

CHAPTER 4

LOCAL PLANNING AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to provide a background to the later surveys of local government planners and councillors. The chapter provides the first comprehensive account of the development of local planning and public participation in New South Wales. The approach is chronological, four phases of development being distinguished: an early period pre-dating the first major planning legislation in 1945; a trial period between 1945 and 1961 during which the ramifications of town planning first became clear; a period of rapid development during the 1960s leading to conflict in the early 1970s; and a period of review at the end of which there was a major revision of the planning legislation. The analysis concludes in 1979, the final year during which survey work was carried out by the author. The three major periods are divided into sections describing the actions and interactions of the State government, local government, the planning profession and the general public.

The settlement pattern of N.S.W. shows an increasing dominance of one city, Sydney (Table 4.1). The size and rapid development of the metropolitan area have meant that its planning problems have been of prime concern. This is reflected in the heavy bias towards Sydney in the following pages.

Table 4.1 Metropolitan primacy in New South Wales

Population of Sydney	1881	1901	1921	1947	1961	1981
N('000s)	225	481	899	1484	2183	3281
% (N.S.W.)	30.0	35.6	42.8	49.7	55.7	62.6

Sources: Australia 1981c,69; Australia 1982c,5 and 6.

4.2 The Period before the 1945 Planning Legislation

The N.S.W. local government system started erratically, all the early institutions rapidly dying because of 'lack of interest, income or integrity' (Parker 1978,376). In 1858 the Municipalities Act was passed which allowed a locality to be proclaimed a municipality on the petition of fifty householders. However, this system of voluntary incorporation led to a very gradual extension of local government as it 'encouraged people to remain outside the municipal system not only to escape rate payments but also to benefit from superior government expenditure which enhanced property values' (Larcombe 1955,13). In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, although 192 local government areas had been created, less than one per cent of the total area of the state had been incorporated (N.S.W. 1978a,5).

In 1905, despite considerable opposition by the inhabitants of the unincorporated areas, the permissive system was ended. The introduction of the Shires Act provided for the appointment of a commission which drew new local government boundaries and, after hearing objections, made recommendations for new areas. A total of 134 shires were created, covering 60 per cent of N.S.W. (Larcombe 1981,132). The remainder of the state, the very sparsely populated Western Division, was gradually added to the system, in 1928 and the 1950s, leaving only the virtually unpopulated far north-western area outside local government control (Larcombe 1981,133). (See Appendix L.)

Much of the early enthusiasm for town planning in N.S.W. stemmed from a concern for the low standard of public health in Sydney as jerry-builders and speculators flourished in the boom period between 1860 and 1890 (Kelly 1978,72). The first comprehensive controls affecting house construction were introduced in 1896:

In terms of scope of control, these regulations departed significantly from their predecessors, where the primary concern was public safety. Regulations now moved inside the house and defined standards of habitation (Bennett, Bonnice, Hill and Read 1978,9).

The need for further measures was highlighted by the outbreak of

bubonic plague in the harbour areas, and particularly the area of The Rocks in 1900. The affected dockside areas were resumed and the planning of their redevelopment was given over to a specially appointed Board.

In 1908 the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs was appointed. The Commissioners proposed several large-scale redevelopment plans for the central city area, and recommended that 'a town planning measure on the lines of Mr John Burns's English Bill be adopted here and made applicable to the whole of the State' (Winston 1957,27). A major stumbling block to the implementation of the Commission's ideas was the difficulty of achieving an appropriate administrative framework. The process of voluntary incorporation had resulted in the creation of 53 local authorities within the Sydney metropolitan area which, in 'the absence of provisions for joint action had led to a chaos of authorities by the end of the century' (Larcombe 1981,136).

In 1913 a Royal Commission on the Constitution of a Greater Sydney was established. Evidence presented to the Commission showed a dichotomy between the City Council, which favoured a unified scheme, and the suburban councils, which favoured a federal scheme (Larcombe, 1978,184). In 1915 the Commission's recommendations were largely embodied in a Greater Sydney Bill. It provided for a Greater Sydney Council which would be responsible for all services in an inner zone (eventually extending to all areas), and for functions such as town planning, building regulation, and main road maintenance throughout the entire metropolitan area. A Civic Planning Commission was proposed, to consist of three government appointees and three council appointees plus the mayor as an ex officio member. It was to be a source of specialised technical advice for, as was pointed out in the second reading speech, 'we could not expect a number of aldermen drawn together by the ordinary electoral method to contain a sufficient number of experts in the matter of planning' (Griffith, in N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 7 October 1915, p.2486).

However, the introduction of the bill coincided with the most serious period of the 1914-18 War. The issue of conscription split the Labor Party and the Greater Sydney legislation was not completed.

In the thirty years following the failure of the Greater Sydney Bill of 1915 there were several further unsuccessful attempts to introduce legislation to promote town planning and local government reform. Indeed, in a review of this period, the Minister for Local Government, Joseph Cahill, concluded that 'the history of town planning legislation in this State has been one of frustration' (N.S.W.P.D. 13 February 1945, p.1770).

The only successful introduction of legislation related to town planning occurred in 1919 with the proclamation of the Local Government Act. Part XII of the Act (entitled 'Town Planning') dealt with land subdivision. Councils were authorised to control the size and shape of new building lots, the design and construction of new roads, the amount of land to be provided for a public reserve, measures necessary to control drainage and flooding problems, and the planting or preservation of trees beside new roads. Part XI of the Act related to the regulation of buildings. In particular, section 309 gave a local authority the power to proclaim areas as residential districts:

Under this Act councils could initiate action with a view to having factories, shops or industrial undertakings generally prohibited in defined parts of their areas. The opportunity was taken by many councils to separate residential from commercial and industrial development, thus conforming with the new principle of locating shops and industries in particular areas distinct from those set aside specifically for residential purposes. There was an awakening to the need for planning the development of pleasant residential centres, free from the annoyances of industrial undertakings and for affording some measure of protection for the householder from the very real possibility of an objectionable industry being established close to his home - an occurrence which, in addition to depreciating the general attractiveness of the surroundings, could well result in the reduction of property values. (N.S.W. 1952,43)

Indeed, Sandercock (1977,83) ascribes the successful passage of the legislation through Parliament to the fact that 'the possibility of protecting the residential amenity of upper-middle class suburbs appealed to legislative councillors'.

In 1928 the prohibition powers of local authorities in residential areas was increased when, 'in response to local outcry

against flat development' (Bennett et al. 1978,12), the State Government permitted local councils to exclude this type of housing from proclaimed residential districts. Bennett et al. (1978, Appendix 3) illustrate the strength of feeling against flat development in the more affluent areas of Sydney. They refer to a council debate in Kuring-gai, during which aldermen declared that flats 'considerably depreciate the values of the surrounding properties', 'signalise the coming of the flotsam and jetsam of Darlinghurst and other undesirable localities into our own area', and 'lower the moral standard of the community'.

4.3 Implementing the 1945 planning legislation: 1945-1961

In 1942 the Federal Labor Government created a Ministry for Post War Reconstruction and sought agreement from the states on an enlargement of the ordinary peace-time powers of the Commonwealth, considered necessary to put the reconstruction plans into effect. However, such state co-operation was not achieved. Consequently, post-war planning 'had to fall back on slow, clumsy and uncertain "cooperative federalism"' (Crisp, in Sandercock 1977,102). A Housing Commission appointed by the Minister for Post War Reconstruction reported that 'planning is of such importance that the Commonwealth Government should not make available financial assistance for housing unless the State concerned satisfied the Commonwealth that it had taken definite steps to implement regional and town planning legislation' (Australia 1944,29). The report also stressed 'the importance of setting up an administration which will enable the people themselves to initiate proposals and participate in formulating them' (p.27). According to Powell (1970,2.4), it was this report that 'led fairly directly to the introduction of planning legislation in both N.S.W. and Victoria'.

4.3.1 The State Labor Government

Legislation was introduced by the N.S.W. Labor Government in February 1945 to provide for both a state-wide system of town planning and a form of regional planning in the Sydney metropolitan area. Both Government and Opposition were agreed on the need for town planning legislation, though parliamentary disagreement over details prompted the President of the N.S.W. Chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects to declare that 'the bill is being treated by both parties in the House as a party measure when it should be placed on a higher status altogether' (Sydney Morning Herald, 12 February 1945, p.2).

The original town planning bill clearly illustrated the tight controls which State government had traditionally imposed on local councils.²³ For example, a local authority was required to obtain ministerial approval of the council resolution to prepare a planning scheme, and once a local scheme was prepared and sent to the minister for examination, it could be amended by him without the council being able to present its possible objections at a public inquiry. Similarly, the tendency of State government to establish special purpose authorities to provide services 'which in other traditions would be regarded as normal local government operations' (Bains and Miles 1981,203) was continued with the proposal to create a Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee to draw up a regional plan for the Sydney metropolitan area (Appendix M).

Some changes were made to the original bill during its passage through Parliament which appeared to give local councils more control over planning. For example, following lobbying from the Local Government and Shires Associations (S.M.H. 13 March 1945, p.5), it was decided to hand over responsibility for regional planning in the metropolitan area to a specially created local government body, the Cumberland County Council. However, the County Council's planning scheme had, like all local authority schemes, to be vetted by the minister's Advisory Committee. The resulting degree of State government control was first evident in 1948 when the County

Council's draft plan was referred to the Advisory Committee. The T.C.P.A.C.

generally endorsed the scheme, but disagreed with the provisions of Part 5 of the draft ordinances: this gave the council power to require public authorities to co-ordinate their works programme where this was necessary to implement the scheme. This was deleted. The committee also felt that not enough land had been set aside for residential and industrial purposes and these areas were expanded at the expense of the green belt - a taste of things to come. (Bunker 1971,133)

The final legislation resulted in both regional and local councils having to follow the steps outlined below in the preparation of their town planning schemes:

1. resolving to prepare a planning scheme (Local Government Act 1919, s.342C (1)(a));
2. forwarding the resolution to the Minister for his approval (s.342C(2)(a));
3. giving public notice of the resolution (s.342C(3));
4. engaging a qualified town planner and appointing a planning committee to prepare a planning scheme (s.342E);
5. arranging a public exhibition of the committee's planning scheme (s.342F(2)(a)(i), and informing all affected state and local government bodies (s.342F(2)(b));
6. collecting representations from any person or other body interested in any land affected by the scheme during the three month period following the exhibition (s.342F(3));
7. examining all submissions and, when considered necessary, referring the scheme back to the planning committee for alteration and re-submission (s.342F(4));
8. adopting the scheme (s.342F(5));
9. submitting the original scheme plus any representations made and, if relevant, the amended scheme to the Minister together with a statement indicating the result of the consideration of each representation (s.342H(1)).

At this stage the emphasis in the Act was on the role of the State authority - 'the Minister'. The State authority was involved in the following steps:

10. deciding, on the advice of the Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee, whether alterations were required to the scheme (s.342J(1)(a));
11. exhibiting the scheme (s.342J(2));
12. considering written objections to the scheme from any council or person having an estate or interest in land affected by the scheme (s.342J(3)(b));
13. holding a public inquiry if the local authority originally responsible for the scheme had submitted an objection (s.342J(3)(b));
14. informing each objector on how their objection had been determined (s.342J(3)(c));
15. recommending that the Governor make an ordinance prescribing the scheme (s.342J(5));
16. giving notice of the fact that the scheme had come into operation and that copies of the ordinance and related documents were available for public inspection and purchase (s.342K(2)).

4.3.2 Local government

Whilst the State Government was unwilling to delegate a large measure of responsibility for town planning, local government was unwilling to accept even that responsibility which was delegated, with many councils being 'unconvinced of the need for planning or its worth' (Bunker 1971,136). As most councils in N.S.W. were established primarily for development purposes (Hort and Mobbs 1979,1.12), it is not surprising that any measure which impinged on their authority to encourage such development should give rise to some misgivings. Local councillors from areas on the periphery of the metropolis were especially critical about

what they considered was the "stranglehold" the Green Belt had on the future growth of their districts. Each felt that his suburb had a right to a glorious future, perhaps one day as a "city". This local feeling was continually being impressed upon State Members of Parliament who in turn brought pressure to bear upon the Minister for Local Government. (Clarke 1960,35)

Co-ordination of regional and local objectives was also hindered by the relative freedom of local authorities from County Council control. Harrison provides the following account of the confused situation regarding development approvals:

The power (of a local authority) to grant or refuse applications for development, or to grant approvals subject to conditions, was not always used responsibly. Consultation with the County Council before arriving at a decision, even when this was legally required, was not always practised. But an approval by a local council, even when made in defiance or neglect of the proper procedures, remained valid and neither the County Council nor the Minister could exercise effective sanctions against the abuse of such authority. (Harrison 1972,71)

The financing of the Cumberland County Council's administration proved to be a major continuing source of resentment among its constituent councils. Criticism began with the first 'costly and cumbersome' election of councillors (S.M.H., 21 September 1945, p.3). In 1949 local councils questioned the legality of the County levy imposed on them. Consequently, several councils withheld funds (S.M.H. 11 August 1945, p.3; and 12 August, p.3). Eventually, in 1950 legislation was introduced into State Parliament to ensure that councils paid the County Council levy. However, it continued to be a major source of resentment (e.g. S.M.H. 17 July 1956, p.15). There was also considerable resentment among councils at having to finance half the cost of the County Council's land purchases. Councils argued that not only were they required to help purchase the land for open space, but consequently suffered a loss of rateable land, and an increase in the cost of developing and maintaining the parkland areas (Allport 1980,64).

Given this attitude of local councils, it is not surprising that they were reluctant to spend money on developing their own planning

departments. Few councils were prepared to complete land use planning schemes, most preferring to have the greater discretionary powers available through either the Cumberland County Planning Scheme, or, outside Sydney, a local interim development order (Sandercock 1977,182). In fact, it was not until 1960 that the first metropolitan local plan was gazetted. According to one of its former members, the Sydney City Council

must accept a large share of responsibility for delay and inadequate planning. With ample staff and funds, the lack of speed with which it produced the still contentious draft scheme for the County Centre - i.e. the City of Sydney - did not set a good example to the smaller and less well endowed councils of the Cumberland area. (Tate 1964,8)

The City's planning functions were divided between the Engineer, Building Surveyor, Director of Parks and Gardens, the Comptroller of Properties, the Health Officer and the Deputy Town Clerk. Colman (in Powell 1970,4.31) concludes that the structure was 'so organised as to preclude effective planning'.

The attitude of local government towards public participation in planning can be gauged by the interpretation which local councils made of their legal obligations. Section 342E of the 1945 Act required the establishment of a planning committee to draw up a draft scheme. Its membership was prescribed as follows:

The Planning Committee shall consist of such numbers of persons appointed by resolution of the council or councils concerned from time to time as the council or councils concerned think fit; but not less than one half of the members of the Planning Committee shall be officers of the council or councils concerned. (Local Government Act 1919, Ordinance 103, clause 3(1))

The intention behind the legislation is evident from the Minister's comments on planning committees during the Second Reading of the Bill:

the Councils shall be guided by professional planners and assisted by co-opted citizens working through especially constituted committees of the Councils. Many men and women who are not able to give to public life the time required to serve as an alderman or councillor will be able to make their contributions to the general welfare of the community by helping on these committees in their spare time. In this way

the community will benefit from this pool of ideas and technical and professional skill. (Cahill, in N.S.W.P.D. 13 February 1945, p.1768)

In 1946 Bunning (1946,2) gave a glowing account of the progress of the appointment of citizen members to planning committees, commenting that 'several councils have seized this opportunity realising that the more general the knowledge of the plan, the more likely will be its acceptance'. However, in April 1954 the wording of Ordinance 103, prescribing the constitution of planning committees, was changed so that no more than three-quarters of the committee could consist of local councillors. This change was made as a result of the Department of Local Government's finding that 'many councils appointed all their members to Planning Committees, leaving no room for the representation of other interests' (Anon. 1954,5). A further indication that the local town planning committees were not being conducted as originally envisaged is a second change made to Ordinance 103. In January 1956 a new clause was added on publicising the planning committee meetings:

For a period of not less than one week ending on the date of each meeting held by it, the Planning Committee shall cause to be exhibited in some conspicuous place at the office of the council ... a legible notice specifying the date of the meeting and the time and place at which it is to be held, and containing a statement that the meeting will be open to the press and the public. (Local Government Act, 1919, Ordinance 103, clause 5)

In addition, there were stipulations about 'reasonable accommodation' of the press and public, and about the public's right 'to peruse the minutes of any meeting'.

4.3.3 The planning profession²⁴

The 1945 legislation undoubtedly gave a considerable fillip to the development of the planning profession in N.S.W. First, it established town and country planning as a legitimate function of government. Secondly, the stipulation that the drawing up of a

planning scheme should be carried out with the help of someone 'who possesses the prescribed qualification in town planning or city planning' (s.342E) ensured the establishment of an educational system for the training of planners.

However, there was an urgent need to produce planners who could be classed as qualified under the terms of the legislation. This resulted in short-term measures being taken which effectively ensured a relatively low status for local government planners. In line with existing procedures for other local government personnel, the Department of Local Government established a Local Government Town and Country Planning Examination Committee to issue town planning certificates - the 'prescribed qualification' of the legislation. Because of the 'immediate need for technical assistance to councils preparing to proceed immediately with planning schemes' (N.S.W. 1952,45), two evening courses were held during January to March in 1946, and January to February in 1947, and a two-week summer school was conducted in January 1949. Two hundred and fifty architects, engineers and surveyors were granted certificates as local government town planners as a result of attending these courses. The granting of the certificates after such a cursory 'training' undoubtedly helped to consolidate the existing view that planning was something that could be added to other, more demanding activities. Similarly, the first planning course to be established in N.S.W., the Diploma in Town and Country Planning at Sydney University, was a post-graduate course aimed at the further training of graduates in architecture, engineering and surveying (Daines 1976,21). Being a part-time course, it was aimed specifically at those graduates already in employment. Moreover, because it was not offered through correspondence, the Diploma was available only to those living in the Sydney metropolitan area.

These educational developments, aligned to the general reluctance of local government to become committed to planning, resulted in town planning - and town planners - having a very low status within the local government bureaucracy. As each council was required by law to appoint an engineer, the situation quickly developed where engineers began to dominate the administration of town planning as local

councils, anxious to minimise expenditure on planning, simply added planning to the duties to be carried out by their engineers. Thus, 'as late as the mid sixties, planning in local government was generally regarded as an ad hoc activity of the engineer's department for which the engineer received the princely sum of \$250' (Orr 1975a, 3). Planning was seen essentially as a part-time activity so that, even in those councils where a full-time planner was appointed, he was so 'loaded with a multiplicity of duties' that he became 'the Council's nuisance inspector' (Ross 1966,248). Hill (1976,9) describes the resulting lack of status, commenting that 'the average Local Government Town Planner of the early days at his lowly post in the architect's or engineer's department was a miserable creature indeed'.

Professional recognition was also hampered by the continuing uncertain status of the Ordinance 4 Certificate - so-called because the Examination Committee issuing the certificate was established under Ordinance 4 of the Local Government Act. Since its inception, the Examination Committee's membership had included a representative of a professional planning body: initially the Town and Country Planning Institute of N.S.W.; and subsequently, following the federation of state bodies in the early 1950s, the Australian Planning Institute (clause 32 (f)). However, despite its position on the Examination Committee, and the election of the foundation Professor of Town and Country Planning at Sydney as its first president, the Institute was unable to ensure that the educational system of local government planners in N.S.W. was rationalised to guarantee that this potentially important group of planners possessed qualifications of a sufficient standard to make them eligible for full membership of the Institute.

4.3.4 The general public

As happened elsewhere, the depression years of the 1930s generated a public conviction in N.S.W. 'that governments must act to prevent depression and remove social injustices' (Fry 1972,19). This mood was heightened by the experiences of the war years so that the

reconstruction plans of the post-war period 'were formulated in a mood of high idealism and radicalism' (Bunker 1971,131). For example, an Australian Broadcasting Commission report published in 1945 comments that 'there is no doubt that people are again aflame with a new sense of civic responsibility, an awakened desire to solve problems by common action resulting from common experience and combined thinking' (A.B.C. 1945,5).

