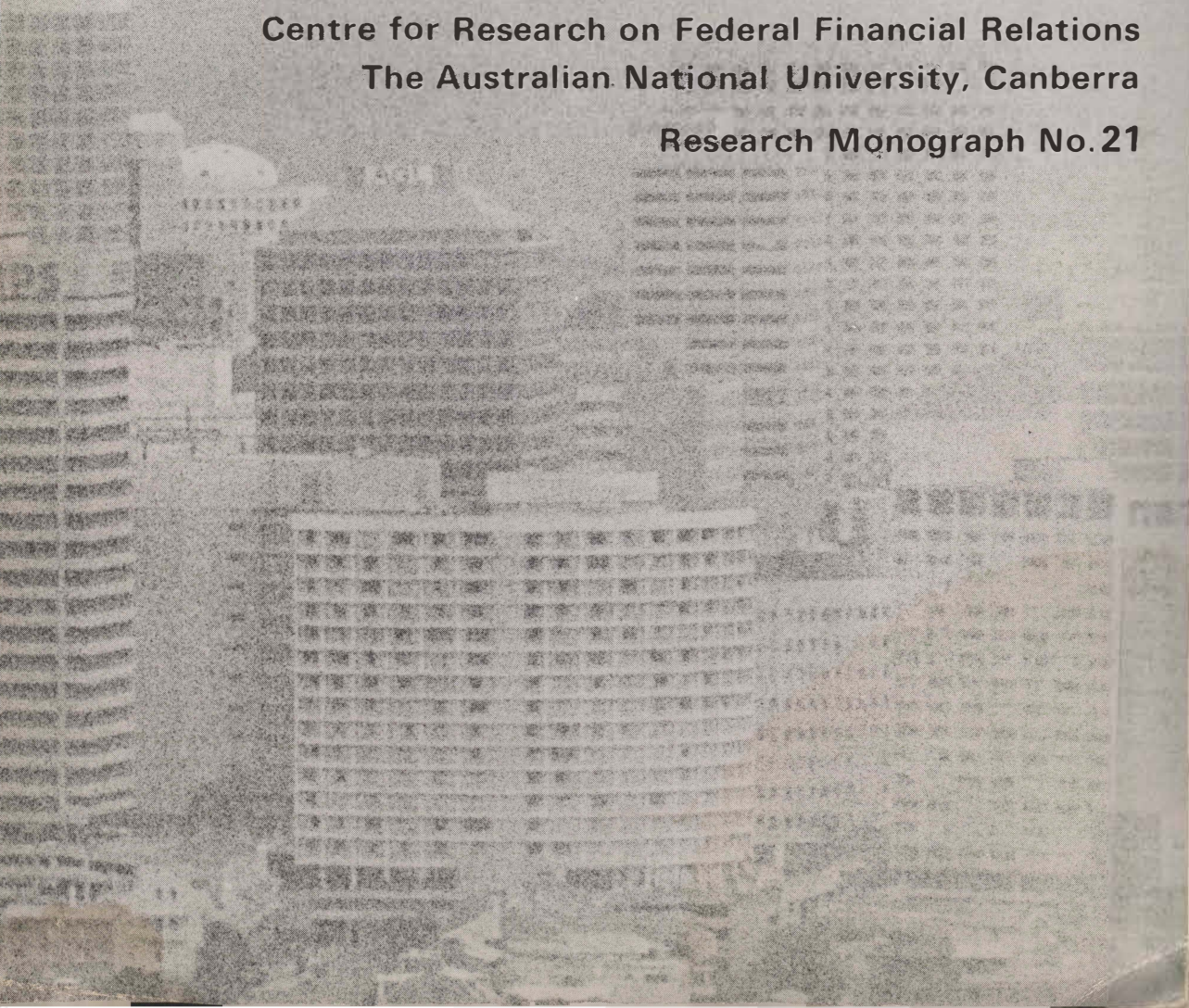


The governance of metropolitan areas in Australia with lessons from Canadian and American experience

Richard H Leach

Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations
The Australian National University, Canberra

Research Monograph No.21



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October 1977

R.L. Mathews

THE GOVERNANCE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS IN AUSTRALIA WITH LESSONS FROM CANADIAN AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

This study is the result of a happy coincidence of interests between the author and the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations of the Australian National University. I had earlier undertaken a major study on metropolitan areas in the United States¹ (from which some of the material in Chapter I of this study is derived) and had pursued that interest further in particular metropolitan areas in the United States and on the general subject in Canada and Australia. When I was invited to be a Visiting Fellow at the Centre in 1975, one of the topics proposed for me to work on was the governance of metropolitan areas in Australia. The following report is the product of that work.

The subject was such a broad one that I decided at the outset to limit it to the state metropolitan divisions and districts as identified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Emphasis is placed on the existing pattern of governance in each metropolitan area and on what recommendations for change in that pattern had been made through 1975. The trends in metropolitan governance in Canada and Australia are also described so as to provide a comparative perspective.

I did not realize at the outset how little material on the governance of the ten state metropolitan areas in Australia was easily available. It was necessary for me to make a great many contacts, mostly by mail through the use of a questionnaire (see Appendix to Chapter III) to appropriate local and state officials, in order to get the information I needed. I want to take this opportunity to thank the many individuals who were so generous in their responses to my (often plural) inquiries. It is largely from the material they supplied me that I have constructed this report. I wish I could thank each of them by name.

Because official government reporting is chronically somewhat behind times, it often was not possible to get up to date official substantiation of developments. Where possible, I have used state agency annual and other reports. As for local government, I had to rely chiefly on the answers to my questionnaire and on follow-up letters and interviews. Although I had a generous response from the local and state government officials whom I contacted, I did not receive an across-the-board response. The responses to the local government questionnaire in particular

¹ Robert H. Connery and Richard H. Leach, *The Federal Government and Metropolitan Areas*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

varied as to proportion of questions replied to and depth of responses. I understand how busy these officials were and thus I appreciate doubly the time taken by the many who did respond to my requests for information. But because of the way I had to gather information needed, the data for the several metropolitan areas were not uniform. The report that follows thus reflects that diversity of information.

I did conduct an extensive literature search, and some of the material I used is cited in the footnotes. I want to thank especially the librarians in both the general libraries and the law library at the Australian National University for their unfailing help. Obviously, any errors of fact or interpretation are mine. I realize the difficulty any foreigner faces in attempting both to get basic facts and to understand nuances, and I hope my report is as free as possible from at least the most egregious errors.

Since the study was completed, there have been some institutional changes affecting local government following the defeat of the Australian Labor government at the end of 1975 and the introduction of the Liberal-National Country Parties' new federalism policies. In particular, the arrangements for general revenue grants for local government, which under the Labor government were made on the recommendation of the Commonwealth Grants Commission, are now to take the form of a designated share of federal personal income tax collections. The role of the Commonwealth Grants Commission is now restricted to recommendations about the inter-state distribution, and state grants commissions are being established to advise on allocation to individual councils. The regional organizations of local governing bodies which were established under the Labor program have ceased to exist under the new legislation.

Regional programs established by the Labor government for such purposes as regional and metropolitan growth centres, regional organizations, land acquisition, sewerage and area improvement, and urban transport are being phased down or abolished by the new government. The Regional Councils for Social Development which were established under the Australian Assistance Plan will not receive federal financial assistance after 30 June 1977, because the federal government believes that this program should be administered and financed at state or local level. The federal Department of Urban and Regional Development which is referred to in the text has been reconstituted as the Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development.

Finally, I thank Russell Mathews and Robert Jay of the Centre for their help and support while I carried on the study in Canberra. No one could have had a better working environment or more generous colleagues.

Richard H. Leach

I THE PROBLEM OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT: AN OVERVIEW

It is by now generally recognized that the most revolutionary movement in the Western World in modern times has been the change from its original rural and agricultural direction to a primarily urban and industrial orientation. By and large, the decisions to leave the land and flock to urban areas were made individually, by men and women either disillusioned with agrarian life or beguiled by the lure of the city. In a sense people were driven to the cities by the pressures of population growth and particularly by the Industrial Revolution, which led to what amounted to a geometrical increase in agricultural productivity at a time when demand for agricultural products was increasing only arithmetically, and the improving technology of which served to make a great many agricultural workers redundant. At the same time, the development of the factory system required great numbers of labourers, so that there was somewhere for many of those workers to go once they left their rural homes.

If at first urban development was fairly widespread (and indeed in places in the Western World it continues to be so to this day), economic enterprises and activities quickly tended to flock together for mutual support and sustenance, so that a few great urban centres began to develop in most Western nations. This clustering was aided and abetted by the development of modern sewerage and water systems; of railways, tramways and other forms of urban transportation; of elevators, power pumps and septic tanks; of modern communications devices; and of mutually reinforcing educational, recreational, cultural and other social institutions. By 1850, in most European and North American countries, the metropolis was beginning to dominate national life. As the decades went by, the economics of mass housing, the increasing lack of room in the central city and later in the older suburbs as population growth and immigration continued, the desire by those who could afford it - and steadily increasing numbers could - for individual homes surrounded by their own plots, and eventually the pressure for government housing policies, all combined to add centrifugal pressure to the by then well established centripetal movement of population to metropolitan areas everywhere. The result was that congestion on the one hand and sprawl on the other became their predominant characteristics.

Nor were these trends ever slowed down, much less brought to a halt. In no Western country were careful plans made through official channels to regulate either the migration of people to urban centres or subsequent population shifts within those centres. Far from it. National progress generally came to be defined in terms of urban and particularly metropolitan growth, and the feeling was widespread that nothing should be allowed to hinder or restrict

it. There developed what amounted to an international rivalry for the greatest urban complex (usually defined in terms of population numbers and amount of space covered). What the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations observed about governmental action in the face of such metropolitan development in the United States has broader application:

'... government at all levels [was] basically passive in the migrational flow of people, in the concentration of industrial development, and in the forging of urban growth policies'.¹

When government action did occur in the United States - and the experience there was not unique - it was often 'of the wrong kind, at the wrong level, and frequently for the benefit of the wrong social and economic groups'. Now we see that this basically *laissez-faire* approach to metropolitan development greatly assisted the overall course of that development, in America and elsewhere, to be 'disorderly, destructive, and distasteful...'²

As a result, metropolitan areas in the Western world in particular are plagued with what has come to be called, simply, 'the metropolitan problem'.

The metropolitan problem in one sense is a compound of urban problems. But it is more than that. It has been described as the discontent of millions of human beings, dissatisfied with life in the great cities.

'People are not satisfied with their homes and housing, with their trip to and from work, and with the aggravations, costs and delays of traffic and parking. They are distraught by the lack of schools and recreational facilities for their children and themselves, and they are concerned by social pressures, neighbourhood conditions, youthful delinquency and crime. People find shopping difficult and more regimented, and ever more needed services hard to get and expensive. They struggle with water shortages, with bad drainage and sewer conditions, with dirt and noise which they don't like. They find the city centers "old style", inconvenient, dismal and repulsive, and the old buses, streetcars, trains and other methods of mass movement uncomfortable and slow ...

¹ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Urban America and the Federal System*, Report M-47, Washington, 1969, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

And when people move to the suburbs and take work in a new suburban factory, store or other enterprise, they find that many of the evils they sought to escape move in right after them, with mounting taxes to plague them there too.'³

In part, the metropolitan problem is a psychological problem. The ties that bind the metropolitan community are not those that bound the typical rural community of the last century and before. Though there may be and often is a certain degree of neighbourhood consciousness, and even of loyalty to an individual city in a metropolitan complex, there is no loyalty to the metropolitan area as a whole. In a real sense, when one speaks about metropolitan areas, the line of Gertrude Stein, 'There is no there there', applies. Thus the achievement of a solution to the metropolitan area problem is handicapped at the outset by the fact that most metropolitan areas are not even symbols which attract men and women. There is still little awareness of the larger community in the minds of most residents of metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan problem is also one of urban economics. Since World War II, there have been unprecedented demands for housing, schools, highways, streets, hospitals, parks, modern commercial and industrial facilities, and all the other amenities that go with community life in the second half of the twentieth century. These demands have only partially been met in most countries, and they come at a time when governments in metropolitan centres have still not solved the accumulated problems of the past. Millions of city dwellers live in sub-standard housing, their children go to run-down and overcrowded schools, traffic congestion is rampant, there is a large backlog of need for modern water and sewage treatment facilities - the list could be extended. The strain on municipal finances in particular and governmental finances generally is currently aggravated by inflation, a variety of monetary problems and the increasing costs of energy. In the face of all this, there is hardly a city in the Western world that has the economic resources to solve its present problems, let alone those just over the horizon.

For it seems likely that the rest of the twentieth century will see even heavier burdens placed on metropolitan centres. 'For one thing, new social needs and demands for human services

³ L. Gulick, 'Problems of U.S. Development', in Committee for Economic Development, *Problems of United States Economic Development*, New York, 1958, Vol. 1, pp. 317-18.

(as opposed to "hard" services for property), together with rising citizen expectations, are requiring an extended range of government action For another, decisions which were once thought of as simply technical or administrative matters are now understood to be political in their repercussions, requiring the reconciliation of community conflicts.⁴ Moreover, as the Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies put it in a recent report, pressures are building up to make life in cities respond to the 'demand for a just society' which is being expressed throughout the world.⁵ Also, a dramatic shift has taken place in attitudes toward continued urban growth. Doubts have arisen about the desirability of further expansion of existing urban areas. 'Slow down' programs of one kind or another have been instituted in a number of metropolitan areas, and 'decentralization', 'regionalism' and 'new towns' have begun to be converted from slogans and paper ideas into reality in a number of Western countries. Finally, concern is increasingly being expressed about the overall quality of urban life; as one South African journalist recently put it: 'In the cities and towns to be designed for the future, there will still be people who attach value to the quality of life ... Let us hope that the planners of our future ... will have the wisdom and understanding to make it possible for us to live ... not only to exist.'⁶ What the costs of meeting all these pressures and demands might be can only be conjectured. They will surely be great.

But more than anything else, the metropolitan problem is a political problem, since its solution must come largely through political means. It is to this aspect of the metropolitan problem - and to its presence in Australia, Canada and the United States - that this study is addressed. The political problem in those countries results from the fact that, to put it simply, the metropolis has long since grown out of its political clothing. That clothing was originally provided for discrete, individual legal entities - municipalities, towns, cities - which in all three countries, following English tradition, were chartered by the state or province with power over defined geographical areas and given considerable freedom to manage their own 'local' affairs.

⁴ 'Metro Toronto Under Review: What are the Issues?', *Bureau of Municipal Research Comment*, Toronto, No. 153, March 1975, p. 3.

⁵ *People in the Cities: The Report of a Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies*, AIUS Publication No. 53, Canberra, 1975, pp. 3-4.

⁶ *The Cape Times*, 8 August 1975, p. 10; see also J.W. Warburton, 'The Quality of Life in the Growing City', *Public Administration*, Australia, June 1972, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 105-116.

But as metropolitanization succeeded urbanization, and population and industrial and commercial activity spilled out over city boundaries, no one local government authority had the power to follow them. A variety of make-shift arrangements was employed to provide some semblance of government for the area outside the city 'walls'. The shire or county, originally designed for governing small areas, was forced to include some urban functions in its actions; special purpose bodies of one sort or another were created by state or province to provide particular services needed by urban residents and industry, and all too often new municipalities - rival cities - were created with prescribed territories of their own. The result in all three countries has been a hodge-podge of governmental units in metropolitan areas, which, taken together, have failed to provide effective metropolitan government.

In short, metropolitan areas have not been conceived as legal entities. That concept is only beginning to have a recognized status in the governmental arrangements of Canada and the United States. Individual municipalities, cities, counties, shires and special districts have legal status, but they deal only with affairs within their own prescribed physical boundaries. Although there may be a great many such entities within a single metropolitan area, the whole area does not exist as a governmental unit. In other words, though the metropolitan area is the dominant pattern of life in Australia, Canada and the United States, it is a pattern without legal recognition.

The failure to make arrangements for area-wide government in metropolitan areas has meant that area-wide problems cannot satisfactorily be approached for solution. Despite the presence of many governments in every metropolitan area, and despite the fact that each of them has a range of powers to act for public purposes, there is no way they can approach many of the problems of the area as a whole. The jurisdiction of each is limited, and representation - and so the pressure to act - is limited by the same jurisdictional boundaries. Gradually the spread between the narrow legal possibilities of action of the various units of local government in metropolitan areas and the number of broad problems needing attention in each area has grown. The result is on the one hand extensive inequalities in the delivery of services across an area, due to varying standards and fiscal disparities, and on the other hand uneconomic and often anti-social patterns of urban development and land use. Every metropolitan area in all three countries is marked to a greater or lesser extent by:

'disparities between tax jurisdictions and service areas, acute problems of planning for an integrated area among sovereign local governments, disparities in fiscal

resources, duplication of municipal efforts, competition among local governments for industry, inability of small [communities] to provide modern services, and loss of expansion room in central cities'.⁷

As the Committee for Economic Development put it in its report on *Modernizing Local Government*:

'The bewildering multiplicity of small, piecemeal, duplicative, overlapping local jurisdictions cannot cope with the staggering difficulties encountered in managing modern urban affairs. The fiscal effects of duplicative suburban separatism create great difficulty in provision of costly central city services benefiting the whole urbanized area. If local governments are to function effectively in metropolitan areas, they must have sufficient size and authority to plan, administer, and provide significant financial support for solutions to area-wide problems.'⁸

In discussing the inadequacy of the various units of government in metropolitan areas in meeting the problems of metropolitan development, Luther Gulick put the problem in a nutshell. He observed:

'There are three kinds of governmental failures involved in the big, bursting urban regions. The *first shortage*, and the most obvious, is *service* failure ... The *second shortage* is seldom recognized but is in fact far more serious. This is the failure in ... all metropolitan areas, to work out any *comprehensive community program for general development* and for tackling the major social and economic problems of the foreseeable future ... The *third shortage* is the lack of *region-wide democratic machinery for teamwork*, for thinking about and dealing with the common problems of the metropolitan area.'⁹

The political problem is compounded by a paradox. Just as area-wide needs and problems requiring an area-wide approach were being identified, development - or perhaps reaffirmation - of faith in citizen participation in and access to government at the local level took place as a partial antidote to the growing impersonality of the national governments in the three countries, and to a lesser extent of provincial and state governments as well.

⁷ C.J. Weiler, Jr., 'Metropolitan Reorganization in West Germany', *Publius*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 1972, p. 64.

⁸ Committee for Economic Development, *Modernizing Local Government*, New York, 1966, p. 44.

⁹ L. Gulick, *The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas*, Knopf, New York, 1962, pp. 120-123 (*italics in original*).

A strong case has been made for the right of communities and neighbourhoods to decide a range of matters individually so as to allow a variety of life styles and governmental methods and actions to exist within the larger regional or national entity.

Moreover, many metropolitan areas have become caught in the throes of an urban-suburban conflict. The interests of the central business district - the city - and of the residential and industrial suburbs are in fact different, and increasingly it is the city which is the have-not area facing the affluent and less problem-plagued outer areas. Once it was the help and advantages of the central city that suburbs wanted, but now it is the problems and costs of the central city that the suburbs do not want to share. Indeed, this tension between urban centre and suburban areas - the essential disparity of problems and priorities between them - has become characteristic of metropolitan areas in all three countries.¹⁰

Thus the political problem of metropolitan areas in the three countries is a complex one, a problem requiring both general and particular approaches if the conflicting demands of meeting area-wide needs and permitting local self-expression are to be met.

This study seeks to identify the political problem in the Metropolitan Statistical Divisions and Districts of Australia, excluding Canberra; to summarize what recommendations have been made and action taken to attack the problem there; and to report on Canadian and American approaches to the same problem as possible sources of help in solving it in Australian metropolitan areas.

This study does not concern itself with the Canberra metropolitan area, even though it contains the nation's capital, inasmuch as the political problem is virtually absent in the Canberra area,¹¹ its present status being that of a national territory governed by a variety of agencies of the Commonwealth government.¹² The structure

¹⁰ For remarks in this connection regarding Toronto, see 'Metro Toronto Under Review', *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹¹ In any case, the subject of the governance of Canberra is admirably treated by Ruth Atkins in Chapter 3 of Donald C. Rowat, ed., *The Government of Federal Capitals*, University of Toronto Press, 1973.

¹² The Department of the Capital Territory handles housing, public transport and municipal services. Education is handled by the Department of Education; public health by the Department of Health; justice and police through the Attorney-General's Department; the provision of water, sewerage facilities and roads through the Department of Works; and planning and development by the National Capital Development Commission.

of government in the A.C.T. has recently been the subject of inquiry by the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Australian Capital Territory¹³ and by a Task Force on Self-government in the Australian Capital Territory.¹⁴ The Joint Parliamentary Committee has also been asked to conduct an inquiry into planning procedures in the A.C.T., including consideration of: (a) the adequacy of community involvement in planning and development; (b) the role of the national parliament; and (c) the relationship between the various groups involved in the planning process. At the time of writing, the federal government had not determined the extent to which legislative and executive responsibility will be delegated to the A.C.T. Legislative Assembly and to a territorial administration, although it appears likely that substantial powers may eventually be transferred.

It should also be noted that the urban area of Canberra is expanding rapidly toward the New South Wales towns of Queanbeyan and Yass (indeed, the Australian Bureau of Statistics already includes Queanbeyan in the Canberra Statistical Division), and eventually some minor adjustments in the boundaries of the Capital Territory may be necessary.

Nor is this study concerned with emerging metropolitan areas not yet classified as such. However, as noted in Chapter II, several smaller centres in Australia are beginning to enter the metropolitan stage. They have been excluded from this study not only because the complications of local government are not yet acute in most of them, but also because what happens in response to the current crisis of local government in the ten existing metropolitan statistical divisions and districts will very likely determine the shape of government in those smaller areas.

Chapter II will trace the development of metropolitan areas in Australia and examine the problem of their governance in general. Chapter III will survey the nine statistical metropolitan areas of Australia (counting the two Sydney areas as one) and describe the existing pattern of governance of each. Chapter IV will summarize the steps taken so far toward reorganizing government in those areas. Chapters V and VI will look briefly at Canadian and American experience in making metropolitan government more effective, and Chapter VII will present some conclusions about the Australian situation.

¹³ *Self-government and Public Finance in the Australian Capital Territory*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, December 1975.

¹⁴ *Report of the Task Force on Self-government in the Australian Capital Territory*, March 1976, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976.

II THE GOVERNANCE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS IN AUSTRALIA

The Metropolitanization of Australia

It seems anomalous that Australia, known around the world for its outback and its bush, should be, despite its small population, a predominantly urban nation.¹ But it has come to be so inevitably. Many of the first settlers, whether voluntary or not, were urban oriented and did not, as in North America, tend to move far away from their original landing place. Villages and towns were thus the first developments in Australian nation-building, and they were not many in number because 'the combination of port facilities with adequate water supplies provided a limited range of choices' for city development. Later, as trade began to be built up, the exports upon which the economic life of the colonies came to depend flowed mostly to the already established port cities. Even the development of 'the wool industry had a long-term centralising effect', inasmuch as the nature of the land was such that it did not permit heavy interior settlement by the graziers. The gold 'booms in the eighteen-fifties and "nineties" [further] boosted the primate cities of the coast ...'.² Once begun, the trend toward concentrated urban living was irreversible. Census after census demonstrated that Australians continued to flock to the existing urban centres. These grew rapidly in area in later years, as a result of the fact that the 'most popular form of housing in Australia [early came to be] a detached house on a block of land about a quarter acre in area and having a width of about one chain', acquisition of which was made possible by growing 'affluence and the mass ownership of the motor car as an independent form of transport ...'.³

¹ See C.B. Schedvin and J.W. McCarty, eds., *Urbanisation in Australia: The Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1974; Sean Glynn, *Urbanisation in Australian History, 1788-1900*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1970; and I.H. Burnley, *Urbanization in Australia: The Post-War Experience*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1974.

² Commonwealth of Australia, *Population and Australia: A Demographic Analysis and Projection*, First Report of the National Population Inquiry, Parliamentary Paper No. 6, Vol. 1, Canberra, 1975, p. 135.

³ *The Canberra Times*, 3 October 1975, pp. 19-20.

To a large extent, urban growth was dictated by the tracts of land made available around city centres by private developers. While industry and business for a long time remained concentrated in the central cities, Australians sought to establish their residences ever further away from the city centres. Gradually, great metropolitan areas developed which fell into the recognizable pattern of the Western world:

'Suburban and outlying areas ... [became] linked in a continuous built-up area, old local government boundaries [became] blurred. The metropolitan resident ... [became] more mobile, living in dormitory suburbs, travelling [to work] to the commercial and industrial centres. There [was] a migration from the central city, not only of residents but of some commercial, professional and cultural services. Within the metropolitan sprawl, subcentres ... developed that [broke] down the old relationship between the city central and its surrounding areas.'⁴

The Great Depression and World War II hardly slowed metropolitanization down, and it picked up considerably once the war was over. Between 1947 and 1954, a period of heavy immigration, the population of the 'major urban areas' of Australia increased by 18.5 per cent. Much of the 22 per cent population increase in the so-called 'other urban areas'⁵ was 'in seaboard areas that could be considered essentially as conurbations closely associated with major metropolitan areas'.⁶ Between 1954 and 1961, the major urban areas grew by another 21 per cent, gaining 1,026,000 residents compared with an increase of only 495,000 for the rest of Australia. Between 1961 and 1966, the metropolitan increase was 15.5 per cent and, between 1966 and 1971, 14.1 per cent.⁷

To a great extent, this continuous metropolitan growth occurred in the Sydney and Melbourne urban complexes. But in the early 1970s metropolitanization proceeded more rapidly in other

⁴ R.N. Spann, ed., *Public Administration in Australia*, 2nd edn, N.S.W. Government Printer, Sydney, 1973, p. 228.

⁵ 'Major urban areas' are classified as those of the capital cities and those with a population of over 100,000 persons; 'other urban areas' are those containing 'population clusters of from 10,000 to 99,999'. See Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Population: Principal Cities and Towns 1971 to 1974*, Reference No. 4.18, 28 October 1975.

⁶ *Population and Australia*, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 141.

urban centres than in the two giants. In addition, the early 1970s began to see the metropolitan component of the Australian population stabilize, as an increasing number of Australians opted for non-metropolitan living.

Even so, by the census of 1971, 10,913,451 - or over 85 per cent of the total population of 12,755,638 - lived in areas classified as urban. Only in Queensland and Tasmania were minorities of the people resident in major urban - that is metropolitan - areas, as Table II-1 makes clear.

Table II-1

URBANIZATION BY STATES, 1971

Per cent

Urban Category ^(a)	N.S.W.	Vic.	Q'ld	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	Six States
Urban - major	69.1	71.6	44.8	69.0	62.3	33.3	64.6
other	19.5	16.1	34.5	15.6	19.2	40.9	21.0
Rural	11.3	12.2	20.5	15.3	18.2	25.7	14.3
Migratory	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Figures from 1971 Census. Percentage of population as at 30 June 1971 residing in urban and rural areas.

Source: Grants Commission, *42nd Annual Report 1975 on Special Assistance for States*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975, p. 124.

Since 1971, most of the growth of Australia's population has continued to take place in those same urban areas. This has occurred despite the fact that decentralization of population has long been the policy of most political parties in Australia and was at the forefront of Labor Party policy and program while it was in office between 1972 and 1975. By 1974 - indeed, long before then - Australia had become among the most metropolitan of nations. Figures in the Appendix to this chapter summarize the population of the ten metropolitan statistical divisions and

districts⁸ of Australia (other than the Canberra Statistical District) for that year.

Nor does metropolitan population in Australia seem likely to decline. As Tables II-2 and II-3 show, not only will the population of the existing metropolitan areas increase markedly - the areas may grow to more than three times their 1971 size by the year 2001 - but a number of additional areas will likely join the existing ones to make the metropolitan segment of the Australian population even larger than it is currently.

Development of Local Government

In the United States and Canada, local government accompanied the earliest clusters of settlers in one place and grew in strength and attachment over time. In Australia, on the other hand, local government was not introduced during the early years of settlement. Not only were some of the settlements penal colonies, where local government would not have been appropriate, but 'the harsh circumstances under which the [colonies were established], the sparse nature of the early settlement and the complete dependence of the early inhabitants upon central government for all local services, together with a natural antagonism towards direct taxation, were not conditions likely to create a demand ... for any form of local government'.⁹

As the program for Wollongong's Centenary of Local Government put it in 1959:

'The early government of [New South Wales] consisted of strongly centralised administration covering literally everything, however momentous or however trivial. But

⁸ The Australian Bureau of Statistics defines a statistical division or district as that area around an urban centre of at least 75,000 population 'which is considered to be economically and socially oriented toward the ... urban centre, and which is large enough to contain the anticipated growth of the ... centre for a period of from twenty to thirty years'. In determining the outer boundaries of each division or district, which then remained fixed, 'the views of State planning authorities' were taken into account. See Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30th June 1966*, Field Count Statement No. 4, 'Population: Principal Urban Centres of Australia', p. 4.

⁹ *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales* (The Barnett Committee), N.S.W. Government Printer, Sydney, 1974, p. 13.

Table II-2

A PROJECTED POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA'S MAJOR CITIES 1971-2001

Statistical Division (b)	Population in Thousands	
	1971	2001 (a)
Sydney	2800	5000
Melbourne	2498	4500
Brisbane	866	2200
Adelaide	843	2100
Perth	701	2300
Hobart	153	250
Newcastle	351	500
Wollongong	199	560
Geelong	121	270

(a) Assumes a continuation of the average rate of growth experienced for the period 1961-71.

(b) To complete the picture, the Canberra-Queanbeyan complex should be added. Under the assumption that 1961-71 growth rates will hold, Canberra-Queanbeyan population will grow from 159,000 in 1971 to about 450,000 in 2001.

Source: *Population and Australia: A Demographic Projection and Analysis*, Vol. 1, Tables X.1 and X.2, p. 424.

Table II-3

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTED GROWTH CENTRES AND TARGETS INDICATED
BY THE YEAR 2001

Area	Population in Thousands	
	1971 (approx.)	2001
Bathurst-Orange	41	300
Albury-Wodonga	70	300
Townsville	71	177
Gladstone	15	70
Rockhampton	49	95
Pilbara	10	130
Canberra	159	450
Total	415	1,522
Increase 1971-2001		1,107

Source: As for Table II-2.

as the colony progressed and grew to some political maturity, the problems of administration grew in proportion.

There was thus a need for some form of purely local control, which, however, did not eventuate early. District Councils, it is true, were formed as a result of an Act of 1842.... However, the scheme failed and the Councils existed practically in name only; nor did re-constitution in accordance with an Act of 1850 help.

Yet all this time the need for local government was known, if not widely acknowledged. For instance, in 1847 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, when considering the proposal for self-government for Victoria, made a penetrating analysis of the structure of government; he saw the need for the over-riding bond of Empire, the need for strong central legislatures, and - significantly - the need for real and actual local government. For, he said, evil can result from this heavy superstructure of control if "unaided and unbalanced by any description of local organization".

The requirement was thus for balance, but there effectively was none. The causes of failure were many; political immaturity was no doubt one, wide dispersal of population another, a dislike of authority in general and paying taxes in particular another. The "Herald" ... colourfully, if jocularly, summed up some of the absurd objections to local government - "tax gatherers are disagreeable people; they take your cash and leave nothing behind them but bits of paper"; again, "aldermen are fat and talkative"; and again, "those who spend other people's cash are less careful of it than their own". In short, the concept of local government, far from being widely accepted, was often strenuously opposed.

And yet, particularly after the attainment of responsible government for New South Wales, local government had to come, and did. The Municipalities Act was passed in 1858....¹⁰

By 1867 there were thirty-five local councils in New South Wales.

Similarly, in Tasmania there was no local government at first. There were police districts, each under a magistrate whose functions were mainly disciplinary. Hobart and Launceston gained councils between 1835 and 1857, but it was not until 1865 that the rest of the state was divided into municipal districts with defined boundaries.

¹⁰ Wollongong Centenary Festival, *City of Greater Wollongong Centenary of Local Government 1859-1959*, Wollongong, 1959 (from the foreword by Edgar Beale, p. 3).

It is not necessary to trace the history of local government in the states to make the point of its slow development throughout Australia. Suffice it to say that institutions of local government gradually came to be established over much of Australia. Eventually all the colonies came to enact complex local government acts which, in the absence of any mention of local government in the Australian Constitution of 1901, were carried over to and expanded upon by the states.¹¹ For the most part, all local government comes within the purview of those acts, though in some states the government of the capital cities is dealt with in separate legislation. Thus the city of Hobart is governed chiefly by the *Hobart Corporation Act* 1963, though certain provisions of the *Local Government Act* 1962 apply to that city. Likewise, the City of Melbourne, which was constituted in 1842 prior to the introduction of local government legislation, still retains some powers under the Melbourne and Geelong Corporations Act of 1938. These powers relate to the striking of the municipal rate and the operation of weighbridges. In all other respects the City is governed by the provisions of the *Local Government Act* 1958.¹²

In addition, other acts apply to all local governments, such as the *Health Act*, the *Food and Drugs Act*, the *Building Act* and the *Planning and Development Act* in South Australia; and the *Public Health Act*, the *Town Planning and Development Act* and the *Metropolitan Regional Planning Act* in Western Australia.

How the states deal with local government varies sufficiently to ensure that there is no uniform pattern of local government in Australia. It is thus difficult to generalize about it. In all the states except Tasmania, however, a distinction is made between the style of local governments in rural and in urban areas as follows:

¹¹ The current basic local government acts in the six states are as follows: New South Wales: *Local Government Act* 1919 as amended to date. Victoria: *Local Government Act* 1958 as amended to date. Queensland: *Local Government Act* 1936 as amended to date. South Australia: *Local Government Act* 1934 as amended to date. Western Australia: *Local Government Act* 1960 as amended to date. Tasmania: *Local Government Act* 1962 as amended to date.

¹² G. Pentland, Secretary for Local Government, Victoria, to author, 27 November 1975.

<u>State</u>	<u>Local Government Authority</u>	
	<u>In rural areas</u>	<u>In urban areas</u>
New South Wales	Shire	Municipality, City
Victoria	Shire	Town, Borough, City
Queensland	Shire	Town, City
South Australia*	District Council	Municipality, City
Western Australia	Shire	Town, City
Tasmania	-	Municipality, City

* In a recent amendment to the *Local Government Act* of South Australia, certain distinctions between municipal and district councils were removed.

In fact, of course, there is no automatic adjustment of governmental status when a formerly rural area urbanizes, although it is common in all the states for a local government authority eventually to be elevated from a shire or district council to some form of urban authority when its population and revenue warrant it. By and large, however, once a local government authority has been created there is little pressure from the people for a change in status. Lacking any automatic mechanism for change and with the people fearing the consequences of change, the pattern of Australian local government has remained remarkably stable.

A city is the most senior status a local government may attain in Australia. Generally, an urban unit may be called a city if its population and revenue attain certain minimums (in Western Australia, in addition to population and revenue minimums, an area must be clearly distinguishable as a population centre 'with adequate halls and cultural facilities and sufficient residential, commercial, and industrial facilities to justify its declaration as a city').¹³

But the form a local government authority takes is said to be 'largely a matter of prestige':

'There are no substantial differences in character between the urban and rural units in any state except that the rural units are more concerned with the problem of road construction, and have fewer resources left over for other tasks. The urban units, being concerned

¹³ K.H. Gifford, *The Western Australian Local Government Handbook*, Law Book Co., Sydney, 1967, p. 7.

with country towns or suburbs of the capital cities, have more diverse functions to perform, more resources to draw on, and more arguments about how the money should be spent.¹⁴

No Australian unit of local government has a very wide range of functions to perform. Miller and Jinks have observed that local government in Australia 'is largely a means of providing localities with the basic requirements of a habitable area'.¹⁵ Or, as the town clerk of a Perth suburban town put it:

'Principally the duty (of local government) lies in the creation and maintenance of a local community adequately served by roads, pleasant to live in and catering for the reasonable needs of all sections of the community. It is responsible to ensure a well planned, aesthetically pleasing locality, ample open spaces and free of pollution in all its forms. It is responsible to provide a whole range of educational cultural and physical facilities which will allow each citizen to realise his or her potential as a human being, requiring libraries, halls and buildings for the cultural activities of the municipality, recreation facilities including playing fields, swimming pools and other amenities. The increase in leisure time which we now enjoy places great emphasis on these aspects. It is the responsibility of council to provide specialised requirements for individual community groups, ranging from the special attention required by youth to the particular needs of the aged.'¹⁶

The powers of all local government authorities are limited in various ways. They may do only what they are expressly authorized to do by state parliaments (though they are generally

¹⁴ J.D.B. Miller and B. Jinks, *Australian Government and Politics: An Introductory Survey*, 4th edn, Duckworth, London, 1971, p. 169.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁶ H. Walker, Town Clerk, Gosnells, W.A., quoted in Royal Commission into Metropolitan Municipal District Boundaries, *Report*, Government Printer, Perth, 1974, p. 13. For an analysis of local government functions, see also Russell Mathews, *Public Investment in Australia: A Study of Public Authority Investment and Development*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1967, pp. 247-69.

allowed also to do what may be necessarily implied from the powers expressly given them). *How* they carry out prescribed functions is often set forth in detail and, most importantly for the purposes of this study, what each can do is limited to the specific area entrusted to it. Generally, both rural and urban local government authorities are *required* to carry out certain functions and provide services for their residents, while they *may*, with the consent of the ratepayers (and sometimes of the Governor-in-Council) and if they have sufficient resources to do so, perform other functions. 'From relatively early in their history, local governments were found to be unsuitable for carrying out some of [the] functions' entrusted to them. This was especially true of those governments in metropolitan areas. 'First they were too small in area, and second they had limited financial resources, and in particular limited access to borrowed funds'.¹⁷ Thus separate arrangements have been made in most states to handle over a larger area important urban functions such as water supply and sewerage, public transport, planning and fire protection. In some cases special-purpose regional bodies have been established by the state government to carry on particular functions, independently of local councils. In other cases, the states themselves have taken on the functions, assigning them to one or other state department or agency. And all the Australian states retained for themselves at the outset the power to provide their citizens, wherever they might live, with such important services as education, police, hospitals and highways.

Thus local government authorities are not alone on the governmental stage in any of the metropolitan areas of Australia. Indeed, the more important urban functions have increasingly been assigned to or assumed by a regional or a state unit of government. Although the states may have tended to act both slowly and partially in making adequate provision for urban services, for the most part they have accepted the responsibility - as have most Canadian provinces but not yet many American states. The complete power of the states over local government has never been questioned and remains a fundamental tenet of Australian government today.

Even so, the Australian states, like the Canadian provinces and the American states, did not provide for the creation of local government authorities on any rational basis. For the most part the initiative for incorporation of local governments in Australia was left with the private citizens. Thus in New South Wales the *Municipalities Act* 1858 provided that the incorporation of a

¹⁷ M. Neutze, 'Local, Regional and Metropolitan Government', in R.L. Mathews, ed., *Intergovernmental Relations in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974, p. 60.

municipality could be proclaimed on the petition of no fewer than fifty householders if a counter-petition signed by as many or more householders was not submitted. The way Wollongong was made a municipality was - and still is - common throughout Australia:

'Prior to 1859 there was no organised community effort for the improvement of the district around Wollongong. The nearest step to Local Government had been the setting up of what were known as district councils, which appeared to be bound by no laws or regulations. If a town or part of it liked to make a voluntary payment, it could have work done; if it preferred to remain inert it could have no work done and pay nothing for the privilege. In 1856, after some agitation, a collection was taken up and £30 collected for repairs to the streets of Wollongong.

The people, however, were becoming civic minded, and when the Municipalities Act was passed in 1858, twenty-five Wollongong people met and formed a committee to prepare boundaries for a proposed municipality. [Later] a petition for the incorporation of the municipality was signed and forwarded to the government.... The petition was lodged shortly after Randwick district had lodged one and both areas were gazetted as municipalities on February 23rd, 1859.¹⁸

If the Australian states have thus not presided over the establishment of units of local government on the basis of some kind of plan, neither have they set minimum sizes in terms of area for local government authorities (see Column 3 in the Appendix to Chapter II) nor established regulations which introduce change when, as has happened in every metropolitan area in Australia, units grow together or surround other units. Certainly, provision has been made in all the local government acts for the amalgamation or abolition of municipalities, but the procedures and politics involved are such that the process is not widely used. For the most part, the original boundaries of local government authorities remain in effect, regardless of the transformation of the areas within them from urban to metropolitan, and even from rural to urban or metropolitan. And those boundaries, as Margaret Bowman has observed, were not 'even initially, drawn to correspond with the limits of existing communities, natural boundaries, or according to any functional

¹⁸ *City of Wollongong Centenary of Local Government 1859-1959*, op. cit., p. 12.

criteria. They emerged as lines on the map, delineating the extent of a local council's authority, in accordance with an arithmetical formula laid down by the State Government. Wherever the required minimum number of householders properly petitioned the Governor, a Council could be established, provided enough revenue could be raised, and property valuations reached a required level.¹⁹ As new areas adjacent to an urban centre developed, they either remained under the governance of the shire or district council or were made new independent municipalities. As has been noted earlier, local government boundaries became increasingly meaningless.

The result of this method of providing for urban governance has been the proliferation of local government authorities in metropolitan areas on the one hand and 'great diversity in ... local government units' on the other. This diversity has extended not only to responsibilities assumed²⁰ and size (see Appendix to Chapter II, especially columns 2 and 9), but also to 'the administrative practices and procedures adopted ...'. Indeed, some local government authorities have experimented with the manager concept or have moved closer to a unitary structure in which the top administrative official is a member of the council. But in most councils in Australia a 'multi-headed reporting system' is practised, in which the clerk, the engineer, the treasurer, the chief health officer and the planner (if the latter two are employed at all) report directly to the council. In some councils dual management operates; the clerk and the engineer are on equal footing and attend all council meetings.²¹

The Metropolitan Political Problem

The Appendix to Chapter II reveals some of the differences among the local government authorities in Australia's metropolitan

¹⁹ Margaret Bowman, 'Local Government in Melbourne', *Public Administration*, Sydney, Vol. 28, No. 4, December 1969.

