of the Black Mountain and O'Connor Foothills Protection Association illustrates the point made above that political actions foster local community integration. He said, "We had lived here for two years before the NCDC announced the development. We knew our neighbours on either side, but really nobody else in the street. We formed the group to oppose the plan. Because of the threat and the group, everybody has become very friendly and we now know a lot of people — people all the way along the street and down the hill. Jokingly, we said perhaps the NCDC put up a threat like this every now and then just to get people together."

7 DISCUSSION

A consideration of the political action groups and community centre management committees leads to four points.

Firstly, Canberra is different from other Australian metropolitan cities in that it is a planned city. The NCDC chose a plan of dispersed settlement and formed new residential districts successively. Advance planning as well as dispersed settlement enabled the NCDC to control many factors which affect residential life and to prevent the various interests from

clashing. No serious urban problems have occurred for a long time in Canberra as a result of usually harmonious interests between the NCDC and residents in suburbs in the first and second stages of development.

Canberra's population is projected to grow to 292,000 in 1991 and 365,000 in 2001. To cope with this increase, it has been argued that the choice lies between forming new residential districts in the surrounding rural areas (Y-Plan) or intensification of densities at existing population centres (urban consolidation programme) (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p.51). Whether the NCDC adopts a conventional dispersed settlement plan or a concentrated settlement plan, it is inferred from experience that many urban problems will result from clashes of interests in Canberra in the third stage. In other words, the NCDC cannot carry forward prospective development plans without causing undesirable consequences to some residents in established areas.

Secondly, community interest groups active in January, 1988 are noted on the map of Canberra (Figure 2). Almost all of these were located either in Tuggeranong, which was in the first stage, or in Inner Canberra, which was in the third stage. This map provides convincing support for the proposition that political action groups tend to occur in developing districts (districts in first stage) and in redeveloping districts (districts in the third stage).

Thirdly, when people move into new areas, they are confronted with circumstances in which they have to cooperate with their neighbours for the establishment of their community. In the first stage of development, driven by necessity, people come to know their neighbours. Moreover, participation in community interest groups, which tend to take place in the first and third stages, binds residents together. It is hypothesised for these reasons that people are more closely bonded together in the neighbourhood in the first and third stages than in the second stage.

Ecological factors (such as population size, density, and heterogeneity) (e.g., Wirth, 1938; Gans, 1967, p.170; Michelson, 1970, pp.119-25; Fischer, 1972, 1982) and personal attributes (such as socio-economic status, age and stage of life cycle) (e.g., Gans, 1962a, 1962b; Stueve and Gerson, 1977; Fischer and Oliker, 1983) have been used hitherto to provide an explanation for levels of social participation. Here a different factor has been suggested as a stimulus to social participation: stage of development. However, no claim is made here that the stages of development have large, practical, or policy-relevant effects on community integration. Personal attributes may have by far the more important influence on behaviour. The real implication is rather theoretical. What is implied is that the stage of development is a factor that can affect the level of neighbourhood integration and, accordingly potential influence that should be more often considered.

Fourthly, Burgess's Concentric Circular Zone model indicates that a city has an inclination to centralisation as a result of economic competition. In defiance of this force, the NCDC constructed the four "towns" in Canberra with the intention of decentralising the city. Because the NCDC was not able to resist the pressure from the private sector, the redevelopment of Civic was commenced and Canberra has begun to become a more centralised city (Day, 1986, p.17). The failure of the NCDC's decentralisation plan may point to a limitation of urban planning. A city reveals its real character, even though urban planners attempt to inhibit it from appearing.