There was an early realisation among administrators of the importance of maintaining this public support for planning. Thus, at the inaugural meeting of the Cumberland County Council, the Minister for Local Government, Joseph Cahill, stressed the need for educating the public into feeling that 'the scheme was their own and the county council was no more than an instrument put in public hands to fashion the scheme' (Larcombe 1978,269). Similarly, the first chairman of the County Council, John P. Tate, 'saw very clearly that the really big problem in introducing quite a new concept with such wide ramifications was to get to the minds of the people first, to enthuse them before the cynics, the critics, the speculators could tarnish the image' (Newman 1965,101). Consequently, as early as July 1946 the County Council had printed 200,000 copies of a brochure to ensure that the public 'be educated in the powers and proposals of the Cumberland County Council for town planning' (S.M.H. 3 July 1946, p.10). Tate describes the public participation relating to the first draft plan as follows:

Following the Interim Exhibition, there then proceeded a period of discussion on the Interim Plan, not only with the authorities affected but also with selected groups of individuals, councils, authorities, trade and industrial organisations and associations of every description. The Chairman addressed an average of six meetings per week for two years, explaining the Scheme and hearing and recording the points of view of the community at large. (Tate 1964,7)

However, once details of the County's planning proposals were made known, public support for the scheme began to wane as the real impact of the reservation provisions began to be realised: 'the initial hallelujah chorus of "I believe in planning" began to be tempered by the refrain - "provided it does not affect my property"'

(Luke 1964,9). Rather than seeing the scheme as an expression of the public interest, 'each homeowner, shopkeeper, industrialist and commercial man, conditioned by a 19th century conception of freedom, tended to see the master plan as a frontal attack on his most prized possession - a parcel of land which he owned in fee simple' (Else-Mitchell 1972,141). Landowners in outer suburban areas such as Warringah and Sutherland were particularly affected by the County Council's green belt zoning. A series of protest meetings was held, culminating in a meeting of about 1,000 people in Sydney Town Hall. During the proceedings the plan was criticised as an 'interference with the liberties and freedoms of property owners', and as 'a milestone on the road to socialism' (S.M.H. 29 April 1948, p.4).

This resentment towards the initial scheme was exacerbated during the long period of uncertainty as to whether the County scheme would ever be implemented. The lack of full political support from all three levels of government helped to create a confusing situation. Consequently, the initial consensus on the worth of planning quickly dissipated. Instead, planning came to be regarded by many people 'as a nebulous sort of art of doubtful value to the community and an unwarranted public expense' (Smith 1959,20). Indeed, Stretton interprets the Cumberland Scheme's attempts to encourage compact development through the use of the green belt as

restricting the alternatives until the demand of a rising population forced the price of metropolitan land high enough to tempt the last, most obstinate gardener or speculator to sell ... Thus the effect of the County Council's chief manipulative device was to drive up the price of Sydney land (Stretton 1975,248).

Sandercock (1977,178) develops this theme, considering that 'when planning does have this effect opposition to it cuts across the party-political spectrum and enlists the support of that 75 per cent of the electorate who are, or are becoming, or want to become property owners'.

4.4 Growth and Conflict: 1962-73

The period from the early sixties to the early seventies was one during which the concept of public participation - once considered a vital element in the successful establishment of the new planning system - came to be regarded as an impediment to the smooth workings of the land development system. This trend eventually precipitated a significant public reaction during the early 1970s, as a result of which the legal structure for the regulation of land development was disrupted.

4.4.1 The State Labor Government

By the end of the 1950s it became clear that some administrative changes were needed to streamline the planning process (Gifford 1960,21). In 1962 a Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Amendment Bill was presented to Parliament. According to the Minister for Local Government, 'the primary object of the bill is to simplify the procedure for the preparation and examination of planning schemes' (Hills, in N.S.W.P.D. 11 April 1962, p.52). Only eleven schemes had been prescribed under the 1945 system, including just one in the Sydney metropolitan area, a situation described by the Minister as 'most disappointing' (N.S.W.P.D. 1 May 1962, p.157). A small review committee of officers of the Department of Local Government was established and their recommendations provided the basis of the 1962 Bill which proposed the following changes:

1. that councils should be able to commence the preparation of a scheme merely by passing a resolution;
2. that the council, not a planning committee, should prepare the scheme;
3. that the draft scheme should be sent to the minister who would certify that the scheme was adequate and suitable for implementation;
4. that there usually be only one public exhibition, to be

mounted by the council after the scheme receives ministerial certification;

5. that objectors whose comments may be disallowed be given the opportunity to be heard personally by the council or a committee representing the council.

In addition, requirements regarding the employment of a qualified planner were made more flexible. A lack of planning personnel had been used by some councils to justify their slowness in developing a local scheme (S.M.H. 9 January 1959, p.5). The 1962 amending legislation allowed unqualified council staff to carry out planning work providing that the scheme was of a 'restricted nature or limited extent' (Local Government Act 1919, s.342E(2)(b)).

The changes also tightened up the procedures regarding interim development control to ensure that it was introduced only when it was sufficiently advanced to provide a suitable basis for the administration of control. The interim development order (I.D.O.) was to be made by the Minister and notified in the Government Gazette and there was provision for changing it at any time. However, no public input was provided for in the drafting of the I.D.O. Thus, the provisions of a planning scheme could, under s.342Y, be 'suspended' and changes be effected through a new I.D.O. without any public notification. Similarly, the Minister could at any time 'by notification published in the Gazette, alter or rescind any Interim Development Order' (s.342U(5)); and the initial preparation of an I.D.O. could also be done entirely without public comment (s.342U(1)).

A major change resulting from the amendments was the removal of the need for a planning committee to prepare the draft scheme. This committee requirement of the 1945 legislation is described by the Minister as 'an obvious weakness' (Hills, in N.S.W.P.D. 1 May 1962, p.159), a description justified in the Legislative Council debate:

Each planning committee includes people who are not members of the council and experience has shown that generally they have ideas quite contrary to those of the councils. Planning committee meetings are held in public and consequently the proposals discussed and sometimes adopted cause unrest and complaint even though there is no prospect of subsequent

council endorsement. When the planning committee has prepared its scheme, the council has no option but to place it on exhibition for a period of at least three months. It is not until after this that the council can impart its own ideas (Downing, in N.S.W.P.D. 3 May 1962, p.260).

The abandonment of local planning committees was, in many respects, paralleled by the abolition in 1964 of the metropolitan regional planning committee, the Cumberland County Council:

Although the downfall of the Cumberland Council is generally attributed to the green belt issue it is more than probable that the full explanation lies in the fact that it was not susceptible to the kind of direction that a Minister or a government seeks to wield. Its meetings were open and most of its documents were available to the public. It publicised its aims and intentions, and when the occasion demanded, its disagreement with the Minister. All the Minister could do to influence the Council was to suspend or amend its plan by overt public action; he could not direct the Council to do anything. (Harrison 1972,76)

The State Planning Authority Bill was introduced in 1963 to establish a State body to replace the County Council. The Minister justified the change by referring to the need for a higher level co-ordinating body requiring the participation of major government departments and instrumentalities. A major difference between the operation of the State Planning Authority (S.P.A.) and its predecessor was the degree of public scrutiny legally permissible. Indeed, Roddewigg (1978,54) refers to the S.P.A. as 'a cabinet minister's delight'. Thus the legislation stated that the Authority 'shall in all respects be subject to the control and direction of the Minister' (N.S.W.S.P.A. (Amendment) Act 1972, s.4), and the S.P.A's meetings were closed, and its reports confidential. For example, in a 1964 report the Authority comments that its longer term planning role is 'to quite some extent ... "backroom" planning not ripe for general public knowledge' (in Loveday 1972,137). Loveday goes on to illustrate the Minister's approval of this approach:

The greater part of the Authority's business, the Minister said in 1967, 'involves submitting reports and making recommendations on a variety of planning matters to the Minister. As these are necessarily of a confidential nature and involve the taking of decisions by the Minister, there is

no justification for making the proceedings of the Authority dealing with such matters open to the public'. He went on to add that the open meetings of the Cumberland County Council, the State Planning Authority's predecessor, had enabled the press to publicise the recommendations of the Council before they had reached the Minister, causing considerable embarrassment to both the Council and the Minister (N.S.W.P.D. 4 November 1967). (Loveday 1972,138)

4.4.2 The State Liberal-Country Party Government

These legislative changes were undoubtedly generally welcomed by the Liberal-Country Party Government which was elected in 1965 under the leadership of Robert Askin. Askin remained Premier until his retirement in 1974, during which time he remained unchallenged as party leader (Coleman 1975,23). An expansionist urban development policy was dominant throughout the Askin era. An indication of this growth philosophy appears in the State Planning Authority's major regional planning document, the Sydney Region Outline Plan. One of the general objectives underlying the plan was that 'Sydney should remain Australia's greatest city, commercial centre and port' (N.S.W. 1968a,11).

The lack of interest in public participation by the State Government during this period is shown in the way the Outline Plan was drawn up. It was preceded by a planning report, entitled Prelude to a Plan (N.S.W. 1967), which provided an evaluation of the current situation, identifying problems and planning issues. However, although one of the stated objectives of the report was to 'stimulate interest and facilitate fruitful thought' (N.S.W. 1967,5), exactly how the public was to make its contribution was not made clear.

Although the Prelude report was issued only in October 1967, the second stage, the Outline Plan, was published in March 1968. The appendix of the Outline Plan detailing 'Consultations and Submissions' (pp.110-111) includes only fifteen non-government groups, comprising mainly land development companies and professional institutes. As Day (1976,33) points out 'no mention is made of any comments from the general public or of any specific research carried out to ascertain

their interests'.

Stretton illustrates the general thinking behind the implementation of the Askin Government's expansionist urban development philosophy:

Back in 1966 Askin rode into his capital with the President of the United States in an armoured limousine. When some demonstrators got in the way he was reported as saying 'Drive over the bastards'. (Stretton 1975,272)

Stretton's interpretation of the Askin Government's approach to urban development is supported - in hardly less critical tones - by the conservative Australian newspaper (25 March 1975, p.10) which refers to 'official attitudes which regarded people as irrelevant factors to development'.

This growth philosophy placed the greatest strain on the working-class residential areas close to the central business district of Sydney. Two such areas were The Rocks and Woolloomooloo. Thus, in 1968, the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority was established by the State Government as an independent body with responsibility for planning The Rocks area 'in an economically feasible way, with maximum financial return' (Cox and Howard 1973,55). A plan was unveiled in 1971 for high-rise office blocks, commercial uses and luxury residential accommodation. No formal exhibition was necessary under the S.C.R.A. Act, and, according to one of the consultant planners involved, the S.C.R.A. 'thought that the residents of the area had no rights in the matter anyway, since they were only tenants of the state' (Wanat, in Roddewigg 1978,21). Similarly, the Woolloomooloo area was the focus of several development plans: in 1969 the State Planning Authority drew up plans for what was described as 'the largest urban renewal project undertaken in Australia' (N.S.W. 1970,11); in 1970 the Commonwealth Government announced that it was going to build a complex of government offices in Woolloomooloo; in 1972 private developers submitted a huge redevelopment proposal for shops, offices and hotels which was approved in principle by the growth-orientated Sydney City Council; and by late 1972 the State Department of Main Roads had displaced 600 residents, demolishing houses to make way for an expressway.

However, the Askin Government was prepared to make some minor

concessions regarding residential flat development - a contentious issue in some middle-class suburban areas since the 1920s (Section 4.2). During the 1960s there was a general boom in such development in Sydney with, for example, the number of flats more than doubling between 1961 and 1971 (Cardew 1980,73). This led to increasing pressure on the State Government to provide further restrictive legislation. Eventually, in 1970, two measures were introduced in the form of additions to the Local Government Act 1919.

The first was an amendment to the section dealing with the proclamation of residential districts, within which councils had long been given the authority to exclude flats. A new clause (s.309 (1C)) laid down that before any residential district could be altered, public notice had to be given and objections could be made. Very unusually, local residents were given the power of veto over any changes, Section 309(1C)(d)(ii) stating that 'when a majority of the electors residing in or owning land in the residential district concerned objects within such time as may be prescribed, in writing to the Minister, then the Minister shall not proceed further with that proposal'.

The second measure has been described as 'the flag-bearer in public participation in development processing' (Sutherland 1980,40). It applied to all proposed flat developments but gave existing residents much less power. Section 342ZA of the Local Government Act required local councils to give public notice by letter, a display sign on the affected property, and an advertisement in the local press, of each development application for residential flats, and to consider all written objections to each proposal. If the application was rejected or modified by the local authority and the developer applied to the Local Government Appeals Tribunal, people who objected to the original application had the right to be heard at the appeal.

Much of the Parliamentary debate of the legislation was related to the issue of third party appeals. The Local Government (Further Amendment) Bill for the first time gave a third party the right to 'appear and be heard as if he were party to the appeal' (s.342ZA(7)), but only when an appeal had been lodged by the developer against the council's decision on his or her application. If the development

application was approved after the council had considered the objections, there was no further legal appeal open to objectors.

The Government gives a right of appeal to the developer, but not to the other party who has only the right to object. This in essence is the Opposition's objection to the proposal. (Jensen, in N.S.W.P.D 13 August 1970, p.5180)

The decision to deny third party appeals was defended by the Minister who pointed out that the public already had the opportunity to object to the draft planning scheme and that further avenues for objections against development proposals would lead to uncertainty, frustration and delay, leading to increased housing costs. He also raised the 'very important principle' of 'whether the traditional role of the democratically-elected councils as custodians of the public interest was to be transferred to the courts' (Morton, in N.S.W.P.D. 13 August 1970, p.5172) - although he did not comment on the relationship between this principle and the existing rights of developers to appeal. However, in the same speech the Minister also indicated the traditional State distrust of local government, referring to the possibility that third party appeals might lead to councils 'avoiding their responsibilities by approving development of doubtful merit and casting the onus on members of the community to protect their own interests and the public's interest from undesirable development' (p.5172).

A second criticism was concerned with the restricted nature of the type of development covered by the Bill:

if it is proper that there be a right of objection by citizens as a consequence of residential flat development, ought there not be a right of objection to ... any sort of development that adversely affects the existing rights of any citizen anywhere? (Jensen, in N.S.W.P.D. 11 August 1970, p.5067)

During the second reading of the legislation the Minister noted that 'other classes of development may similarly be dealt with by the simple process of appropriate proclamations' (Morton, in N.S.W.P.D. 13 August 1970, p.5173). However, no further extensions of the s.342ZA provisions were made.

A third criticism of the legislation made by the Parliamentary Labor Opposition related to the restricted nature of the notification procedure. The Minister proposed that a letter explaining the proposed development be sent to 'persons who own land adjoining that which is the subject of the application', and to 'persons who both own and reside on land, the enjoyment of which will, in the opinion of the responsible authority, be detrimentally affected if the application is approved' (Morton, in N.S.W.P.D. 13 August 1970, p.5173). As a result, tenants on adjoining properties, and both tenants and non-resident owners of other affected properties would not have been informed by letter. The legislation was subsequently changed to include all affected landowners, but the Opposition's move to have tenants included was unsuccessful. As a result, tenants were also legally excluded from the right to have their objections considered by the local authority (s.342ZA(5)).

4.4.3 Local government

The generally unenthusiastic response of local authorities to town planning continued throughout the 1960s. The requirement that councils help fund both the administration of the State Planning Authority and its land acquisition programme continued to be resented, but a more fundamental problem was the feeling among councillors that planning placed an unnecessary restriction on their land development decision-making powers. Thus, referring to local authorities' dealings with the S.P.A., Larcombe (1978,340) comments: 'Councils, jealous of their prerogatives within their boundaries, showed resentment at SPA interference interpreting it as further encroachment on their powers'.

Similarly, within the local government bureaucracy, the impact of planning was minimised. First, many councils failed to establish planning departments or even full-time planning positions. For example, in 1967 only nine of thirty-eight Sydney local authorities studied by Colman (1968,45) had established separate town planning departments, and the average number of planners employed by each

council was only 0.9 (p.43). A second way by which the impact of planning was minimised at the local government level was through many councils consistently rejecting the advice of their own planning staff. Thus, one study of twenty-five development projects in four Sydney council areas concluded that 'it is not at all unusual that the recommendation from the planning department is ignored by the council' (Vandermark and Harrison 1972,189). (See also: Gilmour and Saunders 1967,4; Bourke 1975,34; Meaker 1975,8.) Although such actions were usually simply a reflection of the desire by many councillors to become closely involved in day to day administrative details (N.S.W. 1974b,51; Gillroy 1977), there is no doubt that in some instances they were the result of malpractice. Sandercock (1977,203) lists four cases of corruption and council dismissal by the Minister for Local Government during the 1962-73 period. Such dismissals tended 'to linger in the memory of the community' thus greatly diminishing the overall prestige of local government (Hingston 1965,92). Thus, Neville Wran, then Leader of the Opposition A.L.P. in State Parliament, expressed the disquiet felt by many people when he made the following comments about local elected representatives:

Some are outright crooks ... They are using information to buy up land or obtain consents. They are grabbing big and unjustified financial rewards. That's why the reputation of so many councils is bad. We will clean it up. (Wran 1975,1)

A few councils did attempt to involve the public in planning issues, particularly those relating to residential flat development. For example, in 1968 Willoughby Municipal Council, an affluent metropolitan authority whose area was being rapidly redeveloped with medium and high density flats, engaged a firm of planning consultants to prepare a development control plan. It was drawn up with considerable public input (Devine 1970). The same consultants consequently carried out other programmes for Woollahra Municipal Council (Urban Systems Corporation (1970), Sydney City Council (U.S.C. et al. 1971) and for the Blue Mountains City Council (U.S.C. 1975). Similar work was carried out in Lake Macquarie Municipality by the Council's own planning staff (Caldwell 1975,28-9; N.S.W. 1975a,125).

More generally, however, there appears to have been a

continuation of the traditional authoritarian attitude of local government towards decision making. For example, an alderman on Leichhardt Municipal Council for fifteen years sums up that Council's relationship with the public as follows:

rarely was information available to the ordinary citizen. Senior servants were not permitted to make public statements explaining policies. The climate was one of frustration for the average citizen. People were discouraged from attending Council meetings or taking any interest in Municipal affairs. Few in the community knew when the Council met. An atmosphere of authoritarian rule surrounded the Town Hall. (Wyner 1975,52)

Wyner suggests that this conduct 'was probably typical of what occurred in all other municipalities and shires with perhaps some minor variations on the main theme' (p.52).

4.4.4 The planning profession

The low esteem in which planning was held by many councils resulted in a continuation of the low status and salaries of local government planners. Thus, Colman (1968,98) suggests that local planning in Sydney was 'afflicted with two complementary problems: lack of funds and lack of enthusiasm'. He continues:

The rewards at present offering to local government planners do not compare at all favourably with those offering in other sectors of local government or in outside fields. Staff planners have no professional association (other than the Australian Planning Institute which does not recognise the Ordinance 4 Certificate) and none of the benefits which normally accrue to professionals in other fields. They receive no assistance with training, with study leave, with regular provision for in-service training, refresher courses or post-graduate work. (Colman 1968,100)

Consequently, there was little interest in local government planning positions (Orr 1975a,6; Gilmour and Saunders 1967,4; Local Government and Shires Associations 1975,6). Such a situation resulted in town planning in particular suffering from the more general local government problem of 'in-breeding' - that is, the automatic

advancement of staff to fill vacancies 'without due consideration being given to their suitability' (Local Government and Shires Associations, in Bains 1978,5.5). (See also Bryant 1977,n.p.)

The 1960s and early 1970s were periods during which the overall number of planners increased very slowly: for example, only eighteen planners graduated in N.S.W. in 1968 (A.P.I.J. 1969,96). Indeed, Sydney University remained the only tertiary institution producing qualified planners until 1971 when students also began graduating from the State's first undergraduate course, the Bachelor of Town Planning programme at the University of New South Wales (Daines 1978,24).

The inadequate supply of planners is reflected in the chronic staff shortage experienced by the S.P.A. during the 1960s (e.g. N.S.W. 1970,70). This situation deteriorated even further in the early 1970s when the newly elected Federal Labor Government began to employ large numbers of planners with the establishment of the Department of Urban and Regional Development, and the Development Commissions at Bathurst-Orange and Albury-Wodonga. In addition, there was widespread funding of private consultants (Day, in Wagner 1981,106). The existing educational system was inadequate to cater for the rapidly increasing demand for planners (Boileau 1973,5.2). Local government was worst hit by this situation, being unable (and often unwilling) to compete effectively with the other branches of the profession in terms of both pay and conditions.

Consequently, the vast majority of local planners (especially those holding full-time planning positions) had the Ordinance 4 Certificate as their only planning qualification. As a result, N.S.W. local government planners were largely excluded from full membership of the Royal Australian Planning Institute. The problems associated with a restrictive membership policy were outlined in 1969 in a letter to the editor of the Institute's Journal:

The very real prospect of an association of planners recognised as qualified practitioners by a State Government being formed outside the structure of the Institute is a measure of the absurdity of its present membership policy.

The problem must be viewed with some realism and if a formula cannot be found to provide a satisfactory form of corporate membership for such people, the Institute is in danger of becoming an esoteric group having little in common

with people and land - which is, surely, what planning is all about! (Edwards 1969,128)

Although subsequent correspondence (A.P.I.J. January 1970,26-8) largely supported Edwards' views, the governing body of the Institute continued to back the position outlined in Keeble's letter (pp.27-8) that the Institute 'must set and sustain a high level of professional competence for those it admits as corporate members'.