²⁰ *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales*, op. cit., p. 11. See also B.S. Marsden, 'Urban Administrative Fragmentation in Australia', *Urban Issues*, Australian Institute of Urban Studies, Brisbane, October 1974, pp. 125-133.

²¹ L. Pybe, 'Modern Developments in Local Government', *The Local Government Journal of Western Australia*, December Quarter 1974, p. 11.

statistical divisions and districts which existed in 1974. Column 9 in particular illustrates these differences, but only the most exhaustive research could uncover the full extent of the diversity.

The Appendix tables reveal at least that there is local government aplenty in Australia's metropolitan areas - there were 192 separate local government authorities in 1974 and they ranged widely in area of jurisdiction, in population and rate of population growth, and in fiscal capacity. Some of the local government authorities in most of the metropolitan areas are manifestly weak. Others, like the cities of Stirling, Perth and Fremantle in the Perth Statistical Division, for example, are obviously 'no longer just local boroughs responsible for basics like street kerbing. They are multi-million dollar corporations making major decisions on planning and social issues' that can affect the lives of everyone in the area.²² The Appendix does not attempt to show the units of government at regional and state levels which also have an impact on the several areas. These will be described for each statistical division or district in the following chapters of this report.

It may be that the Appendix tables and the remarks so far in this chapter overstate the fragmentation of government in Australia's metropolitan areas. Certainly the evidence suggests the negative possibility of multiple agents, each with limited power and many with inadequate financial resources, trying to meet the area-wide problems which exist in each of the statistical divisions. But it should be noted that missing from the Appendix are any indications of the degree to which local government authorities in all the divisions have begun to work together on common problems. Indeed, the local government acts of all six states specifically make such co-operation possible.²³

²² B. Britton, 'Councillors on the Payroll', *The Pinnacle* (a publication of the city of Stirling), Autumn edition 1976, p.9.

²³ Section 521 of the *Local Government Act* 1919 of New South Wales, for example, provides that:

- (1) 'The Councils of adjoining areas may enter into agreements for the carrying out jointly of works or undertakings authorized by any Act, or for the joint performance of duties or exercise of powers' under any Act, for the mutual benefit of their areas.
- (2) Such agreements may provide that the works or undertakings may be managed 'either by the Councils themselves jointly, or by a joint committee composed of members of the Councils'.
- (3) Councils sharing a boundary road, bridge or ferry shall maintain same at joint expense and through joint management.

Again, the co-operative arrangements in effect in each area, as described in response to a questionnaire sent to every local government authority in Australia, will be described in later pages of this report.

There have been some steps toward regional servicing, either through a regional body created by the state or through the agency of a state department, and toward intergovernmental co-operation to meet service needs at the local level. But the fact remains that Australian metropolitan areas suffer from the existence of too many small uneconomic units of government, resulting in 'fragmentation of authority, unnecessary duplication of assets, the under-utilization of plant, equipment, and human resources, and inability to provide the varied kinds of expertise required by local councils in the modern world'.²⁴ As the Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies put it in its 1975 report, *People in the Cities*, the resulting problems of metropolitan governance in Australia include: 'problems of urban planning; ... of the difficulties caused by the relationships between different levels of government; of the vertical fragmentation of administrative functions [single-purpose authorities, ministries, departments, statutory bodies, working in isolation from each other ... and bound by all the usual tendencies to empire-building and jurisdictional jealousies];²⁵ of economic management at all levels; of the machinery of decision-making; and of representativeness [Decisions are made and control exercised, even over quite small details, at far too great a distance from their point of impact ... "distance" ... not solely of geography but of time and long chains of hierarchical approval]'.²⁶

²⁴ *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government ... in New South Wales*, op. cit., p. 33.

²⁵ Ruth Atkins observed that even the assumption of certain services by regional or state agencies is no guarantee that their actions will be 'well coordinated with one another. Indeed, one of the problems is to ensure that separate ... agencies concerned with [such metropolitan services as] railways, road transport, harbours, roads, water and sewerage, power, education, housing, hospitals - some of them powerful, and used to going their own way - work with a common strategy.' R. Atkins in R.N. Spann, ed., *Public Administration in Australia*, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

²⁶ *People in the Cities*, op. cit., p. 1; the quotations in brackets are from p. 4.

In particular, metropolitan areas in Australia have suffered from a lack of co-ordination of urban services.²⁷ As Russell Mathews noted in 1967: 'Deficiencies in sewerage, garbage disposal, stormwater drainage, roads and footpaths [were] so great in some [metropolitan] areas as to represent nothing less than a national scandal in a country as wealthy as Australia, and pockets of shortage or inadequacy exist[ed] in respect of most of the other services ...'²⁸ Remedial action has been prevented by 'the apathy of the large mass of [local] ratepayers', by 'restrictions on rating and borrowing powers imposed by state governments', and by the difficulty local councils encounter in obtaining 'well-qualified and dedicated staff' to provide guidance and leadership.²⁹ Remedial action has also been stymied in most metropolitan areas by the absence of any area-wide unit of government able to tackle the service problem on a comprehensive and co-ordinated basis. State governments have not been willing to yield their prerogatives to larger - and thus potential rival - units of local government, nor have local residents demanded them. Except in Brisbane, whose local government does operate over much of the metropolitan area, the metropolitan areas and their problems and needs have not been matched by a political and governmental framework for those areas. Attempts at amalgamation have been resisted by local governments themselves 'on the grounds that local feeling would be outraged, party politics would become rampant, Councils [would] lose their sense of local intimacy and become more like parliaments, and areas without common interests [would] be included within ... one local authority'.³⁰

²⁷ Not that urban development in Australia focused especially on the delivery of services. Michael Cannon in his *Life in the Cities* (Nelson, Melbourne, 1975) makes a point of the pollution and untreated sewage that marked all Australian cities in the Victorian age.

²⁸ R. Mathews, *Public Investment in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Mathews went on to observe that 'The state of urban sewerage services is a blot on Australia's claim to be a civilized country. If in the 1940's Australia could be described as a milk-bar economy, it would seem appropriate to characterize it in the 1960's as an "effluent" society' (p. 251).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³⁰ J.D.B. Miller and B. Jinks, *Australian Government and Politics*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

Recently, what to do about the metropolitan political problem has become an issue in Australia. The responses proposed to date will be reviewed in a following chapter. It need only be said here that the problem is a difficult one, not only for the reasons already advanced but also because in Australia, as in Canada and the United States, the concept of the metropolitan area as the base for governmental institutions and actions has yet to be accepted by most Australians. Almost no one who lives in the Sydney region, for example, identifies himself with the whole area or addresses himself to the possibility of area-wide action. David McNicoll began a piece on the eastern suburbs of Sydney by noting that he had 'lived in ... Bellevue Hill for more than 20 years'. To him, Sydney *is* Bellevue Hill and what he defines as the other eastern suburbs that count - Darling Point, Edgecliff, Double Bay, Point Piper and Rose Bay. 'Who, in their right mind', he asked, 'would want to live anywhere else?'³¹ None of those neighbourhoods even coincides with a local government area - indeed, there is neither pressure to make them do so nor pressure to bring them under a larger overall unit. This would be considered as detrimental to, if not destructive of, the values which the residents of those neighbourhoods wish to preserve. What is true in Sydney is also true in Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth.

In short, Australian metropolitan areas present a classic case of disparities in procedures and resources, which create the extensive inequalities in the delivery of services and the unwise patterns of urban development and of land use that characterize metropolitan areas in North America and Europe.

The following chapter describes the existing pattern of government in the metropolitan divisions and districts of Australia.

³¹ D. McNicoll, 'Where else would anyone live?', *The Australian*, 11 October 1975, p. 26.

Estimated Population Sydney Statistical Divisions 5,044,340
 Estimated Population Newcastle Statistical District 360,090
 Estimated Population Wollongong Statistical District 208,550
 Total Population, Metropolitan Statistical Areas 3,612,980

Divisions
 Percentage of N.S.W. Population in all three 64.18%
 Metropolitan Statistical Areas 76.17%

Sydney Statistical Division (41 Units)

(1) Local Government Authority	(2) Kind of Unit	(3) Size Sq. Km.	(4) Population 30 June 1971	(5) Estimated Population 30 June 1974	(6) % Change 1966-1971	(7) % Change 1971-1974	(8) Finances (a) Revenue Expenditures		(9) Harris (b) Classification	(10) DURD (c) Region
Ashfield	Muni.	8.29	44,910	46,010	7.08+	2.44+	1,880,000	1,804,000	M2	17
Auburn	Muni.	31.53	48,683	48,430	0.03-	0.52-	2,549,000	2,617,000	M2	14
Bankstown	Muni.	77.78	162,730	163,500	1.70+	0.47+	9,718,000	9,241,000	M2	16
Baulkham Hills	Shire	380.98	57,373	66,680	71.22+	16.22+	3,215,000	3,271,000	M4	14
Blacktown	Muni.	246.87	156,830	149,980	40.84+	4.37-	6,125,000	6,360,000	M4	14
Blue Mts.(part)	City	133.50	18,289	21,690	32.16+	18.60+	(d)	(d)	M5b	14
Botany	Muni.	17.89	38,236	38,690	19.96+	1.19+	2,279,000	2,124,000	M2	16
Burwood	Muni.	7.25	31,888	31,490	0.13+	1.25-	1,502,000	1,559,000	M2	17
Camden	Muni.	206.10	11,155	13,000	28.80+	16.54+	951,000	855,000	TL5a	15
Campbelltown	City	311.78	34,235	39,140	33.17+	14.33+	2,685,000	2,590,000	M4	15
Canterbury	Muni.	33.39	130,446	134,890	12.64+	3.40+	5,195,000	5,104,000	M2	16
Concord	Muni.	10.82	26,104	25,500	3.46-	2.21-	1,358,000	1,409,000	M2	17
Drummoyne	Muni.	8.03	31,251	31,760	2.02+	1.63+	2,041,000	1,841,000	M2	17
Fairfield	Muni.	96.27	113,053	117,500	11.66+	3.93+	4,295,000	4,405,000	M4	14
Holroyd	Muni.	39.25	77,317	81,020	17.18+	4.79+	3,344,000	3,350,000	M2	14
Hornsby	Shire	512.82	96,863	104,160	19.32+	7.53+	5,354,000	5,465,000	M4	13
Hunter's Hill	Muni.	5.73	14,100	14,000	0.94-	0.71-	623,000	589,000	M2	13
Hurstville	Muni.	24.77	67,143	68,090	3.53+	1.41+	2,937,000	2,777,000	M2	16
Kogarah	Muni.	19.51	47,197	46,850	0.96-	0.74-	2,347,000	2,348,000	M2	16
Ku-ring-gai	Muni.	81.89	98,589	101,090	13.48+	2.53+	4,952,000	4,840,000	M4	13
Lane Cove	Muni.	10.38	28,676	29,570	14.20+	3.12+	1,508,000	1,555,000	M2	13
Leichhardt	Muni.	12.25	71,338	68,090	5.05-	4.55-	4,026,000	3,461,000	M2	12
Liverpool	City	313.85	82,447	84,740	19.49+	2.78+	4,080,000	3,910,000	M4	15
Manly	Muni.	15.20	39,260	39,350	2.84+	0.23+	2,309,000	2,260,000	M2	13
Marrickville	Muni.	16.48	96,796	96,150	3.88+	0.67-	4,372,000	4,243,000	M2	12
Mosman	Muni.	8.71	29,379	28,780	4.40+	2.04-	1,814,000	1,752,000	M2	13
North Sydney	Muni.	10.46	53,338	53,400	3.06+	0.11+	4,330,000	3,825,000	M2	13
Parramatta	City	60.06	111,043	135,510	3.73+	22.03+	6,288,000	5,919,000	M4	14
Penrith	City	407.01	60,316	73,720	30.02+	22.22+	3,435,000	3,117,000	M4	14
Randwick	Muni.	36.44	123,865	126,460	8.91+	2.09+	5,084,000	4,554,000	M2	12
Rockdale	Muni.	29.33	84,232	84,230	3.39+	0.01-	3,932,000	3,763,000	M2	16
Ryde	Muni.	40.15	88,806	91,600	9.23+	3.15+	4,398,000	3,961,000	M2	13
South Sydney	Muni.	10.53	38,916	38,270	4.33-	1.66-	3,968,000	3,977,000	M2	12
Strathfield	Muni.	14.07	27,167	27,300	1.73+	0.49+	1,433,000	1,347,000	M2	17
Sutherland	Shire	370.37	151,574	158,280	13.06+	4.42+	9,009,000	8,769,000	M4	16
Sydney	City	13.40	62,470	55,770	12.51-	10.73-	23,986,000	21,575,000	M2	12
Warringah	Shire	263.68	156,873	169,180	28.77+	7.84+	8,674,000	8,634,000	M5b	13
Waverly	Muni.	8.99	65,539	65,970	3.00+	0.66+	3,077,000	3,145,000	M2	12
Willoughby	Muni.	22.18	53,952	53,650	1.15-	0.56-	3,291,000	3,294,000	M2	13
Windsor	Muni.	146.70	15,485	16,480	16.42+	6.42+	1,029,000	966,000	CS3	14
Woollahra	Muni.	12.19	59,964	58,000	4.29-	3.28-	3,973,000	3,674,000	M2	12
Total		4,077.00	2,807,828	2,898,330	10.45+	3.22+	167,366,000	160,250,000		

- (a) For 1972-73. Data obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Interim Socio-Economic Data File* (Date Printed 21/11/75, Data Edition No. 2).
 (b) For explanations, see note at end of table.
 (c) For explanations, see note at end of table.
 (d) Total included under Outer Sydney Division.

Appendix to Chapter II (cont.)

NEW SOUTH WALES (cont.)

Outer Sydney Statistical Division (5 Units)

(1) Local Government Authority	(2) Kind of Unit	(3) Size Sq. Km.	(4) Population 30 June 1971	(5) Estimated Population 30 June 1974	(6) % Change 1966-1971 Census	(7) % Change 1971-1974 Census	(8) Finances Revenue Expenditures		(9) Harris Classification	(10) DURD Region
Blue Mts. (part)	City	1,271.31	18,438	20,090	9.14+	8.96+	3,031,000	3,030,000	M5b	14
Colo	Shire	2,645.92	7,661	8,780	26.38+	14.61+	952,000	993,000	TS3	14
Gosford	Shire	1,019.52	56,373	64,970	31.69+	15.25+	4,375,000	4,186,000	CM5b	10
Wollondilly	Shire	2,557.99	12,670	13,470	11.06+	6.31+	1,183,000	1,177,000	TS5b	15
Wyong	Shire	825.92	32,967	38,700	33.32+	17.39+	3,342,000	3,599,000	CS5b	10
Total		8,321.00	128,109	146,010	25.72+	13.97+	12,883,000	12,985,000		

Newcastle Statistical District (5 Units)

Greater Cessnock (part)	City	610.41	34,321	34,530	1.48+	0.61+	2,191,000	2,154,000	CS5a	9
Lake Macquarie	Shire	748.76	122,421	127,920	13.89+	4.49+	5,872,000	5,250,000	CL5b	9
Maitland	City	396.27	31,051	32,750	9.19+	5.47+	2,453,000	2,270,000	CS5b	9
Newcastle	City	213.49	146,009	146,710	2.05+	0.48+	9,878,000	9,696,000	CL5c	9
Port Stephens	Shire	978.65	17,734	18,180	20.48+	2.51+	2,100,000	1,964,000	TL5b	9
Total		2,948.00	351,536	360,090	7.31+	2.43+	22,494,000	21,334,000		

Wollongong Statistical District (3 Units)

Kiama	Muni.	256.03	6,751	7,200	14.99+	6.65+	941,000	966,000	TM3	11
Shellharbour	Muni.	154.20	31,154	34,660	41.21+	11.25+	1,884,000	1,849,000	CL4	11
Wollongong	City	713.93	161,143	166,690	7.77+	3.44+	9,796,000	10,035,000	CL5b	11
Total		1,124.00	199,048	208,550	12.17+	4.77+	12,621,000	12,850,000		

VICTORIA

Population 30 June 1974	3,626,800	Percentage of Victoria Population in Melbourne Division	72.25%
Population Melbourne Statistical Division	2,620,400		
Population Geelong Statistical District	128,370	Percentage of Victoria Population in two statistical areas	75.79%
Total Population, Metropolitan Statistical Area	2,748,770		

Melbourne Statistical Division (56 Units)

Altona	City	40.19	30,589	32,000	22.26+	4.61+	2,759,000	2,811,000	M2	12
Berwick	City(e)	119.60	20,074	22,800	- (e)	11.36+	- (e)	- (e)	- (e)	- (e)
Berwick (part)	Shire	162.60	2,986	3,300	18.01+	10.52+	2,599,000	2,654,000	M5b	18
Box Hill	City	21.49	54,635	54,600	0.19+	0.07-	2,448,000	2,472,000	M2	15
Brighton	City	13.68	39,109	38,000	3.72-	2.84-	2,342,000	2,338,000	M2	17
Broadmeadows	City	70.78	101,100	107,000	14.78+	5.84+	3,792,000	3,756,000	M4	13
Brunswick	City	10.62	51,560	51,100	0.88-	0.89-	2,258,000	2,100,000	M2	13
Bulla	Shire	422.20	8,243	9,600	44.34+	16.46+	1,125,000	982,000	TL5a	13
Camberwell	City	35.14	98,302	96,800	1.61-	1.53-	5,164,000	5,192,000	M2	15
Caulfield	City	21.98	81,865	82,800	7.55+	1.14+	3,638,000	3,328,000	M2	17
Chelsea	City	12.23	26,372	26,900	6.39+	2.00+	1,076,000	961,000	M2	18
Coburg	City	18.71	65,662	63,500	4.25-	3.30-	2,845,000	2,769,000	M2	13
Collingwood	City	4.78	21,022	19,900	6.44-	5.34-	1,497,000	1,520,000	M2	11
Cranbourne (part)	Shire	398.00	12,511	15,500	34.43+	23.90+	1,722,000	1,677,000	TS5b	18
Croydon	City	33.72	28,708	31,600	31.88+	10.07+	2,840,000	2,694,000	M4	16
Dandenong	City	36.26	40,883	44,700	28.97+	9.34+	3,067,000	2,983,000	M4	18
Diamond Valley	Shire	85.31	36,245	41,200	57.59+	13.67+	2,443,000	2,584,000	M4	14
Doncaster and Templestowe	City	89.40	64,286	75,000	68.79+	16.67+	5,318,000	5,062,000	M5c	15
Eltham	Shire	277.10	24,140	25,200(f)	19.44+	4.39+	2,113,000	1,968,000	M5c	14

VICTORIA (cont.)

(1) Local Government Authority	(2) Kind of Unit	(3) Size Sq. Km.	(4) Population 30 June 1971	(5) Estimated Population 30 June 1974	(6) % Change 1966-1971 Census	(7) % Change 1971-1974 Census	(8) Finances Revenue Expenditures		(9) Harris Classification	(10) DURD Region
Essendon	City	16.48	57,583	56,400	1.16-	2.05-	4,530,000	2,686,000	M2	12
Fitzroy	City	3.66	25,708	24,500	5.58-	4.70-	1,180,000	1,260,000	M2	11
Flinders	Shire	323.70	15,481	17,100	23.60+	10.46+	2,790,000	2,883,000	M4	18
Footscray	City	17.97	57,810	57,300	1.74-	0.89-	3,539,000	3,756,000	M2	12
Frankston	City	70.66	59,410	68,300	41.17+	14.96+	4,735,000	3,943,000	M4	18
Hastings	Shire	290.10	8,927	10,000	22.62+	12.02+	1,804,000	1,882,000	TS5a	18
Hawthorn	City	9.76	37,571	37,500	2.30+	0.19-	2,176,000	2,081,000	M2	15
Healesville (part)	Shire	281.60	5,223	5,300	1.69+	1.47+	695,000	701,000	TM3	16
Heidelberg	City	32.38	68,013	69,400	6.38+	2.04+	4,108,000	4,185,000	M2	14
Keilor	City	98.20	55,616	63,700	28.15+	14.54+	4,437,000	4,188,000	M4	12
Kew	City	14.55	32,564	32,200	0.78-	1.12-	2,055,000	2,078,000	M2	15
Knox	City	110.10	56,786	67,300	55.52+	18.52+	6,482,000	6,791,000	M4	16
Lilydale	Shire	397.50	36,162	44,100	47.64+	21.95+	2,911,000	2,934,000	M4	16
Malvern	City	15.92	50,560	50,700	1.00+	0.28+	2,530,000	2,451,000	M2	17
Melbourne	City	31.42	75,830	74,400	0.23-	1.89-	18,789,000	19,199,000	M2	11
Melton	Shire	450.40	5,974	8,200	133.45+	37.26+	1,052,000	931,000	TM3	12
Moorabbin	City	51.20	109,588	111,100	5.59+	1.38+	4,612,000	4,536,000	M2	17
Mordialloc	City	12.19	29,753	30,200	5.97+	1.50+	1,405,000	1,337,000	M2	17
Mornington	Shire	90.65	14,289	16,300	39.86+	14.07+	1,853,000	1,990,000	M4	18
Northcote	City	17.11	59,303	59,900	5.50+	1.01+	2,706,000	2,646,000	M2	14
Nunawading	City	41.58	90,702	94,800	21.62+	4.51+	4,299,000	4,194,000	M2	16
Oakleigh	City	30.30	57,284	58,000	8.56+	1.25+	3,888,000	3,922,000	M2	17
Port Melbourne	City	10.64	11,705	10,800	7.04-	7.74-	1,122,000	1,062,000	M2	11
Prahan	City	9.55	56,766	56,600	3.86+	0.30-	3,386,000	3,406,000	M2	11
Preston	City	37.02	91,584	92,200	2.02+	0.67+	3,750,000	3,622,000	M2	14
Richmond	City	6.12	28,341	27,700	12.88-	2.27-	1,995,000	1,793,000	M2	11
Ringwood	City	22.76	34,751	36,900	19.25+	6.18+	1,901,000	1,856,000	M2	16
St. Kilda	City	8.57	61,203	61,500	5.27+	0.48+	2,646,000	2,596,000	M2	11
Sandringham	City	14.97	35,460	34,800	3.30-	1.87-	1,796,000	1,726,000	M2	17
Sherbrooke	Shire	193.00	20,484	23,000	15.90+	12.28+	2,120,000	1,897,000	M5c	16
South Melbourne	City	8.91	26,995	25,300	10.71-	6.28-	2,694,000	2,788,000	M2	11
Springvale	City	97.58	58,374	67,800	48.04+	16.15+	3,730,000	3,456,000	M4	18
Sunshine	City	80.03	76,427	80,600	10.34+	5.46+	4,809,000	4,779,000	M4	12
Waverley	City	58.57	97,033	109,600	38.93+	12.95+	5,932,000	5,575,000	M4	16
Werribee	Shire	668.20	25,116	28,200	36.65+	12.28+	1,929,000	1,652,000	CS5b	12
Whittlesea	Shire	598.30	30,327	38,000	81.46+	25.30+	2,313,000	2,251,000	M4	14
Williamstown	City	14.50	30,055	29,800	1.29-	0.85-	1,565,000	1,503,000	M2	12
Total		6,110.00	2,503,022	2,620,400	12.22+	4.69+	173,310,000	168,387,000		

Geelong Statistical District (8 Units)

Bannockburn (part)	Shire	20.68	253	230	7.66-	9.09-	330,000	322,000	R	1
Barrabool (part)	Shire	39.39	463	480	0.87+	3.67+	798,000	834,000	TS5b	1
Bellarine (part)	Shire	67.45	11,074	12,210	30.94+	10.26+	1,386,000	1,422,000	CL5b	1
Corio (part)	Shire	137.60	39,720	42,660	12.18+	7.40+	2,746,000	2,984,000	CL5b	1
Geelong	City	13.44	17,836	17,390	1.62-	2.51-	1,567,000	1,547,000	CL2	1
Geelong West	City	5.26	17,248	17,100	1.65-	0.86-	676,000	670,000	CL2	1
Newtown	City	5.99	11,621	11,580	0.68-	0.36-	629,000	596,000	CL2	1
South Barwon (part)	Shire	57.36	23,872	26,720	23.05+	11.93+	1,576,000	1,550,000	CL5c	1
Total		347.00	122,087	128,370	9.63+	5.15+	8,580,000	8,769,000		

Population 30 June 1974
Population of Brisbane Statistical Division
Percentage of Q'ld Population in Brisbane Division

QUEENSLAND
1,968,800
940,800
47.79%

Brisbane Statistical Division (9 Units)

(1) Local Government Authority	(2) Kind of Unit	(3) Size Sq. Km.	(4) Population 30 June 1971	(5) Estimated Population 30 June 1974	(6) % Change 1966-1971 Census	(7) % Change 1971-1974 Census	(8) Finances Revenue Expenditures		(9) Harris Classification	(10) DURD Region
Brisbane	City	1,000 ⁽⁸⁾	700,620	722,700	6.70+	3.15+	39,735,000	33,473,000	M4	1
Albert (part)	Shire	170	19,195	39,000	160.98+	103.18+	4,797,000	4,074,000	M5b	1
Beaudesert (part)	Shire	241	3,503	5,800	48.87+	65.57+	4,830,000	2,767,000	TM3	1
Caboolture (part)	Shire	201	6,682	8,800	28.62+	31.70+	1,518,000	1,336,000	TM5a	1
Ipswich	City	120	61,582	66,100	12.80+	7.34+	3,644,000	3,628,000	M4	1
Moreton (part)	Shire	157	1,592	3,200	67.93+	101.00+	2,795,000	2,259,000	TS3	1
Pine Rivers (part)	Shire	357	25,121	36,650	106.14+	45.89+	1,843,000	1,739,000	M5b	1
Redcliffe	City	35	34,561	38,150	26.39+	10.38+	1,562,000	1,661,000	M4	1
Redland	Shire	215	14,928	20,400	29.28+	36.66+	2,749,000	2,057,000	M4	1
Total		2,500	867,784	940,800	11.51+	8.41+	55,848,000	47,968,000		

(g) Including area of river (25 sq. km.) within boundaries of city.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Population 30 June 1974
Population Adelaide Statistical Division
Percentage of S.A. Population in Adelaide Division

1,218,200
885,400
72.68%

Adelaide Statistical Division (32 Units)

Adelaide	City	15.29	16,313	14,700	12.39-	9.89-	8,193,000	8,168,000	M2	3
Brighton	City	8.59	22,583	22,100	0.24-	2.14-	741,000	795,000	M2	4
Burnside	City	24.18	39,339	38,900	1.45+	1.12-	1,922,000	1,831,000	M2	3
Campbelltown	City	23.29	37,942	39,900	18.26+	5.16+	1,515,000	1,515,000	M2	3
East Torrens	Dist.Coun.	121.34	4,202	4,700	1.03-	11.85+	220,000	233,000	M4	3
Elizabeth	City	18.99	33,389	33,800	1.31+	1.23-	918,000	1,002,000	M2	1
Enfield	City	50.57	77,435	76,300	0.94-	1.47-	2,278,000	2,228,000	M2	3
Gawler	Muni.	8.79	5,495	5,700	3.65-	3.73+	250,000	277,000	TL2	1
Glenelg	City	4.79	15,237	15,400	3.21+	1.07+	769,000	740,000	M2	2
Henley and Grange	City	6.89	16,128	16,900	14.01+	4.79+	456,000	523,000	M2	2
Hindmarsh	Muni.	4.79	10,306	9,300	9.33-	9.77-	501,000	533,000	M2	2
Kensington and Norwood	City	3.89	11,081	10,600	7.22-	4.35-	430,000	563,000	M2	3
Marion	City	54.28	67,572	67,800	0.88+	0.34+	2,636,000	2,670,000	M4	4
Meadows (part)	Dist.Coun.	174.92	5,128	9,500	81.59+	85.26+	596,000	589,000	M4	4
Mitcham	City	69.97(h)	57,746(i)	59,400(i)	(j)	2.86+	1,781,000	1,553,000	M4	3
Mudla Wirra (part)	Dist.Coun.	1.59	186	200	20.00+	7.53+	263,000	174,000	TL4	8
Munno Para	Dist.Coun.	350.15	20,179	20,300	41.25+	0.60+	839,000	950,000	M5c	1
Noarlunga	Dist.Coun.	166.02	28,464	40,400	100.25+	41.93+	1,447,000	1,584,000	M4	4
Payneham	City	7.09	17,543	17,700	4.13+	0.89+	641,000	649,000	M2	3
Port Adelaide	City	35.09	38,968	37,200	2.20-	4.54-	1,765,000	1,690,000	M2	2
Prospect	City	8.09	20,934	20,300	2.75-	3.03-	691,000	700,000	M2	3
St. Peters	Muni.	3.69	10,675	10,100	5.86-	5.39-	351,000	347,000	M2	3
Salisbury	City	159.03	56,279	70,100	57.35+	24.56+	3,410,000	3,468,000	M4	1
Stirling	Dist.Coun.	107.65	8,359	9,500	10.69+	13.65+	467,000	472,000	TL3	3
Tea Tree Gully	City	123.95	36,708	50,600	72.27+	37.84+	1,671,000	1,644,000	M4	1
Thebarton	Muni.	4.19	11,831	10,900	3.84-	7.87-	473,000	453,000	M2	2
Unley	City	14.19	39,928	39,700	0.49+	0.58-	1,250,000	1,406,000	M2	3
Walkerville	Muni.	3.49	7,208	7,300	6.66+	1.28+	284,000	332,000	M2	3
West Torrens	City	31.19	50,097	49,300	8.36+	1.60-	1,472,000	1,577,000	M2	2
Willunga (part)	Dist.Coun.	191.22	2,614	3,000	19.36+	14.77+	305,000	326,000	R	4
Woodville	City	42.98	72,806	73,800	1.52-	1.37+	2,915,000	2,931,000	M2	2
Unincorporated	-	8.99	18	-	47.06+	-	-	-	-	-

Perth Statistical Division (26 Units)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		(9)	(10)
Local Government Authority	Kind of Unit	Size Sq. Km.	Population 30 June 1971	Estimated Population 30 June 1974	% Change 1966-1971 Census	% Change 1971-1974 Census	Finances Revenue	Finances Expenditures	Harris Classification	DURD Region
Armada Kelmescott	Shire	713.44	15,644	22,400	99.54+	43.19+	1,142,000	1,110,000	M5b	13
Bassendean	Shire	10.15	11,360	11,300	16.48+	0.53-	701,000	711,000	M2	11
Bayswater	Shire	27.66	34,261	37,000	31.14+	7.99+	2,014,000	2,206,000	M4	11
Belmont	Shire	39.76	32,656	32,300	20.93+	1.10-	1,806,000	2,116,000	M4	12
Canning	Town	64.78	35,382	40,100	49.85+	13.33+	2,576,000	2,551,000	M4	12
Clairemont	Town	5.02	9,179	9,100	2.68+	0.87-	494,000	507,000	M2	11
Cockburn	Town	137.79	25,011	27,400	80.61+	9.55+	1,053,000	1,012,000	M4	12
Cottesloe	Town	3.91	7,997	7,600	1.65-	4.97-	458,000	456,000	M2	11
East Fremantle	Town	3.16	7,325	6,900	6.04+	5.81-	376,000	401,000	M2	12
Fremantle	City	17.82	26,036	25,100	2.87+	3.60-	2,404,000	2,511,000	M2	12
Gosnells	Town	125.10	22,040	32,300	93.64+	46.55+	1,604,000	1,526,00	M4	13
Kalamunda	Shire	354.36	18,362	22,000	85.46+	19.81+	1,244,000	1,174,000	M4	13
Kwinana	Shire	118.21	12,224	13,100	110.90+	7.17+	972,000	1,010,000	CS5b	12
Melville	City	53.33	52,976	53,400	10.59+	0.80+	2,195,000	2,206,000	M4	12
Mosman Park	Town	4.33	7,199	7,000	24.27+	2.77-	310,000	408,000	M2	11
Mundaring	Shire	640.51	12,018	14,000	34.41+	16.49+	778,000	758,000	M4	13
Nedlands	City	20.59	22,878	21,500	1.97-	6.03-	1,009,000	943,000	M2	11
Peppermint Grove	Shire	1.04	1,511	1,500	5.62-	0.73-	96,000	105,000	M2	11
Perth	City	63.14	97,546	92,400	1.27+	5.28-	11,965,000	12,204,000	M2	11
Rockingham	Shire	261.33	11,608	12,900	164.84+	11.13+	789,000	968,000	CS4	12
Serpentine	Shire	744.88	1,981	2,000	13.39+	0.96+	184,000	186,000	R	13
Jarrahdale	City	19.87	31,702	30,800	1.08-	2.85-	1,348,000	1,417,000	M2	12
South Perth	City	115.05	154,882	161,900	35.34+	4.53+	7,077,000	6,547,000	M4	11
Stirling	City	7.04	17,119	16,000	2.95+	6.54-	875,000	863,000	M2	11
Subiaco	Shire	1,028.88	25,682	27,500	34.00+	7.08+	1,378,000	1,300,000	M4	13
Swan	Shire	787.10	8,620	32,500	253.28+	277.03+	2,750,000	2,790,000	M5b	13
Wanneroo	Shire	787.10	8,620	32,500	253.28+	277.03+	2,750,000	2,790,000	M5b	13
Total		5,368.00	703,199	760,000	25.73+	8.08+	47,598,000	47,986,000		

TASMANIA

Population 30 June 1974 400,400
 Population, Hobart Statistical Division 161,320
 Percentage of Tasmania Population in Hobart Division 40.29%

Hobart Statistical Division (7 Units)

Brighton (part)	Muni.	72.93	2,333(1)	3,020	16.17+	29.45+	178,000	154,000	R	1
Clarence	City	251.20	37,104	40,820	22.71+	10.02+	1,498,000	1,390,000	CL5b	1
Glenorchy	City	119.76	42,651	43,960	9.21+	3.07+	1,746,000	1,632,000	CL4	1
Hobart	City	79.82	52,426	52,550	1.56-	0.24+	5,235,000	4,639,000	CL4	1
Kingborough (part)	Muni.	267.11	10,815(1)	12,380	6.32+	14.47+	645,000	596,000	TM5b	1
New Norfolk (part)	Muni.	62.63	10,613(1)	10,650	16.48+	0.34+	442,000	430,000	TL3	1
Sorell (part)	Muni.	84.98	3,636(1)	3,910	21.98+	7.54+	284,000	320,000	TS3	1
Total		938.00	153,216	161,320	8.42+	5.29+	10,028,000	9,161,000		

- (1) Figure given in Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Tasmanian Statistics*, SS1975, No. 40. These figures do not agree with those in Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, *1971 Census of Population and Housing*, p. 5, which show Brighton 1,336, Kingborough 9,781, New Norfolk 7,343 and Sorell 2,575. Percentages in Column 6 are calculated from the Census base.

Appendix to Chapter II (cont.)

Sources: Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, *1971 Census of Population and Housing*, Bulletin 6, Population and Dwellings in Local Government Areas and Urban Centres, Parts 1-9; Australian Bureau of Statistics, State Offices, Estimated Population of Municipalities and Shires at 30 June 1974 (titles vary by state).

- Notes: (a) Area figures for South Australia converted from hectares.
Area figures for Western Australia and Tasmania converted from square miles.
Totals of areas, estimated population, and revenues and expenditures rounded.
- (b) The Harris classification represents a pioneer effort to identify the elements, the common possession of which makes a group of local authorities homogeneous. The classifications are as follows:
- M1 Metropolitan local authority identical with urban centre.
 - M2 Metropolitan local authority containing only part of an urban centre.
 - M3 Metropolitan local authority containing a complete urban centre and rural areas.
 - M4 Metropolitan local authority containing part of an urban centre and rural area.
 - M5a Metropolitan local authority containing more than one complete urban centre and rural area.
 - M5b Metropolitan local authority containing one or more complete urban centres, one or more parts of urban centres, and rural areas.
 - M5c Metropolitan local authority containing part of two or more urban centres and rural areas.

An M authority occurs only in centres of 500,000 or more population.

Where CL appears instead of M, it denotes a large city local authority (100,000 - 499,999).

Where CM appears instead of M, it denotes a medium city local authority (25,000 - 99,999).

Where CS appears instead of M, it denotes a small city local authority (10,000 - 24,999).

Where TL appears instead of M, it denotes a large town local authority (5,000 - 9,999).

Where TM appears instead of M, it denotes a medium town local authority (2,500 - 4,999).

Where TS appears instead of M, it denotes a small town local authority (1,000 - 2,499).

Where R appears instead of the other letters or combinations thereof, it denotes a rural local authority with no association with an urban centre.

See C.P. Harris, *The Classification of Australian Local Authorities*, Research Monograph No. 9, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, 1975.

- (c) The Department of Urban and Regional Development of the Australian government, on the basis of discussions with state and local government officials and of consideration of the kinds of federal programs operating in the areas, established a set of regions for local government areas in Australia between 1973 and 1975. Regions were established in both non-metropolitan and metropolitan areas. The criteria used in grouping local government areas together in metropolitan regions were the following:

- functional linkages, in particular, patterns of road and rail networks, the location of employment, the location of major retail centres and the direction of journeys to work;
- socio-economic homogeneity, as identified by social area analysis;
- expressions of community interest, including formal and informal local government affiliations, coalitions of various community groups, and State Government proposals for administrative areas;
- topography, where significant;
- population size, when other criteria did not clearly indicate the regional allocation of a local government area;
- in general, the most suitable criteria were used for the delimitation of each region because uniform application of criteria would not produce optimal solutions. It should also be noted that geometric regularity was not a criterion. On the other hand, strict adherence to local government boundaries was a criterion.
- major future developments likely to affect the future orientation of local government areas.'

III EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS FOR GOVERNANCE IN AUSTRALIAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

As the Appendix to Chapter II shows, as of 1974 there were wide variations in the pattern of government among the metropolitan statistical divisions and districts in the six Australian states. The number of local government authorities therein ranged from 56 in the Melbourne division to three in the Wollongong district. Area of a local authority's jurisdiction varied from 1.59 sq. km. to 2,645.92 sq. km., and revenue in 1972-73 ranged from \$178,000 to \$39,735,000. Table III-1 summarizes the data presented in the Appendix to Chapter II in terms of metropolitan statistical divisions or districts. If the two Sydney areas are considered as one, as they will be in the subsequent analysis, the nine metropolitan statistical divisions and districts compare as shown in Table III-1.

When compared as to number of local government authorities per square kilometre and by population, the nine statistical divisions and districts appear as follows:

Sydney area:	1 local government for every 269.5 sq. km and for every 66,181 persons
Newcastle:	1 local government for every 589.6 sq. km. and for every 72,018 persons
Wollongong:	1 local government for every 374.6 sq. km. and for every 69,517 persons
Melbourne:	1 local government for every 109.1 sq. km. and for every 46,793 persons
Geelong:	1 local government for every 43.37 sq. km. and for every 16,046 persons
Brisbane:	1 local government for every 277.7 sq. km. and for every 104,533 persons
Adelaide:	1 local government for every 57.79 sq. km. and for every 27,669 persons
Perth:	1 local government for every 206.47 sq. km. and for every 29,308 persons
Hobart:	1 local government for every 134.06 sq. km. and for every 23,045 persons.

Clearly, the local governments in Geelong have the smallest areas and the fewest people to service, while those in Newcastle have the largest area and those in Brisbane the most people to serve.

Table III-1
COMPARISON OF TYPES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NINE STATISTICAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS OF AUSTRALIA 1971-74

Statistical Division or District	Number of Local Government Authorities	Total Area in Division or District (sq. km.)	Kind of Local Government Unit	Population	% Change of Population 1971-1974	Total Finances 1972-73 Revenue \$	Expenditures \$	Harris Classification
Sydney	46	12,398	Shires - 8 Muni. - 31 Cities - 7	2,898,300	17.19+	180,249,000	173,235,000	M2 - 27 M4 - 20 M5b - 3 CM5b - 1 CS3 - 1 CS5b - 1 TL5a - 1 TS5b - 1 TS3 - 1
Newcastle	5	2,948	Shires - 2 Cities - 3	360,090	2.43+	22,494,000	21,334,000	CL5b - 1 CL5c - 1 CS5a - 1 CS5b - 1 TL5b - 1
Wollongong	3	1,124	Muni. - 2 Cities - 1	208,550	4.77+	12,621,000	12,850,000	CL4 - 1 CL5b - 1 TM3 - 1
Melbourne	56	6,110	Shires - 14 Cities - 42	2,620,400	4.69+	173,310,000	168,387,000	M2 - 31 M4 - 14 M5b - 1 M5c - 3 CS5b - 1 TL5a - 1 TM3 - 2 TS5a - 1 TS5b - 1 unclassified - 1
Geelong	8	347	Shires - 14 Cities - 3	128,370	5.15+	8,580,000	8,769,000	CL2 - 3 CL5b - 2 CL5c - 1 TS5b - 1 R - 1
Brisbane	9	2,500	Shires - 6 Cities - 3	940,800	8.41+	55,848,000	47,968,000	M4 - 4 M5b - 2 TM3 - 1 TM5a - 1 TS3 - 1
Adelaide	31	1,849(a)	Dist.Coun. - 7 Muni. - 5 Cities - 19	885,400	5.07+	41,293,000	41,845,000	M2 - 19 M4 - 7 M5c - 1 TL2 - 1 TL3 - 1 TL4 - 1 R - 1
Perth	26	5,368	Shires - 12 Towns - 7 Cities - 7	760,000	8.08+	47,598,000	47,986,000	M2 - 11 M4 - 10 M5b - 2 CS4 - 1 CS5b - 1 R - 1
Hobart	7	938	Muni. - 4 Cities - 3	161,320	5.29+	10,028,000	9,161,000	CL4 - 2 CL5b - 1 TL3 - 1 TM5b - 1 TS3 - 1 R - 1

But comparisons are not particularly useful in an analysis such as this. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the governmental pattern in each of the areas in each State in turn.