Beyond this, another observation is relevant. That is, political actions are usually organ-
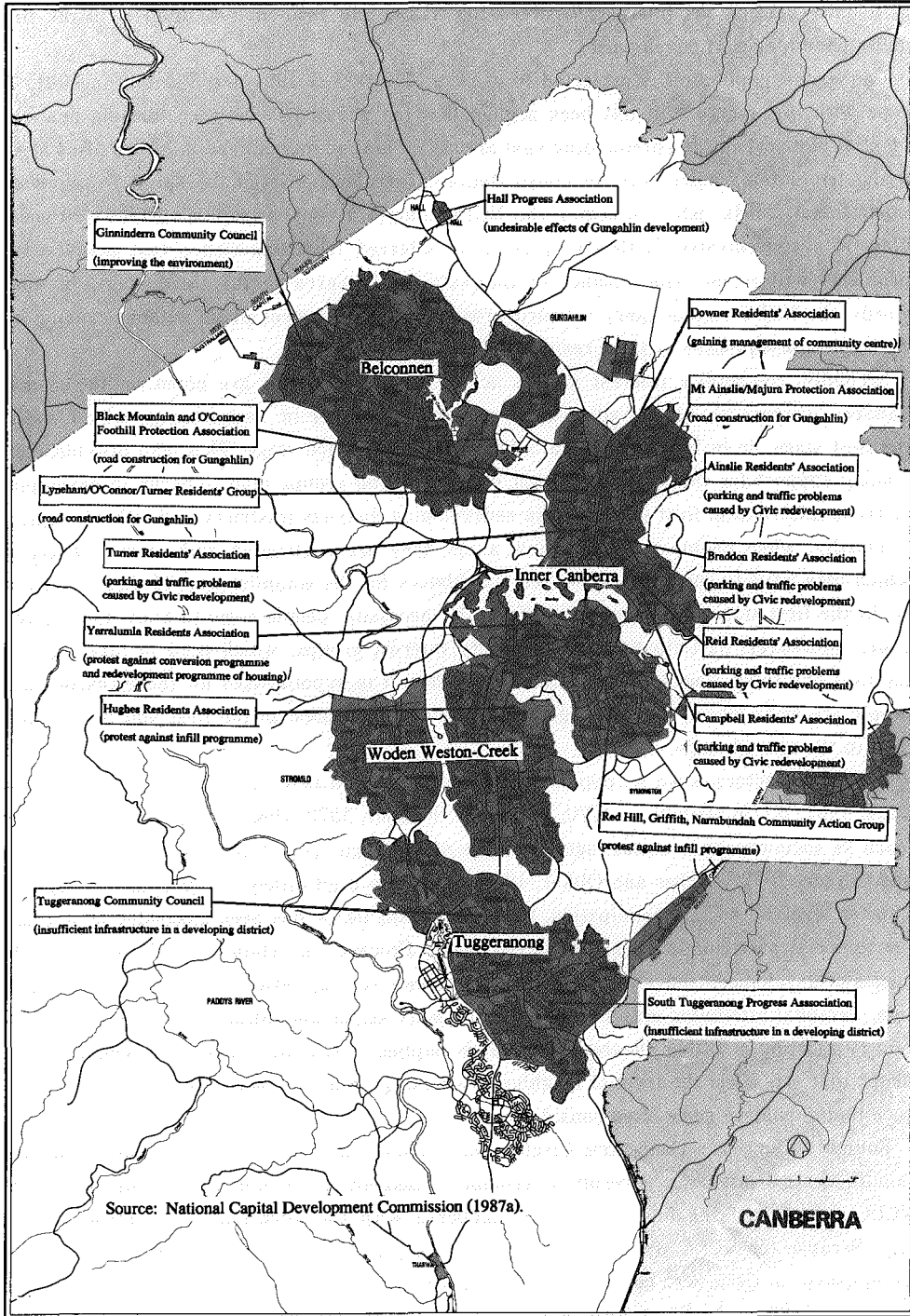
Figure 2   Active Community Interest Groups in Canberra

ised by middle class people for three reasons. First, middle class people generally have more information and knowledge to analyse and foresee consequences of development than working class people. Second, working class people may not possess skills to organise their neighbours. Third, it is usually the middle class people who are familiar with techniques of lobbying, research and writing (O'Neill, 1985, p.109; Repo, 1977, p.51). These three factors elevate some middle class people to the leadership of community interest groups and these people take a leading role in these groups. Though the occupations of such leaders in Canberra were not systematically investigated, those interviewed were either managerial class public servants or professionals (e.g., librarian, clergyman and scientist). Consequently, political action groups are more likely to be organised in high or middle status areas.