4.4.5 The general public

Overt public interest in local government in general, and local planning in particular, remained low throughout much of the 1962-73 period. For example, in 1968 the Askin Government abolished the provision requiring compulsory voting at municipal elections (though compulsory voting at State elections was retained). Consequently, the turn-out for the 1968 election was 31.3 per cent, and in 1971 it was 32.9 per cent (Australia 1972,1). Moreover, in both the 1968 and 1971 elections, over one-fifth of candidates did not have to contest an election (Australia 1969,9; 1972,10). It may be argued that such figures are an expression of satisfaction with local government.²⁵ However, the press, State politicians and the Local Government Association all credited the low turn-out in 1968 to apathy rather than satisfaction (Larcombe 1978,405). This view is also supported by the fact that the State Government's 'abolition and reforming of the Sydney City Council for political purposes excited little interest' (Fry 1972,21).

However, there were some exceptions to this general public apathy towards local government affairs. In particular, public interest began to grow in those inner city suburbs where the traditional working-class tenants were being replaced by middle-class owner-occupiers. As a result of this gentrification process, there moved into areas which were often subject to intense redevelopment pressures individuals who were 'well educated, literate, articulate, and having middle-class skills that make the mystifying process of government, if not comprehensible, then at least accessible' (Jakubowicz 1973,61).

One of the first areas in Sydney to experience this middle-class influx was Paddington, an area of late Victorian terrace housing (Anon. 1970,51). As part of the prolonged legal process towards a prescribed City of Sydney planning scheme, an exhibition of planning proposals was held between November 1967 and January 1968. The exhibition revealed that the Department of Main Roads had planned an extensive road building programme in the area involving the destruction of 200-300 houses.

A local resident action group, the Paddington Society had been established in 1964, its members coming largely from the newer, middle-class group of residents. The Society 'staged a dramatic performance with rallies, publicity, lobbying and demos' against the road proposal (Thompson 1974,5). The activities of the Paddington Society had added significance as 1968 was a State election year. As a result, a special Commission of Inquiry was established. It decided in favour of the residents and the majority of the Paddington area was zoned 'a special area of outstanding architectural and historic interest'. Using the architectural expertise of some of its members, the Society subsequently drew up its own detailed 'Plan for Preservation' in an attempt to have the zoning quickly implemented (Paddington Society 1970). They also, unsuccessfully, ran candidates against A.L.P. members in the 1971 local government elections for Woollahra Council.

Two other inner Sydney areas to experience a considerable middle-class influx were Balmain and Glebe (Kendig 1979,125). These inner suburbs also became the focus of several development proposals, virtually all of which were approved of by the Leichhardt Council, which saw them as likely to increase rateable values and thus Council revenue (Nittim 1980,232). Opposition to this development led to the establishment of the Campaign for Better Council (C.B.C.) by the middle-class newcomers. Following the 1971 local election, candidates sympathetic to the C.B.C. became the major grouping on the Leichhardt Council.

The new Council initiated an extensive programme to encourage people to become involved in local government affairs, and particularly in town planning (Jakubowicz 1972, Hampton and Pike 1974,

Pike 1975, Wyner 1975, Bray 1977, Wyner 1977). So, for example, the public were allowed to speak at any time at Council meetings; all committee meetings (except those concerning staff matters) were open to the public; and the co-optation of interested members of the public was standard practice. In addition, Council business papers were made generally available and the Council staff were allowed to speak to the press about Council policy. In development control planning, controversial issues were referred for Works Committee inspections, to which everyone who was interested was invited to attend and express their views. In land policy planning it was decided that the level of public dissatisfaction with the existing scheme indicated that a new plan should be drawn up with maximum public involvement. A Planning Committee was set up through public nomination. It carried out its own detailed studies and also reviewed the Council staff's technical surveys. In addition, the Municipality was divided into nineteen neighbourhood areas and public meetings were called in each of them by delivering to everyone's home a circular in the appropriate language: English, Italian or Greek. The local press were closely involved, and over fifty local organisations contacted. Exhibitions were held in shops, hotels, banks and post offices, showing the perceived planning issues, the planning objectives and the draft statutory plan.

In contrast to Paddington and Leichhardt, North Sydney experienced a boom in flat development during the 1960s as developers realised the potential of the area's harbour views, north shore status, large sites and proximity to the central business district. By 1971 flats outnumbered houses throughout North Sydney by two to one (Kendig 1979,82). As elsewhere, flat development had long been a contentious issue in North Sydney (for example, S.M.H. 13 April 1960, p.31). Nevertheless, large-scale redevelopment went ahead as both the council and individual landowners realised the economic benefits of such development. However, by the late 1960s public opposition to such development began to increase. Four members of resident action groups were elected to the Municipal Council in 1971, and five retiring alderman whom the resident action groups supported were also returned. Together they formed a majority on the fifteen-member North Sydney Municipal Council (Dempsey 1971,10).

As in Leichhardt, the new group on North Sydney Council pressed for more public involvement in planning. A consultant planner's outline plan for the Municipality, presented in 1972, met with hundreds of objections to proposed flat development. In 1973 the Council adopted a proposal that a detailed review of the outline plan and associated planning codes be conducted through a network of neighbourhood committees in the fifty-six residential precincts in the Municipality (Pickles 1976,118). A four-man planning team was established to co-ordinate the precinct review.

A very detailed procedure was established, involving the following stages: holding a public meeting in each precinct; setting up a precinct committee; each committee considering existing plans and data, and carrying out a household questionnaire survey; each committee making recommendations; and groups of committees from one suburb coming together to co-ordinate approaches and recommendations for the larger area. Eventually the Municipal Council was to consider the residents' proposals before taking them through the legal steps necessary before the proposals became a prescribed planning scheme.

The protest movements in Paddington, Leichhardt and North Sydney were isolated, local phenomena. Indeed, in a review of the 1971 local government elections, Dempsey concludes that

resident action groups are not at this stage the pervasive and politically effective force we might have expected; and the issue of "the environment" has relatively low general political penetration and relevance (Dempsey 1971,12).

However, during 1971 there were two developments which indicated that the environmental protest movement was beginning to assume a much more significant, co-ordinated character. They were the anti-Clutha campaign and the formation of the Coalition of Resident Action Groups.

The anti-Clutha campaign is detailed by Hagan (1974) on whose report the following account is based. In outline, an American company wanted to bring coal from its mines along a private railway to a coal dump near the coast. From there dump conveyers were to carry the coal down the Illawarra Escarpment to the coast and then two kilometres along a pier to ships moored in deep water. The issue thus involved three non-government groups: trade unions which were

concerned with the proposal's impact on jobs; conservationists who were worried about pollution problems; and a wider public who were uneasy about the secrecy surrounding the development, the wide powers given to the developer, and the wisdom of allowing a foreign company to export such large quantities of top grade coking coal with minimal financial returns to the State Government.

Initially, the anti-Clutha campaign attracted only local interest. Consequently it was ignored by the Askin Government which quickly pushed the Clutha Development Agreement Bill through Parliament in November 1970. However, opposition to the Clutha proposal then began to develop in Paddington and North Sydney. Groups were formed in these areas which drew on their members' professional skills to mount an extensive campaign (p.33). The N.S.W. Labour Council also established a committee to consider the Clutha proposal, its members comprising representatives of conservation groups as well as trade unionists (p.35). Eventually, in February 1972, amid mounting political activity, the company announced that it had decided to abandon its plans, ostensibly because of rising industrial costs and the uncertainty of Japanese demand (p.39). The impact of the public protest on the company's decision is debatable. However, what the campaign did was to call into question 'the "growth orientation" characteristic of all Australian governments for so long' (Jakubowicz 1972,338). In addition, it showed 'the possibility of popular action in environmental and planning matters' (Nittim 1980,233).

The second development in 1971 was the establishment of the Coalition of Resident Action Groups (C.R.A.G.). The Coalition was formed in February and by 1973 membership had grown to over eighty groups (Planning Research Centre 1973,n.p.). Five objectives were agreed to during the first meeting:

1. The arrangement of regular meetings to exchange experience and share methods, strategies and tactics.
2. United action to amend town planning legislation especially right of appeal and citizen participation.
3. The organising of joint action about complaints of local areas when agreed upon - e.g., citizens' rights and shown inadequacies of planning legislation.
4. The use of this Coalition to be a body which can draw support from other general groups, e.g., trade unions

- and professional groups.
5. To ensure that planning by public and private agencies should have as its end the well being of the people not profits. (C.R.A.G., in Nittim 1980,234)

However, it was also stressed that each resident action group in no way lost its independence of action through joining the Coalition. Thus, the often conflicting interests of owners' and tenants' groups, and the widely differing tactics of radical and conservative groups could all be accommodated as the Coalition expanded. C.R.A.G. quickly developed into a major pressure group. Nittim (1980,240) reports that by the start of 1973 C.R.A.G. had 'gained status and though it had not exactly arrived at the decision-making levels, it was being co-opted to the deliberations of a number of established community bodies'.

The relationship between conservationists and the trade union movement, evident during the Clutha campaign, became one of increasing significance during the early 1970s. Of particular importance was the N.S.W. branch of the Builders' Labourers' Federation (B.L.F.). A power struggle within the B.L.F. in the late 1960s resulted in a new Communist leadership headed by Joe Owens, Bob Pringle and Jack Munday. They had two major objectives in creating an alliance between the B.L.F. and the conservation movement: first, to promote a greater emphasis on ecology; and secondly, to promote the communist cause because 'if capitalism is to be overthrown it is essential that a great section of the middle class have to be involved' (Munday 1973,15). Moreover, during the building boom of the early 1970s, the B.L.F. was able to choose on which projects its members would work.

The Builders' Labourers' leaders thus informed C.R.A.G. that they would be prepared to impose bans on demolition work on sites designated by C.R.A.G. The largely conservative members of the Coalition initially were unhappy about an alliance with 'a notoriously militant communist-led union' (Nittim 1980,235). However, eventually the 'Battlers for Kelly's Bush', a group from the affluent Hunters Hill suburb, sought the assistance of the B.L.F. in an eleventh-hour attempt to prevent residential development on an area of natural bushland. Subsequently, on 17 June 1971 the first 'green ban' was announced (Hardman and Manning 1975,n.p.).

However, the green ban movement proceeded slowly at first with no new bans until November 1971 when two more groups approached the B.L.F. Residents of a new private high rise development in the metropolitan suburb of Eastlakes asked for a ban on further construction work on a vacant block which reportedly had been promised as open space by the developers. More significantly, The Rocks R.A.G. obtained the agreement of the B.L.F. that there would be no more demolition or construction without the residents' approval (Thomas 1973,43). The Rocks green ban marks the beginning of the confrontation between the R.A.G.-B.L.F. coalition and the State Government. The previous bans had been dismissed as local issues, but The Rocks ban was of much more general significance. Following an unsuccessful attempt by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority to begin demolition work, the bulldozer drivers' union also joined the ban, and they, in turn, were joined by Australia's biggest union, the Amalgamated Metalworkers. In October 1973 the State Government attempted to break the green ban and there occurred a series of 'somewhat bloody confrontations' (Roddewigg 1978,23), culminating in a large demonstration through the city centre, and a complete stoppage by the B.L.F. on every construction site in Sydney.

After 1971 the green ban movement developed very rapidly. Camina (1975,232) refers to forty-three bans in the Sydney metropolitan area (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Green bans in Sydney

	N
Preservation of historic buildings, hotels, live theatre	10
Bans on development in the inner city	7
Housing standards - refusing to build flats	6
Retention of parkland/open space	5
No demolition for expressways	5
No demolition of homes for car parks and other uses	3
Inadequate compensation paid on compulsory purchase	3
Miscellaneous social issues	4
	43

Source: Camina 1975,232

Writing in mid-1974 when the green ban campaign was at its height, Jack Munday, the Secretary of the B.L.F., estimated that 'In Sydney now there are over three thousand million dollars worth of so-called development or proposed freeways or destruction of homes held up' (Munday 1976,348).

4.4.6 The Federal Labor Government

Of more general significance was the election in December 1972 of the first Federal Labor Government since 1949. Elected on a 'quality of urban life' campaign, the Whitlam Government quickly established a Department of Urban and Regional Development, and began to investigate ways in which the Commonwealth could directly intervene in urban and regional planning, issues which traditionally were the preserve of state governments. Thus, agreements with the states led to the establishment of growth centre development corporations and urban land commissions (Beale 1978); and an 'Area Improvement Program' was aimed at improving facilities and amenities in disadvantaged areas, particularly in the cities (McPhail 1978,111). In addition, the Grants Commission, which originally was established in the 1930s to help alleviate the financial handicaps suffered by some states, was revamped to extend the equalization principles to also include local government finances (Australia 1974,15). Money was distributed directly to local authorities via specially established Regional Organisations of Councils. (For extended discussions of the Whitlam Government's urban and regional policy see Wilson 1978, Scott 1978 and Troy 1978.)

In particular, the Federal Government became involved in two inner Sydney developments. At Woolloomooloo the five acres of Commonwealth land gave the Minister for Urban and Regional Development, Tom Uren, 'the foot in the door he needed to become involved' (Roddey 1978,88). An offer of \$A17 million of Federal funds led to an acceptance by all parties that a redevelopment plan be drawn up by the N.S.W. Housing Commission that would emphasise residential development, with the majority of the dwellings being for

low income Housing Commission tenants (N.S.W. 1979a).

A more significant involvement in local planning occurred when the Federal Government bought the Glebe Estate from the Church of England (Painter 1980). The Estate included many residential properties which were of considerable architectural importance. However, the area was one of low cost accommodation and the rental made it impossible for the Church to undertake the necessary renovation work. Despite constitutional difficulties, the Federal Government bought the Estate in August 1974. It was intended to preserve the unique nineteenth century townscape while continuing to provide accommodation for disadvantaged sections of the community (Wagner 1977,5).

Public participation was a significant element in many of the new Labor Government initiatives. For example, Sandercock (1979,148) suggests that the Area Improvement Programme was 'an important expression ... of the objective of encouraging public participation in planning and decision-making'. Similarly, the Environmental and Conservation Organisation Assistance scheme was designed to ensure that community groups 'receive the professional assistance necessary to enable them to prepare sound cases on specific issues, and thus help the community to become its own environmental advocate' (Australia 1975b,41). The prototype for the scheme was Colin James, who was appointed in 1974 to assist the residents of Woolloomooloo 'in appraising and putting forward their case for the redevelopment of the area' (Anon. 1974,10). Similarly, as part of the Glebe Estate rehabilitation project, the planners established their office in the centre of the Estate, a community development officer was appointed, and a residents' advisory committee was established (Australia 1976c,34). The Labor Government also introduced legislation to provide legal aid to community groups to allow them to institute 'proceedings relating to the protection, maintenance and preservation of the natural and cultural environment of Australia' (Legal Aid Bill, in Roddewigg 1978,95). (See also Harkins 1975.)

Probably one of the most well-known of the Labor Government's programmes with a participation emphasis was the Australian Assistance Plan (A.A.P.), a complex, regionally-based, social planning project.

It was described by the Chairman of the Social Welfare Commission, the coordinating governmental agency, as follows: 'The essence of the Australian Assistance Plan lies in the concept that the ordinary citizen should properly be involved in the making of decisions about the social environment in which he lives, rather than being the passive object of policies developed by governments' (Coleman, in Australia 1976b,3). Indeed, one of the official booklets describing the A.A.P. is entitled simply 'People Power' (Australia 1975c). (See Graycar and Davis 1979, and Tierney and McMahon 1979 for evaluations of the A.A.P.) Wood summarises the significance of the Whitlam years by suggesting that the policies and practices of the 1972-75 Labor Government 'led to respectability being accorded to the process of public involvement' (Wood, in Wagner 1981,105).

4.5 Conciliation and Reform : 1974-79

During the early 1970s the Askin Government became increasingly aware that changes were needed to the existing planning machinery. This was brought home most forcibly when the R.A.G.-B.L.F. position began to be supported by other, more conservative groups. For example during the green bans period many architects and planners strongly supported the actions of the B.L.F. and became closely involved in what, at times, resembled an alternative planning system operating alongside the legal one. The B.L.F. 'created an independent panel of architects and planners to review the conservation merits of those requests about which the (B.L.F.) executive committee was not sure' (Roddewigg 1978,31). Developers began to ask for the Federation's opinion before beginning a project, and they submitted environmental impact statements for review by the B.L.F.'s professional panel. Moreover, towards the end of 1973 the Institute of Real Estate Developers of New South Wales (I.R.E.D.) began a series of informal discussions with C.R.A.G. on the initiative of Bruce McDonald, then its senior vice-president. McDonald's view was that the law was 'needful of change to properly reflect current enlightened thinking' (McDonald 1974b,19). He maintained that 'Most of today's major

problems are due to inadequate legislation' (p.22), which needed 'complete revision and/or replacement by conciliation and decision making bodies more in touch with the problems of urban living' (p.23).

4.5.1 The State Liberal-Country Party Government

Following the election of the Liberal-Country Party Government for the fourth consecutive time in November 1973, Sir John Fuller was appointed to the newly created post of Minister for Planning and Environment, to oversee the workings of the State Pollution Control Commission (S.P.C.C.) and the Planning and Environment Commission (P.E.C.).

The S.P.C.C. had commenced operations in June 1971 to co-ordinate the air, water and (later) noise pollution legislation, and this role was extended in 1974 to include environmental impact assessment. In October 1974 the S.P.C.C.'s 'Environmental Standard EI-4 was adopted by the Government as the principles and procedures for environmental impact assessment in New South Wales' (N.S.W. 1975b,6). The procedure for development proposals 'that may have significant environmental impact or that may generate significant public controversy' (N.S.W. 1974c,5) included the advertising and public exhibition of the environmental impact statement so that the 'determining authority' could 'take into account public comment on the statement'(p.6).

The State Planning Authority was replaced in November 1974 by the Planning and Environment Commission, though, as Day (1976,20) points out, essentially 'this constituted only a name change'. Section 20(1) of the New South Wales Planning and Environment Act 1974 required the Commission to institute a wide-ranging review of 'the responsibilities, powers, authorities, duties and functions conferred upon it' as well as 'the law and practice relating to town and country planning and land use and environmental planning'. A report was to be submitted within one year 'recommending the organisational, administrative or other changes and adjustments which, in its judgement, are necessary in the public interest for the purpose of

improving, restructuring, integrating or co-ordinating the planning of the use of land'.

Given the general community interest in planning, it was politically crucial that the development of any new planning system be carried out with as much public input as possible. Accordingly, a discussion document (N.S.W. 1974d) was issued in November 1974. Generally referred to as the 'Green Book', the report attempted to identify the major issues, and indicate possible future directions for the planning system. Five major criticisms of the existing planning system are listed in the report (pp.8-12): first, the narrow, almost exclusive concern with land use; secondly, the overcentralisation of decision making; thirdly, the lack of public involvement - though there is no specific mention of green bans (Gjedsted 1975,8); fourthly, the slowness of the system - probably 'the most frequent criticism' (p.10); and fifthly, the poor quality of the resulting urban development.

The Green Book also suggests a range of changes to overcome these criticisms. Thus, there is support for public participation: 'the public should be involved in the formation of a plan's aims, in the choice of alternative ways of achieving these aims and in the commitment to the final plan' (p.22). More specifically, the Green Book advocates a broadening of the appeals system to include third party appeals 'so that any person or group can appeal against development proposals which they consider to be contrary to their own or the public interest' (p.22). A second major proposal was for a well-defined hierarchy of local, regional and state plans, each with its own planning authority. The Green Book provided the basis for what the Minister described as 'the most extensive public relations and community participation exercise ever mounted in this State' (Fuller 1975,2). About 15,000 copies were distributed and members of a special planning team held eighty-five public meetings.

The regional authority proposals disturbed local councillors who were worried about the possible impact on the status of local government. Thus, the Local Government and Shires Associations (1975,4) strongly favoured a county council system in which 'the regional body would have to be representative of the region through

component local government units of the region - in other words we would see them as elected by and from the members of the municipal, city and shire councils in the region'. The Local Government and Shires Associations (1975,8) also had reservations about the suggested third party appeals, pointing out that 'if the scope of the Appeals Tribunals is widened, the tribunals will in effect sit in place of the State, Regional or Local authorities'. The Local Government Planners Association also came out against third party appeals considering that its members' experience had shown that even the existing limited approach to the Local Government Appeals Tribunal had 'placed a great burden on many planners' and that 'a lot of this effort is wasted' (Orr 1975b,5). Moreover, the L.G.P.A. maintained that 'if adequate public participation is achieved in the early stages of planning, and decisions are made by councils as responsible authorities in accordance with regional guidelines, then there should be no need for third party appeals' (p.5).

In June 1975 a second discussion document, popularly known as the 'Blue Book' (N.S.W.1975c), was published, over 1,400 copies initially being distributed (N.S.W. 1975d). According to Roddewigg (1978,111) 'the Blue Book retreated from the bold proposals for regional planning put forward in the Green Book', a retreat which Bourke (1975,32-3) attributes to local government pressure and suspicion that the new Labor Government in Canberra 'might be trying to undermine the authority of the States ... by dealing with Regional Authorities and eventually, bit by bit, starving the States out of existence'. The Blue Book advocated the establishment of regional offices of the P.E.C. 'whose staff will be given real powers of decision-making on regional matters' (p.11). The exact relationship between the regional office and a regional council was left open for further comment through written public submissions. The third party appeal provision was again supported in the Blue Book 'where the appellant can show that his interests in land and the environment are adversely affected by a development' (p.24).