NEW SOUTH WALES

The Sydney Metropolitan Statistical Divisions

The two Sydney areas are together by far the largest of the metropolitan statistical divisions and districts in Australia, in terms of area, population, and predicted population growth. Local government in Sydney began with the constitution of the central city itself by statute in 1848. As new areas were settled, they were not brought into the city of Sydney but were organized under independent local government authorities, until by 1974 there were 46 local councils in the two Sydney areas. Twenty-nine of the 46 councils responded to the local government questionnaire¹ sent by the author to every local council in Australia in 1975. Of the 29 councils, five reported having been established before 1869, 13 between 1870 and 1890, six between 1891 and 1910, four between 1931 and 1950, and only one since 1951. If those proportions hold for the other 17 councils in the areas, it would suggest that, for the most part, the basic pattern of local government in the areas was set many years ago. Of course, many of the local government authorities have been upgraded or merged with other local government jurisdictions over time. Penrith, to cite one example, was made a municipality in 1871, underwent merger with adjacent units three times, and was proclaimed a city in 1960. Sydney itself, having undergone a major consolidation in 1949, was reduced in area by over one half and in population by a considerable number by a transfer made by the New South Wales government in 1968 to the newly created municipality of South Sydney and to other contiguous municipalities. The scope of council authority has also been considerably expanded over the years as the *Local Government Act* 1919 has been amended.

But as the Sydney areas have developed, they have done so unevenly. The quality of services provided by the councils has varied widely. Inadequate sewerage has been a persistent problem, as have an 'undesirable admixture of industry and housing ... lack of recreation space in some areas ... slums in others ... endless, shapeless sprawl, and particularly in the centre ... heavy, at times chaotic, traffic conditions and ... smog ...'.² Indeed, Sydney has long presented a classic example of the metropolitan problem.

¹ See the Appendix to this Chapter for a copy of that questionnaire.

² Andrew and Nancy Learmonth, *Encyclopedia of Australia*, 2nd edn, F. Warne and Co., London, 1973, pp. 520-21.

Special Metropolitan Governmental Bodies

The Appendix to Chapter II lists all the local councils involved in governing the Sydney and other New South Wales statistical areas in 1975. In addition to the local councils, each of the areas is served also by a number of special governmental bodies constituted on a regional basis and a great many of the regular departments and agencies of the state governments. There is also in each area a variety of inter-council agreements covering particular services and several regional associations of governments of one type or another. All of these will be described briefly for the Sydney areas and, in later sections, for each of the other state metropolitan areas in Australia.

(a) *County Councils.* New South Wales is unique among Australian states in that, under the *Local Government Act*, groups of municipalities and/or shires may constitute county councils on their own initiative. If they do so, the county council is made up of delegates chosen from the constituent councils. Under the law, the constituent councils may turn over whatever of their own powers to the county council they choose to. In fact, their use has been confined to a limited range of services which individual councils have not felt capable of handling by themselves. In the Sydney metropolitan areas, the following county councils carry on the functions indicated:

Distribution of electricity:	Sydney County Council
	Brisbane Water County Council
	Prospect County Council
	Mackellar County Council

Control of noxious weeds:	Hawkesbury River County Council
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The largest of these councils is the Sydney County Council, which provides services to 27 cities, municipalities and shires, in whole or in part, divided among five 'constituencies'.³ The Brisbane Water Council, on the other hand, provides electricity only to Gosford and Wyong shires.

³ First Constituency: City of Sydney
Second Constituency: Ashfield, Auburn, Bankstown, Burwood, Canterbury, Concord, Drummoyne, Strathfield
Third Constituency: Randwick, Waverley, Woollahra, Sutherland Shire
Fourth Constituency: Hornsby Shire, Hunters Hill, Ku-ring-gai, Lane Cove, Mosman, North Sydney, Parramatta City (portion), Ryde, Willoughby
Fifth Constituency: Botany, Leichhardt, Marrickville, South Sydney, Rockdale (portion)

(b) *Metropolitan Water Sewerage and Drainage Board.* The giant of the Sydney regional bodies established by the state government is the Metropolitan Water Sewerage and Drainage Board (MWSDB), which dates from 1888. According to the 86th Annual Report of the Board, it is 'responsible for the conservation, preservation and distribution of water throughout its "declared area of operations", for the provision of sewerage facilities in that area ... adequate ... for control of pollution, and for the construction, control and maintenance of certain stormwater channels'. The declared area of operations, which totals about 11,500 sq. km., extends from the Hawkesbury River in the north to the Gerroa in the south, and westward from the Pacific to the foothills of the Blue Mountains. 'It thus includes not only the whole of metropolitan Sydney, but also a number of outlying cities, municipalities and shires, as well as the South Coast areas, embraced by the City of Wollongong and municipalities of Shellharbour and Kiama. River catchments developed to provide water supply to the area extend in some cases far beyond these boundaries.'⁴ Not only does MWSDB thus serve more Australians than any other urban governmental unit in Australia (an estimated 3,089,000 persons at 30 June 1974), but it also constitutes one of the very few intermetropolitan bodies in Australia, overlapping as it does the Sydney and Wollongong metropolitan areas in providing service. As of 1974, it did not contemplate an enlargement of its 'declared area of operations', but it had embarked on a ten-year program to help meet the water and sewerage needs of the entire area. In its operations, it is in constant touch with the various municipal and shire councils in the area as well as with such state departments as the Department of Mines, the Soil Conservation Service of New South Wales and the State Planning Authority. Indeed, the State Planning Authority consulted extensively with MWSDB as the Authority drew up its plan for the future of the Sydney Region. Despite its large area of jurisdiction, however, some properties in the metropolitan areas of Sydney continue to be 'served by Council and Australian Government systems'.⁵

(c) *Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority.* The Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority is a statutory body created by the state in 1968 and constituted in 1970. It is responsible for preserving

⁴ Metropolitan Water Sewerage and Drainage Board, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report Year Ended 30th June, 1974*, Sydney, 1974, p. 1.

⁵ Metropolitan Water Sewerage and Drainage Board, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Those systems are the Penrith, Windsor, Holsworthy, Moorebank and Ingleburn systems.

and redeveloping, and for beautifying and revitalizing, some 53 acres of state-owned land in the historic East Rocks section of the City of Sydney, which is regarded as the nation's birthplace. Although it has no powers of government and is required to be self-supporting, its impact on the Sydney City Council will probably grow as its redevelopment scheme moves toward completion. At least as far as planning, traffic control and parking are concerned, a good deal of co-ordination between the Council and the Authority would seem to be required.

(d) *Metropolitan Waste Disposal Authority.* The Metropolitan Waste Disposal Authority was created by the state in 1971. It was given 'responsibilities, powers, authorities, duties and functions with respect to the transport, collection, reception, treatment, storage and disposal of waste within the Metropolitan Waste Disposal Region ...'.⁶ The Waste Disposal Region covers the areas of 40 city, municipal and shire councils, as indicated on Map III-1. A Sydney Region Solid Waste Management Plan was released in August 1974, phase one of which has been progressively implemented with the co-operation of the councils in the region. Indeed, the Authority has endeavoured to maintain constant and effective liaison with councils on all matters of its operation.⁷

(e) *Sydney Farm Produce Market Authority.* The Sydney Farm Produce Market Authority was established by a special Act of Parliament, passed in 1968, which empowers it to maintain, control and manage public markets for the sale of farm produce within the County of Cumberland. (The County of Cumberland was the name of a land registration area which covered most of the Sydney metropolitan area; for a while after World War II it was used as a planning area.) The Authority operates the Sydney fruit and vegetable markets, the principal centre for wholesale marketing of fresh fruit and vegetables in New South Wales. Before 1 January 1969 the markets were owned and controlled by the Council of the City of Sydney. Fruit and vegetables sold at these markets are received by road, rail, air and sea from intrastate and interstate sources. Most of the business conducted at the markets comprises sales by growers' agents or co-operative societies to retailers; growers may sell direct to buyers in a section of the

⁶ *Metropolitan Waste Disposal Act 1870 (Act No. 97)*, quoted in *Metropolitan Waste Disposal Authority, Annual Report, June 1975*, Sydney, 1975, p. 1.

⁷ On the other hand, Professor Henry Maddick recently referred to the Waste Disposal Authority as an 'institutional contrivance' (quoted by L. Hawkins in 'Education for Local Government - Why the Maddick Report is Not the Answer', *The Australian Municipal Journal*, August 1975, p. 50).

Map III-1



Source: Metropolitan Waste Disposal Authority, *Annual Report June 1975*, p. 3.

markets known as the producers' market. New markets, which have been constructed by the Authority at Flemington in Sydney's Western Suburbs, opened in 1975, replacing the old markets at Sydney's Haymarket.

State Government Agencies

As has already been noted, many services which in the United States are provided to residents by local units of government are in Australia provided directly by the state governments. The Sydney City Council in its *City of Sydney Strategic Plan* of 1971 listed 53 state departments and agencies having an influence on Sydney's growth and development.⁸ Not all of those agencies provide services to residents of the Sydney metropolitan areas. The town clerk of Kogarah provided a list of such agencies in his reply to the local government questionnaire. That smaller list may be taken as sufficiently inclusive:

State Fisheries
Department of Motor Transport
Health Commission of N.S.W.
Fire Commissioners
Civil Defence State Emergency Services
Clerk of Petty Sessions and District Court
Department of Education
Police Department
Public Transport Commission
Totalizator Agency Board
The St. George Hospital
Department of Main Roads⁹

It is neither possible nor necessary to describe the contributions of each of these state departments and agencies in terms of the services they provide to metropolitan area residents. However, the work of one department deserves special mention as it may well be changing the nature of the overall metropolitan area itself. Working with local government authorities, the Department of Main Roads is developing a freeway system which is not only providing better communications within the Sydney metropolitan areas (Southern Cross Drive to Kingsford Smith Airport and the Warringah Freeway in the North Sydney area are part of the system), but it is also pushing freeway construction from those areas north to the Newcastle metropolitan area and south toward the Wollongong area, thereby hastening the day when there will be but one giant megalopolis on the New South Wales coast.

⁸ Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan*, Sydney, 1971, p. 63.

⁹ J.K. Forbes, Town Clerk, Municipality of Kogarah, to author, 13 January 1976.

Two other departments and agencies which might have been included on the Kogarah list are: the State Pollution Control Commission (which administers the *Clean Air Act* 1961, the *Clean Water Act* 1970 and the *Noise Control Act* 1975 and which hears appeals against decisions of the Metropolitan Waste Disposal Authority); and the Planning and Environment Commission of New South Wales, which has general supervision of planning in the state. 'Local councils prepare and adopt local plans and [are] responsible for development control, the local environment and informing and involving the public. Local councils ... make local decisions and carry out local planning processes within regional or subregional guidelines and plans.' Outside the Sydney region, regional development councils are in the process of development. For Sydney itself, the Planning and Environment Commission is guided by the Sydney region Outline Plan, prepared by the Commission's predecessor, the State Planning Authority of New South Wales in 1968, and is preparing sub-regional structure plans. Councils in the Sydney region 'will be encouraged to group together on a sub-regional basis to advise the NSW Planning and Environment Commission and for any delegated functions from constituent councils. Sub-regional groups may have environmental planning responsibilities for sub-regional plans if councils so decide.'¹⁰

The state has also provided for a Sydney Area Transportation Study, which reported in 1974¹¹ and subsequently commissioned a special Urban Transport Study Group to carry out research in land use/transportation matters in the Sydney region. The Study Group is presently involved in making regional transportation studies for the Gosford-Wyong urban area. The studies include personal and freight ground transport by all modes.¹²

Basically, these departments and agencies offer the same services to all local government authorities in the Sydney metropolitan areas. Occasionally, a state department will offer a special service to a local governmental unit, as, for example, the state Department of Public Works did in 1975 to Wyong Shire, when it assisted in the provision of sewerage. And some local governments may avail themselves of state services while others do not: the municipality of Drummoyne, for example, is served by the N.S.W. Ambulance Transport Service.

¹⁰ Minister for Planning and Environment, *Proposals for a New Environmental Planning System for New South Wales*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1975, p. 4.

¹¹ See Sydney Area Transportation Study, *A Transport Plan for Sydney - 2000*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1974.

¹² A.L. McNeill, Study Director, Urban Transport Study Group of New South Wales, to author, 27 October 1975.

Agreements Between Local Councils

To some extent the needs of an area larger than that encompassed by a single city, municipality or shire are met by arrangements made between two or more local units for the joint provision of services. From the questionnaire submitted to all the local councils in the Sydney metropolitan areas in 1975, it is apparent that many such arrangements are in force. Eighteen of the 29 councils responding to the questionnaire indicated they were involved with one or more other councils in agreements to provide their citizens with needed services. While most councils reported only one or two joint arrangements in force, the City of Drummoyne reported five: a library agreement with Burwood; a reclamation agreement with Concord; a dredging agreement with Ashfield; a two-way radio agreement with Leichhardt, Burwood, Concord and Strathfield; and a garbage-tipping agreement with Auburn. Interestingly enough, the City of Sydney itself reported no agreements with other local government units. Listed below, in order of the frequency of use, are the service areas reported as being jointly provided by one or more councils:

- Library services
- Boundary road maintenance
- Garbage tipping (disposal)
- Water supply
- Parks
- River clearing
- Bay improvement
- Baby health centres
- Reclamation
- Dredging
- Two-way radio services
- Ferry operations
- Eradication of noxious weeds.

Regional Associations of Local Government Authorities

(a) *Local Government Assemblies.* Another way in which some of the local government units in the Sydney metropolitan areas approach area-wide problems is through assemblies of local government authorities, composed of representatives of the councils involved. Regular meetings of these associations are held to discuss matters of mutual interest to all the councils concerned and to make recommendations for action back to the local councils. Four such assemblies were reported in the responses to the questionnaire as operative in the Sydney metropolitan areas: the Northern Suburbs Municipal and Shire Assembly; the St. George and Sutherland Council Assembly; the Western Metropolitan Municipal and Shire Assembly; and the Metropolitan Municipal and Shires Association. In addition, a number of more limited regional associations have

been created. These include: the Georges River Combined Council Development and Water Pollution Control Committee; the North Western Transport and Town Planning Committee; the Northside Advisory Committee on Planning and Development; and the Sydney Harbour and Parramatta River Conservation Co-ordination Committee. The local government authorities in the Sydney areas also have access to the general Local Government Association of New South Wales, which provides information, advice and co-ordination of policies and attitudes toward the New South Wales government.¹³

(b) *Regional Organizations for Federal Programs.* In addition to the associations developed on council initiative to serve as forums for the discussion of area-wide interests, regional organizations were established throughout Australia in 1973 on the initiative of the federal Labor government. The primary purposes of these organizations were to link local government authorities in making submissions for financial assistance to the Australian Grants Commission and, in some cases, to implement the Area Improvement Program of the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD). New South Wales regions 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 involved local government authorities in the Sydney statistical area (see Appendix to Chapter II, column 10). One

¹³ In addition, the six capital cities of Australia, as such, have joined together in the Australian Capital Cities Secretariat. Its 'business is generally confined to those matters of particular interest to the Councils of the six State capitals, as distinct from matters of general local interest which are dealt with by the State Local Government Associations or the Australian Council of Local Government Associations' (J.S. Lewis, Town Clerk of Hobart, to author, 5 November 1975).

'The role of the Secretariat is subject to debate between Capital City Councils; but there is a consensus that -

The Secretary should concentrate on the analysis and investigation of the more important national and international developments taking place in local government considerations that are vital to the Capital City Councils' (S.E. Douglas, Office of the Australian Capital Cities Secretariat, to author, 5 February 1976).

In fact, the Secretariat has concerned itself chiefly with 'discussing approaches to the Australian government on finance for and research needs in the central area[s]' of the constituent cities (J.S. Lewis to author).

of the main functions of the regional organizations was to serve as focal points for attack on and solution of area-wide problems.¹⁴ As a Department of Urban and Regional Development publication put it, the regional organizations were to provide a means of 'establishing new opportunities for local government in planning economic and social development by encouraging individual councils to actively co-operate with the other[s] at a regional level'.¹⁵

Following the defeat of the Labor government in 1975, the Department of Urban and Regional Development was incorporated into the Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development and the regional programs were abandoned. Even so, the usefulness of the regional organizations was attested to in a number of responses to the questionnaire. As the town clerk of Parramatta noted in responding to the questionnaire:

'The Sydney Western Region 14 Regional Council has been very valuable as a medium for the exchange of views and problems of constituent Councils within the region, and has probably given a sense of identity to the Sydney Western Region.'¹⁶

The town clerk of Auburn added that the recent establishment of a permanent secretariat would make the regional council of region 14 able to pay even more attention to 'matters of regional interest'.¹⁷ Speaking of another of the regional organizations, the town clerk of Hurstville commented:

'The Sydney-Southern Region 16 Committee, comprising representatives of seven (7) councils, and set up by DURD, has provided the opportunity to relate on a regular basis to the Local Authorities within the same geographical region. Flowing from this is an

¹⁴ For a discussion of the regionalization program of the Australian government, see: C.P. Harris, *Social Planning and Regionalism in Australia*, Reprinted from Proceedings of the Royal Australian Planning Institute (Queensland Division) 1974 Country Seminar, Cairns, July 1974, as No. 3 in the Reprint Series of the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University; and John Fagan, 'What Have Been the Successes and Problems of Regionalism?', *Australian Municipal Journal*, Vol. 55 No. 876, September 1975, pp. 85-87.

¹⁵ Department of Urban and Regional Development, *Regions*, Canberra, 1973, p. 1.

¹⁶ K.H. Willis, Town Clerk, City of Parramatta, to author, 8 December 1975.

¹⁷ G.J. Lane, Town Clerk, Municipality of Auburn, to author, 2 December 1975.

appreciation of problems confronting other Councils and an appreciation of each other's needs on the basis of Regional priorities rather than local. Through representatives of DURD, Local Government is being kept aware and up-to-date with Australian Government initiatives. Of course, the more tangible aspect of financial assistance through the Area Improvement Programme, is of considerable benefit to the Councils in achieving objectives ... The funding of projects also provides the impetus to sustain the organisation in its formative years. Much more involvement of Member Councils in the Committee's affairs by serving on Sub-Committees, and Working Groups, is needed.¹⁸

Under the federal Labor government, the Social Welfare Commission and the Department of Social Security also established regional social development councils in all the states in connection with the Australian Assistance Plan. Local government bodies sometimes helped to establish or participated in these councils. The South West Sydney Regional Social Development Council was typical of those bodies in the Sydney areas. That Council included the municipalities of Canterbury, Hurstville, Kogarah, Marrickville and Rockdale. It functioned as a community organization, responsible for developing plans for the expenditure of federal assistance funds in the region. It had a secretariat, and unlike the Grants Commission - DURD regional organizations, which were 'concerned with structure, from an organisational point of view', the Social Development Council was said to be concerned with 'process':

'Involvement of "grass roots" participation and community development in a whole range of activities, not by any means all requiring funding, is seen as important in meeting the need in society to be involved in decision making on matters affecting the community. The Social Development Council is complementary to the Region 16 Committee; lines of communication and co-operation between the two organisations are developing but need to be improved.'¹⁹

¹⁸ J.A. Barnard, Town Clerk, Municipality of Hurstville, to author, 26 November 1975.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Following the defeat of the Labor government, federal financial support was withdrawn from social development councils in 1976 and their future is uncertain.

(c) *State Regions for Administrative and Development Purposes.* Finally, there is also a number of state administrative regions of one kind or another in which local councils are linked for the administrative convenience of the state departments concerned. These are chiefly in the areas of education, health and tourism. In addition, after over twenty years of development New South Wales entered into a regionalization program in 1971. N.S.W. Region Nine was envisaged as the metropolitan region under that program. It 'was divided into the Hunter District [embracing Newcastle], the Illawarra District [Wollongong] and an unnamed metropolitan area corresponding with what the State Planning Authority designated as the Sydney Region in its *Outline Plan* of 1968 and comprising the Sydney and Outer Sydney [Metropolitan] Statistical Divisions'. The districts were subsequently renamed regions. There was to be an advisory council for each region. 'These proposals were codified in the *Regional Organisation Act* 1972, which gave the Minister [for Local Government] power to establish, abolish and name regions or districts [and] to take responsibility for setting up the Advisory Councils ...' Each council was to consist of seven local government, seven state administrative, and seven citizen representatives. The seven local government representatives and their alternates were to be elected, the others appointed by the Minister. 'The main duties of the Advisory Councils were laid down as : (1) to take all necessary action to encourage and stimulate the social and economic development of the region or district as a whole; (2) to ascertain and recommend the most appropriate means of achieving that development.'²⁰ The advisory councils were inaugurated in 1973, but none of the Sydney area respondents to the local government questionnaire mentioned them. A draft Act providing for some alterations in the regional council system was prepared in late 1975. Early reactions to it by local government were largely negative, on the grounds that under the Act the Minister for Decentralisation and Development could remove council members and that councils could be required 'to investigate, advise, or report on anything which may be put forward by a Minister, State Department or statutory body', thus effectively downgrading the role of local government in regional affairs.²¹

²⁰ See T.N. Cappie-Wood, 'Regional Development Viewed from Sydney', *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. 34, No. 1, March 1965, pp. 77-86. The quotations are from that source.

²¹ G.W. Matterson, Town Clerk, Municipality of Kiama, to T. Bruxner, Minister for Decentralisation and Development, 25 November 1975 (copy supplied to author by Mr Matterson).

Special note might be made of still another device for local government co-operation. Local government authorities in the Sydney areas, as elsewhere in the state, are brought together through the Co-ordinating Committee of the Bush Fire Council of New South Wales, established under state auspices. Though most local councils in Australia have created their own bush fire brigades, there is a number of ways in which they can work together. In New South Wales, the Co-ordinating Committee serves the functions of keeping councils in touch with one another 'on all matters associated with the bush fire organization in the areas concerned ... ' ²² and of sponsoring regional training schools for bush fire fighters sent by participating councils. By 1974, twelve Bush Fire Prevention Associations had been formed; local government units in the Sydney metropolitan areas were involved in three of them, as follows:

- Blue Mountains Association: City of Blue Mountains; Shire of Colo
- Central Coast Association: Shires of Gosford and Wyong
- Outer Sydney Association: Cities of Campbelltown, Liverpool and Penrith; Municipalities of Blacktown, Camden, Fairfield, Ku-ring-gai and Windsor; Shires of Baulkham Hills, Hornsby, Sutherland and Warringah.

The Newcastle and Wollongong Metropolitan Statistical Districts

Newcastle is the largest city in Australia outside the mainland state capitals. The Newcastle area contains one of Australia's largest industrial concentrations based on coal mining, iron and steel, and other manufacturing industries. It is a major port city - the state dockyards are situated there - and it serves as the regional centre of the agriculturally rich Hunter Valley. Wollongong began as a port city, and Port Kembla in the Wollongong area remains a major Australian port today. Coal exporting, steel making and other manufacturing give the area a strong economic base.

Though recognized currently as individual districts for statistical reasons, Newcastle and Wollongong in fact seem to be merely northern and southern extensions of the Sydney metropolitan

²² Parliament of New South Wales, *Report of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Bush Fire Council of New South Wales for the Year ended 31 March 1974*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1975, No. 15, p. 8.

areas. They are linked with those areas in so many ways it seems unlikely to many that they will keep their separate identities. Indeed, the *Sydney Region Outline Plan* incorporates as one of its principles (Principle No. 6) the development of 'the Sydney-Newcastle-Wollongong area as one inter-related linear urban complex ... There are clear advantages both for the State and for the areas concerned in the fostering of a much closer inter-relationship between the economies and port facilities of the urbanised Central Coast areas, as well as making the most of the special coastal assets for living and recreation which are the Region's special attraction. This will provide an urban complex strong enough and large enough to ensure its importance in the pattern of world trade.' That complex is already well on the road to realization.

Newcastle. The Newcastle metropolitan district contains: the central city of Greater Newcastle, created in 1938 by the amalgamation of eleven municipalities and parts of two shires, and expanded again in 1958 when Lower Hunter Shire was incorporated into it; the City of Maitland, created in 1945 by amalgamation of several municipalities dating back as far as 1861; part of the city of Greater Cessnock; and the two shires of Lake Macquarie and Port Stephens. If DURD Region 9 - called the Hunter Region - were taken as the Newcastle metropolitan area, it would include two additional municipalities and eight additional shires. The area is growing rapidly, and it may not be long before some of the other local government authorities will be included within it.

The responses to the local government questionnaire indicated that in addition to the local councils themselves and the state departments described above in the discussions of the Sydney areas, a regional body plays an important role in the provision of services to residents of the Newcastle district. The Hunter District Water Board, created by the state in 1892, provides the essential services of water, sewerage and stormwater drainage to a district which includes over 4,400 sq. km., centering on Newcastle and extending to Lake Macquarie in the south, Maitland and Cessnock in the west, and Port Stephens in the north, an area about two-thirds the size of the statistical district.²³ In the remainder of the district, the services supplied by the Board are the responsibility of the local councils. The Shortland County Council supplies electricity to the municipalities in the Newcastle area.

The Urban Transport Study Group of New South Wales, mentioned in the discussion of the Sydney areas, is also making a regional transportation study in the Newcastle area.

²³ Hunter District Water Board, *Annual Report 1973-74*, pp. 2,4-24.

As in the Sydney metropolitan areas, a number of joint governmental arrangements have been developed in the Newcastle area. A joint Committee of Management has been established by the Newcastle and Maitland councils to manage the abattoirs in the two cities; and Port Stephens has an agreement with Newcastle City covering markets and library services. In addition, the Shortland County Council supplies electricity and the Aberdare County Council provides gas to local governments for distribution to consumers.

The various local governments in the area work together through the Hunter Valley Local Government Association, which provides a forum for the discussion of matters of common local government interest. They also formed the Hunter Regional Organisation (Region 9) which was established for Grants Commission and DURD purposes; and participated in the social development council instituted by the federal Labor government.

Wollongong. Wollongong is the simplest of all the metropolitan statistical divisions and districts of Australia as far as local government is concerned. Wollongong Municipality was created in 1859, as was the Municipality of Central Illawarra. The Shire of North Illawarra was proclaimed in 1848 and the Shire of Bulli in 1906. In 1947, the two municipalities and the two shires were amalgamated into the City of Greater Wollongong. In addition to the central city itself, the Wollongong metropolitan district includes only the two municipalities of Kiama and Shellharbour. DURD Region 11 - the Illawarra Region - includes one more municipality (Bowral) and three additional shires (Mittagong, Shoalhaven and Wingecarribee).

As reported in the responses to the local government questionnaire, the Wollongong district is provided with water, sewerage and stormwater drainage service by the Metropolitan Water, Sewerage and Drainage Board described under the Sydney metropolitan areas. The Illawarra County Council, formed in 1959, provides electricity for distribution to the residents of the district. In addition to the other services its residents receive from state departments and agencies described above in the discussion of the Sydney areas, its regional transportation problems are being studied by the Urban Transport Study Group of New South Wales.

A number of agreements for joint services are in effect in the Wollongong district. Shellharbour Council has arranged with Wollongong City Council for Wollongong to provide technical services for Shellharbour's libraries. The city of Wollongong has an agreement with Shellharbour and Kiama municipalities for airport maintenance, and the municipality of Kiama has an agreement with Shoalhaven Shire Council regarding the maintenance of a computer bureau service. The Shellharbour Council reported that

it is included with Wollongong in the Illawarra Tourist Association, established as a regional grouping for state administrative purposes.

The Illawarra Regional Organisation of Councils, set up for Grants Commission and DURD purposes, served as a forum for the consideration of all matters of regional or sub-regional concern. The units in the area were also linked through the federal social development council developed by the Social Welfare Commission (Department of Social Security) for the area.

The Shellharbour Council reported its membership on the Illawarra Regional Planning Committee, established by the New South Wales Planning and Environment Commission, and on the Illawarra Regional Advisory Council, established by the New South Wales Department of Decentralisation and Development. The Town Clerk of Shellharbour commented that the council 'provides an advisory service to Shellharbour Council and a forum for [the] Council to raise issues of local and sub-regional implications and get a broader base of support for further representations to the State Government'.²⁴

VICTORIA

The Melbourne Metropolitan Statistical Division

Local government in the Melbourne area began with settlement in 1835. Melbourne was proclaimed a town in 1842 and raised to city status in 1847. As the area grew in response to the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, it became the transportation hub of south-eastern Australia. Later, commerce and industry extended the populated area around Port Phillip Bay and into the hilly country to the east and north. As this population explosion took place, new units of local government were created. Of the 33 local councils responding to the local government questionnaire, 12 (other than Melbourne itself) reported being incorporated before 1859 and ten between 1860 and 1880. Of the other ten, two were created between 1881 and 1900, one between 1901 and 1920, two between 1921 and 1940, and five after 1960. This distribution is probably typical also of the 22 councils which did not respond. Some local government authorities changed in form over time; Caulfield, for example, was created as a district in 1857, but became successively a shire in 1871, a borough later in the nineteenth century, a town in 1901 and finally a city in 1913. Other units have retained their original form to the present. In any

²⁴ D.S. King, Town Clerk, Municipality of Shellharbour, to author, 26 November 1975.

case, by 1974 the Melbourne area had become the Australian giant in terms of the number of governmental units. As the Appendix to Chapter II shows, in 1974 there were 55 local councils wholly or partly involved in the government of the area.

Since the beginning, the individual councils have been stubbornly independent, each responding to its own constituency and concerned chiefly with its own local problems and development. Nor has the state of Victoria sought to impose any general metropolitan control or co-ordinating machinery. Thus the area has long been plagued with, among others, problems of traffic congestion, inadequate sewerage and consequent pollution²⁵ (see Map III-2), and lack of housing.

Before a description is given of the governmental agencies other than the local councils in the Melbourne area, it might be noted that the governmental pattern in the Melbourne area is more complex than that in Sydney - indeed, it is the most complex pattern of any of the Australian metropolitan statistical divisions and districts. Not only are there 55 local councils, but an unusually wide range of regional bodies and state government departments and agencies is involved in some way or another in metropolitan governance. Chart III-1, which shows the responsibility structure of one of those bodies, the Port Phillip Authority, demonstrates that complexity very well.

Special Metropolitan Governmental Bodies

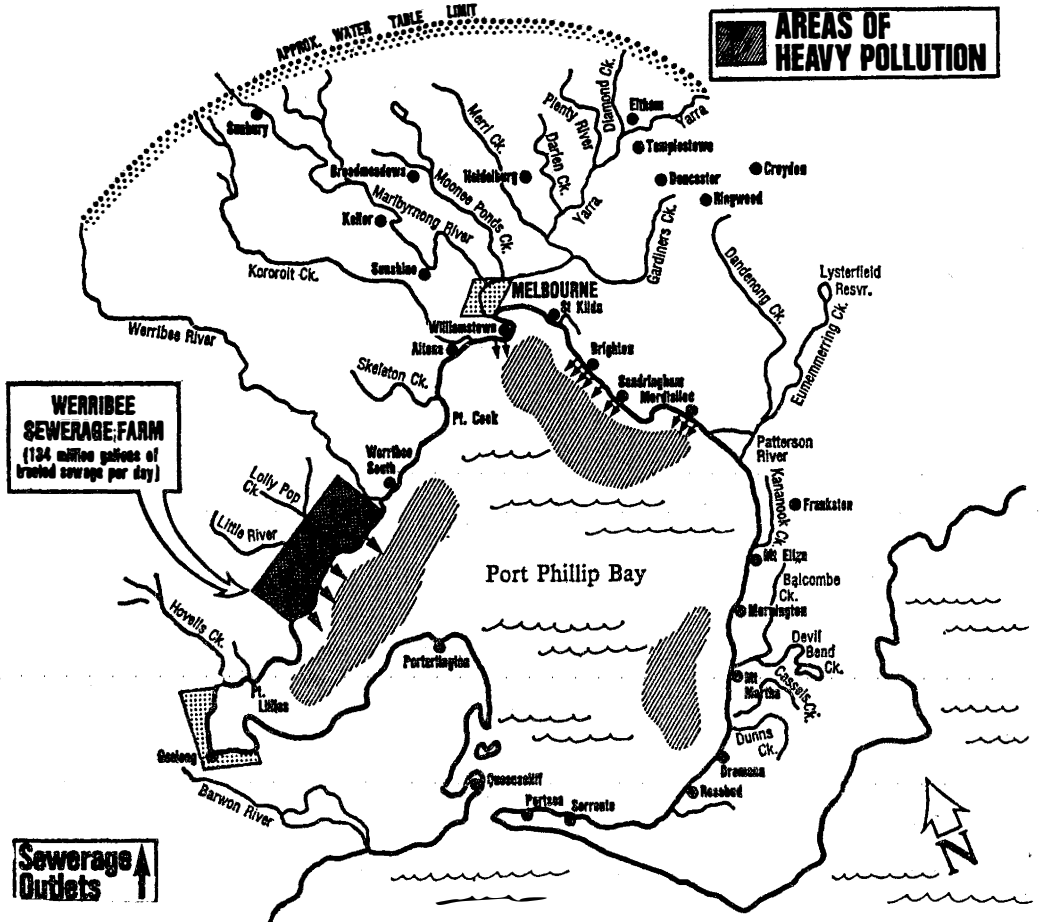
(a) *Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works.* Like its counterpart in the Sydney area, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) is the largest unit of government in Victoria, next to the state itself.²⁶ Established by an act of the Victorian parliament in 1891, MMBW has four main responsibilities: water supply, sewerage, main stormwater drainage and planning for both the conservation and future development of the bulk of the metropolitan region. The Board is also involved in setting up a metropolitan parks system to provide much-needed recreational facilities for the residents of the metropolitan area, and it serves as the delegated agency of the state Environmental Protection Authority for licensing the discharge of wastes into

²⁵ A report released in mid-1975 indicated that if the pollution of Port Phillip Bay were not reduced drastically, the Bay might well be dead within ten years (see *The Australian*, 4 October 1975, p. 3 and 8 October 1975, p. 1).

²⁶ Clyde Holding, then leader of the Labor opposition in Victoria, complained in 1975 that MMBW 'ha[d] become the de facto government of the State', quoted by L. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

Map III-2

POLLUTION IN PORT PHILLIP BAY

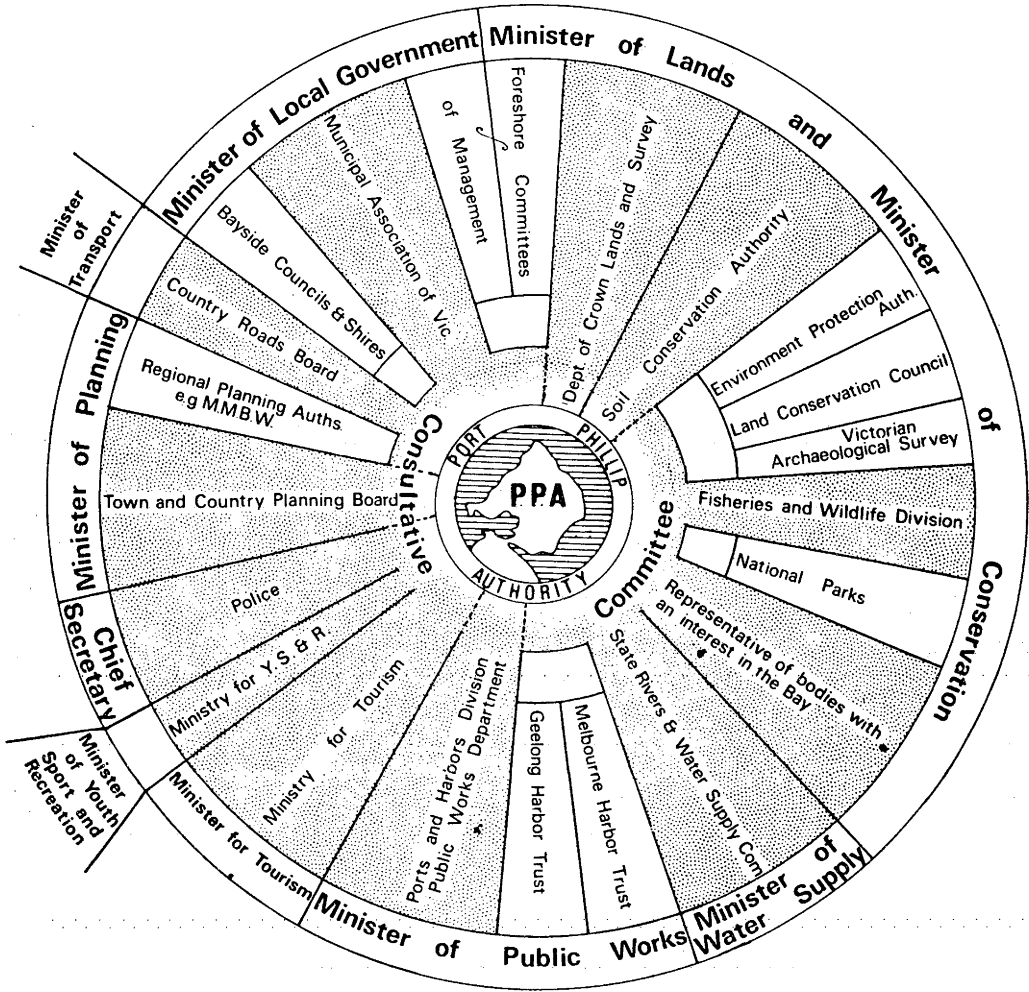


MELBOURNE's drainage system showing sewerage outlets and the worst areas of pollution in Port Phillip Bay. The dotted arc indicates the edge of the city's contaminated body of underground water, which is seeping into the bay.

Source: *The Australian*, 11 October 1975, p. 50.

Chart III-1

RESPONSIBILITY STRUCTURE FOR PORT PHILLIP BAY



Source: Government of Victoria, Port Phillip Authority, *Beach Use*, Issue No. 1, November 1974 (diagram updated to 1977).

some of the waters in the area. The first responsibilities have long constituted MMBW's biggest items of expenditure, and removal of the backlog of unsewered properties in its jurisdiction is its current prime objective. MMBW's service area was defined originally as that land within a 13 mile radius of the Melbourne General Post Office; it has been extended since to include areas to the north and east and now encompasses about 1,163 sq. km. Even so, MMBW's operations do not extend over the whole metropolitan statistical division. Indeed, the Dandenong Valley Authority, created in 1963, is responsible for some of the drainage works in the Melbourne metropolitan area and serves as the delegated agency of the Environmental Protection Authority in the Dandenong Valley area. Similarly, the Westernport Regional Planning Authority is responsible for planning for parts of several outlying municipalities which are included in MMBW's Metropolitan Planning Scheme.

Prior to 1 July 1974, MMBW was also responsible for the foreshores in its area of jurisdiction (a responsibility which was transferred on that date to the Ports and Harbours Division of the Victoria Department of Public Works); and for the design and construction of highways therein (which function was transferred to the state Country Roads Board on that date).

MMBW consists of a Chairman, so-called 'honorary Commissioners' representing the city and shire councils within the Board's area of operations, and 'a staff of almost 8,500 officers of all grades, representing almost every imaginable trade and profession'. The Board considers that it has a duty to get 'the community's needs and attitudes into focus' and it utilizes the commissioners as 'the contact men between the community and [its] professional managers and engineers'.²⁷ Over the years, MMBW has concerned itself primarily with the construction and operation of capital projects. In its planning capacity, it relies heavily on local councils for the administration, implementation and enforcement of its Metropolitan Planning Scheme.

(b) *Port Phillip Authority.* The Port Phillip Authority, which was created in 1967, is charged with the management of the Port Phillip Bay foreshore. Specifically, it is charged by the government of Victoria to advise it on how to:

²⁷ Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, *Living City*, No. 13, Autumn-Winter 1973, p. 22.

- (a) co-ordinate development in the Port Phillip area;
- (b) preserve its existing beaches and natural beauty;
- (c) prevent deterioration of the foreshore; and
- (d) improve facilities in the area 'to enable the full enjoyment of the area by the people', (in relation to the public open space and inshore waters around Port Phillip Bay).²⁸

The Authority's area is defined as that 'belt of public land 200 to 800 metres wide on the bay shore, plus the inshore waters and sea beds to approximately 600 metres off shore from the Barwon River in the west to Cape Schanck in the east'. No structure can be created, no works undertaken, no vegetation removed in that area without Authority permission which, if granted, is forwarded as a recommendation to the Victorian Ministry for Conservation, under which the Authority is placed for administrative purposes and which has final powers of enforcement.²⁹ The Authority is especially concerned with control of beach erosion and with the provision of recreational facilities on the foreshore.

The Authority consists of a full-time chairman and part-time representatives of the four state agencies - the Town and Country Planning Board, the Public Works Department, the Soil Conservation Authority and the Department of Crown Lands and Survey - which are concerned most directly with the Port Phillip area. The local governments in the area are represented in a fashion by the appointment of council members from some of them to a consultative committee.

(c) *Metropolitan Fire Brigades Board.* The Metropolitan Fire Brigades Board (MFBB), which is representative of insurance companies and 39 local councils³⁰ in the Melbourne metropolitan area, dates back to 1891. It is responsible for handling both fire fighting and fire prevention activities in the metropolitan fire district, which encompasses the councils choosing to come under it.

²⁸ Government of Victoria, Port Phillip Authority, *Beach Use*, Issue No. 6, July 1975, p.1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Issue No. 1, November 1974, p. 2. The Ministry of Conservation was formed in 1973.

³⁰ The cities of Altona, Box Hill, Brighton, Broadmeadows, Brunswick, Camberwell Caulfield, Coburg, Collingwood, Croydon, Doncaster and Templestowe, Essendon, Fitzroy, Footscray, Hawthorn, Heidelberg, Keilor, Kew, Malvern, Moorabbin, Mordialloc, Nunawading, Oakleigh, Port Melbourne, Prahran, Preston, Richmond, Ringwood, St. Kilda, Sandringham, South Melbourne, Springvale, Sunshine, Waverley and Williamstown; the shires of Diamond Valley, Werribee and Whittlesea.

The member councils contribute to the revenue of the Board on the basis of the value of their rateable property. The local Governments in the Melbourne Metropolitan Statistical Division not served by the Board are served instead by the state-wide Country Fire Authority of Victoria (though the MFBB does respond to fires outside the metropolitan fire district). In the normal course of expectations, some or all of the other local government authorities not yet in the metropolitan fire district will eventually apply to come under the MFBB.