As the NCDC has a policy of mixing socio-economic levels in Canberra by constructing rented Commonwealth-built housing for people with low incomes in most suburbs, social segregation among suburbs is not so great (Stretton, 1970, p.73; Adrian, 1986, p.21). In spite of this strategy, there exist a few typical working class areas and rented Commonwealth-built housing areas in Canberra. Residents in such areas rarely organise themselves, even though serious residential issues arise. For example, there is a retend Commonwealth-built housing area in Melba, Belconnen, in which there are many social problems such as poverty, shortage of community facilities, and social isolation. In spite of these problems, its residents have never been able to form groups that could appeal effectively to the government for improvements.

The importance of petitions and lobbying is inclined to create regional inequality. More community facilities and services are provided in areas where residents organise themselves to demand provision and express their interest in community development. The evidence indicated that petitioning and lobbying tend to occur in high or middle status areas and as a result these areas benefit from organised political actions. It follows that if the government is serious about promoting social equity, more attention needs to be paid to working class areas and rented Commonwealth-built housing areas even though their residents do not make petitions and undertake lobbying.

8 CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to outline three stages of development in Canberra, to illustrate them, and to elicit implications from their examination. The three stages of development in Canberra have been summarised in Table 1. This scheme is an ideal type and an opportunity to present the general tendency of urban development in Canberra.

A theoretical consideration and interviews with informants suggested that, overall, there was a higher level of local community integration in the first and third stages than in the second stage. As well, regional differences suggested that for research on social participation in Canberra study areas should be selected with due regard to the stages of urban development.

Table 1. Stages of Development in Canberra

	1st stage development phase	2nd stage stable phase	3rd stage mature phase
duration	0-6/10 years	6/10 + years	
general situation	deficiency of community facilities and services, many residential issues	sufficient community facilities and services, no residential issues	development of existing sites, residential issues
main interests of the NCDC and residents	identity of interests in development	identity of interests in preservation of areas	not always common interests, NCDC promotes development
political actions	political actions for promotion of development	no political actions	political actions for promotion of development
residents' attention to their suburb	high	low	high
areas	Tuggeranong	Woden Weston-Creek, Belconnen	Inner Canberra

NOTES

1 Hoyt's perspective (Hoyt, 1939) is similar to Burgess's in that both regarded urban expansion as being driven by competition for choice locations. However, Hoyt claimed that once a particular type of land use was commenced near the centre of the city, it was likely to move in an encapsulated form towards the periphery, thereby resulting in a sectoral pattern. Various models of urban growth. and form were outlined by Frisbie and Kasarda (1988).

2 These models of neighbourhood change failed to account for urban gentrification or revitalisation in the 1970s and turned out to be more or less invalid. Accordingly, several theoretical approaches have developed within the framework of neighbourhood change. The literature review by London et al. (London, 1980; London et al., 1980) revealed four alternative perspective of urban revitalisation: (1) demographic-ecological, (2) sociocultural (3) political-economic, and (4) social movements.

3 This paper will describe Canberra as it was in January 1988 when the interviews with community leaders were carried out. A local government was established in Canberra in 1989 and the administration system has changed. The NCDC dissolved in 1989 and its function were divided between an Interim Territory Planning Authority and the National Capital Planning Authority. Because these authorities to date have followed the urban planning policies of the NCDC, the arguments in this paper are still applicable to Canberra at present.

4 By community interest groups, the author means both political action groups and community centre management committees.

5 Negative externalities arise from undesirable by-products of a production process. Such side-effects impose a cost on society, similar to the cost of productive resources necessary to produce the desired product. They raise a social problem insofar as their cost may not be properly allocated between different segments of the economy.

6   The Department of Territories administered 54 community buildings including community centres as of February 27, 1986. Community centres are leased to incorporated community based associations. Some volunteer residents form committees. Contracts of leases are renewed every five years. Management committees make community facilities available to residents. Management of facilities is left to management committees. For instance, management committees can decide charges. Securing Community Development Funds from the Department of Territories, some committees (e.g., Kaleen Community Association and Weston Creek Community Association) employ paid staff for management. Community centres are used for various purposes. Playgroups are organised in most centres. Some community centres (e.g., Kaleen Community Association and Tillyard Community Centre Association) offer occasional care minding of children. Hiring rooms, instructors hold ballet lessons, gymnastics, etc. Rooms can also be used for church services, scout meetings, private parties, etc.