The Planning and Environment Commission's Report to the Minister (N.S.W. 1975a), popularly known as the 'White Book', was presented in November 1975. According to Roddewigg (1978,113) it 'back-pedaled

even more on the bold proposals of the Green Book'. The idea of regional planning councils was rejected, the Report concluding that 'the formulation of regional plans and policies was so inextricably involved with the responsibility of State Government that such a delegation of executive function from the State level was not practicable' (N.S.W. 1975a,7.17). Therefore, regional bodies 'should have an important advisory role in the new planning system but no executive role and no power to direct planning' (para. 11.25).

The White Book regarded state involvement in local plan preparation as continuing to be necessary to allow the Commission to 'certify that the draft local structure plans does not conflict with regional policy directions and/or plans' (para. 5.11). However, there were two major changes proposed. First, before a draft plan was prepared a survey of 'the social, economic, and ecological environmental systems in the area' (para. 5.05) had to be undertaken and the results made available for public inspection. Local authorities were then required to 'consult their communities about possible priorities and the objectives of a local structure plan and the ways and means by which local environmental problems may best be solved' (para. 5.10). The second major change was in respect of private objections to the local draft plan, it being suggested that 'the final determination of the objections shall be made by the local council after considering the recommendations of the independent assessor' (para. 5.16). With regard to third party appeals, the P.E.C. took the position adopted by the Local Government Planners Association which suggested that the need for such appeals would be greatly reduced because of the more public-orientated plan making system. The Report concludes that 'the likely benefits flowing from a third party appeal system are marginal and are outweighed by the disadvantages of slowing down and adding costs to the whole development control process' (para. 9.08).

New planning legislation was introduced into the Legislative Assembly in March 1976, the provisions of the Bill being 'in accordance with almost all of the recommendations of the New South Wales Planning and Environment Commission report' (Healey, in N.S.W.P.D. 30 March 1976, p.4911). The only major change was the re-

introduction of third party appeals (s.119(3)). It is likely that the Government saw the chance to gain some electoral support with the introduction of third party appeals just before the campaigning period for the State election on 1 May 1976. Thus, the second reading of the Bill was given on 30 March, only three days before the Assembly was due to be dissolved. The subsequent electoral defeat of the Liberal-Country Party coalition led to the abandonment of the 1976 Bill as the new Labor Government began its own review of the planning legislation.

4.5.2 The State Labor Government

During the lengthy hiatus between the withdrawal of the 1976 Bill and the introduction of new legislation in 1979, several changes were made by the new Labor Government to the existing planning system. Thus, the P.E.C. was restructured at both the State and regional levels. A network of largely autonomous regional offices, first advocated in the White Book (N.S.W. 1975a,15.29), began to be developed (Paterson 1980,94). The system of regional advisory committees was also expanded, the Hunter and Illawarra committees being joined by groups established in the Gosford-Wyong, Botany and Western Sydney sub-regions. For example, the Botany Bay Sub-Regional Community Advisory Committee included eighteen members, all appointed by the Minister, representing local government, trade unions, environmental groups and the general community (K. Lander, Botany Community Liaison Planner, pers. comm. 10 July 1978). It was created to 'ensure that the views of the community are considered, and benefits for it gained, in the future planning of the sub-region' (N.S.W. 1978c,n.p.).

The new Minister, Paul Landa, also made two significant changes relating to planning administration and public participation at the local government level. In October 1976 a Ministerial circular letter to all local authorities highlighted the lack of public involvement in planning changes made through the use of interim development orders. (See also Dorman 1975,72.) The circular itemised changes to the

existing procedures to make them 'consistent with the Government's policy to provide the public adequate opportunity to participate in the processes of planning' (N.S.W. 1976b,1). Thus, before changes could be made to existing plans, the local authority was required to call for public comment by a newspaper advertisement and a signpost on the site, as well as informing by letter the owners of, and owners adjacent to, the land concerned. Similarly, the preparation of an initial zoning of land had to include 'public notification of the terms of the proposed order of exhibition', as well as extending 'an invitation to interested parties and the public at large to make representations or objections' (p.2). However, the possibility of conflict between administrative speed and public participation is evident in the final paragraph of the circular which allowed councils to waive the new procedures for 'major development projects likely to stimulate economic activity and to provide employment opportunities' (N.S.W. 1976b,3).

A second Ministerial circular letter, dated 7 September 1977, dealt with the lack of public understanding of the legalistic wording of statutory planning documents. The circular laid down that 'each scheme, varying scheme or major Interim Development Order be accompanied by an information sheet setting out the aims, methods and implications of the plan' (N.S.W. 1977a,1). The circular continued:

The information sheet should set out clearly, briefly and in easily intelligible language the purpose of the scheme or order. It should make explicit the aims and priorities of the scheme or order and give an understanding of both why it is necessary to achieve them, and how they will be achieved by the scheme or order. Any important aspects of Council's own policies or codes, which "marry in" with the statutory provisions of the scheme or order, could also be referred to, to let the public see what the effect of the scheme or order will be. (N.S.W. 1977a,2)

The Labor Government's approach to developing new planning laws differed from its predecessor's in that draft legislation - the Environmental Planning and Assessment Bill, and four associated bills - was published before the public debate began. The bills were tabled in Parliament in April 1979, and the P.E.C. then held 138 seminars and meetings (including two at the P.E.C. main offices on Saturday

afternoons) with local government representatives, community groups and professional bodies throughout N.S.W. (Frail 1979,16). The Parliamentary debate eventually took place in November 1979. The legislation was assented to on 21 December 1979, and was scheduled to become effective on 1 September 1980.

The Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979 in many respects resembles the abandoned 1976 Bill. There are three levels of planning, state, regional and local, with the first two being the responsibility of the newly created Department of Environment and Planning. No formal public participation procedures are laid down for the development of the State environmental planning policies, the Act stating that 'the Minister shall take such steps as he considers appropriate or necessary to publicise a draft State environmental planning policy, and to seek and consider submissions from the public' (s.39(2)). There is no requirement for any initial environmental studies 'because State policies are likely to address broader aspects of policy and will not always be directly related to particular areas of land' (N.S.W. 1980b,19).

The legislation makes no reference to the role of regional bodies in the drafting of regional environmental plans. Their preparation is very similar to the local planning procedure in regard to public participation, with a public exhibition of an initial environmental study (s.42), a calling for written submissions about the draft plan (s.47) and the possibility of a Commission of Inquiry being appointed to investigate any matter relating to the plan (s.49).

When preparing a local environmental plan the local council is required to prepare an environmental study (s.57) and then to place it on public exhibition (s.58). Any person may make a written submission about either the study or 'the aims, objectives, policies and strategies which the local draft plan should adopt' (s.59(a)). Whilst preparing the draft plan the local council is obliged to 'give public notice ... of the aims, objectives, policies and strategies to be adopted' (s.61(c)). After being completed by the local council, the draft plan is then sent to the Department of Environment and Planning. It issues a certificate after ensuring that the draft plan has been prepared as prescribed, including 'that the provisions of sections

58, 59 and 60 relating to public involvement in the preparation of the draft plan have been complied with' (s.65(1)(b)). After receipt of the certificate, the local authority is required to advertise and publicly exhibit the draft plan (s.66), and 'any person' may make a written submission (s.67). However, an individual is not given an unrestricted right to a personal council hearing. Such a public hearing is to be arranged by the council if it considers that 'the issues raised in the submission are of such significance' as to warrant a hearing (s.68(1)(b)).

The Liberals' proposal to allow the council to give final approval to the scheme is absent from the 1979 Act. The general attitude of the Minister towards more autonomy for local councils is summarised in his comment that 'devolution of responsibility will only occur with performance' (Landa 1978,3). Following the public exhibition of the draft plan, the local council must consider the comments received, and then send the revised draft plan, plus all public submissions to the Department of Environment and Planning (s.68(4)). The plan may be approved (s.70(1)(a)(i)); be amended as the Minister 'thinks fit' (s.70 (1)(a)(ii)); be referred back to the council for further public exhibition if any parts of the draft plan originally exhibited have been altered (s.70(1)(b); or the plan may be completely rejected (s.70(1)(c)).

The inclusion of a third party appeals procedure (s.98) is described by Fogg (1981,262) as 'a very considerable expansion of enforcement powers in favour of citizens'. Such appeals are permissible against applications for 'designated development', that is 'development which could have a significant impact because of its size, nature or location' (N.S.W. 1979d,n.p.). (See also Environmental Planning and Assessment Act Regulation 1980, schedule 3.) Applications for approval to carry out such development have to be accompanied by an environmental impact statement (s.77(3)(d)), and each application has to be publicised in the local newspaper, by a signpost on the development site, and by

written notice ... to such persons as appear ... to own or occupy the land adjoining the land to which the development application relates and where practicable to other such

persons as appear ... to own or occupy land the use and enjoyment of which, in the opinion of the consent authority, may be detrimentally affected if that designated development is carried out (s.84(1)(a)).

Similar advertising provisions may also be extended by a council to include non-designated development (s.30(4) and (5)). The Act allows someone who has made a written objection to the designated development to make an appeal to the newly created Land and Environment Court if the objector is 'dissatisfied with the determination of the consent authority to grant consent to a development application either unconditionally or subject to conditions' (s.98(1)). Alternatively, the Act allows the Minister to determine any application when he or she 'considers it expedient in the public interest to do so, having regard to matters of significance for State or regional environmental planning' (s.101(1)). If requested by either the applicant or an objector, the determination process has to include a hearing by a Commission of Inquiry before which both applicant and objector are 'entitled to appear and be heard' (s.101(5)).

4.5.3 Local government

State-local government relations continued to be strained after 1974 when the State Planning Authority was dissolved and the Planning and Environment Commission constituted. Thus, councils kept up their attack on State government, accusing the P.E.C. of 'interference' in local issues (Bennett et al. 1978,61). Similarly, the P.E.C. Chairman accused local councils of often trying to avoid making a final decision on a controversial planning issue by unnecessarily referring the matter to the P.E.C. (Smyth 1978,n.p.). However, the lifting of the requirement that councils contribute towards the administrative expenses of the Commission (N.S.W. 1977b,26) undoubtedly removed a long-standing cause of friction.

The value of employing professional planning officers became more widely appreciated as councillors took note of the disruption that planning disputes could cause. For example, a P.E.C. survey (N.S.W.

1975a,129-33) found that 24 per cent of local authorities throughout the State had established separate planning departments. In Sydney the figure was 68 per cent, three times higher than the percentage reported by Colman (1968,45). The average number of planners employed by each local authority in Sydney in 1974 was 2.4 (N.S.W. 1975a,129), again nearly three times higher than the 1967 average (Colman 1968,43).

The influence of the green ban period of the early 1970s is also reflected in the fact that the voluntary financing of town planning (i.e. excluding statutory S.P.A. charges) increased by 191 per cent between 1970 and 1973, compared to an increase of 144 per cent for all local government activities (Australia 1978c,450). This rapid rate of increase was not continued into the mid and late 1970s, but even so by 1977 councils were voluntarily spending 318 per cent more on town planning than they were in 1970, compared to an overall expenditure increase of 282 per cent (Australia 1981c,628).

It is unlikely that the public image of local government improved during the mid and late 1970s. The continuing authoritarian character of many councils is reflected in the results of a 1978 public opinion poll which showed that, of 1,004 respondents in N.S.W., 62 per cent considered that they had little or no chance of 'stopping the local council carrying out policies they considered harmful' (Anon. 1978e). In 1976 the authority of the Ombudsman's Office was extended to include local council administration (Fitzpatrick 1976,24-5). Jones suggests that case studies in the 1977-78 annual report of the Ombudsman

show how local authorities often do not appreciate their powers over individual liberty. Indeed, the belief that they are close to the people and democratically elected means that authoritarian and coercive decisions are based on a crusading zeal. (Jones 1981,201-2)

For example, May (1975) reports on how one Sydney council postponed discussion of a development proposal during the ordinary council meeting; but at 12.55 a.m. a special meeting was held in front of an empty public gallery and the development approved. Bulldozing work began the following day.

The practice continued of the State Government dismissing local councils and appointing administrators. The administrator appointed to Randwick Municipality in 1973 remained in office until September 1977, and a further four local authorities were dismissed between 1974 and 1979. This compares to only eighteen councils being replaced between 1925 and 1973 (L'Orange 1976,31). Whitmore (1978, para.3005) claims that 'it is only in the most extreme cases that action has been taken to dismiss a council'. In a swingeing attack on local government, Whitmore contends that corruption is 'not uncommon' and that 'inefficiency is even more endemic'. He implies that the problems which do come to the public's attention through the news media are only a small proportion of the total number as the major news media organisations are only interested in 'a major scandal', whilst local newspapers 'do not have the resources for investigative reporting' (para.3005). More generally, Mowbray and Sammut (1981,16) refer to the timidity of the local press when reporting local government affairs, noting that they are 'very much bound up with local commercial and social relationships'.

4.5.4 The planning profession

The mid and late 1970s was a period during which there was a reversal of the earlier situation when qualified planners were in very short supply. The return of a Liberal-National Country Party Government after the 1975 federal election resulted in a marked reduction in the number of planning positions available, as the Fraser Government quickly cancelled or substantially reduced many of the Labor initiatives. For example, the Department of Urban and Regional Development was broken up, and funds for the growth centre and land commission programmes severely curtailed (Lloyd and Troy 1978,36). At the same time, a total of eighteen new planning courses began producing graduates in the period 1975 to 1979 (Daines 1978,24). The increasing competition for available town planning positions is reflected in the rapid decline in the rate of staff turnover at the P.E.C. from over 25 per cent in 1973-74 to 16 per cent in 1976-77.

Subsequent P.E.C. annual reports do not mention staff turnover, presumably because it was no longer significant.

With regard to local planning staff, it seems logical to assume that because of the more restricted, more competitive job market, a greater proportion of tertiary planning graduates would be willing to enter local government service. Even so, a survey carried out in December 1976 showed that only one-half of Sydney councils employed a planner with professional qualifications appropriate for R.A.P.I. membership. The overall State figure was only one in every six councils (Bowie and Murphy 1977, table 3). However, a later survey of Bachelor of Town Planning graduates from the University of New South Wales showed that 44 per cent of respondents were employed in local government (Zehner 1979,4). The more competitive situation is also reflected in the qualifications asked by local councils from applicants for town planning positions. For example, during 1979 there were thirty-three advertisements in the Sydney Morning Herald for full-time assistant town planners or town planners in local government. Of these, eleven specifically expressed a preference for applicants with tertiary qualifications, including five advertisements where tertiary qualifications were deemed to be essential.

Local planners holding only an Ordinance 4 certificate continued to be excluded from the R.A.P.I.²⁶ Moreover, unlike the other major professional groups in local government - the engineers, council clerks and health surveyors - local planners did not have their own professional association. Planners belonged to the union responsible for most local council employees, the Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees Union (M.E.U.), which negotiated their wage claims as part of the 'Local Government Professional and Technical Staff Award'. This award also included a variety of other groups, such as draftsmen, meat inspectors, works foremen, pool superintendents and storekeepers. One local government planner, referring to the Professional and Technical Staff Award as 'the "odds and sods" award', comments that 'although we were not snobs, we felt that, as a professional group, we should have our own award like the engineers, town clerks and municipal health inspectors' (Orr 1975a,14).

In March 1974 at a meeting of planners from non-metropolitan

councils, a resolution was passed to consider the formation of a professional association of local government planners. Discussions in the Sydney area culminated in a general meeting of metropolitan planners in November 1974 and the drawing up of a draft constitution for a local planners' association. In 1975 this became the basis of the final constitution of the 'Local Government Planners Association of New South Wales' (L.G.P.A.). The objectives of the L.G.P.A. include upholding the status of local government planners, promoting the establishment of separate planning departments, and encouraging the provision of training and education (L.G.P.A. n.d.,1-2). Full membership of the Association is restricted to those holding an Ordinance 4 Certificate, or an equivalent, and currently working in local government planning. The number of full members grew from 65 in 1976 (L.G.P.A. circular, 29 June 1976) to 114 in 1979 (Newsletter September 1979, p.1). Total membership - including Associate and Student members - grew from 117 to 191 in the same period.

A major continuing concern of the L.G.P.A. has been the low status of the Ordinance 4 Certificate. Thus, at the first annual conference, in October 1975, the Association's President remarked that 'most planners are not properly trained or prepared for the important positions they hold in a council' (Orr 1975b,4). Similarly, at the second annual conference a member of the Association's Education Sub-Committee referred to the Ordinance 4 course as 'entirely unsatisfactory' (Hill 1976,11). Consequently, the Local Government Planners Association has worked closely with Mitchell College of Advanced Education at Bathurst in establishing an Associate Diploma in Town and Country Planning. The College had initially been approached in 1974 by the Department of Local Government with a request to make available a planning course which would eventually replace the Ordinance 4 examination, a move strongly endorsed by an early resolution on the Association's Committee of Management (Committee minutes, 4 April 1975). At the second Annual General Meeting of the Association, held in November 1976, the Education Sub-Committee urged planners currently undertaking Ordinance 4 studies to enrol in the Associate Diploma when it commenced in 1977. The Association continued to be closely involved in the development of the

course, making submissions regarding its structure and having a representative on the course advisory panel. (See the report of the Education Sub-Committee to the Annual General Meeting, November 1979.)

A similar concern with status is evident in the Association's keen interest in the salaries of town planners relative to those of council clerks, engineers and health inspectors. The Association decided not to take on a wage bargaining role, a move which would have excluded from L.G.P.A. membership those engineer-planners who were already represented by the Local Government Engineers Association. Wage negotiations thus continued to be handled by the M.E.U. with the L.G.P.A., through its Salaries Sub-Committee, acting to try and ensure an effective representation of the planners' point of view.

A major blow to the status of town planners came when they were omitted from the Senior Officers' Award. Presented by the Local Government and Shires Associations in May 1976 for consideration by the N.S.W. Industrial Commission, the Senior Officers' Award provided a structure for determining the salaries of council clerks, engineers and health inspectors, plus each of their deputies, based on the salary of the council clerk. This omission was described by the L.G.P.A.'s President as 'our main disappointment' in 1976 (Orr 1976,3). The difference in emphasis of the Association and the M.E.U. is well illustrated in the annual report of the Salaries Sub-Committee presented to the 1979 L.G.P.A. Annual General Meeting (Orr 1979). For the Association the 'most disappointing aspect' of a new salary structure was that 'the status of a planner is reduced salary wise relative to other Heads and Deputy Heads of Departments ... in most Councils the planners' award salary will be in sixth place, behind that of the Town Clerk, Engineer, Health Surveyor, Deputy Town Clerk and Deputy Engineer' (p.7). However, the M.E.U.'s General Secretary was against deferring settlement of the claim because of the 'substantial increases that had been obtained for his members' (p.10). He commented that 'he was concerned more with increases in salary than status' (p.10).

4.5.5 The general public

Public awareness of the importance of planning issues was high in November 1974 at the time of the publication of the first consultation document, the 'Green Book'. The document and associated public meetings generated a total of 300 written submissions, including 54 from individual members of the public, 36 from resident action groups, and 20 from professional and business groups (N.S.W. 1975c,41-3).

Although some 400 written submissions were received in response to the 'Blue Book', it became obvious that the urgency evident at the start of the planning review was no longer needed. The Sydney building boom had collapsed during 1974 (Daly 1982, Ch.1). The end of the development boom meant that resident action groups became less interested in the Blue Book proposals as 'people previously active argued that there was no need to continue to be involved if there was nothing to protest about' (George 1976,2). So, for example, Nittim (1980,244-5) reports on the general disintegration of the Coalition of Resident Action Groups during the 1974-75 period as the glut of office space in Sydney curtailed private development, and the Federal Government's suspension of funds for most urban freeways curtailed the activities of the Department of Main Roads. The development slump also resulted in a general easing of the green bans as, helped by the high rate of unemployment among B.L.F. members, the Federal Secretary, Norm Gallagher, succeeded in ousting Munday, Owen and Pringle from their leadership of the N.S.W. branch of the union (Colless 1975). According to the new Acting Secretary of the N.S.W. branch 'the Resident Action Groups must understand that, while we'll help them, they have to fight their own battles in the end' (Robinson 1975,1). Moreover, even before the P.E.C. had submitted its statutory report on the new planning system (N.S.W. 1975a), the Governor-General dismissed the Whitlam Labor Government. The subsequent election of a Liberal-National Country Party Government²⁷ ensured that the close interest taken by the Commonwealth in urban and regional affairs would cease (Lloyd and Troy 1981, Ch.12). This overall lack of overt public interest is also reflected in the Labor Government's public consultation programme in 1979. Thus, the offer of the P.E.C. to

attend meetings to discuss the proposed legislation was taken up only by professional groups. The resulting 183 submissions were thus mainly from bodies such as the Local Government Planners Association and the Australian Council for Social Service. Resident action groups were regarded as generally being moribund (Robyn Read, Head of P.E.C. Information Branch, pers. comm. 9 November 1979).