(d) *West Gate Bridge Authority*. The West Gate Bridge Authority (formerly the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority) was created in 1965 to construct an eight-lane toll bridge - part of MMBW's Metropolitan Planning Scheme - across the Yarra between the eastern and western regions of the Melbourne metropolitan area. It is thus a single project body, designed primarily to enable the financing of the bridge to be handled independently and to permit its construction to be undertaken as expeditiously as possible. The Authority, which comes under the administrative control of the Victorian Minister of Transport, consists of nine part-time members and a general manager.

After one of the spans had collapsed during construction, the completion date was put back by several years. In 1975, the bridge was supposed to be completed and opened for traffic in 1977. However, the freeway (F9) being built by the state government to take traffic flowing off the bridge away from residential streets in the western bayside suburbs was not expected to be finished until at least a year after that. The South Melbourne, Caulfield and Footscray councils, joined by the Melbourne City Council, have joined with resident and conservation groups to demand deferment of the bridge opening until the freeway is ready.³¹

(e) *Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board*. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board (MMTB) was created by the state in 1919 to design, construct, maintain and operate electric trams and buses in the Melbourne metropolitan area. It is a statutory authority consisting of three board members. For administrative purposes it comes under the Victorian Minister of Transport. It has received construction grants from both the government of Victoria and the federal government, contributions to operating costs from the state government, and federal assistance in purchasing new equipment. It works in close co-operation in planning its services with both the MMBW and the Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority.

³¹ *The Australian*, 18 December 1975, p. 9.

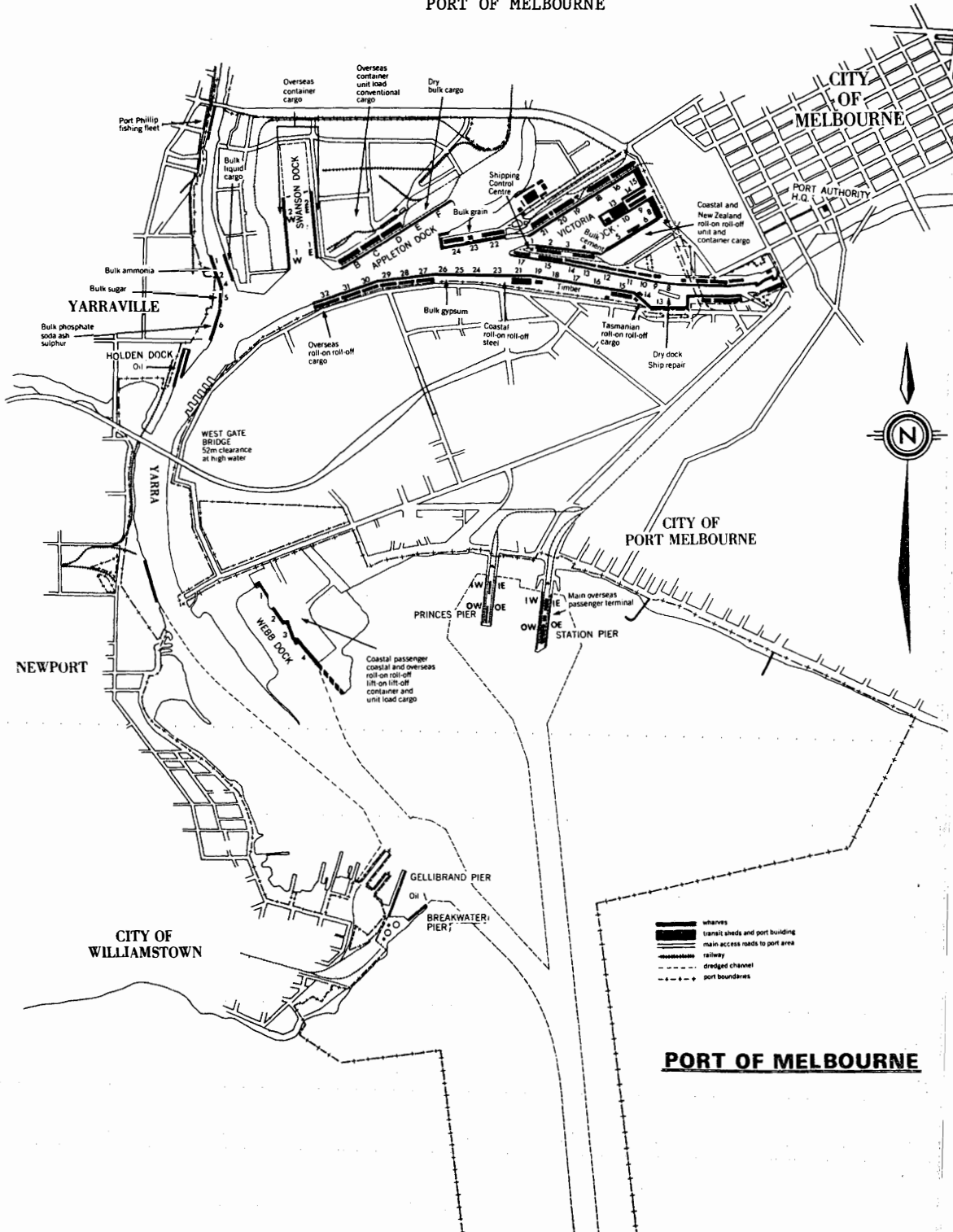
(f) *Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority.* The Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority came into being in 1971, pursuant to a 1970 act of the Victorian parliament. It consists of nine part-time members and the general manager, who is the Chief Engineer of the Victorian Railway Construction Board. Subject to the general direction and control of the Minister of Transport, the Authority is charged with supervising and co-ordinating the planning, financing and construction of the Melbourne Underground Rail Loop, which it is hoped will be completed by 1980. The Loop will serve the central business district of the Melbourne metropolitan area, which lies primarily within the city of Melbourne itself. Negotiations concerning design and location had to be conducted with both the Melbourne City Council³² and MMBW. Both the City of Melbourne and MMBW are required by the act creating the Loop Authority to make contributions towards interest and annual redemption payments on the funds borrowed for the project.

(g) *Melbourne Harbor Trust Commissioners.* The Melbourne Harbor Trust Commissioners is a financially independent statutory corporation originally established by the state parliament in 1877 to regulate, manage and improve the Port of Melbourne. The responsibility for executing the act is vested in a Board of Commissioners consisting of a full-time chairman and five part-time commissioners appointed by the Governor-in-Council. Municipal council members used to be named as commissioners until 1912, when the constitution of the Harbor Trust Commissioners was altered. Instead of being representative of the municipalities, and of business and shipping interests, the Board was then given its present composition. Within the statutory port area - see Map III-3 - the Commissioners are vested with responsibility for all waterways and lands and for all fixed installations, including wharves, piers, roads, railways, transit sheds and the majority of wharf cranes. The Commissioners also own and operate mobile cargo-handling equipment, floating plant comprising dredging machinery to provide navigable channels in what is largely a man-made port, and tugs employed for the Trust's own domestic use. The Commissioners are also responsible for maintaining the drainage works in the port area.³³

³² In its 1973-74 annual report, the Authority expressed 'particular appreciation' to the Melbourne City Council 'for its co-operation in traffic arrangements in the vicinity of work sites and in long-term planning aspects as well as in regular administrative matters'. Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority, *Annual Report 1973-74*, Melbourne, 1974, p. 14.

³³ See Melbourne Harbor Trust Commissioners, *Port of Melbourne Handbook*, Melbourne, 1974.

PORT OF MELBOURNE



PORT OF MELBOURNE

Source: The Melbourne Harbor Trust Commissioners, *Port of Melbourne Annual Report 1974-75* Melbourne, 1975, p. 25.

In addition to their primary responsibilities, the Commissioners have prepared a Forward Development Plan for the years 1985 and 2000. This is a land use plan integrated with and designed for inclusion in MMBW's Metropolitan Planning Scheme. They have also been directed by the Victorian government to conduct an environmental study of the effects on Port Phillip Bay of implementing the plan.

State Government Agencies

As is the case with all metropolitan areas in Australia, residents of the Melbourne metropolitan area are provided with a great many services by ordinary state departments and agencies. The following list of state agencies servicing the Melbourne area was compiled from the responses to the local government questionnaire sent to each council in the area. Those departments and agencies most frequently mentioned are asterisked; all of the bodies listed, however, were felt to be important in the provision of services to at least one local government authority in the Melbourne metropolitan area:

- Apprenticeship Commission
- Conservation Ministry
- Council of Adult Education
- Country Fire Authority
- *Country Roads Board (Metropolitan and Dandenong divisions)
- Crown Lands and Survey
- *Education Department
- *Environmental Protection Agency
- *Gas and Fuel Corporation
- Goulburn Valley Ambulance Service
- *Health Department
- Historic Buildings Preservation Council
- *Housing Commission of Victoria
- Labour and Industry Department
- Land Conservation Council
- Law Department
- Lilydale Sewerage Authority
- Local Authorities Superannuation Board
- Local Government Department
- Melton Sewerage Authority
- Melton Waterworks Trust
- Mental Health Authority
- Mines Department
- National Gallery of Victoria
- *Police Department
- Public Library
- *Public Works Department (Ports and Harbours Division)
- Railway Construction Board

- *Railways Board
- *Rivers and Water Supply Commission
- *Road Safety and Traffic Authority
- *State Electricity Commission
- *Social Welfare Department
- *Town and Country Planning Board
- *Transport Regulation Board
- Treasury
- Tourist Bureau
- *Valuer General
- Victoria Commission of Public Health
- *Youth, Sport and Recreation Department

The services provided by many of the agencies on the list are self-explanatory. However, it should be noted that:

- (a) the Country Roads Board has an impact on the metropolitan area through its connecting links with metropolitan streets and roads as well as through its overall responsibility for state roads in Victoria;
- (b) the Rivers and Water Supply Commission has overall responsibility for the water resources of Victoria and still directly supplies water to and performs drainage and irrigation services for some parts of the developing fringes of the Melbourne metropolitan area;
- (c) the Rivers and Water Supply Commission and the Environment Protection Agency have responsibility for approving discharges into the waters of the metropolitan area where that responsibility has not been given to the MMBW;
- (d) the Environment Protection Agency is concerned with overall management of all forms of pollution control in Victoria and it has power to freeze development pending installation of proper pollution treatment facilities, thus making the Agency by necessity work closely with MMBW, the Dandenong Valley Authority, the Port Phillip Authority,³⁴ and local councils;
- (e) The Town and Country Planning Board has prepared plans for the development of the fringe areas of the Melbourne metropolitan area on the Mornington Peninsula, in the Dandenong Ranges, and along the Yarra River;

³⁴ Early in 1975, the Authority recommended and the government of Victoria proclaimed the first State Environment Protection Policy, which covers the waters of Port Phillip Bay (see Environmental Protection Agency of Victoria, *Annual Report 1973-74*, Melbourne, 1974).

- (f) the Conservation Ministry has general responsibility for protecting and preserving the environment and seeing to the proper management and utilization of the land and living aquatic resources in the state's metropolitan areas, just as it does for the rest of the state - the assessment and studies teams and the Conservation Planning Section of the Ministry both gather data from municipalities in the Melbourne area and transmit information to them;³⁵
- (g) the Victoria Commission of Public Health is the delegated agency of the Environmental Protection Agency in licensing for waste discharge onto land and for the transport and disposal of solid wastes in the Melbourne area; and
- (h) the Land Conservation Council has published a study report and made recommendations on land conservation in the Melbourne area.

Not included on the lists are two other bodies providing specialized services to the residents of the Melbourne metropolitan area as well as to all the citizens of the state and nation: The Zoological Board of Victoria, which administers the Melbourne Zoological Gardens; and the Committee of Management of the Sir Colin Mackenzie Fauna Park in Healesville, a major showplace for Australian native wildlife.

Obviously the plethora of state agencies, when taken together with the special semi-governmental bodies created by the state to serve only the Melbourne area or part of it, makes co-ordination very difficult. One example will suffice to illustrate the point. Almost simultaneously with the creation of the West Gate Bridge Authority, the government of Victoria undertook the construction of another bridge across the Yarra, west of the Spencer Street bridge. This action caused the West Gate Bridge Authority to note in its 1974 annual report: 'the Authority considers that ... work on the Johnston Street Bridge ... should be deferred until the whole matter of the ways and means by which cross-town traffic generated by that Bridge will be dispersed [has been studied], so as to cause minimum congestion with traffic which will be generated by the West Gate Bridge'.³⁶ Obviously the impact of the two bridges on the area they were designed to serve had not been worked out by the two different bodies responsible for their construction or by any other authority.

³⁵ See Ministry of Conservation, *A Guide to the Ministry of Conservation, Victoria*, Melbourne, July 1975.

³⁶ West Gate Bridge Authority, *9th Annual Report - 1974*, Melbourne 1974, p. 8.

Indeed, what is true of bridge construction is likely to be true in any of the service areas. As Hugh Stretton put it not long ago, in the Melbourne area 'railways, trams, buses, power, gas, education, housing, hospitals, harbours and industrial promotion all studied their independent crystal balls and planned their works ahead in the different metropolitan futures they saw there ...it worked after a fashion, because they foresaw much the same things ...'³⁷ and because at critical points at least the special governmental bodies in the area and related state departments and agencies consulted one another along the way. It would undoubtedly have worked even better if the consultation had been regular and general and if some way of co-ordinating the various related activities had existed.

Agreements between Local Councils

As is the case in the New South Wales metropolitan areas, in the Melbourne area a great many agreements for services have been drawn up by and are operative between two or more local government authorities. Unfortunately, complete data on intercouncil agreements are not available for the Melbourne metropolitan area, just as they are lacking for all the metropolitan areas in Australia. However, replies to the local government questionnaire were received from 33 councils in the Melbourne area, and from them it is obvious that interlocal agreements are widely used. Twenty-three of the councils indicated that they were involved in one or more such agreements. Many councils were involved in agreements in the first four areas listed below; the remaining areas were reported by only one council each:

- Library service
- Garbage and refuse disposal
- Weights and measures
- Road and drainage scheme construction and maintenance
- Health inspection
- Maintenance of traffic signals
- Supply of asphalt
- Planning/environment control
- Open-space development
- Dental service
- Welfare unit
- Street cleaning
- Computer equipment
- Works projects
- Creek development

³⁷ H. Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, Georgian House, Melbourne, no date, p. 200.

Many of the agreements reported were with only one other local council; a number, however, involved three or more local councils. Thus a weights-and-measures union involved the cities of Malvern, Springvale, Caulfield, Moorabbin and Waverley and the Shire of Healesville, while Malvern joined only with the city of Prahran in a garbage disposal agreement and only with the city of Caulfield in a regional library service.

Regional Associations of Local Government Authorities

Victoria does not exhibit the same pattern of regional associations of local councils that is common in New South Wales. In their replies to the local government questionnaire, councils in the Melbourne area referred to the Metropolitan Sectional Council of the Municipalities Association of Victoria, which does serve to bring representatives of metropolitan councils together. It is assumed that some attention is given to common service and other problems in the course of those meetings, although their chief purpose is to facilitate a joint approach to the state government on matters of common interest. One local government authority in the Melbourne area - the shire of Hastings - reports that it belongs to the Peninsula Municipalities Association, which is specifically directed toward approaching common problems jointly.

Many of the respondents to the questionnaire emphasized that the regional organizations of local governments, which as noted above were established by federal initiative to meet Grants Commission and DURD requirements, constituted important forums for discussion and co-operation among member councils. 'The Region Committee has served a useful purpose in maintaining close consultation between councils', commented the town clerk of the city of Malvern.³⁸ It has provided 'better communication and appreciation of regional problems', observed the town clerk of Croydon.³⁹ The regional committee 'has enabled research work to be done on a Regional, rather than piecemeal basis', concluded an official of the city of Moorabbin.⁴⁰ 'Establishment of [the regional organizations] ha[s] been of value to this council in broadening its outlook, particularly on Regional Projects, over-

³⁸ G.K. Calder, Acting Town Clerk, City of Malvern, to author, 19 November 1975.

³⁹ Town Clerk of Croydon to author, 15 November 1975.

⁴⁰ S.E. Greenall, Research and Investigation Officer, City of Moorabbin, to author, 20 November 1975.

coming problems of duplication of services from one Municipality to the other', noted the secretary of the Shire of Werribee.⁴¹

Eight regional organizations of councils were established in the Melbourne area:

- Region 11 - Central Melbourne - 8 cities
- Region 12 - Western Melbourne - 6 cities, 3 shires
- Region 13 - Northwestern Melbourne - 3 cities, 2 shires
- Region 14 - Northern Melbourne - 3 cities, 3 shires
- Region 15 - Inner Eastern Melbourne - 5 cities
- Region 16 - Outer Eastern Melbourne - 5 cities, 4 shires
- Region 17 - Inner Southern Melbourne - 7 cities
- Region 18 - Westernport - 5 cities, 7 shires, 1 borough.

Melbourne area local councils were also represented on regional bodies established by the federal Social Welfare Commission (Department of Social Security) for the purposes of the Australian Assistance Plan.

State Regional Groupings

Finally, local units of government in the Melbourne area are brought together in regional groupings established under state legislation for the administrative convenience of the departments and agencies concerned. 'A multitude of regions [has been] established by various State Government instrumentalities which relate to their own particular phase of activity. These involve planning, education, police, roadmaking ... allocation of Electoral Boundaries, and housing ... [This] multiplicity of regions ... lead[s] to confusion ...'⁴² not only because all the various regions are not consistent with each other but also because they are not consistent with those established by the Australian Government for its purposes. In any case, the state regions do not seem to be regarded by local officials as having any relevance to local matters or to the solution of regional problems.

The Geelong Metropolitan Statistical District

The Geelong metropolitan area lies to the southwest of the Melbourne area on Port Phillip Bay and Bass Strait. Although it developed independently of Melbourne 'as the port, social and market

⁴¹ J.T. Kerr, Secretary, Shire of Werribee, to author, 1 December 1975.

⁴² *Ibid.*

centre for the rich Western district',⁴³ and both thinks of itself and is thought of as Melbourne's rival,⁴⁴ the expansion of the Melbourne area has pushed it ever closer to Geelong. Werribee Shire to the immediate northeast of the Geelong area is already included as a part of the Melbourne Metropolitan Statistical Division. The opening of the West Gate and Johnston Street Bridges may well bring about the eventual joining of the two areas. Indeed, one of the avowed aims of the West Gate Bridge is to make possible a clear run for trucks, cars and buses to Geelong, a route presently and for long marked by innumerable intersections and sets of traffic lights.

So far, as the Appendix to Chapter II shows, the Geelong area has remained a relatively small one, in terms of area and population on the one hand and of local government authorities on the other. It contains only the three old municipalities of Geelong (proclaimed a township in 1838), Geelong West (1875), and Newtown (1858), and parts of five shires: Bannockburn, Barrabool, Bellarine, Corio and South Barwon. So far the area has escaped many of the problems of larger metropolitan areas, but the increasing pollution of Port Phillip Bay menaces Geelong quite as much as it does Melbourne (see Map III-4). Rapid population growth and industrialization are bringing their own threats of pollution and other urban problems as well.

In addition to the eight local councils in the Geelong area which are primarily responsible for meeting those problems, the area has several special governmental bodies which assume some of that responsibility. The Port Phillip Authority, already described in the discussion of the Melbourne metropolitan area, includes the Geelong area in its jurisdiction.

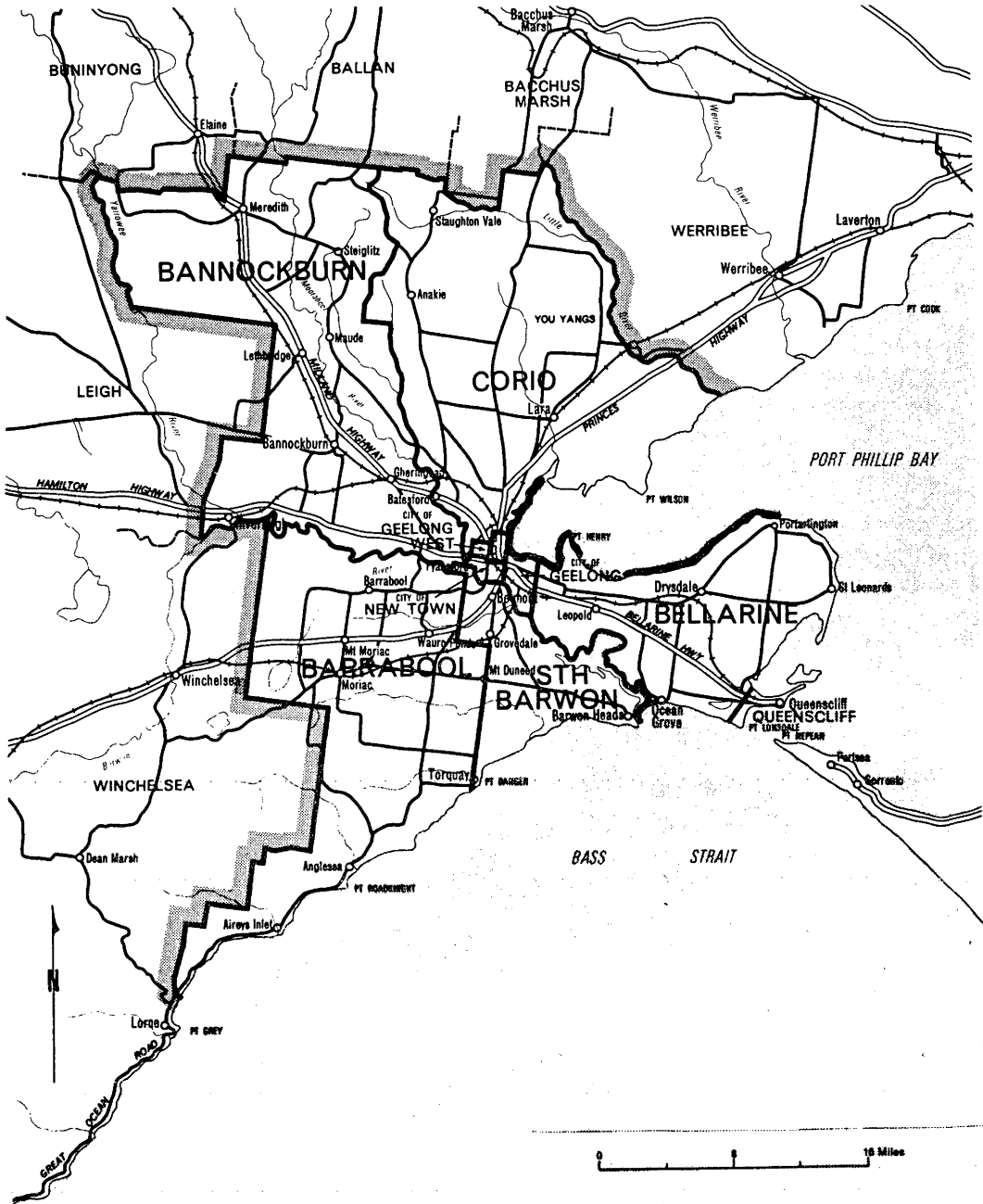
The Geelong Waterworks and Sewerage Trust was constituted in 1909. Under the legislation creating it, the Trust is required to supply water to an area within an eight kilometre radius of Geelong Post Office and to any land within 16 kilometres on either side of the mainpipe from Stony Creek to Geelong, and to provide sewerage services within its drainage area. Put concretely, the Trust serves the three cities in their entirety and the shires of Corio, Bellarine and South Barwon in part. It has begun to extend water services to some properties in both Bannockburn and

⁴³ Andrew and Nancy Learmonth, *Encyclopedia of Australia*, op. cit., p. 219.

⁴⁴ See *Australian Financial Record*, 25 September 1974, pp. 2-3.

Map III-4

GEELONG REGIONAL PLANNING AUTHORITY AREA



Source: Geelong Regional Planning Authority, *First Annual Report*, 1 October 1970 - 30 September 1971, August 1972.

Barrabool Shires as well.⁴⁵ It has also made loans to the independent sewerage authorities in the Bellarine Peninsula to enable them to develop their services more rapidly.⁴⁶ In order to assure sufficient water supplies, the Trust has entered into an agreement with the Ballarat Water Commission to share the costs of a dam on the West Moorabool River between Ballarat and Geelong. The chairman of the Trust serves on the West Moorabool Water Board.

The Trust thus works with adjoining water and sewerage authorities so as to meet regional problems, giving some assurance that the overall water needs of the area will be met.

The Geelong area is also served by the Geelong Regional Planning Authority, created by the state government in 1969 pursuant to the *Town and Country Planning Act* 1961.⁴⁷ The Authority is composed of two representatives from, and has jurisdiction over, each of the local government authorities included in the Geelong Metropolitan Statistical District (see Map III-4), the only difference being that the borough of Queenscliff has also been brought under the Planning Authority. There is a permanent director of the Authority and a small staff. Its functions are those generally included under the rubric of town planning, but the Authority 'also undertakes work in the fields of urban transport systems, regional economics, the environment, recreation and coastal management'.⁴⁸ Its work is financed by contributions from the member municipalities based on the number of ratepayers therein and by grants from the state government.

⁴⁵ Geelong Waterworks and Sewerage Trust, *Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1974*, Geelong, 1974, p. 2.

⁴⁶ 'The question of creating a regional sewerage authority to serve the entire Bellarine Peninsula [including the borough of Queenscliff] was ... considered by interested councils and authorities [in 1973 and 1974] and was subject to a decisive "no" vote.' Geelong Waterworks and Sewerage Trust, *Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1974*, p. 18.

⁴⁷ Section 12 of that Act provides that the Governor-in-Council may 'establish a regional planning authority for any specified area extending beyond the boundaries of any one municipal district for the purpose of preparing ... a planning scheme or schemes ..', said authorities to be composed of 'councillors representing every municipality' wholly or partly in the area concerned.

⁴⁸ Peter Hocking, Associate Planner, Geelong Regional Planning Authority, to author, 20 October 1975.

The Planning Authority and the Waterworks Trust have developed an intimate working relationship and jointly are planning to provide for the continued development of the Geelong area, whether or not the area is designated by the Victorian government as a 'growth centre'.⁴⁹

Finally, the port area of Geelong has been under the jurisdiction of the Geelong Harbor Trust Commissioners since 1905. The three commissioners are appointed by the government of Victoria and operate virtually autonomously. The port area is indicated by shading on Map III-4.

The Geelong area also depends as heavily as the Melbourne area on the state government for services to the residents thereof. All the local councils in the Geelong metropolitan area are served by the Country Fire Authority of Victoria; there is a Geelong division of the Country Roads Board; the Environment Protection Agency controls discharges of wastes into the air in the Geelong area, while the Victorian Commission of Public Health controls discharges of waste on to land and the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission and the Environment Protection Agency control discharges of waste into water. Indeed, virtually all the state agencies listed in the discussion of the Melbourne area were mentioned by the respondents to the local government questionnaire from councils in the Geelong area.

⁴⁹ The Australian government, through the Cities Commission, studied the Geelong area in 1974 and 1975 and recommended it for designation as a growth centre. As of December 1975 the Victorian government had not acted on that recommendation. The premier of Victoria, Mr Hamer, affirmed in a letter to the editor of *The Age* in September 1975 that 'the Victorian Government has been committed to Geelong as a growth centre for several years ... and has never deviated from the policy. A great deal of work has been done - surveys, investigations, consultants' studies - to determine the most desirable rate and form of growth. These studies are still continuing, at the cost of the State Government.' Moreover, he declared that the state was continuing 'with action to stimulate growth and investment in Geelong. We have made financial incentives available for new industry establishing in Geelong; we are having designs prepared for a new block of State offices to house decentralised Government administrations; we have agreed to appoint a building committee to design and build a new performing arts centre; we are joining with the Geelong businessmen in discussions as to how to increase job opportunities in Geelong; and we are having investigations made into a possible Marine Science Institute in the area. These actions are consistent with our established policy and have no other purpose but to promote the growth and development of Geelong.' (*The Age*, 30 September 1975, p. 8.)

Other services were reported in the responses to the questionnaire as being provided through agreements between two or more local councils, examples being the following:

Library services

Weights and measures (Geelong District Weights and Measures Union)

Maintenance of scenic reserves

Health inspection

Garbage and rubbish disposal

Maintenance of a lost dog home (Animal Welfare Centre)

Park and recreation areas

Art gallery

Performing arts centre

Historical records centre

Conduct of a home help service

Conduct of a meals on wheels program

Infant welfare centres

Of the four councils responding to the local government questionnaire, three participated in four or more interlocal agreements, and several agreements had seven councils as signatories. One of the participating councils in the seven-council Geelong Regional Library is the Shire of Werribee, which is part of the Melbourne Metropolitan Statistical Division.

All of the councils in the Geelong area, except that of the city of Geelong itself, have formed a Geelong Local Government Committee, composed of two representatives from each council. The committee has only an advisory function but it gives member councils both a forum for the discussion and consideration of general matters of regional interest and an opportunity to take a uniform stand 'on such things as charitable requests, e.g. door knock appeals, etc.'. ⁵⁰

The local councils also formed part of the Barwon Regional Organisation, the federally instituted regional body for Grants Commission and DURD purposes. It was the consensus of the local government authorities responding to the questionnaire that that organization had been of value only in making (successful) presentations to the Grants Commission.

The Barwon Regional Council for Social Development, which was set up through the federal Social Welfare Commission (Department

⁵⁰ R.J. Hammett, Town Clerk, City of Geelong West, to author, 20 November 1975.

of Social Security), linked the Geelong area councils together for the purpose of the Australian Assistance Plan. The Council received federal funds to enable the employment of a community development officer.

Finally, local governments in the Geelong area are included in regions established for a number of state purposes. The region for planning (the aforementioned Geelong Regional Planning Authority) and for tourism (the Geelong Regional Tourist Authority) received special mention in the replies to the local government questionnaire.

QUEENSLAND

The Brisbane Metropolitan Statistical Division

The Brisbane metropolitan area is unique among the metropolitan areas of Australia in two different but related ways. First of all, unlike the other areas which developed as the original settlements expanded, Brisbane has not been the central focal point of Queensland's development. Rather, several towns were established up and down the coast - Brisbane itself in 1824 - and each developed its own hinterland. Except by sea, there was little communication between the towns. Although Brisbane eventually became the biggest of all the Queensland urban centres, it never became dominant in the state's life and still is not. Queensland is therefore the only Australian state whose life does not revolve around the capital city. Even today, only a little more than one-third of Queensland's population lives in the Brisbane area, a situation peculiar in mainland Australia. Thus it is not a metropolitan area in the same sense that the other mainland capital cities are.

Secondly, perhaps because the action did not seem to threaten the state itself, much of the Brisbane metropolitan area was early brought under one government. In 1925, during 'an era of local government reform which also gave Queensland [the] adult franchise, compulsory voting, and direct election of mayors',⁵¹ a Greater Brisbane Council was created, absorbing 19 other local government

⁵¹ R.N. Spann, ed., *Public Administration in Australia*, op. cit., p. 229. See also Gordon Greenwood and J.R. Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government*, O.L. Zeigler for the Council of the City of Brisbane, Brisbane, 1959; and J.R. Laverty, 'Greater Brisbane: A Response to Problems of Metropolitan Government', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, April 1971, pp. 34-51.

authorities into it and giving the new entity control over a total of about 1,000 sq. km. of urban (and at that time some semi-urban) territory. Moreover, the state gave the new council a general grant of power rather than a specific list of powers, enabling it to take any steps it saw fit for the government of the area, subject, of course, to the approval of its ordinances by the state government. There has never been a comparable body in Australia, and this has long been a matter of pride to the citizens of Brisbane.

Whether pride in having the one area-wide metropolitan government in Australia is still justified is debatable, inasmuch as a glance at the Appendix to Chapter II reveals that the Brisbane metropolitan area has extended far beyond the confines of the original Greater Brisbane. In fact, it will be seen that of the total area of the Brisbane Metropolitan Statistical Division (2,500 sq. km.), only 1,000 sq. km. now comes under the Brisbane City Council. Moreover, most of the area's recent population growth has taken place in the section of the area outside the city of Brisbane. Local government in the Brisbane area is thus now fragmented in the same way as in all the other state metropolitan areas of Australia. Two other cities - Ipswich, dating back to 1827, and Redcliffe, the site of the first settlement in Queensland in 1824 - and parts or all of six shires (two of them created in the late 1940s), share with the city of Brisbane responsibility for local government in the area. The Harris classification of those local authorities in the Appendix to Chapter II makes evident what a mixture of governmental types is involved.

Even so, the metropolitan problem as defined in Chapter I of this study is probably less serious in the Brisbane area than in any of the other state capitals. Certainly there is the usual lag in providing services - particularly roads and sewerage - to newly developed areas, while 'the congestion of a grid-planned centre with narrow streets ... on a river peninsula, and [the effects of] haphazard downstream industrial growth'⁵² have yet to be overcome. And since highways have been relied on for movement in and out of the metropolitan area to a greater extent than railroads,⁵³ highways tend to be congested a long way out

⁵² Andrew and Nancy Learmonth, *Encyclopedia of Australia*, op. cit., p. 78.

⁵³ Sallyanne Atkinson observed in an article on Brisbane recently that 'Suburban trains ... are so rare that there's something very exclusive about having one at your door.' *The Australian*, 1 November 1975, p. 22.

from the centre in all directions. But the overall problem is not regarded as critical. The Brisbane City Council was in control through much of the period of Brisbane's expansion and in most areas did not allow a backlog of service needs to build up. Thus the Lord Mayor of Brisbane could comment late in 1975 that, while 'work would always have to continue to improve and maintain roads, sewerage, transport and the like', the city was in such good shape generally that the council could turn its attention 'to things of beauty and culture'.⁵⁴ Thus the centre is not unduly troubled with service needs, and even in the developing areas outside the centre the service problem has not become acute.

Brisbane is also unique among Australian metropolitan areas in that, when Greater Brisbane was created in 1925, the Queensland government permitted the new council to take over the functions of several existing *ad hoc* boards and public utilities. It thus endowed the council itself with responsibility for functions which in other state metropolitan areas are entrusted to a number of semi-governmental and state government bodies of one kind or another. As the Brisbane City Council itself puts it:

'There is literally nothing that a resident of Brisbane does during every day of his life that is not affected, somehow, by the activities of Brisbane City Council. Its main departments and branches need only be named to indicate the extent of the Council's enormous range of functions. These are: City Administration, Finance and Management Services, Electricity, Health, Parks and Building, Planning and Co-ordination, Transport, Water Supply and Sewerage, and Works.

When you switch on an electric light, when you turn on a tap for the morning shower, when you ride to work or to school, in bus or ferry, when you are immunized against disease, when you use a public footpath or thoroughfare, cross a bridge, walk in a park, go to a sportsground or public swimming pool, when you attend a civic concert or band concert, or an opera, ballet or drama sponsored by the Elizabethan Theatre Trust, when you borrow a book from the municipal library ... you are using services provided or subsidized by the Brisbane City Council. If you eat a meal in a restaurant, you consume food in premises that have been inspected and approved as hygienic by health surveyors of the Council.

⁵⁴ Alderman Bryan Walsh, Lord Mayor of Brisbane, quoted in a Supplement to *The Australian*, 27 November 1975, p. 1.

This involvement by the Council in so many aspects of our daily lives is much more comprehensive than that practised by other local government authorities in Australia. In fact, Brisbane City Council differs from almost any other local authority in the world, in its structure and functions. Brisbane has distinct and individual problems of local government, and the City Council has been tailor-made, as it were, to meet and deal with these special problems.⁵⁵

Moreover, the Brisbane City Council has been willing to extend its services beyond the city's boundaries. Thus it supplies water in bulk to Beaudesert and Albert shires and the city of Ipswich and bulk water and sewerage services to the city of Redcliffe and Moreton shire. It provides the main drainage facilities for almost the whole area. In this way, the Brisbane City Council comes close to a real area-wide government. However, the other municipalities in the metropoliaan area are left to supply to their own residents the other services ordinarily provided by councils.

Even so, respondents to the local government questionnaire from the Brisbane area mentioned a number of state agencies which provide local councils with other services. The Railways Department of Queensland provides what rail commuting services there are in the area, and the state Beach Protection Authority and the Port of Brisbane Division of the state Harbours and Marine Department share authority over waterfront areas. The Water Quality Council regulates all municipal water suppliers in the state. The state Main Roads Department works with the Brisbane City Council and other local councils in designing connecting and through streets and roads in the area, and the state Main Roads Fund provides much of the financing of the construction of main urban roads. The Main Roads Department commissioned the Brisbane Transportation Study, which was completed in 1965 and which has since served as the basis for an extensive highway improvement and expressway construction program throughout the area. A Metropolitan Public Abattoir Board has been established by the state to handle that function, while the Brisbane Milk Board, a state agency, regulates and controls the collection, treatment, supply, sale, distribution and price of milk and cream within the Brisbane milk district, which is nearly coterminous with the metropolitan statistical division. The

⁵⁵ Brisbane City Council, *Your City is Unique: A Brief Outline of Brisbane's Local Government Administrative Structure*, 7th edn, Brisbane City Council, Brisbane, February 1975, p. 1.

Southern Electric Authority of Queensland supplies electricity in bulk to several of the outlying local government authorities in the area and, as elsewhere in Australia, the state Education, Police, Justice and Health Departments provide their usual services to all the residents of the Brisbane metropolitan area.

From the responses received to the local government questionnaire, it appears that there has not been the development of inter-local co-operation among councils which has become characteristic of other metropolitan areas of Australia, except for the services supplied by agreement to other councils by the Brisbane City Council. It would be a logical expectation that those services may increase in the future.

There is, however, an active local government association in the Brisbane area, the very existence of which shows not only 'that there are difficulties which the individual constituent [councils] cannot solve within their own boundaries',⁵⁶ but also that the councils themselves realize that the old Greater Brisbane concept is outmoded.⁵⁷ Thus a distinct regional consciousness has developed in the Brisbane area, over and above that already emphasized by the extensive service responsibilities of the Brisbane City Council.

In addition, representatives of the outlying local authorities in the area are brought together through the agency of the South Eastern District of the Local Government Association of Queensland (the City of Brisbane is recognized separately by the Association). The District meets quarterly, and the meetings provide 'a forum for discussion at district level of topics of interest to Local Government and enables general discussion between both elected representatives and officers from the various local authorities'.⁵⁸

A further opportunity for contact and for developing a regional approach to issues was provided by the Moreton Regional Organisation which was the body created by the federal government for Grants Commission and DURD purposes. All the local governments in the Brisbane metropolitan statistical division were included in Moreton Region 1 for the state of Queensland. Region 1 also included one additional city - Gold Coast - and seven additional shires - Boonah, Esk, Gatton, Kilcoy, Laidley, Landsborough and Maroochy, the inclusion of which took the region almost to the New South Wales border in the south, to Toowoomba in the west, and to above Coolumb Beach in the north.

⁵⁶ Gerry France, 'The Betterment of Local Government', *Local Government Administration*, Vol. 17, No. 2, June 1972, pp. 3-17.

⁵⁷ The Brisbane and Contiguous Local Authorities Association was established in 1961 for the purpose of holding regular, informal meetings to discuss problems of common interest.

⁵⁸ K.W. Stuckey, Town Clerk, Beaudesert Shire, to author, 20 November 1975.

As in the other metropolitan areas, the Brisbane area local governments came together in the social development council developed under the federal Social Welfare Commission (Department of Social Security) for purposes of the Australian Assistance Plan.

Finally, local councils in the Brisbane area are brought together in the Moreton Co-ordination Council, which is co-extensive with the boundaries of the Brisbane Metropolitan Statistical Division. The council, one of ten established covering the entire state, is part of a program launched by the Queensland government in 1971 for the 'co-ordination of activities directed towards development of the State ... includ[ing] not only those works carried out by [State] government departments but also the loan works proposals of local authorities and semi-governmental bodies ...'.

'Stated briefly, Queensland's plan was to divide the State into regions and to set up for each region a Regional Co-ordination Council. These Councils are advisory only and do not constitute a fourth tier of government; they are expected to consider matters of regional importance such as regional recreation needs and in fact any aspects of regional development ... [The] ... Councils provide a link between planning in the local government field and planning in the State Government departments ... [The] great value of a ... Council [is] its ability to offer a forum for regional policy discussion and a means of concerted action by local government.'⁵⁹

As C.P. Harris noted, creation of the councils provides a way:

- '(i) to take advantage of economies of scale in such matters as water storage, sewerage and drainage, and arterial and rural roads planning;
- (ii) to provide a means whereby interjurisdictional spillovers can be properly considered, so that decisions of one council as they affect other councils can be harmonised with the views of those other councils;
- (iii) to avoid duplication of effort and costs in such matters as the employment of professional staff either by developing a system of inter-council

⁵⁹ Sir Charles Barton, 'Regional Development in Queensland', *Public Administration*, Sydney, Vol. 34, No. 1, March 1975, pp. 73-74.

service programs (involving payments for services rendered), or preferably by making the regional council an employer of professional staff for the region, thereby enabling the quality of the local government public service to be raised;

(iv) to increase the bargaining power of local authorities in their dealings with higher levels of government by increasing the size of the bargaining unit, the regional council; and

(v) to institute a more effective form of integrated regional planning as related to the region's economic system, eco-system, and social system thereby upgrading the quality of life in the region and the quality of both the artificial (man-made) and natural physical environment.⁶⁰

Membership of each council consists of a chairman and one member from each of the local authorities included in the region. It should be noted that it is also 'seen as a task of Regional Co-ordination Councils that they examine their boundaries from time to time and, if thought necessary, recommend alterations.'⁶¹

'The Moreton Regional Co-ordination Council ... is or has been involved in such matters as a research project on solid waste disposal, a discussion on the ways and means of providing for the future development of water resources of the region and the provision of a steering committee for a Moreton Region Growth Strategy Survey and a Coastal Zone Study.'⁶² Recommendations based on such studies will be made to the constituent councils; when agreement is reached on a project, the Co-ordinator General's Department of the state government will help ensure that 'the detailed planning carried out by the constituent local authorities will conform with' the state government plans for the same area.⁶³

⁶⁰ C.P. Harris, 'Financing Local Government in Australia', *Proceedings of the Central Branch of the Institute of Municipal Administration (Queensland Division)*, Seminar on Local Government, Rockhampton, May 1975, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations Reprint Series No. 6, Canberra, p.3

⁶¹ Sir Charles Barton, 'Regional Development in Queensland', *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

It is too early to evaluate the performance of the Moreton or any other regional council's work. However, the fact that the state has created a mechanism to bring local and state government planning into conformity marks a milestone in state government acceptance of responsibility for adequate metropolitan development. The example of Queensland will not be lost on the other states.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The Adelaide Metropolitan Statistical Division

Like most of the other state capital metropolitan areas in Australia, the Adelaide area developed around the planned city of Adelaide, which was the first Australian city so designated when it was incorporated in 1840. Several communities based on the mother city were established before 1860, and others followed. By 1975 the Adelaide Metropolitan Statistical Division contained 31 separate local government authorities, many of them very small units indeed (see Appendix to Chapter II).