7   The situations of two Tuggeranong suburbs, Gilmore and Isabella Plain, were reported in the Canberra Chronicle (1986c) and Warry (1986).

8   The NCDC has set a standard of constructing community facilities. The NCDC, for example, constructs a community hall for a population of 12,000 and a group centre (larger-scale shopping centre) when the population reaches 15,000-25,000 (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p.85). However, an officer of the NCDC said on June 3, 1986 that construction of community facilities is determined on a realistic basis by the demand for community facilities expressed by the residents as well as by the available funds.

9   This does not imply active participation of all residents. While only a few are activists in political action groups, other residents support activities by attending meetings, etc.

10   Residents sometimes become aware of a deficiency of infrastructure, and either political action groups or community centre management committees petition government bodies for improvement even in the second stage. For example, "Kiora Community Association" submitted petition to government bodies for the construction of playgrounds and parking areas around schools, for the provision of after school care facilities in the community centre, and increased bus services in the 1980s, even though the town had moved to the second stage. Notwithstanding such petitions, demands in this stage are not as great and frequent as those in the first stage.

11   There is an exception to this statement. Though Woden-Weston Creek is in the second stage, Weston Creek Community Centre Association holds a festival every year (Weston Creek Community Association, 1988). Hundreds of people were present at the festival on November 12, 1988. Interviews with members suggest that its success depended not only on the efforts of organisers but also on the management of the association. There are several paid staff in the association who are fully involved in its management.

12   Nishio (1975, p.73) presented these two types of political action groups in terms of their issues. Apart from this, Sandercock (1978, p.130) proposed a similar classification from another viewpoint. He maintained that there are two levels at which people participate in political action groups. One is on "back-door" or micro-planning issues. They include "complaints about garbage, suggestions about pedestrian overpasses, local playgrounds, tree planting, improvements to public housing project designs and so on." The other is on macro-planning issues. People "try to stop something, usually something that is part of a very large question of metropolitan policy"

13   It was suggested that external factors invite conflict, and that political action groups are organised to appeal to the public in the third stage of development. In addition, internal factors prompt residents to form political action groups, but they are few and far between. Downer Community Association is such

an example. As the Department of Territories leased a local community centre to a non-local group, residents did not have access to the community facilities in the daytime and evening. The greater use of the community centre was a key issue and with this as a momentum residents formed the group in 1986. In addition to this problem, there were immediate concerns such as providing facilities and activities for old people, upgrading the commercial area, the partly burnt-down Smith Family building and an empty homestead for a research institute, and upgrading the bus service (Canberra Chronicle, 1986b; Community Spotlight, 1987b; North Canberra Searchlight, 1988).

14 The Braddon Residents Association and Turner Residents Association are also worried about the urban consolidation programme, which will be detailed later (McMillan, 1987). The Campbell Residents' Association is anxious about the housing conversion programme and a Gungahlin traffic problem as well, though these are not yet realistic issues (Community Spotlight, 1987a).

15 Adrian (1986) suggested two additional grounds on which a more consolidated pattern of development is preferable. First, the change of demographic and socio-economic family structure in Canberra has given rise to demands for smaller and more affordable housing. Second, Canberra, which was designed on the neighbourhood unit concept, is characterised by homogeneity in its urban structure. However, Adrian argued that it is desirable nowadays to introduce greater flexibility in the housing standard, block sizes, setbacks, street widths, plot ratios and the allowance for mixed land uses.

16 Thereafter, the organisation came to tackle the negative impact of the redevelopment of Civic, particularly the parking problem. Furthermore, the association examined the degradation of the area which the Gungahlin development would cause. Such downgrading includes traffic congestion, parking, noise, pollution, etc. However, the redevelopment of Civic and the Gungahlin development are not key issues of the group.

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