Public interest in local government affairs generally remained low. Voter turn-out at the 1974 municipal elections dropped to only 28 per cent, the lowest figure since non-compulsory voting had been re-introduced in 1968. Paradoxically, this low turn-out was recorded at a time when there was widespread public dissatisfaction with local government. An A.N.O.P. poll taken on the eve of the 1974 municipal elections showed that only 57 per cent of Sydney respondents were satisfied with the way their local council was carrying out its job. This compared to a total of 64 per cent in Melbourne and 68 per cent in Brisbane (Australian 20 September 1974, p.4).

One indication of the lack of grassroots support for the participatory approach to local government was the rejection of the 'Campaign for Better Council' candidates in the 1974 Leichhardt Municipality poll, the Labor Party taking eleven of the twelve council seats. The new council 'immediately disbanded the planning committee, dismissed the staff who had worked on the plan' and submitted proposals to the P.E.C. which 'amounted to a new plan which virtually reverted to the redevelopment policies of the 1968 plan' (Harris 1980,32).

The 1977 local elections also showed little evidence of a heightened general public interest in council affairs. There was an average of only 1.6 candidates for each council seat, which resulted in 25 per cent of aldermen and councillors being returned unopposed (Australia 1978a,16). The Wran Labor Government reintroduced the system of compulsory voting at local elections. Consequently, 67.5 per cent of voters turned out at the 1977 election (Australia 1978a,4). This compares to turn-outs of 92.7 per cent at the 1978 State elections (N.S.W. 1979c,10), and 95.0 per cent at the 1977 Federal election (Australia 1978d,190).

4.6 Democratic Elitism and N.S.W. Local Planning

The purpose of this section is to interpret the development of local planning in N.S.W. in the light of the political and planning models outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. It indicates that the democratic elitist model closely fits the N.S.W. situation.

The basic aim of democratic elitism is social stability, which is regarded as being achieved by restricting mass decision making to periodically choosing the governing elite. The public's lack of interest in political affairs ensures their general support for such a participatory role. However, social stability is threatened when there develops a widespread feeling that certain government policies are not working well. In these circumstances the public's strong commitment to the norm of active citizenship is expressed in more direct public involvement in politics. The existing social stability is thus disrupted until there is a satisfactory response from the governing elite, or until the situation changes in response to other pressures. Environmental planning is one of those areas in which such widespread dissatisfaction has occurred, leading to a more open style of planning - though with the decision-making power still firmly retained by the elected elites and their officials.

The historical development of planning in New South Wales reflects this democratic elitist approach. Government involvement with regulating land uses, through the introduction of legislation dealing with house construction, began during a time of rapid urban development, in the late nineteenth century. It was felt that, unless some regulations were imposed, the very poor standard of building could lead to health problems of epidemic proportions - which could, in turn, have a disruptive effect on social stability. However, the absence of similar pressures during the first four decades of the twentieth century resulted in only minor additions being made to this legislation. The first comprehensive town planning bill was introduced in response to pressure from a reformist Federal Labor Government which reflected a general public feeling that such a step was necessary to achieve effective post-war reconstruction.

The need to make provision for the 'democratic myth' (Almond and Verba 1965,486) in this new venture is reflected in the extensive public participation provisions written into the legislation, and in the considerable effort expended by the metropolitan planning body, the Cumberland County Council, in public relations. However, the involvement was essentially related to information exchange. The only exception to this was the requirement that there be a limited number of non-elected members on each council's planning committee, a requirement which many councils ignored and which was abandoned when the legislation was revised in 1962. Moreover, the final power of decision making rested with the State Minister.

The elaborate procedures established in 1945 proved too cumbersome, resulting in long delays, with schemes having to be amended substantially during the actual planning stages to keep pace with development. This led to public confusion as to what the final outcome of the scheme would be, and complaints and criticisms followed. Consequently, in an attempt to preserve public confidence in both the planning system and its administrators, the procedure was streamlined. Speed, not participation, was seen to be the most desired characteristic and thus the original level of participation was reduced.

These changes were followed by a period of government dominated by a growth philosophy. It is significant that during this period one of the few initiatives to preserve the democratic myth related to residential flat development, an issue about which the more vociferous middle class had long been concerned. The s.342ZA addition to the Local Government Act in 1970 was an attempt to defuse this potentially disruptive issue, though it in no way indicated a movement away from the elitist information exchange philosophy, the new section basically instructing local councils to provide information - and then directly only to property owners, not tenants - about development applications for residential flats, and to take into account any subsequent public submissions about such proposals.

The more serious challenge to government policy which developed during the early 1970s came about as a result of partly related, but partly fortuitous, combinations of circumstances. The first factor was

the gentrification of inner city suburbs which began in the late 1960s. A second factor was the diffusion to Australia of what Allison (1975, Ch. 1) calls 'the environmental fashion': the value of economic growth began to be questioned, the emphasis instead being on environmental stability and quality. Thirdly, there was the establishment of a new group of leaders in the Builders' Labourers' Federation, who used the union's industrial strength to further their ecological and political aims. And fourthly, there was the election of a reformist Australian Labor Party Federal Government who, after 23 years in opposition, had a strong desire to become involved in urban and regional planning issues.

The combination of these factors led to considerable social disruption which obviously required a significant response. The new elitist approach to planning began with the State Government initiating a year-long consultation process about a new legal framework for planning.

The jolt which the events of the early 1970s gave to the stability of the social system led to the realisation by politicians of both major State parties that the quality of life issues which had emerged so strongly during that period would continue to be of importance. Consequently, both the aborted Liberal bill of 1976 and the 1979 Labor planning legislation reintroduced greater opportunities for information to be passed between interested members of the public and the responsible decision-making body.

However, the events of the early 1970s, although significant in terms of their impact on government thinking about planning, did not indicate a general public demand for a move towards a participatory democracy. Rather, it was a manifestation of the dissatisfaction with the way the State Government was handling the pressures of the development boom. Significantly, with the onset of much slower economic growth, the public returned to their more usual level of participatory activity. Thus, the Coalition of Resident Action Groups was disbanded, and there was a relatively low level of interest in the development of a new legal structure for planning. Similarly, during 1975 the pro-participationist A.L.P. under Whitlam and the Munday B.L.F. group both lost their positions of leadership whilst in 1974

the N.S.W. Askin Government was re-elected for a fourth consecutive term.

A similar situation applied at the local government level with less than one-third of electors actually voting during the unstable period of the early 1970s. Indeed, the turn-out in Sydney during 1974 was only 25 per cent. A similar lack of interest by the general public about environmental matters is illustrated in Dempsey's (1971,9) analysis of the 1971 election in which he concludes that although it 'is popular to think...that environment has "arrived" as one of the issues in the new politics...this is simply not the case'. The limited appeal of urban conservation issues is reflected in the defeat of Paddington Society candidates in 1971. Similarly, the successful pro-participation 'Campaign for Better Council' candidates in Leichhardt only enjoyed one term in office before being replaced in 1974 by traditional A.L.P. members.

4.7 Summary

This chapter presents an account of the development of local government planning in N.S.W. The basic rationale is that the later chapters, relating to N.S.W. planners and councillors, can best be understood with a background knowledge of the legal and extra-legal framework within which local planning had developed, and within which planners and councillors functioned. The approach is chronological, four phases of development being distinguished.

During the first phase, pre-dating the first major planning legislation in 1945, a system of local government was extended throughout N.S.W. - though usually against the wishes of the local population which preferred local services to be provided by, and at the expense of the State government. Government involvement in the regulation of land development resulted from a concern over public health matters in the late nineteenth century. During the first half of the twentieth century there were several unsuccessful attempts to promote a comprehensive town planning system and a more regionalised structure of local government for the administration of town planning

and other services. However, basic subdivision standards and an elementary form of zoning were introduced in the consolidated Local Government Act 1919.

The introduction of comprehensive planning legislation in 1945 resulted in part from Federal Government pressure to ensure that post-war reconstruction was effectively carried out. A complicated planning system was established, the development of planning schemes involving the setting up of a planning committee including citizen members, the appointment of a qualified planner, two exhibitions, and the possibility of a public inquiry. There was tight State government control of the entire planning process. However, many local authorities were not convinced of the need for planning controls. Thus, the metropolitan councils tended not to co-operate with the County Council which had been established to co-ordinate planning in the metropolis. They resented having to finance its administration and were also reluctant to spend money developing their own planning departments. Consequently, the number and status of local government town planners remained low, though the 1945 legislation did stimulate the development of a university-based town planning diploma and a State government scheme to issue certificates of qualification to local government planners. The Australian Planning Institute was also established, though the local government certificate was not a sufficient qualification for full membership. The public participation provisions of the 1945 Act also tended to be resented by local councils, resulting, for example, in the provisions regarding citizen members of planning committees often being disregarded. Moreover, once the provisions of planning schemes, particularly the metropolitan county scheme, began to affect individual landowners, the initial post-war public consensus regarding the worth of planning quickly dissipated and there developed a widespread public resentment of planning.

An attempt was made to simplify the 1945 planning system (under which only a handful of schemes had been prescribed) when in 1962 the local planning procedure was streamlined, resulting in fewer opportunities for public participation. Later, in 1964 the metropolitan county council was disbanded and a specialised State

government body, the State Planning Authority, was established. In 1965, Askin's Liberal-Country Party Government came to power and embarked on a programme of rapid urban development. The S.P.A.'s major planning document, the Sydney Region Outline Plan, was developed with the minimum of public involvement. One of the few public checks placed on urban growth was the introduction of a provision which legally compelled local authorities to advertise all development applications relating to residential flats. However, no third party rights were granted by the legislation.

Within local government there continued to be resentment about the S.P.A.'s detailed control over local planning matters, as well as the continuing need for them to fund the administration of the S.P.A. and to support its land acquisition programme. Moreover, the value of professional planners was not widely acknowledged by local government. Consequently, the number and status of local planners remained low. The continuing low public esteem of local government was reflected in the continuation of the practice of council dismissals for corruption, in the results of public opinion polls, and in the low turn-outs for non-compulsory local government elections. However, a few councils did attempt to mount planning participation programmes.

Isolated public reaction to development issues in inner city suburbs such as Paddington, Leichhardt and North Sydney grew rapidly during the early 1970s, the general catalyst being the Clutha proposal to mine and export coal, which generated widespread opposition. The Coalition of Resident Action Groups was established in 1971, and local groups began to enlist the support of the Builders' Labourers' Federation to impose green bans on a large number of development projects. Quality of urban life issues helped to bring about the election of a Federal A.L.P. Government in 1972 which, in turn, resulted in public participation becoming a respected element of government policy.

The resulting delays and conflict highlighted the need for a complete revision of the planning system. In November 1974 the S.P.A. was replaced by a new state body, the Planning and Environment Commission, which initiated a prolonged programme of public discussion on how the planning system could be improved. The subsequent

legislation, which included third party appeal provisions for major development proposals, was not given its second reading until March 1976, only a few days before the Legislative Assembly was dissolved in preparation for the 1 May election. The resulting defeat of the Liberal-Country Party coalition led to the abandonment of the legislation as the new Labor Government began their own review of the planning system.

Changes were made to the P.E.C.'s administrative structure, including the setting up of regional offices. Ministerial circulars led to an increased level of public participation in the development of local plans. The new planning bills were tabled in Parliament in April 1979, and a series of meetings were held on the draft legislation. The eventual Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979 defined State, regional and local plans and allowed third party appeals for major development proposals. However, the continuing A.L.P. suspicion of the abilities of local government was reflected in the need for councils still to obtain final ministerial approval of their local plans.

State-local government relations continued to be strained, though the decision to lift the requirement on councils to contribute towards the administrative expense of the P.E.C. removed one of the major causes of friction. The increased status of local government planning, and the reduction in planning opportunities at the Federal level, resulted in a greater number of planners with tertiary level qualifications working in local government. In addition, local government planners became more professionally organised with the setting up of the Local Government Planners Association in 1975. Generally, however, it is doubtful that the public image of local government improved considerably during the mid and late 1970s. Thus, the traditional authoritarian image of local councils was maintained; the dismissal of councils for corruption continued; and the low level of public interest in local government affairs was apparent in the small number of candidates and the low voter turn-out at the 1977 election.

Overall, a democratic elitist approach to public participation is evident throughout the development of town planning in N.S.W. This

implies that the local government professional planner will have a crucial role in the conduct of any public participation programmes. The next chapter considers the background to assessing the local planner's participatory role.

CHAPTER 5

ASSESSING THE LOCAL PLANNER'S PARTICIPATORY ROLE

5.1 Introduction: Role Theory

Chapter 4 points out that a modified version of democratic elitism has remained the dominant participatory mode in N.S.W. This political framework means that government agencies continue to dominate the administration of the planning system. In particular, the role of the professional local government planner is crucial as he or she will have day to day control, and will therefore be in a strong position to direct the planning process along a particular desired course. Consequently, the remainder of this thesis focuses on the role of the professional planner in the local planning process.

However, the individual planner cannot be abstracted from the working environment, and discussed as if he or she operated within an organisational vacuum. Consequently, it was apparent that a study of local planners' behaviour with regard to public participation would in effect, be a study of organisational behaviour. This is primarily the domain of social psychology, dealing with the individual in a large group situation. Two of the most prolific and influential writers in the field are Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn. A synthesis of relevant research is contained in their text The Social Psychology of Organizations (first edition: 1966; second edition: 1978). They comment that they 'have given the role concept a central place in our theory of organizations' because it is 'singularly promising' in helping to achieve a 'synthesis of sociological and psychological levels of discourse' related to organisational behaviour (Katz and Kahn 1978,186). Consequently, it was decided to use the concept of role to structure the approach to the survey work of this research project. The following comments will place the study into the context of role theory, which indicates that a number of influences, both

personal and environmental, will determine the planner's participatory role behaviour.

As Turner (1968,552) points out, the concept of 'role' has been 'borrowed from the stage'. Thus, the 'focal person' (individual actor) occupies a particular 'position' or 'office' (plays a particular part). His or her 'role behaviour' (stage performance) is determined in part by the 'role expectations' (how the role should be played) of those people in the 'role set' (author, director, other actors, audience), and partly by the focal person's 'received role' (how the actor interprets the expectations of the author, director etc). (See Biddle and Thomas 1966,4.)

This theatrical analogy suggests at least two types of influence on role behaviour: environmental or external factors, and personal or internal factors. For example, Levinson defines what he terms 'organisationally given role-determinants':

The role-demands are external to the individual whose role is being examined. They are the situational pressures that confront him as the occupant of a given structural position. They have manifold sources: in the official charter and policies of the organisation; in the traditions and ideology, explicit as well as implicit, that help to define the organisation's purposes and modes of operation; in the views about this position which are held by members of the position (who influence any single member) and by members of the various positions impinging on this one; and so on. (Levinson 1973,228)

Often, two distinct types of external factors are identified: first, the structure and administration of the employer organisation; and secondly, the role set, or people with whom an individual interacts while at work. (See, for example, Katz and Kahn 1978,Ch.7: and Burke 1980,Ch.13.) Levinson also makes the following comment on what he terms 'personal role-definition':

After all, individual role-conceptions are formed only partially within the present organisational setting. The individual's ideas about his occupational role are influenced by childhood experiences, by his values and other personality characteristics, by formal education and apprenticeship and the like. (Levinson 1973,232)

As will be apparent from the following discussion, the divisions between the three contextual factors in the role episode - organisational, role-set and personal - are not always well defined.²⁸ Despite these definitional problems, it is possible to discuss organisational, role-set and personal factors separately. This is the purpose of the following three main sections. In each, general principles are related to the role of the N.S.W. local planner, focusing on the public participation aspects of role expectations. The analysis starts with the most general factor, the organisation, and concludes with the most specific, the individual focal person.

5.2 Organisational Influences on Role Behaviour

Just as a stage actor's performance is considerably constrained by the author's original script, so too in much of the role theory literature - particularly the earlier writings - the 'emphasis is placed clearly on the ways in which social situations impose rights and duties on individuals, and the ways individuals conform passively to that imposition' (Thornton and Nardi 1975,870-1). Obviously, if, as Thornton and Nardi suggest, such a deterministic view is taken with regard to general social roles, the emphasis is likely to be even greater when discussing roles in organisations for, as March and Simon (1958,4) point out, these tend to be more 'highly elaborated, relatively stable, and defined to a considerable extent in explicit and even written terms'. Thus, Graen summarises the organisational influences on role behaviour in the following terms:

Organisations specify in some detail the obligations of a person who accepts each organizational role. The obligations include the activities that must be performed at some specified level of excellence, various proscriptions and prescriptions relating to organizational rules and procedures, and certain authority relationships to other organizational roles. (Graen 1976,1208)

Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy is generally regarded as exerting considerable influence (e.g. Pugh 1972,97; Levinson 1972,224;

Emmett 1966,185). Thus, in his discussion of the 'typical official', first published in 1922, Weber suggests that he carries out his duties 'not allowing personal motive or temper to influence conduct, free of arbitrariness and unpredictability; especially he proceeds "without regard to person", following rational rules with strict formality' (Weber 1969,7). This 'hard rationalism' (Wolin 1969,133-4) or 'fixed job model' (Graen 1976,1204)²⁹ became the conventional view after the Second World War (McGregor 1972,32).

A number of different structural sources of influence on a focal person's role behaviour can be distinguished. They relate to the fact that the focal person holds an office or formal position which is within an organisation, the organisation, in turn, being part of a more general social environment. Although the dividing lines between office, organisation and society are at times somewhat blurred, the distinctions are strong enough to allow a separate discussion of each in terms of their influence on role behaviour. The following comments begin with a consideration of the behavioural influence of a focal person's office.

5.2.1 Office

The office is located within the organisation on both a vertical and horizontal dimension. Thus, the expectations relating to very senior positions will be very different from those relating to very junior positions. Cyert and MacCrimmon refer to

two components of organizational role: a programmed component and a discretionary component. The former consists of specified subprograms and a framework of constraints on the manner in which these programs are to be executed. The latter represents the permissible domain of variation the role occupant is allowed in carrying out the programs or initiating new ones. (Cyert and MacCrimmon 1968,576)

They go on to note that 'More programmed behavior can be observed at lower levels' in the organisational hierarchy, and 'more discretionary behavior at the upper levels' (p.577). So, for example, Burke comments that

Staff planners will have one set of norms for expectations in relation to planners in administrative positions. Staff planners tend to be more involved in specialized activities. Their role will be limited and prescribed. (Burke 1980,281)

This is reflected in a recent survey of San Francisco planners:

Organizational position often places on planners the responsibility to act, or keeps from them the opportunity to act. This is a principal difference between directors and staff. Directors must get their programs approved. Staff members often have no programmatic responsibility and are sometimes in positions that are strictly technical; thus they have no opportunity to seek public support. Expectedly, directors are most likely to look to the public for support. (Buck 1976,44-5)

When referring to the location of the office on the horizontal plane of the organisation, it is usual to distinguish between two groups: first, people who 'face inward to the organization' and who 'usually are committed to maintaining the existing organizational equilibrium'; and secondly, people who 'face outward upon the world' (Kahn et al. 1981,99). There is also a parallel dichotomy identified at the departmental level within the organisation: those who work entirely within departmental boundaries; and those holding positions 'for which all role senders work in the same organization but within diverse departments' (Kahn et al. 1981,114). People who 'face outward' are usually described as 'boundary role occupants' (Wall and Adams 1980). Boundary role occupants, because of their relatively wide variety of role senders, are much more likely to be the focus of unreasonable or conflicting role expectations, leading Kahn et al. (1981,123) to conclude that such positions 'are peculiarly apt to entail various kinds of role conflicts'.

Both types of boundary - inter- and intra- organisational - would appear to be applicable to the local government planner. Thus, externally, contact with other formal organisations and informal groups is more likely for local planners than for most other local government personnel who have either a more technical or a more individual role orientation. This is particularly so, of course, if extensive public participation programmes are initiated. And within

the council organisation, the planner is, in effect, attempting to influence - and avoid being influenced by - a number of other council departments.

Finally, it should be noted that, in being offered and accepting a particular position, the focal person enters into a legal contract with his or her employer. Bolan notes that 'perceived violation of such terms will obviously damage (or possibly sever) the planner-client relationship' (p.388). The importance of the organisation's ability to reprimand or dismiss a planner is illustrated by the results of one questionnaire survey into the ethics of American planners:

Probably the main reason why some say they wouldn't do what they see as ethical is because it's risky. Although threatening someone or going around a superior by leaking information to another group, for example, might be viewed by some as ethical, the possibility of being found out and reprimanded or punished in some way is obviously a deterrent. (Howe and Kaufman 1979,248)

That these fears are well founded is indicated by reports of the dismissal of 'bureaucratic guerrillas' once their activities are discovered by their employers (see Section 3.5.2).

5.2.2 Organisation

A focal person's office makes up only one part of any organisation. The literature also makes clear that the character of the organisation as a whole may have some considerable influence on an individual's role behaviour. Following Payne and Pugh (1976), the discussion will be divided into two parts: the first relates to the organisational context - its size and purpose; the second relates to the organisational structuring of role activities.