Developed as they were as individual entities, each local government responded to the needs of its own residents and the careful planning of Adelaide itself was not carried beyond its own boundaries. The area thus developed unevenly, resulting by 1975 in traffic congestion, inadequate public transport to outlying parts of the area, insufficient recreational facilities, problems of pollution and drainage, and a need for redevelopment in a number of the older inner parts of the urban centres.

To meet these needs, the Adelaide area still has to rely on individual councils on the one hand and on state government action on the other. No area-wide semi-governmental bodies such as the MWSDB in Sydney or the MMBW in Melbourne have been created by the state to work across local boundaries in the area.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The Adelaide Town Planning Report in 1962 recommended that a Metropolitan Parks Authority be established to acquire land for public open space. The Authority would have been financed by a levy on the local councils in the Adelaide metropolitan area, the state government sharing on a dollar-for-dollar basis the cost of land acquisition. The recommendation was not adopted. In its 8th Annual Report, the Town Planning Committee reported that 'due to the rapid growth of the metropolitan area and the lack of a properly financed authority responsible for metropolitan open space provision, opportunities are being lost for obtaining suitable land for public open space'. See Russell Mathews, *Public Investment in Australia*, op. cit., p. 261.

Interlocal service agreements are used, although ten of the 24 councils responding to the local government questionnaire reported that they were not parties to any such agreements. However, the fourteen councils which replied affirmatively indicated that they were involved in one or more interlocal agreements in the following service areas, listed in accordance with the frequency the particular service area was the subject of an agreement:

- Drainage
- Garbage and refuse disposal
- Health services
- Dog control
- Food inspection
- Hospital operation
- Street cleaning
- Cemetery operation.

Some of these interlocal agreements involve a number of local councils in the metropolitan area, thus creating at least a partially regional approach to service delivery. To name only a few examples from among those given in responses to the questionnaire, the Eastern Councils Drainage Board, comprising the councils of Payneham, Kensington, Norwood, Burnside, East Torrens and St Peters, handles the drainage of Second Creek; the Torrens Road Drainage Authority provides drainage services for the municipalities of Port Adelaide, Woodville and Hindmarsh; and the Metropolitan County Board controls premises where food is prepared and sold for human consumption in a large part of the metropolitan area.

But for the most part the residents of the Adelaide metropolitan area are provided with services from relevant state departments and agencies. As reported by respondents to the questionnaire, the most important state agencies involved are the following:

- Coast Protection Board
- Community Welfare Department
- Department of Public Health
- Department of Social Welfare
- Department of Transport
- Education Department
- Electricity Trust of South Australia*
- Engineering and Water Supply Department
- Harbors Board

* Street lighting is paid for by each local council but is supplied by the Electricity Trust.

Highways Department
Hospitals Board
Metropolitan Taxi-cab Board
Municipal Tramways Trust
South Australian Fire Brigades Board
South Australian Gas Company
South Australian Housing Trust
South Australian Railways

Many of the state departments and agencies have divided the state into regions for departmental convenience, and some of those regions are (or are nearly) co-extensive with the Adelaide Metropolitan Statistical Division. The various regions are far from uniform from department to department, however; 'a committee has been appointed to try to rationalise this, but Local Government has not been generally consulted in this matter'.⁶⁵ Many of the councils responding to the local government questionnaire did not feel that the state regions had been of much, if any, utility to them in devising a regional approach to common problems.

One state-established activity not reported in response to the questionnaire is concerned solely with the Adelaide area. The Metropolitan Planning Area Development Plan was put into operation in 1967 and currently is designed to operate until 1991. The South Australian State Planning Authority is responsible for implementing the plan. The city of Adelaide is entitled to specific representation on the eleven-man Authority, though none of the other municipalities in the area are. The plan covers the entire metropolitan statistical division except for Gawler and Mudla Wirra. In 1975, an Outer Metropolitan Planning Area Development Plan was authorized. That planning area covers much of the Mount Lofty Ranges and includes proposals to protect rural land and water catchment areas and to control the development of country townships in the wake of anticipated outward growth from Adelaide.

As in the metropolitan areas of Australia generally, the local government authorities in the Adelaide area are linked together in several associations. In addition to the social development council established for the area under the Australian Assistance Plan, four regional organizations were created in

⁶⁵ Miss Pitts, Acting Town Clerk, Town of St Peters, to author, 22 December 1975.

the Adelaide area for Grants Commission and DURD purposes - Regions 1-4.⁶⁶ For the most part, local councils report that they found the regional organizations useful. Typical of evaluations are the following. The regional organization for Region 3 'has enabled Local Government to meet together to discuss mutual problems and to understand each other better. The Region is currently considering formally incorporating and engaging permanent staff to enable it to undertake projects common to Member Councils. It is also proposed that the Secretariat will investigate the [manner] in which Local Government within the Region can better serve the people it represents.'⁶⁷ The regional organization for Region 2 'has acted as a co-ordinating unit for the purpose of research and development within the ... region ...[and] has appointed a full-time Secretariat to further regional activities ...'.⁶⁸ Similarly the regional organization for Region 1, besides 'handling Grants Commission matters ... is ... used to investigate subjects such as Regional Garbage Disposal, Regional Libraries, Road and other grants and acts as a catalyst for requests to [state and federal] Governments'.⁶⁹

Most of the local governments in the Adelaide area also come together through the Metropolitan Group within the Local Government Association of South Australia, benefitting from the Association's general activities as well.

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- ⁶⁶ That part of Mudla Wirra District Council included in the Adelaide Metropolitan Statistical Division is part of Region 8.
- ⁶⁷ D.W. Williams, Acting Town Clerk, City of Adelaide, to author, 7 January 1976. Developments since this time have resulted in the Metropolitan Eastern Regional Organisation (Region 3) going out of existence on 23 June 1977. It is expected that it will be replaced by two smaller regions in 1977-78, but there is no indication whether permanent secretaries will be appointed to the new regions or whether they will operate on the same basis as Region 3 did, with the Town Clerk of Adelaide operating on a part-time basis. (Letter from R.W. Arland, Town Clerk of Adelaide, 22 June 1977).
- ⁶⁸ R.G. Lewis, Town Clerk, City of Glenelg, to author, 26 November 1975.
- ⁶⁹ M.C. Jenkins, Town Clerk, City of Elizabeth, to author, 24 November 1975.

One regional grouping of local councils - the Seaside Councils Committee - was later replaced by a state agency, the Coast Protection Board. The Seaside Councils Committee was formed in 1953 by a number of councils fronting St Vincent Gulf 'to discuss common problems associated with the coast.' Early in 1960, after a period of excessive storm damage, this committee and the State Government sponsored an engineering study of the metropolitan coastline. That study, which was published in December 1970, stressed the need for protection and restorative works, recommended a programme of continuous research, and the establishment of the necessary administrative and financial machinery to do this work. A committee known as the Foreshore and Beaches Committee was then set up with the Government Director of Planning as its chairman. This committee function[ed] on an advisory basis until the passing of the Coast Protection Act and the appointment of the Coast Protection Board [in 1972].⁷⁰

The Board now has jurisdiction over the entire South Australian coast, which it has divided into Coast Protection Districts. The Adelaide area is included in the Metropolitan Coast Protection District, for which a consultative committee has been appointed, representing the eleven councils in the district and the West Beach Trust. The consultative committee advises the Board on matters of local significance relating to the protection, restoration or development of the coast within the district.⁷¹

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The Perth Metropolitan Statistical Division

The cities of Perth and Fremantle were founded in 1829, when the colony of Western Australia was established on a permanent basis. Gradually, as agriculture was developed and gold was discovered, the towns grew, one as the administrative centre of the colony, the other as the colony's chief port, while a number of adjacent communities developed as well, most of them being incorporated in the 1890s or shortly thereafter. By 1975, the Perth Metropolitan Statistical Division had come to include 26 local government authorities (see Appendix to Chapter II) and to embrace over 5,000 sq. km.

⁷⁰ South Australian Coast Protection Board, *Coastline*, No. 1, May 1973.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

The area shares with most of the other state metropolitan areas transportation problems, the proliferation of suburban shopping centres, the need for open space for recreation and parklands, a backlog of unsewered properties and of refuse disposal facilities, a need for redevelopment of urban centres, and a need to control the development of the foreshores. The state of Western Australia focusses on the Perth area to an unusual degree, and the state government has made a number of special provisions for it in the form of regional authorities.

Special Metropolitan Government Bodies

(a) *Metropolitan Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage Board.* The Metropolitan Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage Board (MWSDB) was established as a state authority in 1964, replacing a similar body dating back to 1909. Its jurisdiction is co-extensive with the Perth Metropolitan Statistical Division. It also incorporates approximately 2,100 sq. km. of the water catchment area of the Canning, Serpentine, North Dandalup and South Dandalup Rivers and the streams of the Darling Range. As well as the services indicated in its title, the Board has an underground water pollution protection function. However, its responsibility for drainage extends only to those parts of the drainage system designated as metropolitan main drains; subsidiary drains are under the control of local councils and private developers.

(b) *Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust.* The Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust was created in 1958 to provide regular bus and ferry services and, through the state Railway Commission (the Western Australian Government Railways Commission owns the rail services but operates them on behalf of the Trust), a suburban railway passenger service. The Trust's area of operations includes '[all] of the land within a circle having a radius of 50 kilometres from the Perth Town Hall and in addition an area of land outside [that] circle commencing at a point at which the said circle bisects the South Western Highway and bounded on the eastern side by the eastern alignment of the South Western Highway to a point 1.6 kilometres south of the Pinjarra Post Office, on the southern side by a straight line drawn due west to the seashore from the last mentioned point and on the western side by the seashore to the point at which the circle bisects the seashore'.⁷² It is thus roughly an area coinciding with the boundaries of the Perth Metropolitan Statistical Division.

⁷² Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust, *16th Annual Report (1974)*, Perth, 1974.

Although the councils in the area are not represented as such on the Trust, the Trust responds to council initiatives, as it did in 1974 when, at the insistence of the Perth City Council, it re-routed buses from the Hay Street Mall.

(c) *Metropolitan Region Planning Authority.* The Metropolitan Region Planning Authority (MRPA), established in 1960 under the terms of the *Metropolitan Region Town Planning Scheme Act*, took over from the 26 local councils in the area implementation of the plan prepared by Professor Gordon Stephenson and Alastair Hepburn in 1955, which in 1963 had been formally adopted by the state government as the Metropolitan Region Scheme. In addition to planning, the Authority is authorized to purchase land for roads, open space requirements for parks and recreation, and other public purposes. Funds for these purposes come from local improvement tax receipts, state appropriations, federal grants and loans.

The Metropolitan Region Scheme provides a comprehensive town planning scheme for the future development of the Perth metropolitan area in regard to both land use and road facilities. Between 1965 and 1973 the scheme was revised to provide for the area's expansion along four separate five-mile wide 'corridors' leading out of the area's centre. The corridor plan was endorsed by the state government in 1973 and is gradually being implemented. The corridor idea was conceived of as 'a regional concept [and] will have an effect on all of the 26 local authorities within the metropolitan region. However, within each of the corridors, and within the Metropolitan Region, certain of the local authorities will experience [greater] growth in population, etc., than might have been the case under any other scheme ... These local authorities and the corridors within which they fall are as follows:

- North-West Corridor - City of Stirling
Shire of Wanneroo
Shire of Gingin (outside the Region)
- South-West Corridor - Town of Cockburn
Shire of Kwinana
Shire of Mandurah (outside the Region)
- South-East Corridor - Shire of Armadale-Kelmscott
Town of Gosnells
Shire of Serpentine-Jarrahdale

Eastern Corridor - Shire of Swan
Shire of Mundaring.⁷³

Obviously, the implementation of the Scheme and the corridor plan will have a greater impact on those localities than on the others in the area.

An improvement plan, leading to the establishment of the Kewdale Industrial Estate about eight miles southeast of the city of Perth, has also been promulgated. Such improvement plans are expected to become more common in the future.

MRPA 'does not make its decisions in isolation. Its membership includes representatives from various Government agencies, local government, and the business sector ... [Four] District Planning Committees, with the addition of the Perth City Council Planning Committee, represent groups of all the local authorities within the Region and are a further source of information, opinion and advice.'⁷⁴

(d) *Waste Disposal.* An interim Metropolitan Refuse Disposal Planning Committee has recommended the creation of a statutory body to control all waste disposal in the Perth area. Collection services would remain the responsibility of local governments; the new body would be responsible only for its disposal.⁷⁵

State Government Agencies

Though the state of Western Australia has seen fit to provide the Perth area with a number of special bodies concerned with regional services, the state continues to provide other services directly through regular state departments and agencies. Even the Metropolitan Region Planning Authority forms part of the state Town Planning Department and must co-ordinate its activities with those of the department overall. MRPA must also co-operate with the state Main Roads Department (in highway planning) and with the

⁷³ H.R.P. David, Secretary, Town Planning Department of Western Australia, to author, 27 November 1975.

⁷⁴ Metropolitan Region Planning Authority, *Annual Report 1975*, Perth, 1975, p. 9.

⁷⁵ 'Statutory Waste Authority Recommended for W.A.', *Local Government Journal of Western Australia*, June Quarter 1975, pp. 27, 29.

State Environment Protection Agency. Indeed, 'MRPA, having no staff of its own, has to co-operate with Government Departments and instrumentalities on researches and investigations, before it is in a position to make policy decisions'.⁷⁶

In their responses to the local government questionnaire, local councils reported that the following state departments and agencies also provided services to residents of their areas:

- Bush Fires Board
- Community Recreation Council
- Community Welfare Department
- Conservation and Environment Department
- Department of Education
- Fremantle Port Authority
- Fuel and Power Commission
- Harbour and Lights Department
- Industrial Development Department
- Industrial Lands Development Authority
- Police, Probation and Parole Department
- Public Health Department
- Public Works Department
- Road Traffic Authority
- State Energy Commission
- State Housing Commission
- State Library Board
- Swan River Conservation Board
- Western Australia Fire Brigades Board.

The services most of these agencies provide are obvious from their titles, with the possible exception of the State Energy Commission which supplies electricity throughout the area. One state agency not included on the list is the Kings Park Board, which is responsible to the Minister of Lands and is financed almost wholly by the state government. Kings Park and Botanic Gardens form a nature preserve in the centre of the Perth area. The original preserve was set aside in 1872 and extended in 1890. In 1959, the state decided to locate the Botanic Gardens there, and they were officially opened in 1965. The greater part of the Park is still bushland, making it a unique feature of a modern metropolitan area.

⁷⁶ Metropolitan Region Planning Authority, *Annual Report 1974*, Perth, 1974, p. 14.

Agreements between Local Councils

Interlocal arrangements for services in the Perth area are common, although to judge from the responses to the local government questionnaire perhaps not as common as in some of the other metropolitan areas. Fifteen of the 26 councils in the Perth area responded to the questionnaire, and only 7 of them reported interlocal agreements. Those who did report them were each involved in a number of such agreements in several service areas. Agreements covering rubbish and waste disposal headed the list followed, in order of frequency, by agreements dealing with joint cemetery operation, joint library services, maintenance of boundary roads and dog control.

By contrast with most of the other metropolitan areas in Australia, local councils in the Perth area do not seem to have developed the habit of meeting together to discuss common problems. The only exceptions reported were the state-wide Local Government Association of Western Australia on the one hand, and the regional organizations created for Grants Commission and DURD purposes (there were three such organizations in the Perth area - Western Australia regions 11, 12 and 13) and for the Australian Assistance Plan purposes on the other. Several of the outer shires belong to the Country Shires Association as well. And one shire - Rockingham - noted its membership on the Cockburn Sound Conservation Committee which, the shire clerk noted, brings it into 'contact with adjacent authorities'.⁷⁷ None of the replies to the questionnaire went on to comment on the utility of such associations, except to indicate that in general they had provided opportunities for discussion and co-ordination. The deputy town clerk of the city of Fremantle did observe that the regional organization for Region 11 had been useful in the 'breakdown of parochialism'.⁷⁸

TASMANIA

The Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division

The city of Hobart was founded in 1804 and proclaimed a city in 1842. Founded around its unique harbour, it functioned for many years as a port city and only relatively recently became an

⁷⁷ D.J. Cuthbertson, Shire Clerk, Rockingham Shire, to author, 8 December 1975.

⁷⁸ Graham Foster, Deputy Town Clerk, City of Fremantle, to author, 20 November 1975.

industrial centre. Most of the outlying local government authorities were created between 1860 and 1880 and have undergone little change since then. The city of Glenorchy was only the second city after Hobart to receive city status (the first being Launceston on the north coast), and this was not achieved until 1964. By 1975, the Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division had come to include all or parts of seven local government units (see Appendix to Chapter II).

Fortunately for the student of the Hobart area, much of the data needed for a study such as this was compiled in a report published in 1975 by the Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority.⁷⁹ The existence of the Authority and its concern in the report with service delivery both suggest the presence in the Hobart area of the usual problems of metropolitan areas. The situation was complicated in Hobart by the fact that, due to topography, the area at first developed linearly and then, with the opening of the bridge connection across the River Derwent, took a quantum jump to the eastern shore, making the area particularly vulnerable to transportation congestion and blockage.

Over the years, the state of Tasmania has dealt with the metropolitan area in a number of special ways. The Metropolitan Water Board was created in 1961 in response to chronic water shortages in the area. The Board is responsible for providing an adequate supply of water in the area for distribution by the local government authorities to consumers. 'The Board is also empowered to direct the operation of bulk supply works vested in the metropolitan municipalities so that the entire water system functions as an integrated unit.'⁸⁰ Though the Board is not directly responsible for the distribution of water to consumers, it has the responsibility of raising the loan moneys required by the metropolitan municipalities for this purpose and of advancing funds to the councils in the area so that they may correct any deficiencies existing in their reticulation systems and meet the needs of residential and other developments.

The Board's jurisdiction covers only the municipalities of Hobart, Glenorchy, Clarence and Kingborough, so that it does not reach all parts of the metropolitan statistical division.

⁷⁹ Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority, *Hobart Metropolitan Area Strategy Plan*, Report 3, Hobart, 1975.

⁸⁰ Metropolitan Water Board, *The Metropolitan Water Board Twelfth Annual Report*, Hobart, 1974, p. 5.

Representatives of Hobart and Glenorchy city councils serve as members of the Board. However, the Board lacks power to force the municipalities it serves to impose limitations on water use and to take other measures toward water economy, thus forcing it continually to seek ways to augment the overall water supply for the developing metropolitan area. Nor has the Board been empowered to deal with sewerage and drainage, those services remaining the responsibility of the local councils.

The Metropolitan Transport Trust (MTT) was established by the state in 1954 to provide public transportation by bus in the Hobart metropolitan area (as well as in Burnie and Launceston). By definition in the act creating it, the Hobart metropolitan area 'means the City of Hobart, together with such parts of the municipalities of Glenorchy, Clarence and Kingborough as are situated within a radius of seven miles from the general post office at Hobart. Since the Tasman Bridge Disaster, the Minister for Transport has exercised his authority under the Hobart Bridge Act 1958 and directed the Trust to provide bus services beyond [that limit], to and from suburbs on the Eastern Shore.'⁸¹ Whether that extended boundary of the Trust's operation will remain in effect once the bridge connection is fully restored remains to be seen. Prior to 31 December 1975, the state railway system maintained a suburban rail service in the Hobart area; the closing of that service has placed an additional burden on the shoulders of MTT.

In 1974, the state government approved appointment of a Tasmanian Urban Transport Committee, of which the chief executive officer of MTT serves as a member and the secretary of MTT serves as secretary. 'The terms of reference of the Committee are ... to formulate and review policies, proposals and plans for the provision of urban transport facilities and services' in accordance with the requirements of the *Urban Public Transport Agreement Act* 1974, under which the state has begun to develop its urban transport program.⁸²

Tasmania has always followed a decentralized policy with regard to port administration, using local representative boards for that purpose. The Marine Board of Hobart was established in

⁸¹ Nelson A. Simpson, Chief Executive, Metropolitan Transport Trust to author, 15 October 1975.

⁸² Parliament of Tasmania, *Metropolitan Transport Trust Report ... for the year ended 30 June 1975*, Hobart, 1975, p. 9.

1857. Originally it shared responsibility with the Marine Board of Launceston for the whole Tasmanian coastline. Subsequently, other marine boards and harbour trusts were created, considerably reducing the area under the jurisdiction of the Hobart board. Its area still extends far beyond the metropolitan area, as Map III-5 indicates. Today, the Marine Board of Hobart is responsible for all of the territory to the south of the Smithton and Launceston board limits. Within its area of jurisdiction, the Hobart board has responsibility for ports, wharves, docks, rivers, the safety of ships using them, and pilot services, as well as for administration of the *Oil Pollution Act* 1961. The board is not representative of local government; rather, it 'retains the character of a guild (or user-representative) organisation'.⁸³

Finally, the state has set up the Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority (SMPMA) for the Hobart area. Following a recommendation from the Hobart Metropolitan Planning Committee in 1954, legislation was passed in 1957 and the first meeting was held on 3 November 1958. The Authority is responsible for planning the development of a triangular area based on Pontville in the municipality of Brighton, Snug in the municipality of Kingborough and Seven Mile Beach in the municipality of Clarence. The area includes the cities of Hobart and Glenorchy and those parts of the municipalities of Brighton, Kingborough and Clarence which are likely to experience urban expansion in the future because of their proximity to Hobart. By proclamation in 1973, Hobart withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Authority so as to be able to prepare its own planning scheme. Planning schemes developed by the Authority may deal with roads, positioning of buildings, preservation of land and objects, sewerage and drainage, lighting and water supply systems, land use specifications, the provision of amenities, stages of development, and ancillary works.

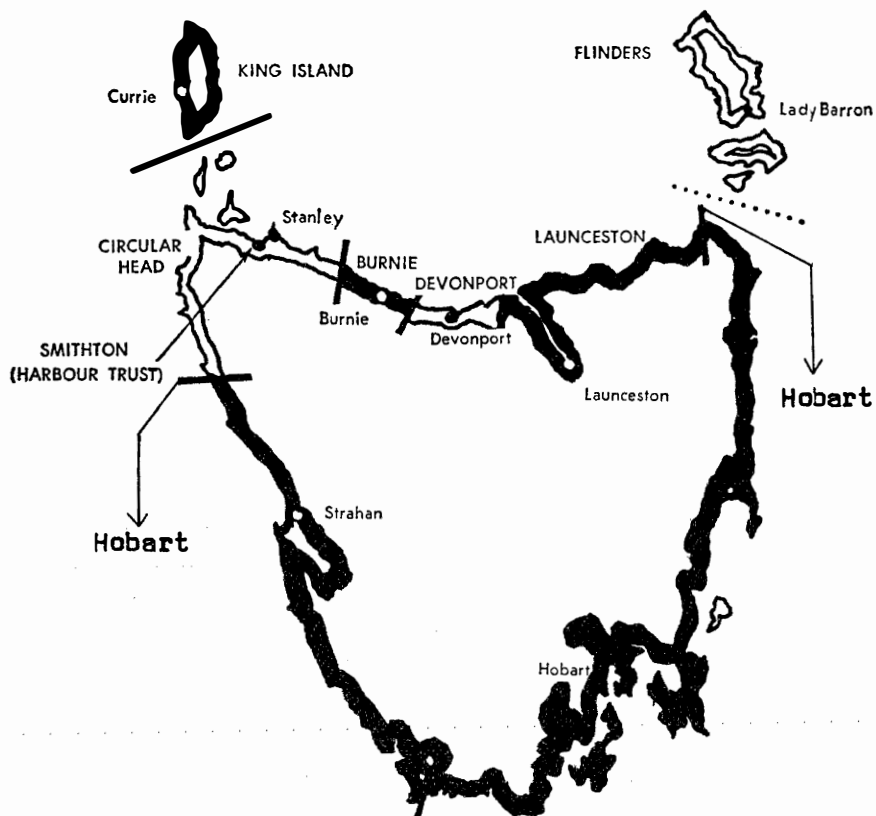
In 1975, the Authority published a draft of a Hobart Metropolitan Area Strategy Plan. What the plan will amount to without the participation of the city of Hobart is problematical, although under the terms of the *Local Government Act* 1962 the Town and Country Planning Commission of Tasmania, under which the Authority functions, can require co-operation between planning authorities.

Planning in the Hobart area in any case is also affected by the actions of the Metropolitan Water Board, the Hobart Marine Board and the Metropolitan Transport Trust, so that the need for

⁸³ State of Tasmania, *A Guide to Tasmanian Government Administration*, Hobart, n.d., pp. 65-67.

Map III-5

MARINE BOARDS AND HARBOUR TRUSTS IN TASMANIA



co-ordination is an extensive one. Moreover, the state of Tasmania developed, with federal help, a State Strategy Plan, designed to identify the desirable future growth patterns and to establish policy guidelines for the integrated development of the entire state.⁸⁴ Whatever planning schemes eventually emerge for the Hobart area will have to fit into the overall state plan.

Regular state departments and agencies also provide services to the Hobart area. In its Hobart Metropolitan Area Strategy Plan, SMMPA identified as being especially important in that connection the Health Department; the Mental Health Services Commission; the Departments of Social Welfare, Probation and Parole Service, Education, Environment, Public Works and Housing; the State Library of Tasmania; the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery; the Tasmanian Police Commission and the State Emergency Service constituted under it; and the Hydro-Electric Commission of Tasmania. In his response to the local government questionnaire, the council clerk of the municipality of Clarence added to the list the Ambulance Commission (the Ambulance Board of Southern Tasmania), the Transport Commission, the Adult Education Board, the Department of Lands, the state National Parks and Wildlife Service, the Rural Fires Board, and the Rivers and Water Supply Commission.⁸⁵

Interlocal service arrangements are not numerous in the Hobart area. The responses to the local government questionnaire (five out of seven councils replying) indicate only that some trading relationships have been established (for example, the supply of hot-mix bitumen as required for local streets and roads) and that some councils have joined together in the provision of health inspection services. However, SMMPA made mention in its Hobart Strategy Plan of the Derwent Regional Library System, with headquarters at Glenorchy, which serves the city of Glenorchy, the municipalities of New Norfolk and Brighton, and four other municipalities outside of the Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division.

Nor is there an active area-wide organization of local governments in the area. Councils are members of the Municipal Association of Tasmania, which does serve to bring them into some contact with each other in dealing with the state government.

⁸⁴ See DURD, *Community* 2/2. August 1975, p. 2.

⁸⁵ R.L. Marriott, Council Clerk, Municipality of Clarence, to author, 24 November 1975.

All seven councils in the Hobart area were included in the Grants Commission-DURD Regional Organisation No. 1 for Tasmania, but that region also included twelve other municipalities in addition to those within the Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division. The regional concept employed in that organization's work was thus much broader than what is generally regarded as the Hobart metropolitan area. Indeed, the replies to the local government questionnaire made little of the organization's utility to the Hobart area councils; the council clerk of the municipality of Clarence spoke for several when he said that it was useful 'only in a "post-office" role for Grants Commission purposes'.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the council clerk of the municipality of Sorell observed that through the regional organization 'closer contact' had been established between the councils in the region and that there appeared 'to be gradual movement towards greater co-operation' between the councils.⁸⁷

The only other regional grouping mentioned in the local government responses to the questionnaire was the Southern Tasmanian Regional Council for Social Development, part of the nationwide network set up by the federal Social Welfare Commission (Department of Social Security) in connection with the Australian Assistance Plan.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ N.D. Stewart, Council Clerk, Municipality of Sorell, to author, 21 November 1975.



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON
FEDERAL FINANCIAL RELATIONS

COPLAND BUILDING

P.O. BOX 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

17 November 1975

Dear Sir,

I am attempting to gather information on local governments in Australia's metropolitan statistical divisions and districts for use in a comparative study of local government in metropolitan areas in Canada, the United States and Australia. I would greatly appreciate your co-operation in letting me know the following about your unit of local government. If it would simplify your reply, you might use the space to the right of each question in this letter and merely mail it back to me. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

(sgd) Richard H. Leach
Visiting Fellow

1. In what year was your unit of government created?
2. Does your unit have any agreements or contracts with other local government units in your area? If so, of what kind?
3. Is there an area-wide organisation of local government units in your area? If so, what is its name? How does it serve your unit?
4. Are there any moves at present toward (a) boundary adjustment or (b) consolidation or amalgamation of local government units in your area? If so, what units would be involved?
5. What State government departments and semi-governmental authorities provide services to the residents of your unit?
6. Is your unit included in a region established by the State government? If so, of what utility is the region to your unit?
7. What units or departments of the Government of Australia are important in servicing and developing your area?
8. How have the regions established by the Government of Australia in which your unit of government is included been of use to your unit?

IV TOWARD ADJUSTMENTS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF AUSTRALIAN METROPOLITAN AREAS*

The question that inevitably arises from a review of existing arrangements for the provision of services in Australian metropolitan areas, spread as they are among local councils, semi-governmental bodies, state departments and agencies, and a variety of co-operative arrangements, is whether those arrangements are adequate for the residents of those areas. A further question is whether they are adequate to meet the requirements of the next decade and beyond.

The questions are difficult to answer precisely, because they really require a series of cost analyses and other sophisticated measures of the efficiency of the existing forms of government. It could be, of course, that even if the arrangements were found to be uneconomic, political factors might warrant their continuation. In any case, the wider question of service provision to metropolitan residents has hardly been raised in Australia. And understandably so, for to do so would necessarily involve consideration of virtually the entire spectrum of state and local government and administration.

However, a consensus has been developing that some minor adjustments at the local level may help to alleviate the symptoms if not effect a cure of the malady itself. As Hugh Stretton put it, the pattern of local government could be made simpler. Currently, 'old cities are crazy quilts of the patched, overlapping administrative areas of dozens of ill-coordinated authorities and services. The citizens never know where all these boundaries are and the overlapping authorities know all too well ...'¹ 'In short,' concluded the Barnett Committee in New South Wales, 'local government suffers from the existence of too many small uneconomic areas, resulting in fragmentation of authority, unnecessary duplication of assets, the under-utilization of plant, equipment, and human resources, and inability to provide the varied kinds of expertise

* Martin Rawlinson's excellent review, 'Local Government Reform in Australia: The State Experience', *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. 34, No. 4, December 1975, pp. 320-330, should be read in conjunction with this chapter.

¹ Hugh Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

required by local councils in the modern world.'² Indeed, there is widespread agreement in Australia that if the 'apparatus of local government [is] to be attuned to provide the community with ... the facilities demanded by a modern society ... local government ... needs to examine its ... deficiencies and the inability to work effectively because of the great number of local government organisations'.³

In most of the Australian states, some steps have been taken toward providing that examination. The local government acts of all the states contain provisions for bringing about amalgamations and mergers; and, as noted earlier, a number of changes has been effected under them, the most notable examples being those affecting Sydney, Brisbane, Newcastle and Wollongong. As the pressures for change have built up in recent years, interest in another round of 'revision of boundaries with a view to amalgamation'⁴ has led to studies and recommendations in most of the states.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to brief presentations of the five most recent official studies in Australia dealing with the possibilities of some kind of amalgamation. Three of those studies - those in New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania - were directed at local government generally in the state, while the study in Western Australia was confined to governmental merger in the Perth metropolitan area. No such study has been conducted in Queensland in recent years. Thus only one of the studies was concerned with metropolitan area-wide changes.

Even so, a review of the five studies is warranted because they all raise questions and issues relevant to the broader question of area-wide government reorganization and reform.

New South Wales

General Considerations. The Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales (the

² *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales, op. cit., p. 33.*

³ Senator A.T. Gietzelt, *1973 Australian Constitutional Convention Proceedings*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974, p. 97.

⁴ South Australia, *Report of the Auditor-General Financial Year Ended 30 June 1964*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1964, p. 233.

Barnett Committee) published its report in 1974. Only that section of the report dealing with government areas will be discussed here. The report reviewed the growth in the number of local government authorities in the state, noting that by 1974 there were 276 such authorities including 67 municipalities, 23 cities, 133 shires and 53 county districts. After answering a series of objections to consolidation made in many of the submissions made to the Committee it concluded that 'there is a need for basic changes in local government areas'. The Report went on:

'Present local government areas are not the most appropriate to secure proper economic and efficient local government. We believe that there is a serious need to create areas more strongly based economically than many that now exist, and this can only be achieved by a substantial reduction in the present number of areas... Only in this way is there any hope of reversing the trend towards centralization, a trend fostered by public demand for services which local government has been too weak to provide. In our view local government in New South Wales, and in Australia generally, is at the crossroads. Unless a system of local government is created which enables councils to assume greater responsibilities in decision-making and to become less dependent upon other levels of government, then the power of local communities will continue to decline and the trend to centralization will be further accelerated.'⁵

The Committee emphasized that the reasoning behind its conclusion was based on an expanded view of local government, a view which did not restrict local government 'to local administration of routine functions' but enabled it to 'play an important part in enhancing the [quality] of our lives'. A good system of local government, the Committee declared, implies 'councils with effective power of decision-making in a broad field of community activity, accountable to the local people rather than to a central authority. ... If local councils are to develop this broad concern for the quality of life in their communit[ies], and are to be brought into a proper relationship with other levels of government, they should themselves operate over reasonably large areas, and have the human and material resources to carry out major functions.'

⁵ The quotations in this section of this chapter are all from *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales*, op. cit., pp. 31-48, 59-60, 67-68, 71-72.

The Committee recognized that 'metropolitan problems have their own complex character. The modern urban environment creates many specially difficult problems - in the planning of the physical environment, development and redevelopment, control of land use, the provision of special amenities and social welfare services, and so on. It is harder to draw boundary lines as the problems of one part of the metropolitan region are closely related to those of another part. The scale of operations tends to be bigger, and the specialized expertise and management skill required are greater. A rapidly growing and highly mobile population causes ever more complex planning and traffic problems. The congregation of masses of people raises new issues in relation to environmental protection and the quality of life.'

The Committee firmly rejected any kind of two-tier system as a solution to the problem. This 'would enable the basic units to stay much as they are while interposing between State and local government a further tier of "regions"'. In its view, what is needed in New South Wales is 'reform at the "grassroots"'. Nor did the Committee attempt to set one ideal size for a local government area; rather it was of the opinion that a viable basic unit of local government might vary in size, depending on such matters 'as geographical features, population and its distribution, community of interest, functions to be undertaken, and opportunities for public participation'. Finally, it did not regard the record of performance of a council, however good it might be in terms of efficiency, as a valid reason for barring its union with adjacent councils. Instead, it attempted to make recommendations which 'take account of what is best for local government as a whole ...'.

The Committee's recommendations were thus: (1) that 'the terms "shire" and "municipality" cease to be used, [to] be replaced by the term "district"', some districts to have city status; (2) that New South Wales 'be divided into ninety-seven districts'; (3) that 'community councils' be established in each district 'to be a voice for local communities', whose role it would be to consider and report on matters referred to them by the district council and in some cases to exercise 'minor powers delegated to them by the district council'; (4) that the district councils assume the powers of existing local councils; and (5) that provisions be made 'to permit a district council to levy one rate for rural property and a different rate or rates for urban areas'.

The Sydney Metropolitan Area. Much of the Committee's report dealt with recommended changes in areas outside the designated metropolitan statistical areas of Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong. However, considerable discussion was directed to metropolitan local government. It is that section of the report which is of primary concern here.

The Committee observed that: 'It is in the great urban centre of Sydney that local councils play the least significant role in government ... [The] ... councils in the Sydney metropolitan area ... devote most of their resources to "ordinary works and services" ...' They do so partly out of necessity, since the resources of a good many are too small to permit anything else. But they do so also because of the way local government is structured in the area. The Committee concluded that there were too many local councils 'to tackle effectively the problems of local government in Sydney. There is too much fragmentation of responsibility and duplication of facilities. The administrative costs of [so] many councils' are excessive and are rising.

Turning to specific problems, the Committee found:

- (a) 'confusion and added costs ... in a number of fields owing to differing regulations and controls or meaningless variations in types of service provision';
- (b) 'unnecessary duplication of plant and equipment'; and
- (c) 'neglect of the town planning function'.

Only by regarding the entire metropolitan area 'as an entity for the purpose of providing many of the needed public services and to control urban development' could these and other deficiencies in the present situation be alleviated. 'Overall growth must be planned, priorities for public expenditure established and co-ordination achieved in the provision of services.'

But 'Sydney lacks machinery for the co-ordination of public service and has no satisfactory system for establishing priorities for public expenditures on city services'. The fact that, 'because of an unsatisfactory local government system in the past', so many functions have been entrusted to *ad hoc* bodies or state departments means that 'matters of special and sometimes fundamental importance to the city become submerged in state-wide political considerations'.

The 'only satisfactory way' in which local government in the Sydney area 'could be adapted to undertake the responsibilities of ... government on a metropolitan-wide basis' might seem to be by creating 'a 2-tier system of local government with a second level council administering functions and providing services of a metropolitan character'. Having adopted a general stance against such a system, however, the Committee did not recommend it for Sydney. Rather, it declared its conviction

'that it would be dangerous to discard present forms of administration, notwithstanding their fragmented character and lack of effective co-ordination, in

favour of a system administered by elected persons untried and inexperienced in the administration of metropolitan-wide services.

If local government is to aspire to the role of metropolitan authority it must first demonstrate its ability to undertake the higher responsibilities involved. This is possible, in our view, only if there are fewer and stronger areas and the system of administration is also strengthened.

Our proposals provide for twenty new districts within the Sydney region which for purposes of this report includes the County of Cumberland, the city of Blue Mountains, Colo Shire and Wollondilly Shire. We are confident that the creation of fewer and better equipped areas will result in due course in local government acquiring a considerably higher level of skill in coping with urban problems. Then the time will have arrived to give the fullest consideration to establishing a metropolitan-wide authority.'

The Committee recognized that, under the new scheme, 'Sydney will continue to lack a voice to speak for the metropolitan complex as a whole, to co-ordinate the activities of the new [district] councils and the various *ad hoc* authorities [and state departments], and to establish effective priorities for expenditure on metropolitan-wide services'. It thought perhaps that that role could be filled temporarily 'by the creation of an appointed metropolitan authority, to be superseded in due course by a popularly elected body'. However, it concluded that 'a proposal of this kind would need thorough investigation and we believe [that] to be beyond our terms of reference'.

The Committee hoped that the new district councils would themselves act to co-ordinate their activities, following the already established pattern described in Chapter III of this report. To facilitate such co-ordination, it recommended 'that, immediately the new district councils are created, steps ... be taken to set up a joint committee of the twenty councils'. It did not go on to suggest how that committee would be established. However, it did observe that the joint committee 'need not be given specific powers and functions in its early stages. At the beginning it could act as a forum of communication for dealing with matters affecting areas generally, to consider co-operative projects and to maintain contact with other levels of government. We can imagine it, as time goes on, developing the organizational base, including a small but skilled and active staff and the

necessary leadership, that will enable it to take initiatives in recommending new programmes and projects. Such a committee could prove to be the forerunner of an elected council for the whole metropolitan area.'

Finally, the Committee gave special consideration to the role of the city of Sydney itself in metropolitan leadership. It recognized that, 'more than is the case with any other single council, decisions taken by the City of Sydney have ramifications far beyond its boundaries and are closely linked with the activities of the whole region. It cannot, in our view, stand apart from "local government" generally within the region.' The Committee thought, however, that a 'truly satisfactory solution may have to await further developments in the concept of metropolitan government. In the interval, we believe that the Sydney City Council should feel some very special responsibility for assisting in the growth of metropolitan-wide institutions, and for developing co-operative activities with its neighbours.'

The twenty districts recommended for the Sydney area are shown in Table IV-1. It will be noted that Table IV-1 includes in one or other of the proposed new districts all the municipalities listed in the Appendix to Chapter II as being included in the two metropolitan statistical divisions of Sydney and Outer Sydney, except the shires of Gosford and Wyong. Those two shires make up a district of their own, District No. 17.

The Newcastle and Wollongong Areas. As for the Newcastle and Wollongong metropolitan statistical districts, the Committee did not consider them to be any more suitable combinations for purposes of effective local government than the Sydney divisions. Thus it recommended for Newcastle that the cities of Greater Cessnock and Maitland be constituted each as individual districts (District Nos. 12 and 13) and that the city of Newcastle and the shires of Lake Macquarie and Port Stephens be included with part of Great Lakes Shire in still another district (District No. 11).

With regard to Wollongong, the Committee recommended that parts of the city of Wollongong be included within Sydney Region District No. 96, along with Sutherland Shire, and that the rest of the city of Wollongong and the municipalities of Kiama and Shell-harbour be brought together into District No. 18. The city of Wollongong would continue to have city status under the new arrangement. The Committee noted that 'the rural section of Kiama Municipality south of the town could more appropriately be included in Shoalhaven Shire but this could be investigated and considered later'.