Payne and Pugh (1976,1135) report substantial correlations between the size of the organisation and the degree of role differentiation or specialisation. Type of organisation as well as size is also important. For example, the wider the range of tasks

which the organisation performs, the smaller each subunit established to perform each task is likely to be. Thus, Burke contrasts the role of a planner in a specialised planning agency, with a planner in a more general organisation:

In the latter instance the planner is confronted with all the difficulties of a specialist in a nonhost setting. The planner's position is an ancillary one, albeit important, but still ancillary to the main functions of the organisation... The planner consequently finds that there is a continuing need to legitimate the planning function. Considerable time needs to be spent "touching bases" with important operational personnel. The purpose is to overcome resistance and avoid resentment. (Burke 1980,281)

Bolan (1971,389) suggests that organisations which 'can focus on planning around a single problem are usually able to perform more effectively than if their attention is diffused'. The reason for this is simply because 'the more issues occupying the attention of a client group at any given moment, the less effective the effort on any single issue is likely to be'. Most N.S.W. local government authorities are both small and multi-purpose, thus suggesting that many planners will have relatively unspecialised roles and will also need to continue to highlight the value of the planning function.

Levinson (1973,229-30) stresses the importance to the focal person of what he terms 'role facilities', that is, 'the techniques, resources, and conditions of work - the means available to him for fulfilling his organisational functions'. He distinguishes between technological and ecological facilities. Ecological facilities are probably of greater concern to local planners than technological facilities (though the use of computerised planning permit records or aerial survey reports, for example, may be of considerable value). For example, the 'planner-public ratio' may be crucial in determining the amount of time which a local planner might spend in liaising with community groups.

Another important factor concerns the traditional management style of the organisation. For example, Cyert and MacCrimmon (1968,584) refer to centralised and decentralised organisational structures. In the former, 'the top management controls the decision

programs and the subunits of the organisation have little discretion'. In the latter, 'subunits have a high degree of discretion, and managers throughout the organisation control the decision programs'. Evidence suggests that most local authorities in N.S.W. during the 1970s conformed to the centralised style of management (N.S.W. 1974b,50; and Bains 1978,3.3).

Moreover, 'institutional traditions' (Rothman 1974,47) can also have an impact on the type of work emphasised by organisations initially established to carry out the same general functions. For example, in his study of U.S. metropolitan planning agencies, Krueckeberg (1971) identifies four types of agency based on their 'output profiles' (p.193): 'the first is outstanding for its capital budget planning; and the second for planning services; the third emphasizes both housing, health and economic development, and comprehensive long-range planning; and the last is distinguished by low levels of output generally' (p.199). As Chapter 4 indicates, most N.S.W. local authorities would be placed in the last of Krueckeberg's four types of planning agencies. More specifically, the long-established practice of the State government issuing detailed regulations about how local authorities should administer their affairs has, not surprisingly, generated a corresponding legalistic attitude among local government personnel (Wild 1979,26; Rannard 1981,18).

5.2.3 Society

The final topic in this review of organisational factors influencing role behaviour concerns the general social environment within which the organisation operates. The following comments first consider general, society-wide factors, and, secondly, outline more specific local influences.

Those elements of the social environment which most affect an individual organisation will obviously vary with the type of organisation. Cyert and MacCrimmon (1968,594) list three 'key environmental factors': (1) 'general economic conditions'; (2)

'scientific and technological developments'; and (3) 'sociocultural factors'. Of these, scientific and technological developments are of much more direct concern to a manufacturing organisation, for example, than to a local planning department.³⁰

The relationship between general economic conditions and the activities of local authorities can be complex. For example, although councils share in the general increase in wealth during boom times, there are often bitter disputes about the best use of land. However, as is pointed out in Section 4.5.3, such disputes can be the trigger for moves to enlarge the council's professional planning staff. In times of economic depression, goals such as conservation and amenity tend to be downgraded in importance as employment needs increase (George 1984,53). So, for example, the end of the Green Ban period coincided with the slump in property development; whilst more recently, the perceived need for employment-generating projects has led to the N.S.W. State Government curtailing or circumventing its planning legislation with regard to participation and environmental impact assessment (Mant 1982,76; Ball 1983). Local authorities are unlikely to expand their workforce when economic conditions are bad - indeed, they are more likely to seek to reduce it. This applies particularly to the planning function which, as Sandercock (1983,36) points out, is aimed primarily at attempting to resolve the 'basic conflict between the single minded pursuit of economic growth... and its unpleasant urban consequences and social effects'.

'Sociocultural climate' is the third general aspect of the wider community environment listed by Cyert and MacCrimmon (1968,597). Of particular concern when discussing the role of a public organisation is the political framework of which the organisation is part. Relationships between the various groups are greatly influenced by the relative political power of each. Bolan (1971,389) refers to two kinds of 'interdependencies with other decision units': 'supportive dependencies would tend to aid the planning process'; whilst a 'blocking relationship' could frustrate the planning process. Local authorities represent the third tier of government in N.S.W. Because of the constitutional division of powers between the other two tiers, State and Federal, local councils' interdependencies with other

decision units are primarily related to various agencies of the N.S.W. government. As is pointed out in Chapter 4, State legislation is particularly important with regard to local planning and, particularly, public participation in planning.

Some aspects of the sociocultural environment have a more localised character. Buck makes the following comment about the activities of planners in central city and suburban environments:

Central cities are larger and face far different problems than most suburbs. Their budget and staff are larger, but not often adequate to their needs. The political infrastructure is more fully developed, and there is more difficulty to reach the informal understandings that so often characterize political processes in the suburbs. Then too there are more disadvantaged and alienated groups within the social fabric. For all these reasons it is not surprising that central city planners are more likely to seek public support. . .(Buck 1976,45). (See also Krueckeberg 1971,200.)

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, the social and physical characteristics of the local area strongly influence the strength of the community expectations conveyed to the local authority. Bolan (1971,393-4) distinguishes between supportive and opposition groups each, in turn, being subdivided into: (1) interest groups who become involved because they are likely either to benefit or lose directly and materially from the planned changes; and (2) sentiment groups whose support or opposition is based on principles or ideology rather than direct profit or loss.

Having outlined organisational influences on role behaviour, Chapter 5 continues by examining the role set, or people with whom an individual interacts while at work.

5.3 Role Set Influences On Role Behaviour

The emphasis on the formal structure of the organisation has been criticised since the time of the Hawthorne studies by those who point out that organisations are as much social as physical entities.³¹ The role conceptions of individuals in a service industry, particularly with regard to positions relatively high in the organisational

hierarchy, are undoubtedly of considerable importance in influencing role behaviour. For example, Bolan points out that

To prepare a plan is to promote a cause. This is never a purely technical task; nor is it ever done simply in the privacy of a planning office. It is a social process and necessarily entails social relations. (Bolan 1971,395)

More generally, Selznick (1969,23) notes that, for a proper understanding of the organisation you have to 'know the score', that is 'the informal and unavowed ties of friendship, class loyalty, power cliques, or external commitment'. (See also Pfeffer and Salancik 1980a,127.)

The Weberian style of organisation requires that detailed sets of rules be available to guide individuals. The existence of sets of rules also implies the existence of a set of clearly defined organisational goals. However, as Cyert and MacCrimmon (1968,570) point out, 'the top-level goal is of necessity general and nonoperational'. This vagueness is of considerable value as such goals 'can be used to legitimize many categories of behavior and thus contribute to the flexibility of the system' (p.571). Cyert and MacCrimmon conclude that 'The goals of the organization must in some sense, then, be an amalgam of the goals of the participants' (p.571).

This coalition, or political, model of the organisation (Pfeffer and Salancik 1980b) can be applied to the role of the local planner. For example, Bolan (1971,390) refers to the 'power/dependency continuum' in planner-employer relations. The continuum ranges from a totally authoritarian relationship to a totally submissive one, with most being somewhere between the two extremes. Bolan suggests that 'the past history of the relationship is of 'primary importance' as it can 'exert both positive and negative influences on the current status of the relationship as the parties keep score of credits (plus and minus) from prior episodes' (p.390). A second factor listed by Bolan (1971,390) is the 'perceived status differential' between the employer (or client group) and the planner: 'If the client group enjoys high status in the community, it is difficult to imagine the planner in an authoritarian relationship'. However, even the influence of low status clients can be considerable. For example, Burke (1980,279) notes that

low income neighbourhoods expect 'not to be dominated by the planner', but that the planner will 'work through and with them in advocate and activist roles'. Similarly, in his study of the use of professional planners by citizen planning boards in a rural county in New York State, Clavel notes that, because of the limited backgrounds from which the board members were drawn, there exists

a state of inequality between experts and boards that limits the extent to which experts can be used. Among other consequences, local boards dealing with the experts seem to sense this inequality. Their major defense is rejection of the expert and reaffirmation of traditional rural institutions. (Clavel 1968,130)

Generally, however, it is unlikely that in local government there will be a great social status differential between planners and elected members, studies of both political participation in general (Milbrath and Goel 1977,92) and local government in particular (Verba, Nie and Kim 1978,298-301) showing that it is usually individuals in high status occupations who are elected to office. Of more significance is the number of years that each member has been elected, and how closely he or she has been involved with local planning issues. Thus, councillors tend to become more independently-minded as they gain in political experience (Hill 1974,141). In addition, of course, the more experienced councillor is likely to take on greater organisational responsibility and thus is more likely to be a significant member of the planner's role set. There is also some evidence to suggest that a councillor's role expectations - particularly with regard to public participation - may be related to his or her party political background. For example, Darke and Walker (1977,79) suggest that Labour local politicians 'are more likely to be committed to the principle of grass roots support and influence', whilst the "social leader" element of legitimacy is more prevalent in the political makeup of Independents and Conservatives'. However, as is pointed out in Chapter 4, within N.S.W. the A.L.P.'s image is more authoritarian than participatory.

Similar comments regarding a power-dependency continuum may be applied to those members of the general community who make up part of

the planner's role set. Thus, Bolan (1971,392) notes that 'Once more, the power-dependency continuum is vital, and again the planner seldom finds situations involving the extreme ends of the scale'. The experience and social status differentials are much greater between the public and the planner than between the council members and the planner. However, as noted above and in Chapter 4, it is the high status groups who are most likely to participate, and, as was the case particularly during the Green Bans period, lower status groups may have the support of skilled advocates.

The other group likely to form part of the planner's role set are his or her council colleagues, both within the department in which the planner works and in other departments. As is noted in Chapter 4, planning is a relative late-comer in most N.S.W. council offices and, because of the way in which it developed during the 1940s and 1950s, has had a very low position in the status hierarchy of council departments. In contrast, the council clerk and engineer have traditionally enjoyed a high status: the former because of the chief executive role; and the latter because of the engineer's 'benefactor' role (Jones 1981,66). Consequently, the holders of both positions are likely to be important not only in the formal organisational chart, but also in what Glen (1975,57) terms the 'informal dynamics' of the organisation, 'which can influence in many ways the roles and relationships which exist in the organisation; facilitating or inhibiting communication through the channels on the formal chart and creating informal channels which can considerably alter the form of the communication network within the organisation'.

However, it is likely to be colleagues within the same department with whom planners will be most involved on a regular daily basis. The group may include superiors, peers and subordinates. Of these, the focal person's immediate superior is likely to be the most significant role set member. The functional dependence and the organisational proximity of the positions held by the focal person and the direct superior means that the two office holders will have a close working relationship. In addition, the status hierarchy of the organisation gives the superior the authority to send a large number of role expectations to the focal person (Kahn et al. 1981, Ch.10). The

influence of the chief planner is indicated in the following comment about planning aid:

The attitude of the head of department varies. Some are encouraging. Others are so against Planning Aid that volunteers feel safer giving only Christian names to clients. (Drinkwater 1982,182)

Moreover, a superior's role expectations are likely to be strongly influenced by his or her perceptions of the focal person. For example, reporting on a role play study of middle-management executives, Rothman (1974,54) comments that 'If the individual designated as group leader saw mainly "problem employees" in the standardized scenario, he was less likely to guide the group to an innovative solution than if he saw "idea people"'.

Should the planning function be denigrated - perhaps by elected members wanting to achieve a less restrained land development process, or by other departmental heads aiming for a larger share of council resources - it is likely that the planners will draw closer together for mutual support (see Cyert and MacCrimmon 1968,591-2). The subgroup of which the individual is a member will have a 'group climate or subculture' based upon 'the values and norms that prevail among group members' (Blau and Scott 1963,100). Referring to a study of municipal social workers, Blau and Scott go on to show how such a subculture can have an important influence in determining the way in which an individual carries out his or her duties (p.102).

Hamner and Organ (1978,370-76) list three sources of influence which a member of a role set may use in an attempt to affect the role behaviour of a focal person: authority, expertise and friendship. Authority is defined by these authors as 'the ability to influence specified others in accordance with the definition of certain organizational role relationships' (p.370). Its use is thus largely determined by the hierarchical structure of the organisation (Kahn et al. 1981,197). However, Kahn and his associates also note that subordinates have at least one form of coercive power: the ability to 'withhold aid, information, or cooperation', providing, at least, that it is done implicitly rather than in the form of an overt threat (p.198).

A second type of influence is based on expertise, that is 'power which stems from one person's respect for another's knowledge and judgment' (Kahn et al. 1981,200). Techniques associated with this type of influence include 'bringing new information about the situation, explaining, clarifying, reasoning, arguing (and) talking it over in a general attempt to persuade the other of one's point of view' (Kahn et al. 1981,200). Expertise within the local government planning context would seem to be based on professional knowledge and local knowledge, the former being gained by formal training and practical experience in a variety of situations; and the latter being the product of living in the same area for an extended time and consequently acquiring an intimate understanding of its physical and social environment. An individual's conception of the ideal relative importance of each type of knowledge will be of great significance. Most local elected members and senior staff traditionally have seen local knowledge as being of predominant concern. This, in part, is reflected in their reluctance to appoint full-time planners or establish autonomous planning departments. Thus, many members of a local planner's role set will be likely to regard their local knowledge expertise as a sound basis for influence. Professional colleagues may be expected to view an individual's planning expertise in a rather different light, particularly if they have undergone the same professional socialisation process. However, as is noted in Chapter 4, there may be a considerable disparity in the professional backgrounds of local planners, many having the non-tertiary, correspondence-based Ordinance 4 Certificate, whilst others are graduates and diplomates. It is likely, therefore, that the perceived relative importance of professional and local knowledge may vary between the two groups of planners, thus influencing individual role expectations. This, of course, is of particular concern with regard to public participation, for if role-set members consider that they already have an extensive knowledge of public opinion, they are unlikely to approve of a planner's role which includes collecting data on public opinion. (See Drake and Thornley 1975,113-4.)

The third type of influence is based upon friendship (Hamner and Organ 1978,375). Warren (1968,967) suggests that friendship, or

referent power, is especially effective in attempting to change individuals' attitudes (rather than simply overt behaviour). It might be expected that ties of friendship between a local planner and members of his or her role set would be more likely to occur in a small organisation set in a small community, the possibility of social interaction increasing as the number of other accessible people of similar backgrounds and interests decreases (see Thomas 1959).

The simplest type of focal person-role set relationship is represented by the dyad model: that is, the focal person and a role set comprising only one individual. In most cases, the relationships are much more complex. For example, Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958,50-56) also list four other models: position-centric, system, hierarchic system, and multiple system. Of these, the first allows only for interrelationships between the focal person and his or her role-set members. The other three models also take into account the fact that individuals making up one role set also, in turn, have their own role sets, thus making the system much more complex. There are two important consequences: first, the expectations of members of the role set may be conflicting; and secondly, reacting to his or her own role set pressures, an individual role set member may have two or more expectations of the focal person which are also in conflict. Thus, Miles and Perreault (1980,138) refer to 'intersender conflict' and 'intrasender conflict'.³²

Conflicting role expectations undoubtedly face the local planner. This is not surprising, of course, given the political nature of this resource-allocation process. There will be widely differing views on many issues among role-set members. Indeed, it is likely that conflicting views will be endorsed by the same member at different times in different situations. For example, planners may be encouraged to minimise the time spent investigating a development proposal, whilst at the same time being asked to maximise public debate. Moreover, individual expectations may well vary, depending upon exactly who stands to gain or lose. So, for example, ward interests or those of special groups represented by members may well result in previously espoused views being substantially altered (Bolan 1971,389).

5.4 Influence of the Focal Person on Role Behaviour

As noted in Section 5.1, the influences on an individual's role behaviour can be classified into three overlapping groups: the organisational structure, the members of the role set, and the individual focal person. Having outlined the first two factors, the analysis now concentrates on the focal person as an influencing agent on role behaviour. There are two parts to the discussion. The first highlights how an individual has the opportunity to influence his or her role. The second considers those personal characteristics which help determine the direction in which the role may be changed.

Opportunities for role modification by the individual come about as a result of several factors. First, many role expectations may leave room for some personal interpretation or initiative. Secondly, role senders' expectations may be influenced by the focal person. And thirdly, as noted above, often there is inter- and intra-role conflict among role senders, indicating that each focal person is required to evaluate the role expectations and act on the results of these personal evaluations. Each of these factors will be considered in turn.

The first factor relates to the idea that many role expectations leave room for some personal interpretation or initiative - the 'discretionary' as opposed to the 'programmed' component of the organisational role (Cyert and MacCrimmon 1968,576). (See also Gross *et al.* 1958,59-60; and Huse 1980,290.) As is pointed out in Section 5.2.1, the exact combination of these two elements varies depending on the type of organisation and the place of the focal person within the organisational hierarchy. The orientation of the local planning department towards relatively intangible issues, such as environmental quality or residential amenity, and the high status of the planner in relation to virtually all other council employees, suggests that the discretionary element of the local planner's role expectations might be high. Moreover, it may be that the received role is somewhat different from the sent role (Katz and Kahn 1978,202-3). In such

circumstances, much depends on how closely the focal person's actions are monitored by the role sender, and whether the role sender is prepared to impose sanctions to ensure that, in future, there is greater congruence between sent role and role behaviour. As Graen points out:

Over time the participants test the demands of the organization that create difficulties for them. If these demands are not enforced, the demands are modified. In these ways, the formal job description and general procedures become outdated while they're being revised. (Graen 1976,1243)

This last point provides an introduction to the second factor: that the role senders' expectations may be influenced by the focal person. Thus Hamner and Organ (1978,377) refer to the 'bidirectionality of interpersonal influences'. Indeed, a study of housing managers found that it was the focal persons rather than their role-set members who were the predominant influence on their role behaviour patterns (Haga, Graen and Dansereau 1974,132).

The three types of influence - authority, expertise and friendship - listed when referring to the pressure placed by a role set member on a focal person are also employed by the focal person to influence role set members. In the case of local planners attempting to influence local councillors or members of the general public (in accordance with their boundary role position) expertise is likely to be the dominant form of persuasion (Rabinovitz 1969,120). However, as is pointed out in Section 4.4.3, historically N.S.W. local planners have not exerted a strong influence on councillors. One reason for this is the high regard that members have for their own local knowledge (Section 5.3). Another reason is that 'the sanctions available to the planner to discourage or raise the cost of "negative" behavior by his client' are relatively weak (Bolan 1971,390). Indeed, one possible reason for a local planner to encourage public participation is to highlight the sanctions that are likely to be imposed by the electorate. The general move to upgrade the qualifications of planners - eventually to compulsory degree status, as with local engineers - is also likely to make the expert status of

local planners more evident, particularly to their employers and council colleagues.

Another important trend is the increasing size of local authorities, and the tendency for them to take on a greater variety of functions, particularly as government in general becomes more involved in personal and social services. For example, Darke and Walker (1977,51) suggest that one result has been 'to vest much greater power in the hands of the professionals'. One of the reasons for this is that such a situation enhances the information-providing role of the full-time official and, consequently, enables greater use of the manipulative tactics mentioned in Section 3.2.1.

Role modification by the focal person might also be possible because of the existence of conflicting expectations among role senders. Consequently, the focal person is required to evaluate the role expectations and act on the results of these personal evaluations. (The evaluations are, in turn, based on a number of personal characteristics that are discussed below.) Much will depend upon the individual's perception of the different components of the sent role. For example, Katz and Kahn (1978,193) distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate role expectations, the latter possibly giving rise to 'strong resistance forces that lead to outcomes different from or even opposite to the expected behaviors'. So, for example, community planners have been found often to take on a bureaucratic guerrilla role (Section 3.5.2) because they perceive that the manipulative role expectations of their organisational superiors are illegitimate. Similarly, planners may evaluate citizen group demands as legitimate or illegitimate, depending on whether they see group members as people with a genuine concern or simply as people intent on stirring up unnecessary trouble. The weightings which, implicitly or explicitly, are placed on these groups' views will, in large part, be a reflection of the professionals' group perceptions (Singer 1971,109).

Rothman (1974,65-71) lists a number of 'solution strategies that are typically employed' (p.65) by social planners and community workers with the intention of modifying their conflicting role expectations. They include: 'a) emphasizing only one set of role

expectations; b) balancing competing expectations'; and 'c) changing the role definition' (p.65). So, for example, nearly all the community planners studied by Needleman and Needleman (1974) had chosen to emphasise their client role. Meeting or balancing competing expectations might be achieved 'through the technique of presenting different faces to different reference groups' (Rothman 1974,67), though Rothman wonders 'whether this technique can be sustained over a long period of time' (p.67). Given organisational constraints, withdrawal from the expected role would seem to be confined either to outright resignation, or the delegation of a particularly disliked aspect of the total role - though, with regard to public participation, it is likely that both employers and community groups would expect a senior planner to have a direct personal input. Attempting to change the set role can be achieved in two ways. First, role-set members could be changed - an unlikely solution for local planners (though with council support, general public representatives who were perceived to be disruptive elements on advisory bodies might be replaced). More realistic is the strategy of 'achieving role consensus among competing reference groups' (Rothman 1974,67), which, of course, relates back to the bidirectionality of interpersonal influence. (See also Bar-Yosef and Schild 1966.)

The preceding discussion has noted that a focal person does have the opportunity to make a personal role definition. The role is modified in order that, as far as possible, 'self-role congruence' is achieved. Sarbin and Allen (1968,524) explain the term as follows: 'By self-role congruence we mean the degree of overlap or fittingness that exists between requirements of the role and qualities of the self'. Self-role congruence and incongruence - the latter sometimes being referred to as person-role conflict (Miles and Perreault 1980,138) - can be regarded as a specialised example of the several consistency theories in psychology, all of which contend that 'people try to maintain consistency among their beliefs, attitudes and behaviors' (Oskamp 1977,192). For example, Schoenherr and Greeley (1974) show that role incongruence often occurs as a result of the celibacy requirement of the Catholic priesthood role. In this example, of course, role modification is impossible; the only option is to leave

the role. In the context of planning participation, if the planner's personal qualities are such that there is self-role congruence then such a role will be readily played. However, if the planner perceives there to be self-role incongruence, it is likely that the planner will try to redefine the role. Obviously, the planner has more scope for role modification with regard to participation than does the clergyman with regard to celibacy. Catanese and Farmer make the following general observation about the importance of the individual to role behaviour:

Another lesson we have learned is one in which the literature is virtually silent. . . The individual as city planner is a major factor of success. Such individual traits as leadership, values, morality, commitment, and work ethic are strong factors for the implementation of planning. (Catanese and Farmer 1978,205)

The relationship between role behaviour and the focal person's individual characteristics is often summarised by the following equation: Performance = Motivation X Ability (e.g. Maier and Verser 1982,210). The following account will use this basic model, examining, first, motivation and, secondly, ability.

5.4.1 Motivation

Much of the literature relating to motivation is concerned with needs and values: needs are seen to energise human behaviour; values to direct or channel behaviour towards a chosen goal (Hamner and Organ 1978,137). In his seminal work on needs and human motivation, originally published in 1943, Maslow (1977) suggests that there is a hierarchy of basic needs: first, physiological, which include the need for sleep, food, water, and so on; secondly, safety, which are the needs for protection against threat, danger or deprivation; thirdly, love, the need for 'affectionate relationships with people in general' (p.7); fourthly, esteem, the need for 'self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others', leading to 'feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability, and adequacy' (p.7); and,

finally, self-actualisation, the need for 'self-fulfillment', that is, 'for one to become actualized in what one is potentially' (p.8). Maslow regards these needs as hierarchical in the sense that the more basic needs have to be satisfied before others develop. For example, bodily well-being (physiological and safety needs) have to be assured before the love, esteem or self-actualisation needs are felt.

However, needs are only the driving or motivating force for action. The type of action is determined by the individual's values (Hamner and Organ 1978,142). The term 'values' may be defined in different ways. Often it is regarded as synonymous with attitudes. To others, 'a value is seen to be more basic than an attitude, often underlying it' (Rokeach 1968,454). Rokeach goes on to describe values as 'abstract ideals, positive and negative, not tied to any specific attitude object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals' (p.454). This, in turn, seems to overlap with the concept of attitude clusters, the underlying value being the bond between the individual attitudes in the cluster (Brown 1971,73).

The development of values (and attitudes) derives from how an individual assesses his or her environment. For example, Glen (1975,22) notes that 'the interactions between personal characteristics and successive opportunities for social learning combine to develop attitudes and value systems'. This 'social learning' relates to the values of the groups to which the individual belongs (Krech et al. 1962,80). The influence of different groups will change during the life cycle of the individual (Gordon 1972). In addition, group influence occurs at a variety of geographical scales. Undoubtedly, the earliest major influence for most people is their families. Thus, values relating to religion, politics and authority, for example, are often in large part the result of family influence. At the next higher geographical scale, there are peer groups, work groups being particularly important in adult life (Hamner and Organ 1978,112). On a more general geographical level, values and attitudes are influenced by membership of major social groups based on such characteristics as sex, age, religion, socio-economic status and regional identity. And finally, at the most general level, there are

the influences deriving from the predominant culture of the country in which the individual lives (Johnson 1960,87-91).

Holding the position of local planner obviously helps to satisfy the incumbent's physiological and safety needs, there being an assured salary and relatively little danger of redundancy or dismissal. As Hamner and Organ (1978,139) point out, 'social needs tend to be better satisfied in higher-level management jobs than in lower-level jobs', thus suggesting that the local planner's contacts with his or her role-set members will help to fulfil the individual's 'love needs'. The extent to which the highest level needs in Maslow's hierarchy - esteem and self-actualisation - are likely to be fulfilled is much more problematical. As pointed out above, historically the position of local planner generally was given a very low status by other members of the local bureaucracy, a status which has improved only relatively recently. Self-actualisation greatly depends on the individual's self-perception in terms of his or her abilities or skills, a topic considered in detail in Section 5.4.2.

In his review of the literature relating to social planners and community workers, Rothman (1974,55) comments that 'Practitioners lean in one or another direction in terms of their own personal value systems, and this can influence the roles that are taken'. Singer (1971) refutes the traditional rational planning concept of the town planner as value-neutral or value-free (Section 3.2.1), suggesting that such a concept is, at best, a 'useless myth' (p.112). So, for example, even the planners' choice of occupation indicates their 'very support of the planning function of government' and, conversely, their rejection of 'the efficacy of a "laissez-faire" form of urban development' (p.108). (See also Howe and Kaufman 1979,248.)

A large number of different groups will influence the formation of an individual's values. Which is the most influential will depend on the area of concern. When referring specifically to how an individual's organisational role should be performed, apart from members of the focal person's role set, the dominant group is likely to be other individuals performing the same type of job elsewhere. This is particularly so with regard to a professional role for, as Hall (1973,122) points out, one of the major 'attitudinal attributes'

of the 'professional model' is the 'use of the professional organisation as a major reference.' This view is supported by Bolan who makes the following comments in his discussion of 'some basic factors influencing the performance of the planner's role':

Professional norms and doctrine exert important external influences on the planner. Not only will his behavior and role performance be judged by his client group and community, but also by his professional peers. The conflict between profession-centered norms and client-centered norms can create great tension in professional roles, especially those which are ambiguous or vague. (Bolan 1971,389; see also Rabinovitz 1973,266-7.)

A common approach to defining a profession,³³ developed initially in the writing of Carr-Saunders (1928), is to draw up a list of basic attributes which are thought to distinguish a profession from other occupations. For example, many studies have included an orientation towards the welfare of the client as a major professional attribute. Thus, Parsons (1954,41) labels professional decisions as 'universalistic', using the illustration of a heart specialist whose decision about whether a person is to be a client does 'not relate to who the patient is but to what is the matter with him'. A second general trait concerns the professional's possession of specialised knowledge, gained as a result of training. For example, Hughes comments:

Professionals profess. They profess to know better than others the nature of certain matters, and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs. This is the essence of the professional idea and the professional claim. (Hughes 1963,656)

A third generally accepted trait is the development of a professional subculture. For example, Wilensky (1964,142-5) proposes a 'typical sequence of events... in the push towards professionalization'. The sequence includes the establishment of a full-time occupation, the founding of a training school, the forming of a professional association and the adoption of a formal code of ethics.

Using the criteria listed above, it is apparent that local government planning in N.S.W. is undergoing a relatively rapid

professional development. Thus, one of the major professional traits, the possession of specialised knowledge gained as a result of training, is illustrated by the move away from reliance on the Ordinance 4 Certificate examinations, and towards qualifications offered by tertiary institutions. Similarly, there has been considerable development of the professional subculture of local government planning with, for example, a rapid expansion in the number of separate planning departments and the establishment of a separate professional organisation, the N.S.W. Local Government Planners Association.

Having established that professional peers are likely to have a significant general influence on the personal role definition of the local planner, the section now focuses on how the planner's relationship with his or her local community might be affected by this peer group pressure. The view that the development of professionalism is not necessarily in the public interest has considerable support. Thus, George Bernard Shaw's suggestion that 'All professions are conspiracies against the laity' (The Doctor's Dilemma, Act 1) is strongly supported by Illich in his paper 'Disabling Professions':

In any area where a human need can be imagined these new professions, dominant, authoritative, monopolistic, legalized - and, at the same time, debilitating and effectively disabling the individual - have become exclusive experts of the public good. (Illich 1977,19-20)

The same type of criticism has been applied to the planning profession. Thus, Lee (1960,28), in his discussion of 'Planning and Professionalism', maintains that 'exclusiveness and self-aggrandizement are prime-movers in the movement of professionalism' (see also Boaden, Goldsmith, Hampton and Stringer 1982,67). In Australia, the physical environment professions have been characterised by 'their ideological conservatism, rigidity of thought and action, and their social elitism in the sense that important groups in the Australian community are excluded from the planning process at the expense of the hegemony of the professional planners' (Boreham, Pemberton and Wilson 1976,256). Consequently, there is a reluctance among professionals to support activities which might

disturb the existing political equilibrium. For example, Rothman (1974,93) contends that professionals 'generally disapprove of conflictual direct action', preferring instead 'a professional expert role which involves the giving of testimony at hearings, submitting factual reports, coordination and communicating with officials'. (See also Rabinovitz 1973,269.) This would seem to apply particularly to more senior professionals - who have a greater investment in the existing system than their more junior colleagues. Research by Epstein (1970b,123) into the values of social workers gives support to the notion of the 'conservatizing effects of upward mobility'.

This conservatism is reflected in the planning profession's response to proposals for the encouragement of public participation. For example, Fagence (1977,235) suggests that the attitude of the Royal Town Planning Institute towards citizen involvement 'has remained conservative and paternalistic', its main concerns in its evidence to the Skeffington Committee being 'to protect the prevailing status of its members and to insist on the maintenance of the conventional means of democratic decision-making at the local level'. The Local Government Planners Association of N.S.W. has also reacted with concern at policies to increase participation levels. (See, for example: L.G.P.A. 1976,3; and 1979b,3.) It is pertinent to note that, in his address to the 1976 annual conference of the L.G.P.A., the N.S.W. Minister for Planning and Environment devoted the majority of his remarks to the issue of participation in the new planning system. He refers to the 'spectre of public participation', and how it will 'unnerve many planners' (Landa 1976,1 & 2). He raises the "'intrusion into professionalism" argument', and suggests that it is 'simply an effective way of maintaining the present powerlessness of most people in the decision making process' (pp.1 & 2).

In some respects, the introduction of public participation can be regarded as counter-productive in the context of the local government planners' determined moves to become more professionalised. For example, as is pointed out above, one of the major identifying characteristics of a profession is that its members possess specialised knowledge, gained over a period of many years of intensive study. Public participation may be seen as a potential threat in that

it implies that the professional's knowledge is not sufficient, a second source of specialised knowledge having to be drawn on (Gans 1975,192). Similarly, the reactive nature of much public participation, particularly as it is often negative in tone, can also be interpreted as a public questioning of the professional planner's expertise. It might also indicate a rejection of the apparent public interest stance of the planner, participants tending to adopt an individualistic rather than a universalistic approach.

However, this unfavourable view of the values of professional groups is by no means universally accepted. For example, Lansbury (1978,1) contrasts the 'harmful oligarchies' view with the portrayal of professions as 'a positive force in social development, standing against the excesses of both laissez-faire individualism and state collectivism'. With regard to the planning profession, public participation is one of the seven features of the technical rationality model of planning (Kitchen 1974,894), and thus may be regarded as one item in the planner's kitbag of professional techniques. However, bearing in mind the general emphasis on values such as social harmony and stability, public participation is not likely to be seen by the planning profession as a vehicle for dissent. For example, Smith (1973,275) reports the basic position of participants at a series of American Institute of Planners' seminars as being 'that participation is valuable because it minimizes confrontation and facilitates the implementation of planning proposals'. (See also Drake and Thornley 1975,114; and Lang 1976,197.)

Moreover, as is pointed out in Section 3.2.2, public participation can be regarded as a useful technique for enhancing the planner's professional status. Thus, Buck (1976, 44-5), in his survey of local planners in the San Francisco area, reports that it was senior planners who were inclined to 'look to the public for support', in order to 'get their programs approved'. Similarly, in an attempt to persuade members of the Local Government Planners Association of N.S.W. to accept a greater degree of public participation in the new planning legislation, a former Minister for Planning and Environment noted the following potential benefit to planners:

If Planners were a little more cunning, and were prepared to really try to overcome the inequality of professional status within Local Government structures that they so often experience as "Late Arrivals" in the traditional Local Government power distribution, they would perceive that protests and demands for public participation can be turned into constructive consultation and an expression of the people's will. The more participation and consultation, the harder it is for the planner to be dominated by unsympathetic proponents of an outmoded status quo... (Landa 1976,3)

Professional values therefore appear to have the potential to influence a local planner either to reject the notion of public participation, it being a contradiction of his or her perceived universalistic, expert, professional role; or to support the idea of public participation as a legitimate professional tool, the use of which could enhance the relative status of the profession. Some indication of the contradictory influence of professional values is shown in a paper by Epstein (1970a). His results include significant positive relationships between social workers' views about public involvement and what he terms 'organizational professionalization', a measure based on the proportion of social workers with degrees employed by the agency (pp.161 & 156). On the other hand, there were significant negative relationships between views on public involvement and what he terms 'ideology of professionalism', a measure of 'attitudinal commitment to political and affective neutrality, professional decorum and the superiority of the professional's to the client's definition of the latter's need' (pp. 161 & 157).

5.4.2 Abilities

In addition to motivation, a second factor of critical importance in determining a focal person's personal role definition concerns the individual's abilities. Bolan makes the following comment about what he terms 'internal skills and competency':

To assert that the greater the skills, the more effective the role performance is a trivial statement. What is not quite so obvious, however, is that technical skills alone do not make an effective planner. Social abilities (in the form of

organizing and communications skills) are also required.
(Bolan 1971,389)

Using this lead of Bolan's, the following account is in two parts. The first considers social skills or expertise: the ability to achieve rapport quickly with individuals or groups. Although these skills are, in part, developed through education and experience, they are mainly the result of personality structure. The second part considers technical skills or expertise: for example, the ability to compile a lucid report or clearly illustrate an idea through diagrams. This type of skill is developed primarily through education and experience. ³⁴

Public participation almost inevitably means that the professional planner will become more directly involved with his or her client community. The need for personal contact increases, either at an individual level through personal interviews at the local authority offices or on the front doorsteps of residents' homes, or at the group level such as when public meetings and seminars are conducted. Moreover, the encounters can be traumatic for the planner, both at the personal and professional level. For example, Bacon (1966,93) refers to the 'scorn and even derision' with which his plans were received by the public, and he advises that 'The planner must be able to withstand the onslaught'. (See also Wates 1982,27.) Heated reactions can also come from prospective developers. For example, one N.S.W. local planner provides the following explanation of how developers can respond on finding out that development applications have been delayed:

They often become aggressive and proceed to take it out on the planner and use him as a verbal punching-bag, threatening him. I have had my life threatened on more than one occasion - by innuendo - and quite possibly a lot more times than that - only I didn't know the language being used. (Orr 1975a,12)

The ability to cope with such potentially stressful situations is, in part, a reflection of an individual's personality. So, for example, Burke (1980,276) makes the point that 'reticent people tend to reject roles that require a great deal of interaction with other people'. Thus, it is likely that such individuals will be less likely to be in favour of public participation because of the possibility

that such a programme might well place them in a potentially embarrassing situation. Conversely, Wilson (1983,78) reports that the community or 'storefront' planners he interviewed were all 'self-selected people' with 'a liking for working with people' and 'a general disposition to become involved' (p.79).

One of the simplest abstractions of personality is provided by Eysenck (1977) who identifies three basic dimensions: extroversion, neuroticism and psychotic behaviour. Thus, Eysenck provides the following 'ideal case' definitions of extroverts and introverts:

The typical extravert is sociable, likes parties, has many friends, needs to have people to talk to, and does not like reading or studying by himself. He craves excitement, takes chances, acts on the spur of the moment and is generally an impulsive individual...

The typical introvert is a quiet, retiring sort of person, introspective, fond of books rather than people: he is reserved and reticent except with intimate friends. He tends to plan ahead, 'looks before he leaps', and distrusts the impulse of the moment. (Eysenck 1977,50-1)

A related overtly behavioural measure concerns an individual's affiliation actions, 'affiliation' being defined in part by Wolman (1973,14) as an 'individual's need to draw near and enjoyably cooperate with another'. One simple technique to measure affiliation behaviour is to ask respondents to list the social and recreational clubs with which they have some formal association (Smart 1965). Although Middlebrook (1974,243) cautions that 'there may be a variety of possible motives underlying one particular behavior', nevertheless she concludes that 'persons who are high in n-affiliation are more likely to act "affiliatively"' (p.246).

Furthermore, when considering the reasons for particular affiliation behaviour, it can be hypothesised that respondents involved in political activities will have a greater appreciation of the political nature of planning, and thus be more inclined to support the idea of public participation. Milbrath and Goel (1977,10-24) provide a hierarchy of political involvement in which they distinguish between 'apathetics', who exhibit no political activity, 'spectators' whose political activity is restricted to voting regularly, and 'gladiators' or political activists. Several types of gladiator are

identified including 'protestors' who join in street demonstrations and attend protest meetings; 'community activists' who generally work with local organisations to improve local conditions; 'party and campaign workers' who support a specific political group by donating their time and money; and 'communicators' who send support or protest messages to political leaders. This hierarchy of political involvement can be used to categorise local planners. From the foregoing discussion, it is likely that the 'gladiators' will be the ones most strongly supporting public participation.

In addition to social expertise, a planner's technical expertise could influence personal role definition. The importance of previous experience in influencing a planner's perception of his or her role is highlighted by Burke:

One source of expectations for role performance is past experience. Individuals tend to rely on experiential behavior to guide them in understanding how they should be expected to perform. When there is little nominal guidance for performance, such as in much of human services planning, experiential behavior tends to be a major guide. (Burke 1980,275-6)

It might therefore be expected that those with the most experience of public participation would also be most likely to favour public participation for, as Rothman (1974,432) points out, 'behaviors that are rewarded are learned and repeated again; behaviors that are not rewarded are not so likely to be repeated'. This will apply both to participation programmes initiated within the local government organisation and, particularly, to personal advocacy work - the latter having fewer organisational factors influencing an individual's decision making. Rothman's use of learning theory can also be applied to local planners' theoretical, as opposed to practical, knowledge of public participation. Thus, any literature which is considered by the reader to contain valuable ideas will be likely to be remembered, and the experience reinforced by extending the reading to other related works. It can thus be suggested that a familiarity with the literature might be associated with a more positive attitude to public participation.

The skill with which a planner draws up a scheme in part rests on

his or her knowledge of the client community. As pointed out above, the limited empirical work which has been carried out suggests that planning professionals tend to have a non-conflictual, data-collection approach to public participation, as in the modern democratic elitist model outlined in Section 3.2.2. This being so, it may be argued if a local planner feels that he or she already has an intimate knowledge of the client community, then that planner may also consider participation to be unnecessary - it providing simply another avenue to collect data which is already available. Drake and Thornley (1975,114) in their research into public participation in structure planning in Britain, tend to support this view, concluding that government officials who 'consider that they have a good understanding of the planning problems' are also inclined to hold the view that 'a minimal interpretation of the statutory requirements for public participation will be sufficient'. In contrast, a recently appointed planner will not have the same background information about the client community and may well consider public participation to be an essential prerequisite to any planning about to be implemented - this being the case particularly in local authorities where the one planner comprises the entire professional planning staff. In addition, it can be suggested that a planner who resides within his or her employer's area will have a better appreciation of planning problems. An area's character may change significantly during the evenings and at weekends, and a planner who commutes into the area to work will see the area only during office hours. Consequently, it may be hypothesised that a non-resident planner may be more likely to favour public participation as it might provide information about those aspects of the community which he or she may never personally see.

Finally, an individual's assessment of his or her own competence to handle participation programmes is of crucial importance in personal role definition, it being a subjective summary of the more objective measures of expertise outlined above. Referring to satisfaction with work roles, Vroom makes the following comment about the use of skills and abilities:

It is often asserted that an individual derives satisfaction from jobs which permit him to use his skills and abilities.