Table IV-1
DISTRICTS RECOMMENDED FOR SYDNEY AREA

District No.	Present Areas	Comments
78	Blue Mountains City	District to have city status
79	Camden Municipality; Wollondilly Shire (part to be delineated, but generally the whole shire excluding sections to be included in Districts 80 and 81)	
80	Campbelltown City; Wollondilly Shire (part to be delineated, but generally the Appin growth centre)	Campbelltown to have city status
81	Penrith City; Wollondilly Shire (part to be delineated, but generally the Warrangamba township area)	District to have city status
82	Windsor Municipality; Colo Shire	
83	Blacktown Municipality	District to have city status
84	Liverpool City; Fairfield Municipality	District to have city status
85	Parramatta City (except area to be included in District 88); Holroyd and Auburn Municipalities	District to have city status
86	Baulkham Hills Shire; Hornsby Shire (part to be delineated, but generally the rural sections generally west of Berowra Creek)	District to have city status
87	Ku-ring-gai Municipality; Hornsby Shire (parts of shire not included in Districts 86 and 88)	District to have city status
88	Ryde Municipality; Parramatta City (part comprising section generally bounded by Carlingford, Keeler, Marsden, and Terry Roads); Hornsby Shire (part to be delineated but generally the section south of Boundary Road, Pennant Hills)	District to have city status
89	Willoughby, Hunter's Hill, Lane Cove, North Sydney and Mosman Municipalities	District to have city status
90	Manly Municipality; Warringah Shire	District to have city status
91	Woollahra, Waverley and Randwick Municipalities	District to have city status
92	Botany, South Sydney, Marrickville and Leichhardt Municipalities	District to have city status
93	Ashfield, Burwood, Strathfield, Concord and Drummoyne Municipalities	District to have city status
94	Canterbury and Bankstown Municipalities	District to have city status
95	Hurstville, Kogarah and Rockdale Municipalities	District to have city status
96	Sutherland Shire; Wollongong City (part to be delineated but generally the Helensburg community)	District to have city status
97	City of Sydney	District to have city status

Source: *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Areas and Administration in New South Wales, op. cit.*

Summary. In sum, the Barnett Committee recommended a series of consolidations of local councils in the metropolitan areas of New South Wales, which it believed would lead to more effective government within each new district and which might bring about better co-ordination among councils in the area, especially if the city of Sydney were to assume leadership. Though the Committee did not say so, it would appear that such leadership would also be beneficial for the Newcastle and Wollongong areas, given the way the Sydney areas are developing in both directions.

The Committee did not wish to go so far as to embrace 'the concept of "regions" *where it is used to propose or foreshadow the creation of a major new level of executive government in Australia*' (italics in original).

Since the release of the Barnett Committee report, the state Local Government Boundaries Commission has held inquiries on the recommendations. However, opposition to them has grown. Most of the local councils seem to prefer to go it alone and do not seem likely to initiate any moves toward consolidation.

Victoria

The Melbourne Area. In Victoria, the question of the governance of the Melbourne metropolitan area was debated over many years, and it appeared for a while that the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works might be converted into a regional government body. However, that did not happen, and consideration of consolidation was restricted to the possibilities of a number of individual mergers, usually between only two or three municipalities. Thus in 1969 the then Minister for Local Government, on his own initiative, referred two proposals for consolidation to the state Local Government Advisory Board: one for the union of the cities of Collingwood and Richmond and the other for the union of the cities of Melbourne, Fitzroy, Port Melbourne and South Melbourne. The Board recommended union in both instances, but neither was ever effected.

The report of the Board in the latter instance is nevertheless instructive.⁶ The Board noted at the outset that the issue before it was not whether the three municipalities outside of Melbourne

⁶ See *Report of the Local Government Advisory Board in the Matter of an Inquiry into a Proposal for the Union of the Municipalities of the City of Melbourne, the City of Fitzroy, the City of Port Melbourne, and the City of South Melbourne*, Melbourne 1971. The quotations in the following paragraphs are from pp. 10-11, 13, 17-19, 22, 23, 39-40, 42, 51-53, 60, 69-70.

had 'in the past been governed or administered inefficiently', and so would provide better service to their residents if amalgamated with the presumably more efficient Melbourne. Rather, it recognized that 'the functions of local government ha[d], within the last thirty years, been subject to very significant change and expansion'. Thus it felt that 'any inquiry into local government must "concern itself with the potential as well as the actual role of local government in the community"'. That potential, the Board felt, had a better chance of being realized through union than through preserving the *status quo*. The Board was guided throughout its considerations chiefly by economic factors - the rateable value of the rateable properties, the rates made and levied by each municipality, and the property revenues and the debts and liabilities of each unit - and sought to decide whether on these grounds the three municipalities would not better meet the demands of the future if they were joined with the city of Melbourne.

Melbourne itself was in favour of amalgamation; the other three cities were opposed. Their arguments against union rested partly on technical and legal grounds, and partly on grounds of substance. They did not accept as fact that the problems of Melbourne were *ipso facto* their problems. Thus they argued that the reason Melbourne really wanted amalgamation was to provide a better base from which to tackle the problems of its declining central business district. The three cities also argued that Melbourne was already too large and that its services and functions were rendered in an impersonal, institutionalized way and were consequently less beneficial to the people than they might have been. They argued for 'truly local government', where 'people have ready access to councillors and officers, who in turn have a profound knowledge of the municipality and its affairs'. They posited a difference between 'central city government' and 'local government', the former facing an inevitable conflict of interests between the discharge of its responsibilities to business interests and the need to administer social services in a humane and responsive manner, the latter permitting wide citizen participation, 'the town halls becoming important centres of community activity'.

Moreover, they argued, 'the economies of scale alleged to be possible on amalgamation [were] largely illusory ... To the extent ... economies of scale may be achieved this can usually be done by co-operative effort ...' Indeed, the opposing cities went on, 'amalgamation would not result in increased efficiency, and greater specialisation of municipal services is unnecessary'.

Interestingly enough, the opponents were sure that 'the best solution to the problems of local government is the creation, or refinement, of a two-tier system or a multi-tiered system, and the

assignment of each municipal function to the appropriate level of authority ... rather than the indiscriminate expansion of municipal boundaries which would jeopardise the best features of small and truly local government'.

The Board did not comment further on the addition of another level of government in the Melbourne area, but concluded that the arguments of the three cities had their roots 'in the traditions of a now outmoded[concept of a] closed community whose activities hardly extended beyond daily perambulations about the parish pump'. It felt that in recommending union of the four cities it was not acting to destroy 'any real community of interest ... None of the subject areas', it found, was 'a clearly distinct township enclosing a separate community. On the contrary the entire area which forms the subject of this proposal is 21 square miles forming a very small fragment of a metropolis of some 500 square miles of largely unbroken urban area. Moreover we live in an age of remarkable mobility. Viewed in the light of today's systems of transport and communication the district of a municipality such as Fitzroy, with its handful of streets contained within an area of 1½ square miles, tends to shrink to the dimensions of a pocket handkerchief.'

The economic advantages of union in reduced administrative costs alone would justify taking that action.. Besides the multiplicity of council and committee meetings, the four city areas contained 'four municipal engineering departments, four departments concerned with administration and accounting and a similar multiplicity of organisations for functions such as building and health supervision ... As we see it, one of the great advantages of union would be the bringing into existence of one legislative and administrative body for the whole area, but making use of the existing town halls for the purpose of suitable decentralised internal administration.'

Furthermore, the Board observed that while 'it is true that municipalities may achieve economies by co-operating for various purposes, it appears that municipal co-operation is more attractive as a theoretical concept than as a practical proposition. In the field of co-operation municipalities to date do not have a record of solid achievement.'

The Board noted that 'the complexities of modern living impose many disabilities on small units of local government. For example, small councils find it difficult to attract and employ a full range of staff, and their administrati[ve] costs often tend to absorb an unduly high proportion of their revenue. They cannot effectively utilize a full range of plant, although to some extent, they may overcome this disability by the

employment of outside contractors. Moreover, small municipalities find it difficult to provide the full range of services and often their services are inferior in quality to those available in larger municipalities.'

Union of the four municipalities would not only overcome these disabilities but would strengthen the ability of the four city areas as a whole to meet service needs because the other three cities would benefit from the more substantial resources of the city of Melbourne. One of 'the benefits which ... would [flow] from union would be the capacity of the new municipality to carry out programmes of a more ambitious type than any one of the present four municipalities is capable of undertaking', particularly in areas such as 'town planning, urban renewal, pollution and environmental control, and ... study of the ecology'.

'Apart from those advantages to which we have already adverted', the Board went on, there were other benefits which would flow from a union of the four cities. 'The Melbourne area and these several inner suburbs, if united, would form one satisfactory economic unit. The council would speak unequivocally for the united area and thus the problems of any part of this municipal district would become the problems of the whole. The greater financial strength of the enlarged area would be expected to flow through to each and every part of its district.' The Board noted that it preferred to speak of "advantages of scale" rather than "economies of scale", although on union it is likely that economies would be achieved. These advantages ... would in large measure result from a consolidation of staff with a high degree of specialisation of function, leading to an improvement in the range and the quality of works and services ... But the use of modern techniques of accounting and administration, involving electronic data processing and other aids, would also be feasible in a larger unit, with beneficial effects on operating efficiency.' The Board's report continued:

'Enlargement of the municipal district would also permit the more economic use of road plant and also widen the range of plant that might be used. There can, in our opinion, be little doubt that further advantages and benefits would result from union and more particularly in relation to the following matters - uniformity of by-laws, uniformity in administration of building controls, an overall and balanced view in relation to the provision of open space and other public amenities, a comprehensive view in relation to urban development, a more active and effective administration of the legislation relating to weights and measures, uniformity in the

administration of planning controls, and the greater scope which would be provided for town planning by the enlargement of the municipal district.'

As already noted, in the end the recommendations were not adopted. The opposition of the three outlying municipalities to merger with Melbourne was too strong to permit it. There continue to be moves toward merger in the Melbourne area - as between Fitzroy and Collingwood, and between Keilor and Sunshine, for example - as well as moves to bring parts of one municipality into another (for example, the incorporation of the South Yarra portion of Albert Ward in the city of Melbourne into the city of Prahran, and of a portion of the city of Sunshine into the City of Altona). But it appears that action leading towards any kind of large area-wide unit of government in the Melbourne area is not to be expected.

The Geelong Area. As for the Geelong metropolitan area, there had been 'a very strong move to amalgamate the three inner cities of Geelong, Geelong West and Newtown but this was finally dismissed by the State Government' in 1974.⁷ At present, there is virtually no sentiment for amalgamation in the area.

Summary. In sum, little concern has been demonstrated either by the Victorian government or by its metropolitan area governments to take any wide-ranging action to develop something approaching regional government in those areas.

South Australia

In South Australia, a Royal Commission into Local Government Areas was appointed by the state government in 1973 and directed to report on whether it was 'desirable to alter the number of councils in South Australia'; if so, it was to suggest the 'appropriate number of such councils and [their] boundaries', and what the appropriate status of each should be (i.e. district council, municipality, or city). The Commission was also directed to report on whether it was 'desirable to create regional-type councils comprising two or more areas, to carry out a specific function or functions, and if so, the areas and boundaries

⁷ R.J. Hammett, Town Clerk, City of Geelong West, to author, 26 November 1975.

... of such regional ... councils, the method of their constitution and the scope of their functions'.⁸

In its considerations, the Commission was to have regard to several factors:

- (a) the rate revenue of the proposed area (any council area proposed to be within the Adelaide Metropolitan Planning Area was ordinarily to have a minimum rate revenue of \$500,000);
- (b) evidence of a community of interest of the people in a proposed area, whether 'economic, social, regional or otherwise';
- (c) the existence or absence of intra-area communication routes; and
- (d) the physical features of the locality.

Moreover, it was to keep in mind 'the desirability of retaining, where possible, all staff and employees [then] employed by councils in council employment'.⁹

The Commission accepted as basic that while local government in South Australia had 'been able to achieve much more than is generally realised', it should even so 'be looked at critically, and sympathetically to see whether it can be strengthened and made more effective'. It thought these aims could be achieved, in part, 'by a reorganisation of council boundaries where appropriate ...'.¹⁰ The Commission went on to declare:

'We believe in local government. We do not wish to see the transfer of powers to central government either by default of local government or design by central government. We do not wish to see the transfer of

⁸ See *First Report of the Royal Commission into Local Government Areas*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1974; *Second Report of the Royal Commission into Local Government Areas*, Government Printer Adelaide, 1974; and *Third Report of the Royal Commission into Local Government Areas*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1975. The quotation is from *First Report* ..., p. 7.

⁹ *First Report*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10

powers from local government to any ad-hoc bodies specifically set up for a particular purpose. We believe that if it is strong and effective, and properly staffed, local government is the appropriate tier of government to carry out the tasks currently committed to it, and no doubt many others.'¹¹

Moreover, the Commission expressed the belief that 'the re-alignment of boundaries [was] a matter of urgency', concluding that if such re-alignment did not take place soon, it would be increasingly difficult for local government to 'retain its rightful place in the community' due to the steady erosion of powers already taking place either to 'central government or to some form of regional control'.¹²

After a lengthy process of accepting submissions, holding hearings, and making visits to existing council areas, the Commission recommended in 1974 'that the 137 local governing bodies presently existing over that portion of the State within local government should be replaced by 72 Councils covering almost, but not exactly, the same territory'. In making that recommendation, the Commission placed more stress 'on principles relating to community of interest' than on any of the other criteria.¹³ What was important, the Commission thought, was 'that each council area should be such that it provides for most, if not all, of the needs of the residents of the area. If a local government area is such that it provides those facilities which people need and expect, including employment opportunities, commercial needs, schooling, shopping, the practice of religion, hospital and medical care, cultural needs, recreation and major transport for most or, at least in suburban areas, a significant number of the inhabitants of the area then it can be said that the area has a community of interest.'¹⁴

The recommended Council areas for the Adelaide area would depart considerably from the metropolitan concept embodied in the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) definition of the Adelaide Metropolitan Statistical Division. The Commission

¹¹ *Second Report, op. cit.*, p.8.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³ *First Report, op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *Second Report, op. cit.*, p. 21.

'endeavoured to use such boundaries as the River Torrens, the Hills Face Zone, principal roads, railway and train lines, [and] postal suburb boundaries', boundaries which it felt were 'known and meaningful in general community terms ...'.¹⁵ As a result, the overall Adelaide metropolitan area would be enlarged by linking local government authorities not now included in the ABS definition with authorities included therein. The recommended new council areas are shown in Table IV-2. The first 19 districts include *only* authorities now within the ABS definition; districts 20-21 and 24-27 constitute a mix of authorities within (underlined) and outside it.

In its Third Report, the Commission dealt squarely with the 'greater Adelaide' concept', recognizing that the City of Adelaide 'in many ways ... is servicing an area considerably greater than [its] boundaries suggest [and] ... is a centre not only for the metropolitan area, but for the whole State'. But it rejected the 'greater Adelaide' concept. If there were to be

'only one council for the metropolitan area, containing perhaps three-quarters of the population of the State, the question that would arise is whether we need local government at all.

It is somewhat surprising that no one really put forward an argument for a "greater Adelaide". The Town Clerk of the City of Adelaide, Mr. R.W. Arland, argued for a three-mile extension of the City boundaries; but we took the view that if an extension was warranted, there was no reason why it should stop at an arbitrary three mile line, and that certainly people outside that line but in the metropolitan area should be considered along with those inside such a line.

The three members of the Adelaide City Council who did give evidence - not as members of the Council, but in other capacities - far from suggesting the need for a greater Adelaide, rather tended to suggest that the boundaries should remain as they now are, at least if the problems with which they were immediately concerned could be otherwise overcome.

But if Adelaide caters for a larger community than its boundaries suggest, as we believe, and yet for other reasons it is not to be extended, this must place the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 15.

Table IV-2

ROYAL COMMISSION INTO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS
RECOMMENDED COUNCIL AREAS: ADELAIDE METROPOLITAN AREA

District No.	Brief General Description
1	The city of Adelaide
2	The major portion of the city of West Torrens, the town of Thebarton and a portion of the city of Henley and Grange
3	The major portion of the city of Woodville, the town of Hindmarsh, and portions of the cities of Henley and Grange, Enfield and West Torrens
4	The city of Port Adelaide, portions of the cities of Enfield, Salisbury and Woodville, and certain areas presently outside local government
5	The major portion of the city of Salisbury and a portion of the city of Tea Tree Gully
6	The city of Elizabeth, the district of Munno Para and a portion of the the city of Salisbury
7	The major portion of the city of Tea Tree Gully and portions of the cities of Enfield and Salisbury
8	The major portion of the city of Enfield and portions of the existing cities of Salisbury, Tea Tree Gully and Prospect
9	The major portion of the city of Prospect, the town of Walkerville and a portion of the city of Enfield
10	The city of Payneham and the town of St. Peters
11	The city of Campbelltown and a portion of the district of East Torrens
12	The city of Kensington and Norwood, the major portion of the city of Burnside and a portion of the district of East Torrens
13	The city of Unley and a portion of the city of Burnside
14	The major portion of the city of Mitcham, a portion of the district of Meadows and the Garden Suburb of Colonel Light Gardens
15	The district of Stirling, a portion of the city of Mitcham and a portion of the district of Meadows
16	The major portion of the district of Willunga and portions of the districts of Noarlunga and Meadows
17	The major portion of the district of Noarlunga, a portion of the district of Meadows and a portion of the city of Marion
18	The major portions of the cities of Marion and Brighton and a portion of the district of Meadows
19	The city of Glenelg and portions of the cities of West Torrens, Marion and Brighton
20	The town of <u>Gawler</u> and portions of the districts of <u>Munno Para</u> , <u>Mudla Wirra</u> , <u>Freeling</u> and <u>Barossa</u>
21	<u>The district</u> of <u>Mallala</u> and portions of the districts of <u>Mudla Wirra</u> , <u>Owen</u> and <u>Riverton</u>
24	The district of <u>Gumeracha</u> , the major portion of the district of <u>Mount Pleasant</u> , a portion of the city of <u>Tea Tree Gully</u> , and portions of the districts of <u>Munno Para</u> and <u>Barossa</u>
25	The district of <u>Mount Barker</u> and portions of the districts of <u>Meadows</u> , <u>Mobilong</u> and <u>Strathalbyn</u>
26	The district of <u>Onkaparinga</u> and a portion of the district of <u>East Torrens</u>
27	The town of <u>Strathalbyn</u> , the major portion of the district of <u>Strathalbyn</u> , portions of the districts of <u>Meadows</u> and <u>Willunga</u> , and an area presently outside of local government

Source: Adapted from Appendix B, *First Report of the Royal Commission into Local Government Areas*, pp. 79-80.

City of Adelaide in a special position that ought to be recognised both by local government and by central government. It places the City in a position that warrants special assistance.

If that assistance is given, and recognition of its special position made, surely local government as a whole should support this provided that such assistance and recognition did not derogate from the autonomy of the Council - it must retain the right to manage all of its own affairs.'¹⁶

With regard to regional councils, the Commission did not recommend their compulsory formation but recommended instead 'that councils be permitted to group together voluntarily to carry out a specific function or functions which the councils individually are empowered to perform'. Where it would be envisaged that a regional grouping of councils would 'conduct an activity of a continuing nature and enter [into] contracts', the Commission recommended that 'councils be permitted to group together voluntarily on a more formal basis ...'. In those cases, 'the activity concerned should no longer be a responsibility of member Councils'. The Commission recommended finally that the initiative for the formation of regional groups should remain with local councils but that once two or more councils had decided to take that step, they should 'petition the Minister [for Local Government] to create the group. After an inquiry, the Minister may take appropriate action to create [it].'¹⁷

After presentation of the Second Report, a bill was introduced into the House of Assembly of the South Australian parliament to put the recommendations of the Commission into effect. A select committee of the House was appointed to consider the recommendations. It reported favourably on them, with the significant addition that it supported change by voluntary action of the councils themselves rather than forced change introduced by act of parliament, as the Commission had recommended. Subsequently, the House of Assembly unanimously adopted the select committee's report. However, there the wheels stopped turning. By December 1975, the conclusion of one prominent member of the South Australian parliament, Mr Robin Millhouse, was generally accepted as valid. He declared that 'there is only the remotest chance that the boundary changes

¹⁶ *Third Report, op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷ *First Report, op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

recommended by the Royal Commission will ever be adopted by Parliament'.¹⁸ The main reason seems to be opposition by local councils themselves. As the Commission put it in the Third (and final) Report: 'probably the major part of the reason for the disinclination to change ... can be attributed to the fact that members of councils believe that boundaries are the province of the Government, and are not the subject of self-determination by the local council'. In addition, there were fears that consolidation might well increase rates, fears which council members could only accept in their thinking.¹⁹

In sum, South Australia has sought to remedy the service deficiencies of its local governments in the metropolitan area of Adelaide by a series of recommended consolidations which would lead to a smaller number of what the Royal Commission defined as 'up-to-date total community' areas.²⁰ So far, that approach has not been accepted; the Commission did, however, open debate on both regionalism and a greater Adelaide, the end of which has yet to be seen.

Western Australia

In Western Australia, the question of reorganizing local government in the Perth metropolitan area had been debated for a number of years after World War II, when the area underwent rapid growth. In 1968, the Local Government Assessment Committee recommended reducing the then 27 local government authorities to 18 on the grounds that all the local units would then have the minimum of 40,000 people deemed to be required for them to operate with reasonable economy and efficiency. Moreover, the Committee felt, units of such size would practically eliminate the difficulty of having 'an increasing number of people ... reside in one local government unit, work in another, shop in a third and take their recreation in a fourth with no attachment or pride in a particular unit of local government'.²¹ In 1972, the state

¹⁸ Robin Millhouse, to author, 10 December 1975.

¹⁹ *Third Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²¹ State of Western Australia, Local Government Assessment Committee, *Report*, Government Printer, Perth, 1968, quoted in 'Striking Similarities in Two Boundary Reports', *The Local Government Journal of Western Australia*, March 1973, p. 22.

Local Government Boundaries Commission studied the matter and in its report recommended a reduction in the number of municipalities in the area from the current 26 to 18. The Boundaries Commission endorsed the idea of each recommended unit having a population of 40,000 or more. Like the earlier report, the Boundaries Commission report claimed that fewer, larger units would mean greater efficiency and that smaller authorities would not necessarily provide all the services required by ratepayers.

Both reports were subjected to strong criticism, largely 'from people who were unhappy with the way the Report affected a particular area'.²² In fact, the discussion raised so many points at issue that a Royal Commission was appointed in 1973 to 'enquire into and report [on] whether it is desirable to alter the number of municipalities in the metropolitan area of Perth, or to alter the boundaries of ... any such municipalities ...'.²³ The municipalities in the metropolitan area to be examined coincided precisely with and were limited to²⁴ those in the area designated as the Perth Metropolitan Statistical Division.

The Commissioner relied on the Local Government Boundaries Commission report and on submissions from affected councils in arriving at his conclusions. However, he also took into account 'the history of the development of the area ... the vested interest of the existing local government authorit[ies] ... [and] what is a desirable solution ... not only [for] the individual municipality, but also [for] the neighbouring local government areas'. It was 'the whole of the area of metropolitan Perth' he was concerned with, 'not each council area in isolation'. He dismissed the idea of setting a 40,000 minimum population for local areas in the metropolitan area as 'impossible and inappropriate ... to fix ...'. Rather, he thought, the 'history of the area, its geographical situation, the nature of the terrain, the standard that its development has reached, the nature of the area, the size of the population, the nature of the activity carried on within the area, the degree of community interest, the tasks the

²² State of Western Australia, Royal Commission into Metropolitan Municipal District Boundaries (Judge Johnston Royal Commissioner), *Report*, Government Printer, Perth, 1974, p. 2. See also State of Western Australia, Local Government Boundaries Commission, *Report*, Government Printer, Perth, 1972, p. 18.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p.1. The other quotations in this section are from pp. 1-6, 11, 14, 20-23, 26-29, and Appendix A, of the Royal Commission report.

²⁴ The Commissioner observed early in his enquiry that whatever solutions he proposed would necessarily 'start with the districts as they are'. 'If the task of creating municipalities in the metropolitan area were undertaken *de novo*,' he observed, 'I have no doubt that the result may well be very different from the present districts.'

authority is required to perform and its financial ability are all factors that are relevant in determining what is an appropriate size - no doubt there are other aspects too'. With these criteria in mind, the Commissioner believed he might find some local government areas too large and others too small. His method was thus 'to look at each of the districts and to say on the evidence produced whether it is desirable that changes should be made'. Most of his report was devoted to an area-by-area analysis of the 26 districts.

As a general rule, the Commissioner thought local area boundaries ought to be 'clearly defined and easily recognisable', but he found it difficult to set boundaries along 'community of interest' lines. Although it was certainly an important factor, it was a hard concept to define. Community of interest, he found, 'appears to increase to large proportions or diminish to almost complete insignificance, depending upon the claim of a council appearing before the Commission ... The Commission found very little exact information relayed to it on what really constitutes community of interest in local government. Generally, we realised that people lived in one municipal district, shopped in another, worked in another and often travelled for recreation and leisure to another. No evidence was produced to establish the fact that most people actually feel they belong to any particular area.' Even so, it was generally accepted that 'one of the basic roles of local government is the fostering of a self-reliant community based on community spirit', so that the concept was not to be ignored completely.

In the end, the Commissioner recommended that the number of municipalities in the Perth area be reduced by four to 22, and that the changes be made by the Governor-in-Council 'without the need for the presentation of petitions by the municipalities concerned', the method provided in Section 12 of the *Local Government Act* 1960-1973. To this end, he recommended an amendment to the *Local Government Act*.

It is difficult to summarize the Commissioner's specific recommendations, both because he recommended the addition or excision of neighbourhood areas which are not easily identifiable without the use of a map and which are not meaningful to outsiders, and because in some cases he recommended only minor boundary changes as agreed to by the councils concerned. Basically, the pattern of the metropolitan area would have remained much the same had his recommendations been adopted, the only major changes recommended being the amalgamation:

- (a) of the city of Nedlands and the town of Claremont to form the city of Claremont;

- (b) of the towns of Cottesloe and Mosman Park and the shire of Peppermint Grove to form the town of Cottesloe; and
- (c) of the shires of Bayswater and Bassendean to form the town of Bayswater-Bassendean.

No changes at all were recommended for four of the existing local government areas.

Thus what was recommended amounted only to a number of re-drawn boundaries in the Perth area, hardly affecting at all the basic overall pattern of governance in the metropolitan region. No area-wide concept of government was embodied in the Commissioner's report, or even considered. In any case, no action was forthcoming on any of the recommendations. The small councils 'mustered all their forces for what [was] to them, a fight for survival',²⁵ and the state government was unwilling to take the initiative in the matter. A number of councils did report in their replies to the local government questionnaire made for the purposes of this study that they were considering boundary changes on their own, but that is about all that is likely to happen in the Perth area in the foreseeable future.

Tasmania

Tasmania has had a long history of attempted local government reform. As early as 1938, a Royal Commission was set up to examine certain aspects of the local government problem; it reported in 1939. One of its recommendations was 'that the number of municipal bodies be reduced so as to comprise two cities, three urban municipalities and thirty-four rural municipalities. The total would therefore [have been] reduced from forty-nine to thirty-nine.' Only the municipality of Brighton in what is now the Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division would have been affected in that change. However, the recommendations were never adopted.²⁶

²⁵ 'Smaller Councils in There Fighting', *The Local Government Journal of Western Australia*, December 1973, p. 5.

²⁶ The history of attempted local government reform in Tasmania is given in Parliament of Tasmania, *Municipal Commission of Tasmania Report on Matters Relating to Local Government Referred by the Minister for Local Government*, Government Printer, Hobart, 1974, pp. 7-8. The quotations in this section of this study are from pp. 5-8, 22-26, 43-48, 51-53, 58-61.

Again in 1960, the matter of local government reorganization was raised, this time by a select committee of the House of Assembly appointed to inquire into and report on the matter. 'One of its terms of reference was "whether amalgamation of certain municipalities would be of advantage to local government administration by creating greater efficiency and cutting down administrative costs"'. In its 1962 report, the select committee came out strongly in favour of a reduction in the number of municipalities in the state and suggested that all municipal boundaries 'be reassessed ... by qualified experts, having regard to geographic, economic and population conditions'. The Tasmanian parliament spoke in part to the select committee's recommendation in its revision of the *Local Government Act* in 1962, one section of which set up a Municipal Commission required to report within two years of the commencement of the act. The commission subsequently reported in 1965. Its report recommended numerous amalgamations, as a result of which there would have remained Hobart, Launceston and eighteen other municipalities. A Greater Hobart would have been created by bringing together, under one local government authority, the city of Hobart and the then urban portions of the cities of Clarence and Glenorchy and of the municipality of Kingborough. The other units now included in the Hobart Metropolitan Statistical Division would have been assigned to one of the other municipalities in the state. The recommendations of the Commission were 'the subject of protracted litigation', however, and its report was never acted upon.

Finally, the *Local Government Act* was amended again, this time in 1971. Among other changes, it created a new Municipal Commission to replace the earlier one. The new Commission was designed to assist the Minister for Local Government in deciding 'whether there should be any creation, abolition, amalgamation or severance of any municipality' in the state, as well as to provide information, among other things, on: the functions of municipalities and whether the financial resources of existing local units were adequate for their proper performance; municipal ratings and whether any changes in either the basis or the system of ratings were needed; whether a rearrangement of municipal boundaries would help solve the financial problems of municipalities; and whether counties or regional areas should be created in any part of the state. The report of that Commission was submitted in 1974.

In general, the Commission subscribed to the idea of economies of scale, believing that 'in a small municipality, the costs of operation, particularly in the field of administration, must be relatively high. It follows that a combination of two or more comparatively small municipalities must result in a reduction of costs.' It also concluded that larger municipalities would 'be able to afford specialists in each of the main fields of municipal

activity', so that 'the degree of efficiency and hence the quality of service supplied to ratepayers would be increased many times over'.

In addition to basing its recommendations on those two general theorems, the Commission took into account a number of specific factors in each municipality in the state:

- (a) its population;
- (b) its rateable area;
- (c) the assessed annual value for rates;
- (d) geographical features;
- (e) road mileage requiring maintenance;
- (f) the adequacy of the area's central place;
- (g) the unity of interests present; and
- (h) the benefits received by ratepayers.

On the basis of both the general and the specific factors it considered, the Commission concluded that eleven municipalities in the state were not 'satisfactory as separate units of government'. Only three of the amalgamations it recommended in pursuance of its findings would have affected the Hobart metropolitan area: that of the municipality of Bruny Island with the municipality of Kingborough; that of the municipality of Green Ponds and the north ward of the municipality of Richmond with the municipality of Brighton; and that of the rest of Richmond and the municipality of Tasman with the municipality of Sorell. These changes would have added some 1,826.21 sq. km. and an estimated 3,670 people to the metropolitan area.

The Commission considered regionalism as a possible alternative to amalgamation, defining regionalism as 'the retention of all municipalities in their existing form and the super-imposition of a regional organisation over groups of municipalities to be responsible for certain functions, leaving existing municipalities to continue to be responsible for the remaining functions'. For the time being, at least, it rejected the idea, declaring it then saw no need for 'an extra tier of government in Tasmania' and believed it would constitute 'an unwarranted expense'.

The Commission went on to say:

'The transfer of some functions from municipalities to regional organisations would weaken still further those municipalities which are already below optimum size. Those which now have some unused capacity would have

even more unused capacity. The need for staff would be diminished, but because existing staff is the minimum that can be employed, the present inefficiencies caused by smallness of size would be accentuated. Thus, the retention of all municipalities as at present, if some form of regional organisation were established, may be expected to increase the degree of under-utilisation of resources and increase inefficiency.'

Indeed, the Commission concluded, 'if regionalism were introduced, the need for re-arrangement of boundaries and a reduction in the number of municipalities would not be diminished. On the contrary, if regional organisations were to be superimposed upon the present structure of local government in Tasmania, there would be strong justification, in the interests of economy and efficiency, for more extensive amalgamation than would be contemplated if regionalism were not to be introduced.'

But the Commission decided in the end that a report on regionalism should be deferred for five years, awaiting further clarification of the federal government's interest in the development of regionalism, experience with the amalgamations recommended in its report, and experience with the further development of regionalism already under way in the state.

Like the reports of its predecessors, that of the most recent Municipal Commission has not been acted upon by the state government. In any case, the changes recommended would have had only a slight impact on the governance of the overall Hobart metropolitan area. In 1976 the possibility of governmental change therein seems remote.²⁷

²⁷ The Municipal Commission did observe, however, that 'it seems inevitable that [the municipality of] Clarence will seek city status during the next five years', that is before 1979.

V NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN RESTRUCTURING METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT: CANADA

As noted in Chapter I of this study, the metropolitan phenomenon has been experienced throughout the world. Indeed, evidence relating to the Toronto and Miami reorganization schemes was brought forward in several of the inquiries cited in Chapter IV. It seems a reasonable premise that experience in other federal systems, where action for change must also recognize the intergovernmental facts of life, may be of value in any consideration of change in Australia. This chapter and the following one are therefore devoted to a brief analysis of the major new approaches to metropolitan governance which have been adopted in Canada and the United States. Discussion of these approaches has been extensive in the two countries; a bibliography of the literature on the subject would be voluminous. All that can be attempted here is a broad-brush treatment of the major actions and recommendations leading to reformed metropolitan government in the two countries.

It should be noted that, in Canada and the United States, local government is the focal point for the delivery of most domestic services. Neither the Canadian provinces nor the American states have reserved for themselves the broad service role performed for metropolitan (and other) residents by the Australian states.¹ Thus the service problem is even more one of local government inadequacy than it is in Australia. In both Canada and the United States local government is divided among a variety of local authorities which vary widely in their capacity to provide adequate municipal services. In fact, the political fragmentation of Canadian and American metropolitan areas has been singled out as the first target of reform on the local government scene. Efforts to achieve reform go back at least as far as the turn of the century in the United States and to the years just after World War II in Canada, and they have recently been accelerated in both countries. Only a few of the campaigns to establish area-wide governments, with sufficient power to solve the many service problems associated with rapid metropolitan growth, have been successful in the two countries. However, several outstanding

¹ In the United States, the federal government is the chief provider of natural resource development and air and water transportation service regulation; the states (often through counties as their agents), provide higher education, welfare services, highways, health and hospital services and correctional services; and local governments provide primary and secondary education, police and fire protection, sewerage, parks and recreation, and water supply.

examples of alternatives to jurisdictional fragmentation have been developed there. These will be described in this and the next chapter, along with some comments on other devices and ideas which have been advanced in one or the other country.

*Canadian Metropolitan Areas**

The 1971 Census of Canada showed that more than half (52.5 per cent) of the nation's total population, that is some 11,327,000 people, lived in 19 metropolitan areas.² This was almost double the number in 1951. Table V-1 gives particulars of those areas. The trend toward metropolitan concentration has continued since 1971.

'It is in these urban centres that the multiplicity of problems associated with ever-increasing population concentration are encountered: the rapid expansion of municipal services, escalating urban land values, the control and regulation of explosive development, the need to make transportation choices as between vehicular and pedestrian priorities, the preservation of local neighbourhoods and life-styles, the provision of a wide range of housing choices geared to income capacity, and a variety of other problems. More importantly, it is in these areas that local governments are called upon to resolve issues involving conflicting values and controversial choices. The governments of such centres must also, increasingly, facilitate the development of a consensus with respect to community goals and objectives.'³

* The section on Canada draws heavily on U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *A Look to the North: Canadian Regional Experience*, ACIR No. A-46 (Vol. 5 of the series, *Sub-state Regionalism in the Federal System*), Washington, February 1974. Reference should also be made to D.C. Rowat, *The Canadian Municipal System: Essays on the Improvement of Local Government*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1969.

² *Urban Focus* (a publication of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1973, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

Table V-1
CANADIAN METROPOLITAN AREAS¹ : POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL PROVINCIAL POPULATION, 1971

Province and Metropolitan Area(s)	Population	%	Province and Metropolitan Area(s)	Population	%
New Brunswick	634,557	100.0	British Columbia	2,184,621	100.0
- Saint John	107,000	16.9	- Vancouver	1,082,000	49.5
			- Victoria	196,000	9.0
Newfoundland	552,108	100.0		1,278,000	58.5
- St. John's	132,000	25.3			
Nova Scotia	788,960	100.0	Ontario	7,703,110	100.0
- Halifax	223,000	28.3	- Hamilton	499,000	6.5
			- Kitchener	227,000	2.9
Saskatchewan	926,242	100.0	- London	286,000	3.7
- Regina	141,000	15.2	- Ottawa	603,000	7.8
- Saskatoon	126,000	13.6	- Sudbury	155,000	2.0
	267,000	28.8	- Toronto	2,628,000	34.1
			- Windsor	259,000	3.4
Quebec	6,027,764	100.0		4,657,000	60.4
- Montreal	2,743,000	45.5			
- Quebec	481,000	8.0			
	3,224,000	53.5			
Manitoba	988,247	100.0	CANADA	21,568,310	100.0
- Winnipeg	540,000	54.6	- 19 Metropolitan Areas	11,327,000	52.5
Alberta	1,627,874	100.0			
- Calgary	403,000	24.8			
- Edmonton	496,000	30.5			
	899,000	55.3			

¹ In 1971 there were three additional metropolitan areas (Chicoutimi-Jonquière, St. Catharines-Niagara, and Thunder Bay), but for purposes of comparison these have been excluded from this table.

Source: Canada Year Book, 1970-71; Census of Canada, 1971. Reprinted in *Urban Focus*, Vol. 1, No. 6, May/June 1973, p. 6.

Out of the nearly 4,300 incorporated local governments in Canada, only 245 have jurisdiction over more than 10,000 people, and the number of governments in the 19 metropolitan areas only amounts to about half of the latter. Even so, the number is large enough to produce in those areas the same governmental disparities that are so characteristic of Australian metropolitan areas.

Governmental reform did not receive serious consideration in Canada until the strains of meeting service needs accrued during World War II began to be felt, along with the pressures exerted by the rapid growth of metropolitan population after the war. When that consideration was converted into action, it was chiefly action at the provincial rather than at the local level. As R.M. Burns has observed: 'The story of municipal reform in Canada is not one of self-help as much as of authority imposed from above ... events have shown beyond doubt that it is only through provincial intervention, persuasion, and coercion, under the leadership of a political leader of considerable force, that anything of substance [has been] accomplished.'⁴ It was the establishment of the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto by the government of Ontario in 1953 that inaugurated the era of metropolitan government reform in Canada. Ever since, that innovation has been viewed throughout the Western world as providing a leading model for successful local government reform. It was the first of the two-tiered local government federations on the North American continent. Without doubt, its success led Ontario and some of the other Canadian provinces to extend the arrangement to other local areas. It is thus the place to begin a survey of reforms in metropolitan governments in Canada, if not also in the United States. Metro Toronto presented both a challenge and a model to the latter country.

Metropolitan Toronto

Metropolitan Toronto - or simply Metro, as it is usually called - was created as a corporate federation of the city of Toronto (which dates back to 1834) and twelve surrounding municipalities. The new municipality was established to provide certain unified services to the overall area. It is worth noting that Toronto itself had called for the complete amalgamation of the twelve surrounding communities with itself, while one of those communities (Mimico) called instead for authority for a

⁴ R.M. Burns, 'Trends in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations', *The Municipal Year Book 1975*, International City Management Association, Washington, 1975, pp. 30-31.

number of communities in the area to join together for purposes of financing and providing certain facilities and services on an area-wide basis. The Ontario Municipal Board decided against both requests and developed instead the two-tier approach which, with some modifications, the Ontario legislature subsequently enacted. In 1967, the legislature, recognizing the continued existence of service disparities among the several municipalities, reconstituted the federation by consolidating the municipalities outside the city of Toronto into five boroughs which, with the city, now form the federation. A Metropolitan Council serves as the governing body of the metropolitan area, while the city and the five borough councils serve their individual constituencies. Membership on the Metropolitan Council is allocated on the basis of population as follows:

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Population (1975 figures)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Population</u>	<u>Number of Members on Council</u>
Toronto	685,333	31.8	12
East York	104,677	4.9	2
Etobicoke	293,753	13.7	5
North York	556,043	25.8	9
Scarborough	372,278	17.3	6
York	140,184	6.5	3
Metropolitan Toronto	<u>2,152,268</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>38</u>

Members of the Metropolitan Council are members of the local councils assigned by them to serve on the area-wide body. The Council may elect one of its own members or any other person it chooses as its chairman. The chairman and all the Council members serve for two-year terms. Policy recommendations are made to the Council by its Executive Committee, which consists of the Metropolitan Chairman, the six mayors of the federated municipalities, three aldermen on the city of Toronto Executive Committee, and two controllers from the borough of North York and one each from the boroughs of Etobicoke and Scarborough.

A separate Metropolitan Toronto tax levy is made on residents of the area to finance Metro services and activities. The area municipalities shared the tax levy in 1975 as follows:

	<u>Per cent</u>
Toronto	38.80
East York	4.12
Etobicoke	15.45
North York	24.03
Scarborough	13.15
York	4.45
Total	100.00

The services provided to residents by Metropolitan Toronto on the one hand and by the six municipalities on the other are indicated in Table V-2 (MT = Metropolitan Toronto; M = a municipality).

Although Metro had been hailed both locally and abroad as an overall success almost from the time of its creation, it was concluded in 1974 that another look at its operation should be instituted. The specific suggestions for review came from Metro Council Chairman Paul Godfrey, and the Ontario Government responded by appointing a Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, with John P. Robarts, a former premier of Ontario, as Royal Commissioner. The final report of the Commissioner was due in 1977. The Commissioner's role was nothing less than to recommend a set of structural, organizational, political and financial arrangements for local government in Metropolitan Toronto, existing arrangements notwithstanding. Among other things, he has studied the following in the course of his extensive and intensive review:

- (a) the proper division of responsibilities in a two-tier system, if one were to be retained;
- (b) the question of further consolidation, including the establishment of a one-tier system;
- (c) future social and economic conditions, including population and economic growth patterns, and the resource and service requirements of the municipalities;
- (d) the propriety of the continued existence of special purpose bodies established by the provincial government to deliver certain municipal services in the metropolitan area;
- (e) the appropriateness of existing municipal boundaries in terms of population, community of interest and administrative effectiveness;

Table V-2

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

Finance and taxation	
Taxation of property	M
Debenture borrowing	MT
Local improvement charges	M
Planning	
Official plans	M, MT
Subdivision approval	M, MT
Zoning	M
Recreation and community services	
Regional parks	MT
Local parks	M
Recreation programs	M
Community centres and arenas	M
Municipal golf courses	MT
Municipal zoo	MT
Central reference and regional libraries	MT
Local libraries	M
Road construction and maintenance	
Expressways	MT
Arterial roads	MT
Local roads	M
Bridges and grade separations	M, MT
Snow removal	M, MT
Street cleaning	M, MT
Sidewalks	M
Traffic control	
Traffic regulations	M, MT
Cross-walks	M, MT
Traffic lights	MT
Street lighting	M
Pavement markings	M, MT
Public transit	
Toronto Transit Commission	MT
Water supply	
Purification, pumping and trunk distribution system	MT
Local distribution	M
Collection of water bills	M

Table V-2 (cont.)