For example, Maslow (1943) has stated:

A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write if he is to be ultimately happy... We can modify Maslow's hypothesis slightly by stating it in cognitive rather than objective terms. Thus, we would now predict greater job satisfaction on the part of people who believe that their jobs require abilities which they believe they possess. (Vroom 1964,141 and 142)

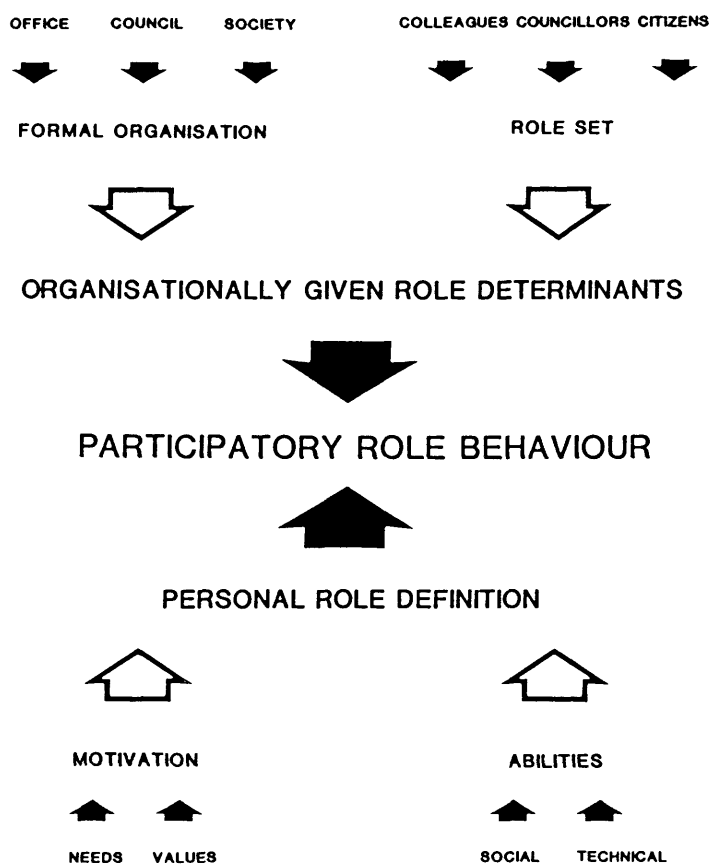
Vroom then goes on to outline research results which bear out this hypothesis.

Although treated separately, the internal influences on role behaviour - professional values, social expertise and technical expertise - undoubtedly exhibit a considerable amount of overlap. So, for example, the issue of unpaid advocacy work by planners, although considered alongside planners' council-related participation experiences, nevertheless is also a form of affiliation behaviour - which is discussed under social expertise. Similarly, a planner's educational background is considered along with other aspects of professionalism. At the same time, education may well be an important factor in the development of technical expertise. Thus, it may be more precise to refer to a continuum of influences from personal values, through social expertise to technical expertise.

5.5 Researching the Local Planner's Participatory Role

A study of the local planner's participatory role can be structured using the model provided by the literature on role theory. Figure 5.1 provides a summary of the major elements identified in Sections 5.1 to 5.4 as being important determinants of role behaviour. First, there is the formal organisation, or the physical and social structure within which the local planner's position is located. Secondly, there is the role set, or the people with whom the local planner interacts when working. Both of these factors are what Levinson (1973,228) terms organisationally given role determinants. And thirdly, there are the personal qualities of the individual planner which give rise to what Levinson (1973,232) terms personal role definition.

Figure 5.1 Determinants of a local planner's participatory role



It should be stressed that, in detail, the role episode is likely to be much more complex than is indicated on Figure 5.1. For example, each member of the planner's role set will, in turn, be the focal person for his or her own role set - which will include the planner, probably several others from the planner's role set, and several new members. Similarly, there are obvious parallels between the three groups listed as comprising the formal organisation, and the three groups making up the role set. Finally, an individual's motivations and abilities are not unchanging, perhaps being modified by the influence of certain role set members or a change in organisational structure (see Katz and Kahn 1978,187-199).

However, it became evident during the initial stages of the research that very little empirical work had been carried out into the participatory role of local planners. Indeed, Rothman (1974,36) reports that, in the general field of social planning and community work, there is 'a virtual vacuum of research on practitioner roles'. Consequently, this study was to be essentially exploratory in nature. As a full study of all the role influences listed on Figure 5.1 was beyond the scope of such an exploratory project, it was necessary to have a more limited focus. Consequently, it was decided to place the major research effort into investigating personal role definition. The literature suggests that the traditional model of organisational behaviour - the 'fixed job model' (Graen 1976,1204) - is generally being replaced by a more dynamic model which emphasises individuals and social relationships - the 'interpersonal role-making model' (p.1205). The increasing professionalisation of N.S.W. local government planners suggests that a local planner's scope for personal role definition is likely to increase, particularly as there are also a number of pressures on elected members to become less involved in the detailed administration of their local authorities (Bains 1978).

The importance of personal role definition is also supported in the participation literature, where the significance of a planner's skills and values has long been recognised. For example, Levin (1968,496), in his article 'Do the institutes really want "public participation"?', suggests that 'the most important factor will be the attitudes and capabilities of the planners themselves'. This sentiment is echoed by Cowan, Dorfman and Gillon (1981,4) who maintain that 'the formal structure is less important than attitudes'. Similarly, Boaden et al. (1980,21) make the point that 'So much in public participation depends not on the particular techniques being used but on the motives of the actors in the process'. (See also Chekki 1979,40.) However, the importance of personal role definition was not reflected in the quantity of empirical research on the topic. Only three reports were available at the research design stage of this project (Drake and Thornley 1975, Lang 1976, Buck 1976), all relating to either Britain or the U.S.A. Further research was obviously desirable, particularly in Australia where there was an absence of such studies.

Thus, the initial objective of the N.S.W. study was to discover exactly how local government planners evaluate their role in involving the public in the planning process: what they perceive to be the advantages and disadvantages, and how their responses compare with the three participation models identified in the literature. These points are considered in Chapter 6. A second aim was to test some of the ideas outlined in Section 5.4: that is, to analyse the N.S.W. results to see whether professional values, social expertise and technical expertise have any discernible influence on how a planner views his or her participatory role. Thus, it was intended that the research should add some empirical evidence to the debate concerning the following: whether professionalisation and public participation are counteracting or complementing developments; whether the social expertise of planners is associated with their views about public participation; and, similarly, whether the local planners' actual and perceived levels of technical expertise influence their attitudes about their participatory role. These issues are discussed in Chapter 7.

However, the research was not restricted to personal role definition. Although a lack of resources meant that the same detailed investigation could not be made in other areas, nevertheless the research design also included mailed surveys into aspects of both role-set and organisational influences on the local planner's participatory role behaviour. As Figure 5.1 suggests, there are three main groups comprising the local planner's role set: citizens, councillors and colleagues. A random mailed survey, using, for example, electoral rolls, was not a useful medium for eliciting the views of citizen role-set members: the vast majority of people contacted would not have formed part of the local planner's role set. This redundancy problem would have continued to be a major difficulty even if random surveys had been conducted in areas where there were public participation programmes in operation. The only effective way of efficiently contacting citizen members of a planner's role set was to conduct detailed sample surveys by attending meetings, exhibitions, seminars and so on, and making personal contact with participating individuals. Unfortunately, resources were not available for a second series of interview studies. Consequently, there was no option other

than to leave such work to subsequent research projects. However, both the remaining groups, councillors and colleagues, were more accessible. A decision was made to study the elected members, as the available literature indicated that in N.S.W. councillors continue to have a major influence on the performance of duties of their administrative staff. Chapter 8 reports the results of the councillors' survey which was aimed at obtaining a general overview of councillors' attitudes to compare with the opinions collected during the planners' interviews.

Organisational role determinants are the third main type of influence on role behaviour. Each local planner functions within a series of codes, traditions, policies and laws laid down by an administrative system that includes the planning department, the rest of the council's bureaucracy, and the N.S.W. government. It was considered important not to study planning participation in isolation from the rest of the ways in which citizens participate in the administration of their local authorities. The overall participatory environment was seen to be an important aspect of any research into the local planner's participatory role for two reasons. First, it reflects the role behaviour of the formal local decision makers. Secondly, existing general participatory structures can have an attitude forming influence on the general public - providing them with information about what they can expect to receive from the council, and what the council expects from any citizen participation. Consequently, a second mailed questionnaire survey was undertaken, asking council clerks about the general participatory environment. This organisational aspect of the research is discussed in Chapter 9.

It was realised that these three studies - of planners, councillors and council clerks - together would not provide a comprehensive picture of all the major role determinants shown on Figure 5.1. However, given the pioneering, exploratory nature of the research, it was considered preferable to adopt a broad-based geographical approach rather than attempting a small number of detailed local case studies. The latter were regarded as more suitable for later research after this (and, hopefully, similar related work) had provided some indication of possible valuable avenues for study.

5.6 N.S.W. Local Planners: Data Collection

A study of the personal role definition of local government planners obviously demands that the unit of analysis be individual planners. Determining the study population, or universe, therefore necessitated defining the term 'local planner'. The word 'local' was limited to people who were full time employees of a N.S.W. municipal, city or shire council. It was more difficult to arrive at a meaningful definition of the term 'planner'. Many of the 189 local authorities which had a prescribed scheme or interim development order in 1977 (N.S.W. 1977b,31-40) administered their planning controls through staff members who combined the position of town planner with that of engineer, health surveyor or council clerk. This type of appointment was especially common in those areas which had a rate and type of development that made planning administration a routine and minor matter, requiring clerical rather than planning expertise. As such, the task could be performed by someone with no planning qualifications or wider planning experience. The aim was thus to exclude employees holding a joint position who were engaged essentially in clerical duties, the execution of which would rarely, if ever, require any form of public participation other than liaison with the individual presenting the development application.

The Local Government Act 1919 (s.342E(2)(b)) allowed unqualified staff to work only on developing schemes of 'restricted nature or limited extent'. In all other circumstances the council was required to engage someone with the prescribed planning qualification, the Ordinance 4 Certificate. This qualification distinction was therefore used to identify those people holding joint appointments who would be most likely to have significant planning responsibilities. However, it was realised that the qualification specifications would have to be broadened to include those planning graduates and diplomates who, although exempt from all but one of the Ordinance 4 examination subjects, nevertheless had not sat for the remaining subject. Consequently, they had not been awarded an Ordinance 4 Certificate

even though they played a crucial role in the execution of local planning. Thus, those people whose qualifications made them eligible for corporate membership of the Royal Australian Planning Institute were also included in the study population.

As no central register of local authority personnel was available, the only course open was to contact individually all councils in the State. A Department of Local Government publication (N.S.W. 1977d) provided a list of council names and address. Taking into account the three groups of council amalgamations effected during 1977, there was a total of 205 councils, comprising 81 municipalities and 124 shires. A letter was sent to all 205 local authorities in November 1977 (Appendix A). Because it was essential for the survey population to be defined accurately, the information requested was kept to an absolute minimum: the number of planners employed by the authority, and the name of the chief planner. To give more obvious prestige to the subsequent research, the letter was signed by the Head of the Geography Department at the University of New England. It was addressed to the council clerk, as is customary in N.S.W. local government.³⁵ An initial response rate of 70 per cent was boosted to 98 per cent after a second mailing of reminder letters (Appendix B). Successful telephone contact was made with each of the few remaining non-respondents to give a 100 per cent response rate. Replies indicated that 83 local authorities employed a total of 196 local planners.

A decision on survey method was based mainly on the results of pilot interviews conducted at four local authorities in November 1977. Selection of the areas was done to ensure a wide range of types of employment. Thus, they included a small rural joint department, a large metropolitan joint department and two metropolitan planning departments.

The research was essentially exploratory. Little was known even about the basic demographic characteristics of N.S.W local planners. Even on an international basis, the subject of the local planner's role in public participation had received very little attention. Consequently, many of the questions on the pilot interview schedule were open-ended, and it was clear that it was the first time that most

respondents had articulated their views on certain subjects. Consequently, the pilot interviews lasted an average of 90 minutes, this including two occasions when the respondents indicated that they had another appointment and that the interviews must be curtailed. Moreover, the importance of spontaneity became evident, the initial extemporised reaction to a question sometimes being in marked contrast to the latter, more carefully-phrased answer.

The pilot study also made it clear that the chances of a mailed questionnaire being mislaid or ignored by local planners were relatively high. It was claimed that annually a large number of such requests were received, and that the subject of this research would put many potential respondents on the defensive. Moreover, as the names of individual planners were not available, distribution of a mailed questionnaire within the planning department depended upon the co-operation of the departmental head. This two-stage distribution procedure would have increased the chances of non-response as some potential subjects would not have received a mailed questionnaire. Consequently, it was decided that an interview study should be conducted.

A second methodological decision concerned the selection of respondents from the total population of 196 local government planners. It was realised that the subsequent data analysis would require several subgroups, thus indicating that a minimum sample of over 100 would be needed. Because of the dispersed distribution of potential respondents, it would have been inefficient to travel to one local authority and not attempt to interview all planners employed there. However, it was unreasonable to expect that they would all be available for interview on the day scheduled for the researcher to call. The survey was thus rather different from most other research in that a return visit to a previously uncontacted subject was not logistically possible. Nor was the substitution of another potential respondent as, to counteract the possibility of regional bias, a substitute planner from the same region was needed, thus requiring a return visit to the same regional area. Consequently, the sample survey's non-response rate would have included not only uncooperative planners but also those who could not be contacted - suggesting a

response rate rather less than the 85 per cent cited in the literature as the usual figure from face to face interviewing (Kish 1965,539; Lansing and Morgan 1971,268; Moser and Kalton 1971,171 and 289). Thus, it was considered that a sample size of 150 would have been required to ensure a minimum of 100 respondents. As this was three-quarters of the total population, and as the remaining planners could be included in the survey with little additional travelling cost, it was decided to attempt to interview all 196 planners.

The subsequent fieldwork was begun in February 1978 and was completed in January 1979, a total of 12,000 kilometres being travelled. The work was conducted on a regional basis with letters requesting interviews for a particular date and time being sent approximately three weeks before the proposed visit (Appendix C). All interviews were conducted by the researcher, thus ensuring continuity of interpretation and interview projection. A total of 158 of the 196 potential respondents were successfully contacted, a response rate of 81 per cent.³⁶

The following comments relate to the rationale behind the schedule used when interviewing local government planners (Appendix D). Apart from some brief introductory questions to departmental or section heads on the organisational structure of planning, the schedule was basically divided into three main sections: attitude to public participation; professionalism; and personal expertise. In addition, a group of questions concerning potentially sensitive issues was placed at the end of the schedule to minimise their influence on the interview as a whole. They related to political activity, age, salary and personality.

As the initial concern of the fieldwork was to identify planners' personal views about public participation, the relevant questions were given priority in case an interview had to be unexpectedly curtailed by the respondent. The aim was to encourage each planner to talk freely and at length about public participation. Thus, the opening question which asked for a definition of the term 'public participation' usually generated a wide-ranging answer which often also encompassed the planners' attitudes and the reasoning underlying their views.

A series of attitudinal scales were included in the schedule to provide an additional quantitative perspective for use in testing the ideas outlined in Section 5.4. The major instrument was a specially developed scale constructed according to Thurstone's equal appearing intervals method (Edwards 1957,Ch.4). In outline, construction of the scale involved the collection of 70 statements expressing the full spectrum of views about public participation; the grading or judging of each statement by a group of 30 judges; and an analysis of the judging results to eventually allow the selection of 19 statements for inclusion in the final scale. Use of the Thurstone method was particularly appropriate as it relies on an objective judgement of the items. This was crucial as all local government planners were to be interviewed. Consequently, it was impossible to use as judges the type of people to whom the attitude scale was eventually to be administered. Further details regarding the construction, applicability and reliability of the Thurstone method are given in Appendix E.

In addition, the verbal responses were analysed to identify those respondents most strongly favouring public participation, and those expressing views which were most strongly against public participation. It was hoped that use of these extreme attitudinal groups would help to highlight some of the data patterns which might otherwise have remained undetected. Twenty-five planners were identified for inclusion in each of the two extreme attitudinal categories. This number was chosen to enable the groups to be subdivided when necessary, and still allow meaningful statistical analysis to be conducted.

The second section on the interview schedule concerned professionalism. Questions related to the depth and breadth of qualifications, membership of professional planning organisations, and seniority level. The last variable was measured using both organisational status and annual salary - the latter allowing comparisons to be made between councils. As expected, the salary question which was asked near the end of the interview by way of a type written sheet, achieved the lowest response rate, being answered by 146 of the 158 respondents.

The third section related to personal skills. Eysenck's (1958) six-item questionnaire for the measurement of the introversion-extroversion dimension of personality was included at the end of the interview schedule. Following Smart (1965), a question on affiliation behaviour was also included, each respondent being asked to name the clubs or societies of which he or she was a member. The issue of the political activities of planners was covered in one of the four final questions. Individuals were asked to write down details, it being found during the pilot survey that respondents were sometimes rather reluctant to discuss their political activities - the interview often taking on a rather conspiratorial character when the topic was raised. The open-plan design of many offices made complete confidentiality impossible to achieve. Overall, this question tied with that on salary in terms of having the highest level of non-response, with 12 respondents declining to give any details of political activities.

Respondents' practical knowledge of public participation was raised in a general, open-ended question on their professional experience, and was supplemented by a further question related to unpaid advocacy work. Theoretical knowledge was covered partly by asking respondents about the aspects of public participation covered in their planning course. In addition, as a guide to their knowledge of the participation literature, planners were asked whether they were familiar with the work of Sherry Arnstein, Paul Davidoff and Arthur Skeffington. They were chosen partly because of their association with the radical, pluralist and elitist models of participation, and partly because they are some of the most extensively cited authors. It was reasoned that virtually any acquaintance with the public participation literature would lead to a familiarity with at least one of the selected authors. Planners were asked firstly whether they had heard the name before, and secondly, whether they could provide any more information about the author's work. Answers were quantified simply by scoring one point for each recognised name and one point for placing each name into a correct context. Responses were obviously open to error through planners lying about recognising a name. However, the request for specific contextual information undoubtedly reduced the temptation to lie. In addition, the question came near the end of the

schedule, by which time a fairly strong rapport had usually been developed between interviewer and interviewee which, it is felt, helped keep cheating to a minimum.

Respondent's knowledge of their client communities was gauged using two questions. The first related to the length of time that each planner had worked for his or her employer. The second asked whether the respondent lived inside or outside the employer's administrative area.

Two questions were included on the interview schedule to help determine planners' perceived personal level of confidence to handle public participation. The first asked respondents what their likely first reaction would be if they were directed by their employer to organise such a programme. In most cases it was possible to relate the question to a particular development issue which had already been raised either earlier in the interview, or by other planners within the same local authority. One difficulty with this approach was that planners' comments then related to different problems. However, it was considered that, as the interviewer ensured that the scale of the suggested projects did not vary significantly between interviews, this difficulty was substantially outweighed by the much greater ability of the respondents to discuss their participatory role in relation to a current planning issue in a more meaningful way.

The perceived competence of local government planners to conduct participation programmes was again taken up when respondents were asked for their views on the Planning and Environment Commission's giving assistance to local government planners if the forthcoming legislation were to introduce greater levels of statutory participation. The question was thus more impersonal than the one discussed above, referring to local government planners as a group, rather than specifically to each respondent.

5.7 Summary

The maintenance of the democratic elitist framework means that professional planners continue to play a crucial role, as they are in

a strong position to direct the planning process along a particular desired course. Consequently, the remainder of the thesis concerns the influences on the planner's participatory role. Role theory indicates three major types of determinants on role behaviour: (1) the formal organisation of which the individual is part; (2) the role set, or people with whom the individual interacts while at work; and (3) the personal characteristics of the individual. More generally, the first two factors can be combined to form organisationally given role determinants, in contrast to the individual's personal role definition. (See Figure 5.1.) The general principles of each type of role determinant are related to the role of the N.S.W. local planner, focusing particularly on the public participation aspects of role expectations.

As a detailed analysis of all influences on the planner's participatory role was beyond the scope of this study, it was decided to concentrate mainly on personal role definition. Three sets of factors were regarded as important in accounting for this personal role definition. First, there are personal values, especially those relating to the idea of planning as a profession. Generally, the literature suggests that professionalism and public participation can be either counteracting or complementing developments. Secondly, there is the planner's social expertise: his or her ability to quickly achieve rapport with individuals and groups. The third set of possible influences relates to the planner's technical expertise: skills and knowledge acquired largely through job-related experience and professional training. Measures of each of these three factors are discussed.

The study was designed to analyse the participatory role of local government planners in N.S.W. It was decided to attempt to interview all 196 identified local planners. A total of 158 interviews were conducted using the schedule shown in Appendix D. The following two chapters present an analysis of the results of the interview survey.