Sewage disposal	
Sanitary trunk system and disposal plants	MT
Connecting systems	M
Storm drainage	M, MT
Garbage collection and disposal	
Collection	M
Disposal	MT
Public education*	
Operation of public school system	M
School sites, attendance areas and building programs	MT
Operating costs	MT
Capital costs	MT
Housing	
Elderly persons housing	MT
Low rental family housing	M, MT
Homes for the aged	MT
Welfare	
Welfare assistance	MT
Hospitalization of indigents	MT
Assistance to Children's Aid Societies	MT
Other services	MT
Health	
Public health services	M
Hospital grants	M, MT
Ambulance services	MT
Police and fire protection	
Police	MT
Fire	M
Licensing and inspection	
Business licensing	MT
Dog licensing and pound	M
Marriage licences	M
Building by-laws	M

* See also T.R. Williams, 'Some facts and fantasies concerning local autonomy in the Metropolitan Toronto school system', *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 1974, pp. 274-288. Williams discusses the two-tiered arrangement for governing public education in Toronto.

Table V-2 (cont.)

Other municipal services	
Collection of fines	M, MT
Collection of vital statistics	M
Distribution of hydro-electric power	M
Grants to cultural and social service organizations	M, MT
Harbour	M
Island airport	M
Municipal parking lots	M
Administration of civic elections	M
Redevelopment	M, MT

Note: MT = Metropolitan Toronto; M = a municipality.

Source: Roy V. Henderson, *City of Toronto 1976 Municipal Handbook*, City of Toronto City Clerk's Office, Toronto, 1976, pp. 59-62.

- (f) the appropriate division of responsibilities and functions among the province,⁵ Metro, local councils, and boards and commissions;
- (g) the method of selection and powers of the Metro Chairman and the Metro Council;
- (h) the roles and functions of Metro committees and committee chairmen;
- (i) the method of representation;
- (j) the organization of municipal councils and their committees, including executive committees, other committees and boards of control, and their relationship with the electorate;
- (k) the adequacy of public finance and of financial management in Metro;
- (l) the relationship between revenue and expenditure in Metro and its area municipalities, including the amount of money Metro has to spend together with its priorities in spending;

⁵ See in this connection 'Metropolitan Government in a Provincial Context: A Study of Metropolitan Toronto', *Ottawa Law Review*, Vol. 6, 1973, pp. 41-47.

- (m) the success of planning for the future development of the area under the Metro system; and
- (n) the adequacy of transportation, solid waste disposal, environmental protection and public safety services provided under the Metro system.⁶

The importance of public participation throughout the entire course of the study was stressed in the terms of reference.

At the time this monograph was completed, it was difficult to predict either the recommendations for change (if any) the Commissioner might make or their reception by the municipalities concerned and by the provincial government. Certainly, a great amount of interest was shown during the public phases of the investigations; in all, 227 briefs were received by the Commissioner. A majority of the briefs submitted favoured 'retention of a two-tier system ... in Metropolitan Toronto. Nonetheless, the amalgamation of ... area municipalities ha[d] its supporters.'⁷ There was disagreement among the supporters of amalgamation as to whether all six municipalities should be merged into one, or whether only a further partial consolidation should be effected, leaving four or five municipalities to be linked under a Metro system.

It was suggested that Metro had served to put 'most of the physical services such as sewerage, the water supply, major roads and schools ... in place', thus leaving the role of local government 'with respect to physical services over the next twenty or thirty years ... to be largely one of operation and maintenance'. The main issue identified in the briefs was whether the further 'centralization of authority in a single unit of government for an area the size of Metro can accomplish this'. If not, what would constitute 'viable municipal units' to do so? There was no agreement in the evidence placed before the Commissioner 'on this question and any resolution of the debate is obviously a challenge'.

⁶ The scope of the study is described in detail in Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, *Metro Toronto Under Review*, Toronto, 1974, pp. 2 ff.

⁷ The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, *Update*, June 1976, pp. 2-3. The remaining quotations in this and the following paragraph are from the same source.

In addition to the submissions, a number of studies of areas of major concern were undertaken for the Commission. The Commissioner himself visited London (England) and Winnipeg to learn about experiences with metropolitan government reform there. The information he gathered in the course of these activities will no doubt also weigh in the balance of his recommendations. The information collected for the Commission will probably constitute the most comprehensive analysis of metropolitan governance and its reform available anywhere in the world when the report is finally released.

*Regional Government in Ontario*⁸

While the establishment of Metro came in response to a particular set of circumstances in the Toronto metropolitan area, the Ontario legislature did not conceive of its responsibility for local government reform ending there. It has thus launched a general program for the development of regional governments other than that in Metropolitan Toronto, by extending, as it were, the Toronto idea to other parts of the province. A number of local government 'reviews' were undertaken in what were considered to be problem urban areas, and by 1974 the Ontario government had decided to create eleven other regional governments. The Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Hull was proclaimed in 1968 and became fully operative on 1 January 1969. Subsequently, regional governments were set up in the Niagara area of south-west Ontario and for the regions of Waterloo, York, Halton, Hamilton-Wentworth, Peel, Durham, Sudbury, Muskoka, and Haldemond-Norfolk. Including Metropolitan Toronto, about two-thirds of the people of Ontario lived under a regional government by 1974.

Three of the new regional governments - Durham, Peel and York - virtually surround the area of Metropolitan Toronto. Already the viability of planning for development in the extended Toronto area is doubtful. The inner Toronto area is about 85 per cent built up, and any future growth must move across Metro's boundary lines into the three adjoining regions. Indeed, as Alden Baker has observed, 'Metro Council is faced with the realization that much of its long-range planning will be dependent on the type of urban development that takes place during the next 25 years beyond the Metro boundary'.⁹

⁸ For a thorough discussion of regionalism in Ontario, see Ontario Economic Council, *Municipal Reform: A Proposal for the Future*, Toronto, 1971 (Report 4M/71).

⁹ Alden Baker, 'Metro's new official land-use plan ...', *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 23 December 1974, p. 5.

Perhaps, Baker concluded, the province will take the next logical step in regionalization and make 'Metro Toronto ... the city core or hub of a super civic federation with membership from ... Toronto, Durham, York and Peel'.¹⁰ In any case, the province, having put the regional movement in motion, must continue to monitor its development and, in particular, interregional relations therein.

The Ontario government has set forth 'the criteria for establishing local regional governments, the essential characteristics of a regional government, and the specific steps to be taken by the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs in implementing each regional government plan', as follows:

- '(1) a region should exhibit a sense of community identity based on sociological characteristics, economics, geography and history;
- (2) a region should have a balance of interest so that no one group or interest can completely dominate the region;
- (3) there must be a financial base adequate to carry out regional programs at a satisfactory level;
- (4) the region should be large enough so that local responsibilities can be performed efficiently by taking advantage of economies of scale;
- (5) regional boundaries should facilitate maximum inter-regional cooperation;
- (6) formulation of regional government proposals must be carried out with community participation and, where possible, the proposals should be acceptable to the affected communities;
- (7) new regional government boundaries should be usable by other institutions - specifically provincial departments and agencies and local school boards; and
- (8) where a second areawide tier of government is established, the existing or reconstructed lower-tier governments will be designed according to the same criteria that are applied to the regional units.'¹¹

¹⁰ Alden Baker, 'Amalgamation adds up to equity ...', *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 24 February 1975, p. 7.

¹¹ Quoted in U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *In Search of Balance - Canada's Intergovernmental Experience*, ACIR Report M68, Washington, September 1971, pp. 87-90.

As the regional governments have been developed, local involvement has been solicited and reactions to specific proposals sought from the affected municipalities. As the above principles suggest, there are no rigid requirements to be met in every case. In practice, a minimum population for a region of about 150,000 to 200,000 has been established, the regional government has been extended over related rural areas as well as over the urban centres, and both one- and two-tiered arrangements have been employed depending on local circumstances. Moreover, local government in the regions has been strengthened by removing them from the jurisdiction of many special-purpose bodies and by turning the powers they formerly exercised over to the regional (and local, if two-tiered) municipal councils. These new units of government have not been uniformly popular, but generally they have been regarded as a success. They serve to provide 'a framework within which municipalities can: plan for more orderly development; provide services more effectively in rapidly growing areas; establish priorities for financing; and create more equitable means of cost-sharing among residents'.¹² Whether regional governments will eventually be imposed over the entire province of Ontario remains to be seen.

The City of Winnipeg

Winnipeg, Manitoba, is the third largest city and the fourth largest metropolitan area in Canada. Its population on 31 December 1975 was approximately 584,000, its metropolitan area was about 665 sq. km. It was the second city in Canada to be brought under a two-tier system of government. In 1960, the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was created by the provincial government to assume a number of area-wide services from the then nineteen¹³ local governments in the Winnipeg area, which retained responsibility for local services after the Corporation came into being.

² Quote in R.M. Burns, 'Trends in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations', *op. cit.*, p. 32, from a report by the Treasurer of Ontario.

³ Subsequently there were several municipal consolidations, which eventually brought the number of local governments in the area down to twelve: the royal municipalities of Charleswood, Fort Garry, North Kildonan and Old Kildonan; the town of Tuxedo; and the cities of East Kildonan, West Kildonan, St. Vital, Transcona, St. Boniface, St. James-Assiniboia and Winnipeg.

Manitoba approached restructuring not merely out of frustration over how to handle the governance of the Winnipeg area, but even more out of a general conviction that municipal - and provincial - government needed restructuring generally. That conviction led the government in 1964 to appoint a Royal Commission on Local Government Organization and Finance, chaired by Roland Michener. Its report focussed on the creation of regions, each of which would contain decentralized provincial government services and a reasonable number of municipalities, linked by an intermunicipal council based at some convenient central point. For a variety of reasons, that idea never won acceptance, and the government turned its attention back to Winnipeg.

In 1970, the government decided to review the Metropolitan Corporation.¹⁴ It found that the problems of fragmented political authority, segmented financial capacity and lack of citizen involvement had not been solved under its aegis. It found, too, that there was considerable dissatisfaction with representation on the Metropolitan Council which, unlike the Council in Metro Toronto, did not consist of elected members of the constituent councils. Because members of the Winnipeg Council were elected directly by the people, the municipalities felt that they did not have a direct voice in arriving at decisions affecting them. To remedy these defects, the government introduced legislation in 1971 to replace the Metropolitan Corporation of Winnipeg by a single unified government for the entire metropolitan area of Greater Winnipeg, or 'Unicity'. The *City of Winnipeg Act* became operative on 1 January 1972.

The act gives Winnipeg a form of local government unique on the Canadian urban scene, departing as it does from a number of traditional municipal practices. It provides for a unified legislative and administrative structure designed to deal with issues and problems confronting the entire urban area. The City is responsible for municipal functions within its jurisdictional area, including transportation, planning and zoning, promotion of urban renewal, waste disposal, health matters, assessments, finance, police and fire protection, parks, recreation and cultural facilities, and the provision of utility services (water, sewerage, transit, electricity and steam heat). The City collects taxes on behalf of the public schools in the area, but the schools are operated independently by twelve school divisions, some of which are located only partly in the City of Winnipeg.

¹⁴ The government of Manitoba issued a White Paper in 1970 entitled 'Proposals for Urban Reorganization in the Greater Winnipeg Area'.

The City is governed by a council consisting of a mayor and 50 councillors. The mayor is elected from the city at large, while the councillors are elected directly from 50 wards which cover about 11,500 population. The mayor and council were elected in October 1974 for three-year terms.

The city's 50 wards are grouped into twelve 'communities', which roughly correspond geographically to the former municipal areas. 'However, five of the community committees are located in the inner city area of the former City of Winnipeg and these community committees, for certain purposes, constitute an Inner City Joint Community Committee.' Each community has its own community committee, which is composed of the councillors who represent the wards within that community on the Winnipeg Council. In a sense, therefore, each committee 'is really a community committee of council ...', giving councillors 'a dual role: as members of the [city] council and as members of the community committees. In the former role they are concerned with legislative decisions affecting the whole city, while in the latter their concern is with local community issues.'⁵

The *City of Winnipeg Act* specifies the functions of the communities in considerable detail. It provides that each community shall:

- '(a) develop and implement techniques to maintain the closest possible communication between the city and the residents of the community, so that residents' views on policies, programs, budgets and delivery of services may be communicated to the council, the committees of the council, and the boards and commissions continued or created under the Act;
- (b) develop and implement techniques to provide the residents of the community with information concerning existing and potential city policies, programs and budgets so as to facilitate residents in discussing and developing views concerning these matters;
- (c) at least once a month, at a regular time and place, meet to consider the business of the community;
- (d) conduct a meeting or meetings to facilitate participation by residents of the community in the preparation of submissions concerning the annual current and

⁵ City of Winnipeg, *Municipal Manual*, Winnipeg, 1976, p. 17.

capital budgets (including the community committee budget) and make submissions respecting such budgets to the executive policy committee;

- (e) conduct a meeting or meetings at least quarterly to consider progress reports on the programs and projects of the city; and
- (f) at least once a year, hold a community conference which all residents of the community shall be invited to attend and participate in discussions of city programs, and at one of which shall be presented for discussion the annual statement of revenues and expenditures of the community committee.

The community budgets shall be included in the city's annual current and capital budgets, and shall disclose for each community the costs of operating the community committee and the expenditures budgeted for each of the following budget groups of services, the delivery of which is supervised during that year by the community committee:

- (i) culture and recreation
- (ii) public works and operations
- (iii) protection of persons and property
- (iv) health and social development.'

Furthermore, the Act provides that a 'residents' advisory group may be elected at any community conference ... by the residents of the community who are present, from their number'. The residents present at the conference may determine the number, the manner of election and the term of service of members of this advisory group. 'Any member of a residents' group may be recalled by the residents present at a community conference for the community at any time. The role of a residents' advisory group is to advise and assist the members of the community committee for the community at whose conference they were elected, as to the performance of their functions under the Act.'¹⁶

The Act is also unique in providing that 'overall coordination of policy recommendations is [to be] vested in an eleven member Executive Policy Committee which includes the Mayor as Chairman, the Deputy Mayor, the Chairmen of the Standing Committees [of the council], and six other members elected from Council. The three main areas of responsibility assigned to the Executive Policy Committee are the formulation of policy recommendations to Council,

¹⁶ The *City of Winnipeg Act*, quoted in *Municipal Manual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

coordination of policy proposals from Standing Committees, and program review and coordination of policy implementation.'

The Act goes on to establish three multi-functional Standing Committees to operate under the Executive Policy Committee, each consisting of eleven councillors: the Committee on Environment, the Committee on Finance, and the Committee on Works and Operations. 'The Standing Committees' primary functions are to advise the Executive Policy Committee with respect to the responsibilities assigned and to ensure the implementation of City policies and programs as determined by City Council. Each Committee reviews the annual estimates of revenues and expenditures of the City departments and services under their respective jurisdictions.'

In addition to the three Standing Committees of Council, there is a Board of Commissioners, consisting of four appointed commissioners - the Chief Commissioner (who serves as chairman) and Commissioners of Environment, Finance, and Works and Operation, each of whom is in charge of several city departments. The Mayor and Deputy Mayor are ex-officio members of the Board. A Director, who reports to a Commissioner, heads each department. General managerial responsibility for all City administrative organization is assigned to the Board of Commissioners, which is responsible for the supervision of all employees, with the exception of the City Auditor and his staff who are responsible directly to Council. 'The Board is also responsible for the operation of all departments and services, subject to the general directives given by a Standing Committee or by a Community Committee.'

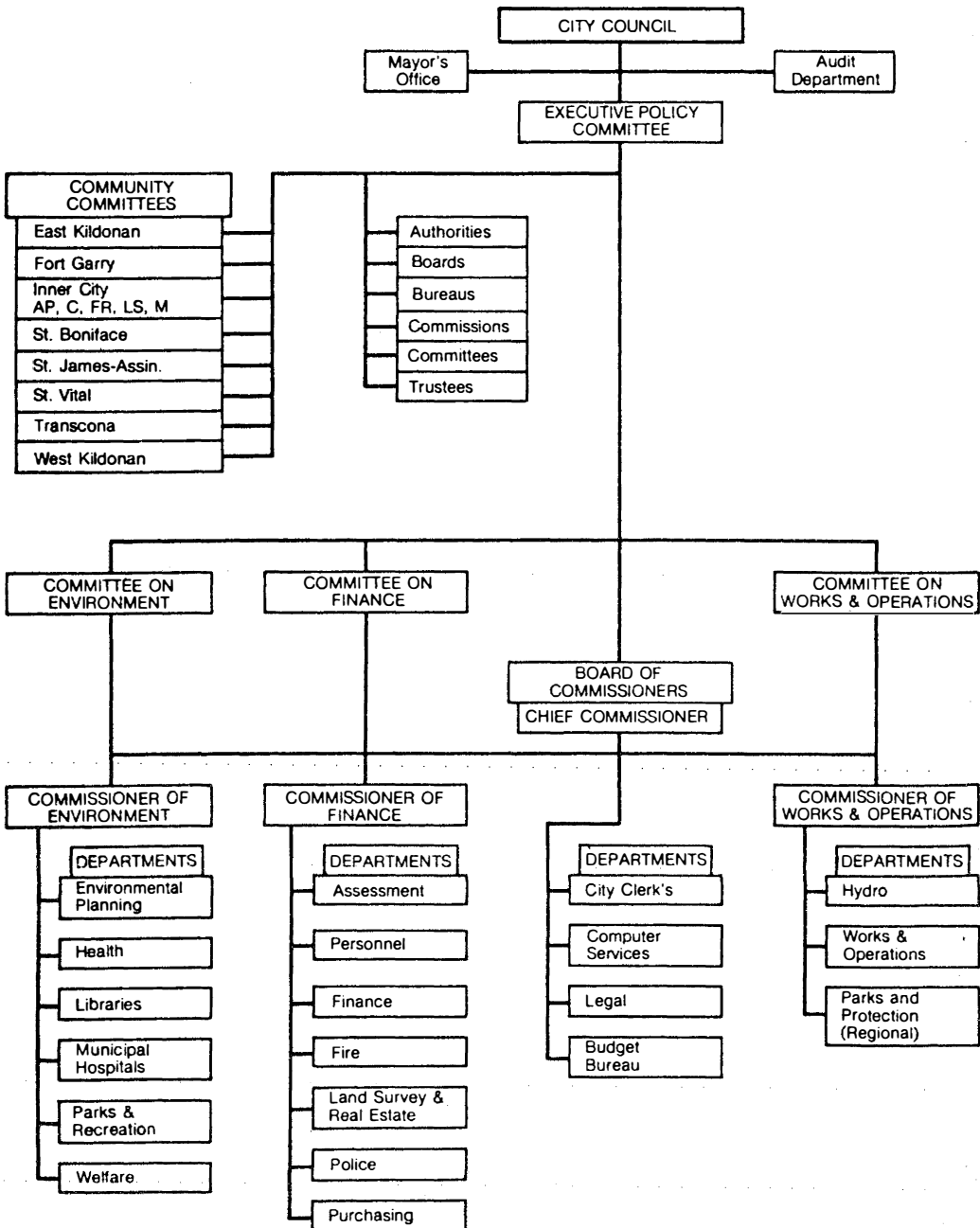
In sum, the structure of city government 'is designed to enable the Council to act more as a deliberative and legislative body concerned with issues and policies rather than with administrative detail'.¹⁷

Chart V-1 explains the organization of the City of Winnipeg graphically.

Writing in November 1974, Roger Newman concluded that the first few years of the Winnipeg 'experiment' had been 'something else than an overwhelming success'. There did not seem to be any indication of widespread citizen enthusiasm for the new government. 'Only 34.9 per cent of eligible voters turned out at the polls' at the October 1974 civic election, perhaps, Newman suggested,

¹⁷ The City of Winnipeg, *A Memorandum Presented to the Bond Rating Agencies*, Prepared by the Finance Department, City of Winnipeg, November 1975, pp. 5-8.

Chart V-1
THE CITY OF WINNIPEG



Source: The City of Winnipeg, *Annual Financial Report*, 1974.

because the new council had 'done very little that would interest anybody ...'.¹⁸ P.W. Wichern, in looking at 'Unicity' after two years of operation, observed that 'Winnipeg politics has not greatly changed under Unicity ... An area-wide political arena has been established, but ... politics has not adjusted to it.'¹⁹ And Olga Fuga commented that the creation of the new city really did not make much difference, because it had available to it only 'the same financial resources which were available to the former municipal structure, which is primarily the property tax, and these resources are simply inadequate for the job at hand'.²⁰

The provincial government appointed a committee (the Taraska Committee) to review the *City of Winnipeg Act*, in the light of several years' operation. In its report (which was rendered late in 1976), the Committee made 71 recommendations which, taken together, would once again alter the city's structure. Essentially, a modified parliamentary form of government was proposed for the city, while the existing Executive Policy Committee of the Council would become the municipal equivalent of the executive in a cabinet form of government, under the leadership of a considerably strengthened mayor to be chosen by the councillors-elect following each city election. To serve in the role of opposition leader, the councillors not voting for the mayor would be entitled to name a 'chief critic' to sit in the cabinet. The departments of city administration would be grouped together on the basis of related functions, the number of departments being established by city by-law and not in the *City of Winnipeg Act* itself. Department heads would be appointed by the executive and held accountable to it, and through the executive, to the Council. Collectively, the department heads would form a 'board of management' which would function as the city equivalent of a treasury board, serving as the senior co-ordinating unit within the administrative structure. The Council would retain the sole authority to pass by-laws, including approval of budgets and land-use plans, but it should be able to delegate some of its powers, where

¹⁸ Roger Newman, 'Winnipeg Shows Apathy', *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 16 November 1974, p. 80.

¹⁹ P.H. Wichern, *Winnipeg's Unicity after Two Years: Evaluation of an Experiment in Urban Government*, Paper Prepared for 1974 Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Toronto, 1 June 1974, p. 47.

²⁰ Olga Fuga, 'New Winnipeg Government is Unique Urban Experiment', *National Civic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, April 1973, p. 192.

appropriate, to the executive, to the standing committees [of council] and to the administration'. The community committees would be retained but reduced in number to six. Their role would be modified so as to make them responsible for the preparation of district and area units of the area master plan and to relieve them of any responsibility for delivery of services (except in matters of culture and recreation). Similarly the residents' advisory groups would be retained, but their composition and role would be modified. The focus of the city's attention would be on the development of plans leading toward the revision and implementation of the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan. Finally, the Committee recommended that 'the province grant to the city the maximum authority ... consistent with the responsibilities of the provincial government for the governing of the province as a whole' and that a formal consultative mechanism be established between the province and the city.²¹

What will be the fate of the Taraska Committee's recommendations remains to be seen. Already, however, the Winnipeg experiment has provided a new model for metropolitan governance, and it will bear watching as it is modified in the years ahead.

The Montreal Urban Community

A less structured federal form of local government has been developed for Quebec's metropolis and Canada's largest city, Montreal. Over the years, as Montreal grew in the same way as other metropolitan areas, it came to be a central business district surrounded by a number of wealthy and fiercely independent suburban communities. In 1921, four of the inner communities in the area fell into financial difficulty, and they requested annexation to the city of Montreal as the way out. The city of Montreal agreed to accept them on the condition that *all* the other suburban communities be annexed too. This was not possible politically, and the provincial government created the Montreal Municipal Commission as the means of helping the four beleaguered municipalities. The Commission was assigned two functions: to restore the four communities to financial soundness (to do so, the Commission took complete control over them); and to control the financial operations only of all the other municipalities in the metropolitan area except those of the city of Montreal. Between 1921 and 1959 the metropolitan area grew tremendously, service problems multiplied, and administrative problems and intermunicipal 'warfare'

²¹ A copy of the Taraska Committee report was supplied to me in advance by the Treasurer of the City of Winnipeg. The quotations are from that draft.

became the hallmark of the area. The Commission was simply not designed to deal with the situation in terms of either structure or legal authority.

In 1955, a study commissioned by the provincial government had reported:

'In matters affecting inter-municipal needs, with the single exception of authority granted [by the province in 1929] to the Commission to plan for and construct a metropolitan boulevard, there is no efficient means at the present time whereby services and facilities required can be planned, co-ordinated, financed and administered effectively on an inter-municipal basis.'²²

As a result of that study, and in answer to the increasingly complicated problems of the area, the provincial government in 1959 replaced the Montreal Municipal Commission with a new Montreal Metropolitan Corporation, which brought 29 municipalities in the area together under a two-tiered governmental arrangement, the upper tier of which was given responsibility for all the major services then considered to be intermunicipal or area-wide in nature. However, the Corporation simply never got off the ground because of the continual squabbling between the city of Montreal and the suburban communities, squabbling which was carried on both in Corporation meetings and on the floor of the provincial legislature. The city won a few concessions - chief of which were the right to prepare a master plan for the Island of Montreal and effective control of the Montreal Transport Commission - but for the most part an impasse developed early and remained in effect.

In 1964, the provincial government acted again, this time setting in motion study procedures for amalgamating the local governments in the Montreal area. In 1965, following up on the study's recommendations, the thirteen municipalities on the Île Jésus to the west of the urban centre between Rivière des Millelles and Rivière des Prairies were combined into the new municipality of Laval. However, the question of how to amalgamate the rest of the communities in the metropolitan area was not so easily answered. In 1969, after a change in provincial government and after a police strike in the city of Montreal had raised doubts about whether a general breakdown of municipal services might be

²² Commission for the Study of the Metropolitan Problems of Montreal (Paquette Commission), *Report*, Montreal, 1955, p. 68.

imminent, a law creating the Montreal Urban Community was enacted by the provincial legislature and forced upon the affected municipalities.

The Community is made up of all the municipalities on the Island of Montreal, and it is designed to exercise certain powers over the entire area. At the outset, the Community was given authority over police, and over time it was authorized to assume responsibility for an economic promotion service, public transportation, waste water treatment, health services and food inspection, and supply of electric power as the constituent municipalities saw fit to transfer power to it. The Community was thus conceived of as malleable and subject to development on municipal initiative. 'The respect that this implies on the part of the provincial government for local autonomy and self-determination is self-evident, as are the advantageous political implications.'²³

The central body of the Community is its Council, which is made up of the mayor and the fifty councillors of the city of Montreal and one delegate from each of the other municipalities in the area. Thus constituted, it is 'hopelessly lopsided' and is forced to use a weighted voting system 'that tries to recognize Montreal's predominance while protecting the island's tiny municipalities. To pass any motion ... there must be a majority of weighted votes and a majority of individual votes from both city and suburban representatives.'²⁴ Obviously, such a system allows the smaller communities to block action, and they have done so in different combinations regularly. The result has been not nearly as much action toward solving the area's service and other problems as might have been expected.

Substantial power is vested in a twelve-member executive committee, seven of whose members must be from Montreal and five from the suburban municipalities. Thus there too the city of Montreal predominates. By 1974, the mayor of the small suburban town of LaSalle observed that most of the suburban communities were 'at the end of their rope' with Montreal and might want to get out of the community.²⁵ In November 1974, the Conference of

²³ Terry Shevciv, 'Canadian Experience with Metropolitan Government' *The Municipal Year Book 1973*, International City Management Association, Washington, 1973, p. 78.

²⁴ Jeff Simpson, 'Montreal: Politics without People', *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 5 February 1976, p. 10.

²⁵ Quoted in *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 17 October 1974, p. 9.

Montreal Suburban Mayors (the fact that such a conference had been established is significant in itself) petitioned the provincial government to set a ceiling on their property tax contributions to the Community to save them from what they felt was financial disaster.²⁶

To date, the Community is still surviving. To some extent, the holding of the Olympic Games in Montreal in 1976 probably served to postpone the day of judgment, but the Community's future appears to be problematical.

Regional Government in Quebec

As in Ontario, so in Quebec the restructuring of the province's chief urban area was part of a larger concern for achieving a more rational pattern of local government throughout the province. At the same time as the Montreal Urban Community was established, the Quebec Urban Community and the Regional Community of Outaouais (the Hull area) were created, and in 1971 'a White Paper released ... by the Minister of Municipal Affairs [set] out guiding principles aimed at achieving a ... logical realignment of municipalities and a reduction in their number'.²⁷ In that paper, the Montreal Urban Community was shown as only the core ('Section 45') of a larger region ('Region 6') of the province, embracing a total of 482 municipalities. Indeed, at first only four urban communities and 16 regional communities altogether were envisaged, though subsequently the plan was modified to include a total of ten regions with 13 communities each. The paper assumed that all the regional governments would eventually handle at least land use planning and urban development, promotion of economic development, data collection and dissemination, intermunicipal transport, housing and environmental control. Strong opposition was immediately mounted to the ideas proposed in the paper, and little further progress has been made in implementing them. Recently, stress has been put on voluntary reorganization and realignment by the municipalities themselves.²⁸

²⁶ *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 19 November 1974, p. 14.

²⁷ Thomas J. Plunkett, 'Structural Reform of Local Government in Canada', *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, January/February 1973, p. 46.

²⁸ R.M. Burns, 'Trends in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations', *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Although, as Professor Burns has noted, the metropolitan area of Vancouver 'has yet to feel the pressure of the provincial government to develop a more coherent form of regional administration',²⁹ a pattern has been developed by the province which has been extended to that area as it has to most other parts of the province. In a number of amendments to the *Municipal Act* of British Columbia in 1965 and later, permission was granted to municipalities to form regional 'districts' to perform whatever functions the municipalities within them agreed to undertake jointly. Nothing compulsory or rigid was laid down in the way of requirements. Each district has a council, which is empowered to borrow in its own right and on behalf of constituent municipalities for capital works. The councils give representation to the electors of the unincorporated areas within their districts as well as to municipal electors. Each district also has a district Board of Directors composed of municipal members if representing municipalities, or representatives elected by the people if representing unincorporated areas. The voting power of each member of the board depends on the number of persons he represents. The functions to be performed by the boards depend on whether the district is a so-called 'trading area' district or a 'metropolitan' district. Considerable leeway is allowed as to the kinds of services the districts might assume. The amendments to the *Municipal Act* empower the districts to undertake regional and community planning, building regulations and inspection, public works construction and maintenance, and contract works and review. Most districts have moved to occupy these service areas. In addition, hospital services were made a compulsory district responsibility (though they continue to be administered through pre-existing regional hospital districts). Additional services may be undertaken by the districts, although the provincial government makes no direct effort to force districts to undertake them.

Thus the regional districts in British Columbia constitute 'an upper tier of local government, but the difference between British Columbia and Ontario is that all the regional functions are not at the outset statutorily defined. "The concept of Regional District appears, in part, to be a kind of educational device designed to create intermunicipal confidence by encouraging voluntary co-operation."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

On the surface this approach seems much more palatable in that it pays greater heed to the principles of local autonomy and local self-determination; but its success depends on the degree of enlightenment and the absence of narrow parochialism at the local level. The evolution of effective regional districts could be seriously impaired by the usual central-city/suburban or urban/rural conflicts. In recognition of the wide intermunicipal variations in perceived needs and resources, the opportunities for recalcitrance and political obstructionism constitute major obstacles to the creation of an effective regional tier. Considerable variation in the performance of different regional districts is undoubtedly [to be] anticipated as is increased pressure from the province and the concomitant expansion in the exercise of provincial authority.³⁰

In any case, 'it is much too early to tell whether these districts will eventually evolve into effective self-contained governmental units which will largely replace existing municipalities or whether they will remain as merely convenient co-ordinators of tasks which do not fit into established municipal boundaries'.³¹

The Greater Vancouver Regional District, in addition to the basic functions expected of all regional districts, has to date undertaken housing for senior citizens, air pollution control and abatement, the development of regional parks, the conduct of labour negotiations for constituent councils, mosquito control, and a certain number of recreational programs.³²

New Brunswick

New Brunswick is a poor province with only about 600,000 people. Until the early 1960s, the service needs of most of its residents were being inadequately met by the existing system of local government, which included seven cities, 21 towns, one village, one

³⁰ Terry Shevciw, 'Canadian Experience with Metropolitan Government', *op. cit.*, p. 77.

³¹ R.M. Burns, 'Trends in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations', *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³² See Paul Tennant and David Zirnhelt, 'Metropolitan Government in Vancouver: The Strategy of Gentle Imposition', *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1973, pp. 124-38.

township, 15 counties, 65 local improvement districts and 15 local administrative commissions providing a wide variety of services of one sort or another. In the mid-sixties, the New Brunswick government launched a 'Program for Equal Opportunity', which was based on the recommendations of a Royal Commission which had submitted its report to the government in 1963. The Program was embedded in legislation in 1966 and involved the following:

- '(1) transfer to the province from the municipalities of complete responsibility for health services and the administration of justice;
- (2) assumption by the province of virtually complete responsibility for education ...;
- (3) assumption by the province of responsibility for real property assessment;
- (4) reduction in the number of school districts from 422 to 33;
- (5) abolition of the single-tier county government structure in rural areas;
- (6) the division of the province into [regions], each containing a number of local districts (unincorporated settlements) with services provided by the provincial government;
- (7) the establishment of a system of unconditional grants from the province to municipalities for local services, together with an equalization grants scheme for municipalities with an inadequate tax base for the purpose of ensuring a minimum standard of local services.'

Cities, towns and villages were left to provide government in urban areas. The new *Municipalities Act*, which went into effect on 1 January 1967, provided for six cities - in order of size Saint John, Moncton, Fredericton (the provincial capital), Bathurst, Edmondton and Campbelltown - twenty towns and 87 villages. The original legislation did not require any boundary changes in the six city areas, but subsequently feasibility studies were carried out for several of the areas and consolidations recommended.

³³ Thomas J. Plunkett, 'Structural Reform of Local Government in Canada', *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48. See also Ralph R. Krueger, 'The Provincial-Municipal Government Revolution in New Brunswick', *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Spring 1970, pp. 51-99.

Under the restructuring, those general services which are considered to be of substantial benefit to all citizens are provided by the province. Services which are of primary benefit to property as opposed to people are classified as local services and may be provided by municipalities. The *Municipalities Act* lists those local services as drainage, fire protection, police protection (municipalities are required to provide it), garbage and refuse collection and disposal, sewerage, sidewalks, urban roads and streets, regulation of traffic, community planning, street lighting, water, parks, community services and recreational facilities, tourist promotion and development, industrial development and promotion, urban redevelopment and urban renewal, housing, land assembly, and first aid and ambulance service.

The Royal Commission had seen the need for the provision of services jointly on a multi-municipality basis and had strongly recommended that the five services of water, fire protection, police protection, sanitary sewage disposal, and town planning be made mandatory communal undertakings, under the direction of some form of common council to be established by the participating municipalities. The Commission had seen this as a way to get around the need for amalgamations and annexations. However, the provincial government did not accept this two-tier concept.

Recognizing the dynamic nature of urban areas as growth spills over existing boundaries, and the consequent need to make frequent boundary adjustments, the *Municipalities Act* empowers the Minister for Municipal Affairs to make studies to determine the feasibility of annexation or amalgamation to consolidate municipalities in urban areas. Should he decide upon the need for one or the other, local plebiscites are not required to accomplish them.

Thomas Plunket has hailed the New Brunswick reforms as 'the most comprehensive ever attempted by a provincial government in Canada'.³⁴ There is no doubt that they are well suited to the New Brunswick situation, although whether they will meet fully the needs of New Brunswick's urban areas is not yet proved. Whether they have broader applicability is also not clear. In 1972, a task force on municipal structure and finance was appointed by the provincial government to study the problems of urban areas. In its report it concluded, among other things, that there was a 'backlog of essential urban area consolidations' in the province and urged that it be cleaned up. It recognized that 'the fragmentation of municipal government in urban areas is ... an obstacle

³⁴ Thomas J. Plunkett, 'Structural Reform of Local Government in Canada', *op. cit.*, p. 47.

to urban development'.³⁵ Whether there will be any response to that challenge remains to be seen.

Nova Scotia

Over time, Nova Scotia had developed a very complete 'system' of local government, involving a great many units operating over the same area, most of which were limited purpose governments of one kind or another. Most municipalities were 'too small to administer education and the social services efficiently and too financially weak to afford a desirable level of service' in any area.³⁶ What made matters worse was that as new needs arose the habit developed of creating still other mechanisms to meet them. Both the finances available to, and the services provided by, so wide a range of local governments varied enormously. This was not a matter of great concern until urbanization began to take place in the province, particularly after World War II. Then there came to be general agreement that a 'reassessment of the entire structure' of local government was needed, 'with a view to discarding what [was] redundant, unsuitable, and inefficient, and reorganizing it to provide a significant proportion of [necessary] services at reasonable efficiency'.³⁷

Professor Rowat had studied the situation in 1949 and had recommended the introduction of a two-tier system of local government. Under this system, the province would have been divided into nine municipal regions, with regional councils in each to take on responsibility for those services - basically health, welfare, the administration of justice and education - which were of greater than local concern, leaving the municipalities as they were to handle purely local matters. The idea was not acted upon, and although subsequently there was increasing attention to restructuring, by 1972 the situation was critical. At that juncture,

³⁵ Province of New Brunswick, *Report of the Task Force on Municipal Structure and Financing*, Fredericton, 1972, p. 19.

³⁶ D.C. Rowat, *The Reorganization of Provincial-Municipal Relations in Nova Scotia: A Report Prepared for the Government of Nova Scotia by the Nova Scotia Municipal Bureau*, Halifax, 1949, p. 54.

³⁷ J. Murray Beck, *The Evolution of Municipal Government in Nova Scotia 1949-1973*, a study prepared for the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, Halifax, 1973, p. 42.

the province appointed a Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, headed by Professor John Graham. This Commission reported *in extenso* in mid-1974.³⁸ The report began by asserting that municipal government in Nova Scotia must be structured so as to enable it to do four things:

- '(1) to provide effectively and economically a wide range of important services concerned with the safety, health and well-being, both material and cultural, of people living under varying conditions throughout the province;
- (2) to attract and hold the interest and confidence of its citizens and to be continuously responsive to their interests and concerns;
- (3) to develop enough inherent capability to work with the provincial government in a valid and fruitful relationship;
- (4) to adapt to changes in the way people wish to live.'

The Commission concluded that if these objectives were to be achieved, and if what it saw as the basic weakness of municipal government in Nova Scotia - the fragmentation of municipal responsibilities - was to be removed, substantial restructuring would be necessary. It was the Commission's judgment that 'the existing municipal government areas no longer fit[ted] the pattern of life and work in modern Nova Scotia [and] the incongruities [could] be expected to widen with accelerating social, economic and technological change and with a changing distribution of population'. Moreover, the 'fragmentation of responsibilities for municipal services in the provinces ... splits urban communities, divides town from country, and makes proper planning for the provision of services impossible'. Furthermore, 'the present provision of responsibilities for services ... means that services that should be in the hands of one municipality are the responsibility of several. Often the city and town boundaries are no longer relevant. In many instances the suburbs of urban governments have spread into neighboring rural municipalities that, without exception, are not

³⁸ *Report of the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Service and Provincial-Municipal Relations*, Halifax, 1974. (The report is in four 'volumes' in ten 'bindings'; Vol. I, the Summary, has over 700 pages). An excellent briefer summary of the report appeared as a special section in *The Chronicle-Herald*, Halifax, 1 July 1974, and that summary has been relied on here. The quotations are taken from that source.

adequately motivated, financed or staffed for the provision of a comprehensive array of urban-type services.' 'These structural faults', the Commission believed, were 'one of the reasons why municipal governments have been responding less and less adequately to the needs of their citizens'.

Thus the report called for the abolition of all existing local governments and the establishment in their place of eleven new municipalities - called counties - covering both rural and urban areas. These would be the basic units of local government with responsibility for all municipal services. All would be large enough in area and population and would have sufficient resources to provide the capability of performing their tasks well. Three of the new units, Halifax, Pictou and Cape Breton, would be designated metropolitan counties. The proposed Metropolitan County of Halifax would draw together the present cities of Halifax and Dartmouth and the surrounding areas around Halifax Harbor and Bedford Basin to form one metropolitan area, the largest in Atlantic Canada. The new system would replace the present seventeen councils in the area with three strong central councils. In the metropolitan counties, where more than half of all Nova Scotians live, the county councils would have full responsibility for providing municipal services to citizens, both those in the central city and those in suburban and rural areas. Central city residents would be served by city service areas, and those outside it by rural service areas, the boundaries between which would be periodically reviewed to keep them in phase with actual urban growth. In order to assure adequate communication between citizens and county councils, the report affirmed that citizens would have the right to establish local community associations and, outside of the more heavily urbanized central areas, to have their own village councils.

In the eight remaining non-metropolitan counties, towns and villages would still be permitted to exist but the functions of their councils would be limited to those of representing local opinion to the county governments and negotiating with the county councils for the provision of certain services under contract with the counties. Thus the report did not endorse the two-tier idea.

The report went on to observe that it was the Commission's belief that

'the three new metropolitan county governments would not be able to perform their future tasks adequately if their operations were confined to boundaries that were restricted to their present and foreseeable urban centres. The three governments ... need room to plan for the future. They ... need to be able to restrict urban sprawl; to prevent ribbon

development; to promote more attractive urban living; and to direct the growth of satellite communities ... They should have boundaries that allow them to preserve the amenities of their surrounding natural environment ... [What the Commission visualizes are] essentially three regional cities, each of which is a blend of urban and rural environments and has boundaries wide enough to enable its elected municipal government to perform its tasks effectively.'

Especially important were the Commission's recommendations concerning finances. The functions of education (including libraries), health, social services, housing, the administration of justice and certain transportation services would all be removed from the municipal tax rolls and transferred to the province, as would several support services which traditionally have been funded either by a joint agreement with the province or by the municipalities alone. Towns and cities would be left only with local services such as general government and police and fire protection to be funded from their own resources with provincial assistance. Moreover, the province would take over capital borrowing for municipal purposes, assessment, provincial and municipal property tax billing and collection, municipal local improvement charge and user charge billing and collection, and municipal pension administration.

By the end of 1975, the Graham Commission report had been widely circulated and discussed, but had not been implemented except for passage of a bill transferring the assessment function to the province. Whether the report will be adopted is doubtful, given the vested interests with which its recommendations conflict. As one reviewer of the report put it:

'the reduction in the number of municipal units is perhaps the most politically charged recommendation in the report. While Nova Scotians have been "softened up" by twenty-five years of province-wide regional studies recommending various types of amalgamations, there still remains a great deal of opposition to the idea. The threat to local identities and traditions has always overcome the promise of benefits from larger local bodies.'³⁹

³⁹ James D. McNiven in *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Fall 1975, p. 500.

Concluding Remarks

Only in Saskatchewan and Alberta, where the necessary adjustments to accommodate local government to urban and metropolitan growth have been made through amalgamations and consolidations in the ordinary course of things, and in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, where urban growth has not yet been such as to necessitate government adjustment, has there been no recent concern for local government reform. However, even in those provinces the role of local government is changing from its traditional 'housekeeping' or 'service delivery' role to a broader one, which reflects the 'predominantly urban character' of Canadian society. Therefore before long in those provinces also the 'establishment of regional governments, municipal consolidation through amalgamation, citizen demands for increased representation, the politicization of local government, the search for an expanded municipal tax base and the growing concern for the quality of urban management' can be expected to become issues in the not-too-distant future.⁴⁰

It should be noted also that, along with local government reform in urban and metropolitan areas in Canada, there has developed a concern for better provincial working relationships with the rationalized local governments. Manitoba was the first province in Canada to form a cabinet committee to co-ordinate provincial-local government programs under a minister responsible for urban affairs. A number of other provinces have also developed some kind of institutionalized link - such as a Provincial-Municipal Council in New Brunswick, a provincial Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs in Alberta - between the province and local governments, so as to facilitate the implementation of programs of benefit to provincial residents.

But if the Canadian provinces have taken some initiatives for the improvement of local governance, and have done so at an increasing pace, there is a growing conviction among students of urban and metropolitan government in Canada that only a beginning has so far been made. As Olga Fuga put it trenchantly:

'The response of the provincial governments to the developing urban crisis in Canada has been one of tolerant paternalism, coupled with periodic handouts and in the obvious hope that something will turn up or the problem will go away. Nothing

⁴⁰ The Institute of Local Government, *Urban-Population Growth and Municipal Organization*, Local Government Reference Paper No. 1, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1973, p. x.

more than a fundamental reordering of the fiscal resources available to the cities will enable them to meet the demands of the 1970s,'⁴¹

to say nothing of those of the years beyond them.

⁴¹ Olga Fuga, 'New Winnipeg Government ...', *op. cit.*, p. 192.

VI NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN RESTRUCTURING METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT: THE UNITED STATES

Certainly more attention has been paid to the problem of metropolitan governance in the United States than in any other country, and justifiably so. This is because the problem of governing metropolitan areas has become acute in America since World War II. As the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations put it in 1974: 'the typical metropolitan area [in the United States] ... contains ... nearly 90 general and special purpose local governmental units' as well as a federal regional council established for federal grant purposes and three or four substate functional districts.¹ But despite this multiplicity of governmental units, the urban areas they preside over suffer a great many deficiencies, including:

- '(a) housing problems in both decaying and blighted central cities and jerry-built suburbs, problems of adequacy in both number and quality of units;
- (b) transportation problems, with private automobiles so crowding city streets and main access roads, and mass transit in such serious trouble, that effective movement of people to their jobs and work is becoming more and more difficult;
- (c) pollution problems not only of the air above urban centers and of the waters which flow through them, but of the land itself as the solid wastes of America's throwaway society mount steadily;
- (d) problems resulting from the lack of adequate open spaces in and near neighbourhoods for recreational purposes;
- (e) problems of safety in the streets and in the home, as crime and delinquency rates rise steadily in every part of urban America;

¹ U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *The Challenge of Local Government Reorganization*, Vol. 3 of *Substate Regionalism and the Federal System*, ACIR Report A-44, Washington, February 1974, p. 2. The Census of Governments in 1972 showed there were 22,185 units of local government in the then 264 metropolitan areas, divided as follows: 444 counties, 5,467 municipalities, 3,462 townships, 4,758 school districts and 8,054 special districts.

- (f) education problems, with central city school systems struggling to attain standards which many suburban school systems find easy to achieve; and
- (g) problems of racial unrest and civil disorder, many of which are rooted in long-standing and currently aggravating employment and other economic inequalities, making central cities pockets of poverty and disease.¹²

As already suggested, a great deal of attention has been paid from a variety of sources to ways to remedy these deficiencies. This is not the place to review all the possibilities posed.³ All that can be done here is to review the few structural reorganizations so far put into being on the one hand⁴ and a variety of non-structural devices - intergovernmental service agreements, shifts of responsibility for functions, councils of governments, establishment of regional special districts and public authorities, and federal preemption - which have been adopted in recent years on the other. In addition, the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Development and of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for the reshaping of metropolitan government will be summarized.

² U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America: A Challenge to Federalism*, ACIR Report M-107, Washington, September 1976, p. 3.

³ For a fuller discussion of the alternatives, see Richard H. Leach, *American Federalism*, Norton, New York, 1970, pp. 152-158; and U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Alternative Approaches to Government Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas*, ACIR Report A-11, Washington, June 1962; *Improving Urban America: A Challenge to Federalism*; and *Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism*, ACIR Report M-31, A Committee Print of the Committee of Government Operations, U.S. House of Representatives, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, August 1966.

⁴ Joseph F. Zimmerman noted in 1974 that though 'numerous campaigns have been launched to establish areawide governments with sufficient powers to solve the problems' arising out of jurisdictional fragmentation of local government in metropolitan areas, 'voters in most areas ... have not been convinced of the need for a comprehensive reorganization of the local government system'. Joseph F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 416, November 1974, p. 134.

Structural Changes

*Metropolitan Dade County*⁵

In 1956, the voters of the state of Florida adopted an amendment to the state constitution allowing Dade County (which includes the Miami area) to draft its own county charter and to transfer functions from cities therein to the county, a departure from normal practice both in Florida and in the United States as a whole, where states have kept power over county government pretty much in their own hands. In 1957, a charter was drawn up and approved by the voters of Dade County.

That charter provided for a strong, reorganized metropolitan county government to have responsibility for such area-wide functions as fire and police protection, water supply, sewage disposal, traffic control and administration of traffic courts. (Schools in Dade County had already been consolidated under the county government prior to the creation of metropolitan government.) The 26 municipalities in the county were retained as the lower tier of government with jurisdiction over purely local matters. Under the charter, the county government can expand its functional jurisdiction, and in subsequent years the state courts have been generous in allowing the county to take over additional functions from the municipalities. Moreover, under the charter the county government may set minimum service standards for those functions exercised by municipalities and may take a function over from a municipality if it fails to meet those standards. In practice, however, the county government has not been able to achieve much under this grant of power.

The new charter created a Dade County Commission of eleven members as the instrument of county government, with five members from county electoral districts, five elected at large, and one chosen by the city of Miami. Later, the charter was amended to provide for a nine-member commission, all the members of which are elected at large.

Once in operation, the new county government was beset with problems. The charter provided for a county manager as the executive officer of county government, and it was very difficult for the commission to find one it could tolerate. Obviously, that served to impede implementation of the new concept of government. In addition, many officials of the several municipalities

5 See Gustave Serino, *Miami's Metropolitan Experiment*, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Fla., 1958; and Edward Sofen, *The Miami Metropolitan Experiment*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind., 1963.

individually and the Dade County League of Municipalities as a group fought a protracted rear-guard action against implementation:

'The opposition ... attacked through two main channels, the courts and proposed charter amendments. Largely unsuccessful in the courts, the opponents ... c[a]me close to overturning "Metro" through referenda on charter amendments [a number of times] ... Metropolitan government [went] into operation in the Miami area ... but survival has been a nip and tuck battle and the final outcome [long] remain[ed] to be seen.'⁶

Because of the opposition it encountered and the turnover of county managers, the metropolitan government has moved slowly on the service front. Centralization of water and sewerage services has been carried forward, and through a Mass Transportation Authority some progress has been made on the county's severe transportation problem. Moreover, the latter was done with considerable citizen involvement.⁷

But apart from these accomplishments the county has made only 'modest achievements in planning, regulation, and coordination. It has completed and adopted a countywide land use plan, but only after long delays; it has developed regulations to control air and water pollution as well as the improvement of vacant land; and it has improved coordination of several functions, especially police administration and housing and urban renewal. These achievements, however, must be regarded as relatively minimal when measured against [the] county's authority to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of areawide services.'⁸

It should be noted that the politics of the situation - both local and statewide - prevented giving the restructured Dade County government sufficient fiscal power to back up the other powers it was given. It should also be noted that effective political leadership has always proved hard to marshal under the city-county manager plan, and that has certainly proved to be the case in Dade County. And finally it should be noted that the circumstances of the time never gave the new government the breathing space it needed to get off to a sound start. Growth has been

⁶ Leonard E. Goodall, *The American Metropolis*, Merrill, Columbus, O., 1968, p. 109.

⁷ See Alan Wulkan, 'The Dade County Experience: A Model for Citizen Participation', *Transit Journal*, February 1976, pp. 20-30.

⁸ Thomas P. Murphy and Charles R. Warren, eds., *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, Heath, Lexington, Mass., 1974, p. 111.

continuous and heavy in the Miami area, and it has been about all the municipalities and the county can do to cope with it. By now, the metropolitan area in fact extends beyond the boundaries of Dade County, so that Metro itself is tending to become just another of the local governments battling to service a growing metropolitan area.

City-County Consolidations

While the consolidation of school districts has proceeded apace in the United States in the years since World War II and has been widely applauded as it did so, consolidation of general purpose local governments has not been as popular or as common. Because it depends on local initiative, most observers would agree with Leonard Goodall that 'in the absence of some immediate crisis, it is tremendously difficult to get citizens sufficiently interested to [buy] such a basic change in the form of local government. Advocates [of consolidation] are forced to base their case on very general points, such as improved administration and better planning, which are usually valid but seldom exciting.' They can usually only muster the support of civic improvement associations of one sort or another and of League of Women Voters members and professionals, while 'opposition groups ... can ... put together a coalition of many forces who feel directly threatened by consolidation and who will therefore become directly involved in the campaign to kill it'.⁹

Thus the consolidation movement has had only a few successes in the United States, whether of two cities, two counties, or a city and a county, and most of them are either historic or have involved relatively small urban areas. Only 14 city-county consolidations have been approved in the United States since 1962 and no significant city-city or county-county consolidations have been approved. Even so, this represents more adoptions than occurred during the previous century and a half. While these 14 city-county cases obviously are important, the overall record of such consolidations is not impressive. Of approximately 100 single county Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) in the country as a whole, the areas where consolidation would have the greatest area-wide significance, only two have undergone consolidation. While the record of achieving area-wide government through consolidation is slightly better if the measure is relaxed to encompass those containing a substantial majority of their metropolitan populations, this solution still has been applied to no more than 5 per cent to 6 per cent of the applicable areas. Except for Indianapolis, two in Alaska, and one in Nevada, all of the metropolitan city-county

⁹ L. Goodall, *The American Metropolis*, op. cit., p. 100.

consolidations have been in the South. Again, with the exception of Indianapolis, where the state legislature mandated the consolidation, all recent city-county consolidations have involved local initiatives and referenda. Moreover, the referenda have required concurrent majorities in each of the city and county units to be consolidated. With most of the consolidation proposals, this obstacle has been insuperable. All told, the successful consolidations represent about one-third of those formally proposed to the voters.

Six of the city-county consolidations achieved during the past quarter century encompassed most of the population in their respective Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and resulted from campaigns designed to launch metropolitan area governments. Yet only three have actually been coterminous with their SMSA boundaries, while three others encompassed only about 70 per cent of the SMSA population. All of these city-county consolidations have been limited to medium-size metropolitan areas with 1970 populations ranging from 167,000 to 792,000.¹⁰ Three of those consolidations will be described here: Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee; Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida; and Indianapolis-Marion County, Indiana.

*Nashville-Davidson County.*¹¹ By the late 1950s the futility of having two major units of general purpose local government attempting to serve the residents of the Nashville metropolitan area had become widely evident, and a proposal was put to the voters in 1958 to create in place of the two the 'Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County'. City voters approved of the merger, but county residents opposed it, and so killed the idea. Events between 1958 and 1962, in particular a move by the City of Nashville toward annexation of county areas, made county voters look more favourably on consolidation, and in 1962 a second proposal for a consolidated government for the metropolitan area was approved. That vote brought the two units of government together in 1963 under a unified government. Several smaller municipalities in the county were allowed to remain in existence

¹⁰ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America*, op. cit., p. 183.

¹¹ See David A. Booth, *Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation*, Michigan State University Institute for Community Development and Services, East Lansing, Mich., 1963; and Brett W. Hawkins, *Nashville Metro: The Politics of City-County Consolidation*, Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, 1966.

but were left with virtually no role to perform. The county was divided into a general services district encompassing all the county and an urban services district, the former designed to handle area-wide services provided by the county, the latter providing residents of the county's urbanized area with urban-type services (see Table VI-1). Differential tax rates apply in the two districts, requiring those receiving more local government services to pay more than those receiving only minimal services.

A 41-member council was set up as the county government, consisting of a mayor and five other members elected at large and 35 members elected from districts within the county. As chief executive, the mayor has power to appoint department heads and to prepare an executive budget for council consideration; he is elected for a four-year term and limited to three terms in office. All the former city and county administrative agencies were combined into metropolitan counterparts.

Once Nashville-Davidson won approval, it began to make 'gains in improving the effectiveness and efficiency of service performance', particularly in providing police services in the rural-urban fringe of the area, improving street maintenance and traffic engineering services, education, parks, and recreation, the elimination of duplication in tax assessment, and expansion of water and sewerage services.¹²

Even so, in a study of the performance of Nashville-Davidson, Bruce Rogers and C. McLipsey concluded that that 'model case of metropolitan government has not yielded the harvest of consequences anticipated by metropolitan reformers'. The evidence does not confirm the presumption, they wrote, 'that small units of government are more wasteful and inefficient than larger [units]'. Indeed in Nashville at least they found 'that the assumptions supporting metropolitan consolidation were not supported by [their] findings'. Rather than consolidation, they concluded, 'metropolitan governments might consider reforms that permit neighbourhoods some degree of control over the delivery of some public services in their geographical area. ...

¹² T.P. Murphy and C.R. Warren, *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, op. cit., p. 111. See also James E. McKeown and Frederick I. Tietze, eds., *The Changing Metropolis*, 2nd edn, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1971, p. 174.

Table VI-1

THE FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY

Function	Urban Services District (Nashville)	General Services District (Davidson County)	Excluded Local Governments ^{1,2}
Education		X	
Health		X	
Hospitals		X	
Welfare		X	
Police	X ³	X	X ⁶
Fire	X ⁴		
Highways	X ⁵	X	
Mass Transit		X	
Airports		X	
Planning		X	
Zoning		X	X ⁷
Housing		X	
Urban Renewal		X	
Sanitary Sewerage	X ⁴		
Drainage	X		
Refuse Collection	X	Private	Private
Refuse Disposal		X	
Water Supply	X ⁴		
Parks and Recreation		X	
Libraries		X	
Courts		X	
Jails		X	
Personnel		X	X ⁸
Purchasing		X	X ⁸
Records		X	X ⁸
Assessment		X	X ⁹
Taxation	X	X	X
Borrowing	X	X	X

¹ Excluded local governments contain 5.5 per cent of Nashville-Davidson County population.

² Services provided by General Services District at level equal to that within the General Services District itself.

³ Police service provided over and above the level provided in General Services District.

⁴ Service can be purchased on a contract basis from Urban Services District.

⁵ Service in Urban Services District includes lighting and cleaning not provided in General Services District.

⁶ A few excluded local governments maintain small police forces that supplement the General Services District police.

⁷ Excluded local governments determine their own zoning variances.

⁸ Service provided at minimal level.

⁹ A few excluded local governments levy supplemental property taxes to support their own police forces, and so forth.

Source: T.P. Murphy and C.R. Warren, *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, op. cit., Table 3-3, p. 59.

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More complex solutions associated with federalist principles of organization are ... called for.¹³

Moreover, as is the case in the Miami area, growth in the Nashville metropolitan area is not paying strict attention to Davidson County lines, so that consideration must soon be given either to further consolidation with adjoining Sumner, Wilson and Rutherford Counties or to some form of regional government. Thus Nashville-Davidson County - like Metropolitan Dade County - in the long run may have been merely a way-stop on the road to another kind of structural reform.

Jacksonville-Duval County. The Jacksonville-Duval County consolidation followed a series of financial and political crises in the area and the recommendation of a local government study commission created under an act of the Florida legislature. Like Nashville-Davidson, Jacksonville-Duval also employs two districts, one for urban and one for general services, and divides essentially the same services between them (see Table VI-2). It too excludes several small municipalities in Duval County. But Jacksonville-Duval uses more elected administrators (a county sheriff and tax assessor in addition to a mayor), and its council is smaller (only 19 members, 14 of whom are elected from districts in the county and five of whom are elected at large). It differs from Nashville-Davidson also in that 'the Jacksonville plan assigns education, planning and civil service administration to independent boards and assigns hospital, port and public electric utility services to relatively autonomous authorities',¹⁴ a pattern which would be quite familiar to residents of most Australian metropolitan areas. A redeeming feature, however, is that the metropolitan council has the power of review and the metropolitan mayor has the power of appointment.

¹³ Bruce D. Rogers and C. McCurdy Lipsey, 'Metropolitan Reform: Citizen Evaluations of Performances in Nashville-Davidson County Tennessee', *Publius*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Fall 1974, p. 33. The assumptions tested were:

- (1) A decrease in the number of governmental units providing a particular service in a metropolitan area will be associated with higher levels of service.
- (2) An increase in the size of governmental unit producing a particular service will be associated with higher levels of service.
- (3) A decrease in the number of governmental units will be associated with a greater degree of responsibility on the part of local officials.
- (4) An increase in the size of the governmental unit will be associated with a greater degree of responsibility on the part of local officials. (p. 23)

¹⁴ T.P. Murphy and C.R. Warren, *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Table VI-2

THE FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY OF JACKSONVILLE

Function	Urban Services District (Jacksonville)	General Services District (Duval County)	Excluded Local Governments	Other ¹
Education			X ¹²	X ²
Health		X		
Hospitals			X ³	
Welfare		X		
Police		X		
Fire		X	X ¹³	
Highways	X ⁴	X	X	X ⁵
Mass Transit		Private ¹¹		
Airports		X		X ⁶
Planning			X	X ⁷
Zoning		X	X	
Housing				X ⁸
Urban Renewal		X		
Sanitary Sewerage		X		
Drainage		X		
Refuse Collection	X	X ¹⁴		
Refuse Disposal	X	X ¹⁴		
Water Supply	X	Private ¹⁵		
Parks and Recreation		X		
Libraries		X		
Courts		X		
Jails				
Personnel		X		X ⁹
Purchasing		X		X
Records		X		X
Assessment		X		X
Taxation		X	X ¹⁰	X
Borrowing		X		X

¹ All 'Other' agencies subject to budget review by the City of Jacksonville.

² Board of Education (elective).

³ Hospital Authority.

⁴ Street cleaning only.

⁵ Expressway Authority (appointive).

⁶ Port and Airport Authority (appointive).

⁷ Public Housing Authority (appointive).

⁸ Planning Board (appointive).

⁹ Civil Service Board (elective).

¹⁰ Limited to 6 mills as against 10 mills as in other Florida cities.

¹¹ To be assumed by a metropolitan transit authority as of December 1972.

Legal suits, however, seem likely to delay action until 1973.

¹² Some excluded municipalities have independent school systems; others are part of area-wide system.

¹³ Area-wide fire services are provided but supplemented by volunteers.

¹⁴ Before collection and disposal are provided by private firms but the City of Jacksonville bills and collects for all services.

¹⁵ The Urban Services District provides limited water supply as well.

Source: T.P. Murphy and C.R. Warren, *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, op. cit., Table 3-4, p. 61.

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Although Jacksonville-Duval has not been without problems since consolidation was implemented in 1968, there have been 'considerable gains in service quantity and quality' under it, particularly in the construction of public works, urban renewal and related programs, street lighting, and police and fire protection'.¹⁵ Fortunately, the area incorporated into Duval County is considerably larger than the present metropolitan area, so that the problem of outgrowing jurisdictional boundaries faced by Metropolitan Dade County and Nashville-Davidson is not yet acute there. Already the consolidated county is working with six other counties surrounding it in a consultative council of governments.

Indianapolis-Marion County. Indianapolis-Marion County may be the most important example of city-county consolidation inasmuch as it embraces the largest population under that form of government in the United States. Nicknamed 'Unigov' when it was launched in 1970, it is also different from the other two models of consolidation in that it was established by the state legislature without a local referendum and was specifically designed to improve the management of service delivery in the metropolitan area. Thus it features the administrative consolidation of the services the new government provides into six Unigov departments. Even so, a number of major services still fall outside Unigov's jurisdiction, namely education, welfare, airport operation and library services. These are provided through 'independent districts, authorities, or corporations ...', but many of them are subject to budgetary controls by the consolidated government. In the pattern of Nashville-Davidson and Jacksonville-Duval, the nine township governments in Marion County were left undisturbed, and municipalities of over 5,000 residents were given the option of leaving the consolidated government should they wish to exercise it.

Unigov's city-county council is composed of 29 members, 25 from single member districts and four elected at large. In a sense, however, it operates in two guises in that 'not all of its members can participate in all decisions ... Decisions affecting some services districts - especially police and fire - can be taken only by council members from areas in which the districts operate.'¹⁶ The consolidated city-county operates under a strong-mayor concept of government.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63

Judgments as to Unigov's effect on service delivery are mixed. Perhaps the greatest impact has been on the integration of area-wide planning. It is no easier to attribute improvements solely to the change in the form of government there than it is in the other consolidated city-county areas, but so far Indianapolis-Marion has been able to proceed without much opposition from within, and that has helped to make its operation seem more effective.

Minneapolis-St. Paul

Another application of the federative principle is exemplified by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council, which was superimposed in 1967 by the Minnesota state legislature on the seven-county Minneapolis-St. Paul region as an instrument for metropolitan decision making and co-ordination of the work of the existing local and regional agencies in the area. The Council is an instrumental-ity of the state, responsible to the state legislature, its members appointed by the governor from within the metropolitan area. It has important responsibilities in planning, co-ordinating, and making area-wide policies, particularly with regard to sewage and waste disposal, pollution control, transportation planning, and regional parks and open space. It does not have responsibility for service delivery, that being left with the second-tier governments. However, it controls their development through powers of review and veto over local government actions, representation on all area-wide special district governing bodies, and authority to review comprehensive plans for local governments and to sell bonds for capital construction by metropolitan special districts. As noted below, some observers choose to designate the Council as a council of governments because of its multijurisdictional organization, heavy involvement in planning and co-ordination, and evolution out of a previously existing regional council. Whatever label it operates under, it represents a specially tailored approach to regional policy making, and it has proved to be both popular and efficacious in the Twin Cities area.¹⁷

Non-structural Changes

As already suggested, changes in the structure of local governments in metropolitan areas in the United States have been hard to effect and the results of change have not been as great as might

¹⁷ The Twin-Cities Metropolitan Council is described in U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Substate Regionalism and the Federal System*, Vol. 1, *Regional Decision-Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts* (ACIR Report A-43), pp. 4-5; and Vol. 3, *The Challenge of Local Government Reorganization* (ACIR Report A-44), p. 96.

have been expected. In any case, not many changes have been made. Perhaps in part the reason for this is that ways to improve service delivery, other than through structural change, have been developed and utilized in metropolitan areas all over the country without the political complications and jurisdictional problems that inevitably attend structural change. It is possible to distinguish about a dozen such ways recommended for use today in metropolitan America.¹⁸ Those most frequently found in use are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Intergovernmental Service Agreements. The service agreement has been employed for many years, but it received a tremendous boost in 1954 when the city of Lakewood, California, formally engaged with Los Angeles County for the provision of all municipal-type services to its residents. Since then, its use has become widespread. Joseph Zimmerman reported that of '2,248 municipalities over 2,500 in population responding to a 1972 questionnaire, 1,393, or 61 per cent, reported they were receiving services under provisions of formal and informal agreements'.¹⁹ Such agreements can be with other, usually adjacent, local governments, with the state government, or with private firms. Most agreements involve 'only two governments and one service, and the services provided ... tend to be relatively noncontroversial'. 'Only 13 per cent

¹⁸ Without attempting to list them in any order of frequency of use or of recommendation, the most commonly encountered ways include:

- development of an area-wide planning agency
- granting extraterritorial powers to the central city
- entering into intergovernmental agreements for services
- developing metropolitan councils of governments for the consideration of area-wide problems
- shifting responsibility for urban services from municipalities to the county or state
- creating metropolitan special districts
- annexation of unincorporated territory by the central city
- informal co-operation
- parallel action
- functional consolidation
- co-operative purchasing.

See in this connection Roscoe C. Martin, *Action in Metropolis*, National Municipal League, New York, 1963; and William C. Seyler 'Interlocal Relations: Cooperation', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 416, November 1974, pp. 158-169.

¹⁹ J.F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem', *op. cit.*, p. 134.

of the agreements call for the provision of a package of services.'²⁰ 'The most popular functions and activities covered by service agreements include technical components of the police function (such as training, crime laboratories, and communication), planning, engineering services, sewage and solid waste disposal, water supply, jails, libraries, street lighting, refuse collection, and animal control. Functions or activities that are rarely the subject of intergovernmental service agreements include record maintenance, zoning, urban renewal, basic police services, and building inspections.'²¹

Almost invariably, the reasons advanced by local governments for entering into intergovernmental service agreements are economy and efficiency. But they are also easy to conclude. 'Services are provided within the framework of existing governments, and contracts can be negotiated and approved without popular referenda or additional state action ... The provision of services in this way lowers unit costs and prevents some duplication of staff and equipment.'²² Moreover, political opposition is seldom encountered.

On the other hand, the use of agreements does nothing at all to lessen the extent of jurisdictional fragmentation. Indeed, it may act to freeze fragmentation, since local units otherwise unable to service their residents can meet their responsibilities by contracting for them, thus keeping them in existence when they otherwise might have to go out of business by amalgamation or consolidation. At least if it is the county which provides the services under contract there may be some tendency 'to consider the problems of the larger area', though about one-third of American metropolitan areas involve more than one county.²³

In fact, Professor Zimmerman concluded, the 'continuing proliferation of service compacts may have [several] disadvantages. First, the average citizen may experience greater difficulty in understanding [the] local government system ... and he may be unable to pinpoint responsibility for failure in the system ... [and] ... additional political fractionation and fiscal disparities' may possibly be promoted.²⁴

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²¹ U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *The Challenge of Local Government Reorganization*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²² L. Goodall, *The American Metropolis*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ J.F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

Nevertheless, the use of such agreements has increased over the years, largely because they provide an easy way to overcome delivery difficulties for many metropolitan communities.

Shifts of Responsibility. One way of helping local governments meet the service demands of their residents more equitably and fully is to shift responsibility for performing certain services upward to the county, to a regional special district, or to the state itself. A number of states, including the heavily metropolitan states of California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, have made specific constitutional provision authorizing the transfer of functions, and a number of other states have so provided by legislation. To identify shifts in functional responsibility since 1965, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, with the International City Management Association and the State University of New York at Albany, recently surveyed all cities in the United States of over 2,500 population. The survey found that, in the past decade, nearly one-third of the municipalities responding had transferred responsibility for a function or a component of a function permanently to another unit of government. Counties and special districts were most frequently the recipients. The most commonly reported transferred functions were solid waste collection and disposal, law enforcement, public health, sewage collection and treatment, taxation and assessment of property, building and safety inspections, planning, and an area broadly labelled 'social services'. Counties were the most frequent recipients of solid waste collection and disposal, law enforcement and public health. Special districts most often assumed responsibility for transportation and sewage collection and treatment, while states were the prime receivers of 'social service' transfers. The chief reason for the transfers given by the respondents was to achieve economies of scale (lower unit costs). Elimination of duplication, lack of facilities and equipment, fiscal restraints, and lack of personnel were other frequently cited reasons.²⁵ 'Whether efficiency and equity will be improved' by transfer, 'depends, of course, on the upper tier units' quality of service and method of financing, compared to those of the cities, towns, and villages' yielding up the functions to them.²⁶

²⁵ See American Society for Public Administration, *News and Views*, Vol. 26, No. 11, November 1976, pp. 1, 5-6, summarizing an about-to-be-published report by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations entitled *Pragmatic Federalism: The Reassignment of Functional Responsibilities*.

²⁶ J.F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem', *op. cit.*, p. 136.

'Perhaps the biggest advantage of this approach is that it can develop one step at a time on a function-by-function basis, thereby approaching areawide problems on a gradual evolutionary basis which causes less controversy than immediate radical change. A disadvantage ... is that the county ... is poorly adapted in most cases to meet the demands of rapidly growing urban areas.'²⁷

Regional Special Districts and Authorities. Of all units of local government in the United States, the special district²⁸ has increased most rapidly in number in recent years. Their number in the United States as a whole went from less than 9,000 in 1942 to almost 24,000 in 1972, and they are widely used in metropolitan areas. In those areas, special districts increased from 6,153 in 1962 to 7,049 in 1967 and 8,054 in 1972, and the number has increased even more since then. Special districts are employed as a way to meet one or more service problems over an area larger than can be reached by any one local government acting alone. Health and hospital, water supply, fire protection, sewerage and utility districts are the most common uses in metropolitan areas, although their range is over virtually all service areas provided by local government. Patterned after the independent, autonomous school district, special districts can be created to match areas to service needs without having to be designed to respect other local government boundary lines. Once created, they comprise a separate unit of government with their own power to tax and their own area of jurisdiction. Some special districts are created at local initiative under state enabling legislation 'authorizing voters to decide in a referendum whether to form a single or multipurpose metropolitan special district'. By 1974, there were 900 such districts in metropolitan America. 'To cite only one example, the Oregon Metropolitan Service District Act of 1969 authorizes the holding of a referendum on the question of the formation of a metropolitan district with authority to provide four services - sewage treatment and disposal, solid waste disposal, public transportation, and flood control.'²⁹

Alternatively, the state can create a special district on its initiative to handle a function or functions in a prescribed area. In the nomenclature of American government, somehow this type of

²⁷ L. Goodall, *The American Metropolis*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁸ See John C. Bollens, *Special District Governments in the United States*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1957.

²⁹ J.F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

special district has come to be called an 'authority', probably in recognition of the fact that such bodies are often forced to derive their revenue from fees for services rendered rather than from levying taxes. Thus 'authorities' are more likely to be responsible for the construction, operation and maintenance of toll bridges, tunnels or public transportation facilities than for any other type of local function. The Chicago Transit Authority and the Port of New York Authority are examples of this type of special district.

Essentially, the two types of special district are the same. They function through a board, the members of which are appointed by the local governments embraced in the district's area of jurisdiction, or by the state government, or by some combination of the two. Alternatively, they are elected by the voters of the affected area. However chosen, the board adds to the number of governments in the metropolitan area, further fragmenting local government rather than reducing fragmentation, especially where more than one district is performing the same function in a single metropolitan area, which is often the case. Often the autonomy and separateness of special districts handicap regional planning and policy making. Certainly their impact on other local governments 'is far greater than might appear ... Not only do these units represent a response to the outward thrust of urbanization, they also strongly influence the location and nature of new development, with all that implies for the central city and satellite municipalities of the modern metropolis. Short-sighted, ill-conceived, or uncoordinated action by special districts is likely to create difficult problems for other governments ...'³⁰

On the other hand, it can be argued that special districts 'offer the only convenient way to meet important public service needs which traditional multipurpose local governments have not met'.³¹ Moreover, it would seem that special districts can lead to area-wide metropolitan government simply by adding other functions to those originally assigned and by adding to the area of jurisdiction, until all the important municipal services are being provided by the one agency. In the United States, however, this has not been the case in practice. Indeed, many special districts in their present form provide high-quality services and citizens in the areas concerned are reluctant to tinker with something which performs so well. Special districts may thus

³⁰ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America*, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

serve to 'ameliorate the critical need for city-county consolidation. If urbanites, and particularly suburban residents, have their needs met by special districts, why would local governmental re-organization be either necessary or desirable for them?'³²

In sum, special districts find their most ardent supporters among metropolitan area residents who benefit from the services they provide, and their most severe critics among students of government who conclude that they only further complicate the already overly complex pattern of local government in metropolitan areas and, it should be emphasized, do so largely beyond the reach of direct citizen control. The continued resort to the use of special districts suggests that nobody has been listening to the critics.

Councils of Governments. In an increasingly large number of metropolitan areas in the United States, elected public officials from the governmental units in an area voluntarily come together in a variety of ways in an effort to develop better understanding about common needs and problems, if not also to develop a consensus on what ought to be done about them and to promote coordinated action by the units they represent in attacking them. The oldest such group - Council of Governments (COG) it has come to be called - was developed in the Detroit area in 1954. Since such groups are informal, their interests can cross jurisdictional boundary lines at will, so that they can be concerned with the problems of the entire metropolitan area. Often and increasingly, COGs have been receiving financial help, either from constituent governments or from private foundations, so that they can afford staffs. They have been found extremely useful in creating an awareness of problems and in providing the climate necessary for a successful attack on them. Constituted as they are, however, they function chiefly as discussion and study units, depending for implementation of their recommendations upon the participating governments.

Recently the use of COGs was given a boost by the enactment of the federal *Water Pollution Control Act Amendments* of 1972, which requires a comprehensive waste treatment management planning process for heavily urbanized and industrial areas. Under this section, federal funding is awarded to a designated agency to establish such a planning process, and COGs, or units thereof, have become the designated agency in a number of metropolitan areas.

³² T.P. Murphy and C.R. Warren, *Organizing Public Services in Metropolitan America*, op. cit., p. 401.

The Metropolitan Washington (D.C.) Council of Governments has led in the establishment of a Water Resources Planning Board as a subordinate agency, which serves as the designated agency in the Washington Metropolitan area, combining waste treatment management planning with water supply and other resource management activities sanctioned by the Council.

Federal Pre-emption

For the most part in the United States, the provision of urban services for citizens has been regarded as a state responsibility, which in turn the states have largely passed on to their local subdivisions. There seemed to be little or no role for the federal government to play at all. Over the years, however, Congress began to help local governments meet their service needs by a variety of fiscal grants-in-aid. In the early 1960s, aid legislation began to focus on area-wide planning as the basis for solving area-wide problems and to require review of local government applications for grants and loans to ascertain that area-wide considerations had been taken into account. By the mid-1960s, the federal government had concluded

'that a number of areawide problems - particularly environmental ones - could not be eliminated by reliance upon state and local government action encouraged by the "carrots" of federal grant[s]-in-aid'.³³

As noted above, Congress subsequently enacted legislation which forces creation of a comprehensive area-wide planning agency to deal with water quality control. The federal *Water Pollution Control Act Amendments* of 1972 direct the governor of each state to identify the areas therein suffering water quality problems and to designate 'a single representative organization, including elected officials from local governments or their designees, capable of developing effective areawide waste treatment management plans' for each area.

Although these actions have not been extended across a wide range of service areas and have not led to the creation of area-wide governmental bodies, they have forced the states and their local governments in metropolitan areas to begin to develop an area-wide perspective in important service areas. To the extent this model may be followed generally in federal grant-in-aid programs, the federal government may emerge as a major force in meeting metropolitan area service needs.

³³ J.F. Zimmerman, 'The Metropolitan Area Problem', *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Recommended Actions

The foregoing paragraphs in this chapter have indicated that basic change in the governmental structure of American metropolitan areas has been minimal and that, in its stead, a variety of devices has been developed to meet service needs more adequately within the traditional structural pattern. It is obviously easier to work within the existing framework - doing so avoids opposition at least from office-holders and administrators who may be expected to fight to preserve the *status quo* from fear of losing their positions, and from local tax-payers who fear that tax rates and property assessments will only be raised by any major change. In a system like the American, where local politics is the bedrock on which state politics and national politics are built, such resistance is respected and will no doubt continue to be for some time, if not forever.

Even so, the necessity of metropolitan reorganization in the long run has been accepted by students of government as a truism. A good deal of attention thus continues to be paid to possible alternative methods of accomplishing that objective. Two highly respected research bodies have come forward in recent years with proposals for changes in metropolitan governance. These proposals, which have become the basis for debate if not for action, will be summarized briefly.

The Committee for Economic Development Recommendations

The Committee for Economic Development, which is composed of 200 leading American businessmen and educators, has been concerned about local government for a number of years. In 1966, its report on *Modernizing Local Government* called for substantial consolidation of municipal government in the nation. In 1970, the Committee reported on *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas*.³⁴

In *Reshaping Government*, the Committee began with the assumption that restructuring was necessary and accepted as a basic principle that an adequate 'governmental system for America's metropolitan areas must recognize the need for both a community level and a metropolitan level of government'. Recognizing that every metropolitan area is unique, the Committee did not try to prescribe a

³⁴ Committee for Economic Development, *Modernizing Local Government*, New York, 1966; and *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas*, New York, 1970. The quotations are from pp. 19-22 of the latter.

single specific organizational pattern to be followed by all areas at once. Rather, it recommended 'as an ultimate solution a governmental system of two levels. Some functions should be assigned in their entirety to the area-wide government, others to the local level, but most will be assigned in part to each level.' Far more important than the division of functions, the Committee thought, is 'the *sharing of power*' (italics in original).

'Local communities will be assigned some power over functions placed at the areawide level of government. Further, state and federal governments must be involved in most functions. This two-level system will not provide neatness and symmetry, but effectiveness, responsiveness, and adequate resources.'

For those areas contained wholly within one county, the Committee favoured a reconstituted county government as the upper-tier government for the area. Creating such a government might involve consolidation of the central city with the county (though if 'there are two or more sizable cities in the county, consolidation may not be appropriate'), and it would necessarily involve providing the county 'with a suitable legislative organ, a strong chief executive, and modern management'.

For areas spreading over two or more counties, the Committee recommended creating in each case 'a new jurisdiction ... which embraces all of [the area's] territory'. 'Although a federation of existing counties and towns might be ... easier to implement', the Committee concluded, 'it is clear that rapid metropolitan growth makes a stronger jurisdiction considerably more appropriate, especially for the purposes of long-range planning'.

The Committee did not believe that area-wide government would be enough, however much better it might provide needed services. In addition to the upper-level government, 'modern metropolitan government should contain a community-level government system comprised of "community districts". These units might consist of existing local governments with functions readjusted to the two-level system, together with new districts in areas where no local unit exists.' To be effective, the community districts should be developed on local initiative through 'the simplest possible methods', although the Committee did not rule out the possibility of establishing a 'state boundary commission or similar body ... to begin the process of delineating new districts'. In any case, the Committee felt, the states, besides enacting enabling legislation to permit creation of two-tier metropolitan government, should 'establish suggested ... criteria to guide the actual determination of community boundaries ... [and] should ... set down requirements which will guarantee the representativeness of

the government[s] established'. The Committee rejected the idea of having the upper-level government council composed of representatives of the community units - 'this form of representation rarely produces an areawide point of view but rather a bargaining process through which the various smaller units try to protect their parochial interests' - and suggested instead that 'delegates to the areawide government represent legislative districts on a one-man, one-vote basis ... '.

Finally, the Committee examined the financial side of metropolitan government. It was convinced that 'establishment of metropolitan-wide government [would] make possible a greater local fiscal contribution', and that was a major reason for its establishment. But the Committee concluded that 'the need for substantial state and federal aid would not thereby be eliminated'. Indeed, 'both state and federal aid systems should be restructured in order to put resources where they are most needed'.

'Equally important, state and federal aid should be used to stimulate government reorganization. The use of aid for this purpose has a precedent in its use in promoting school construction by the states. Therefore, we recommend that state and federal aid should be used as an incentive to promote the kind of reconstructed government outlined [in the Committee's report].'

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations Recommendations

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) has been concerned about metropolitan governance since its creation by Congress in 1959. In its 1976 publication, *Improving Urban America: A Challenge to Federalism*,³⁵ it drew together the recommendations in its various studies up to that time.

Basically, ACIR called for the adoption by each state of an omnibus policy on local government reform. That policy, the Commission hoped, would include authorization of various forms of general purpose area-wide governments at the substate regional level. In essence, adoption of such a policy would give the citizens of each substate region the opportunity to select their own best regional home rule option from among five different statutory possibilities of regional government.

³⁵ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America*, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-185. The material in this section is an edited version of those pages.

Each type would be headed by a directly elected governing body, and each would be empowered to act as a fully-fledged local government at least for the purpose of performing area-wide functions. By the designation of five types, ACIR acknowledges that there are great differences in the population and geographic size of such regions and that the existing governmental structure and political traditions in these areas differ widely. Hence, these five quite different structural options are offered to provide a local electorate with some real choices if support for some kind of area-wide restructuring arises. The five options to be provided would be:

- (1) a multi-county consolidation
- (2) a reformed county
- (3) conversion of an umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization into a multi-purpose area-wide government
- (4) a regional service corporation
- (5) city-county consolidation.

The first two options, multi-county consolidation and the reformed county, would create strong two-tier governmental arrangements³⁶ whereby the merged or reformed county would perform all needed area-wide functions, while leaving local services to existing municipalities, subordinate county service areas or dependent special districts. The reformed county would be somewhat easier to establish, since it could be achieved by adopting the basic structural and functional reforms (including the transfer of some functions) that are advocated by the 'new county' movement in many states.³⁷ However, the reformed county option would be practicable only in a single county region. The multi-county merger would be more appropriate where the region encompassed several counties, and where their collective population was adequate to support the merged county government. This alternative would have special relevance in the mixed urban-rural regions that are so characteristic of American metropolitan areas.

³⁶ The National Academy of Public Administration, under a contract with the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, has instituted a competition to select two metropolitan areas in the 250,000 to 2 million range to test a two-tier governmental model for adoption by other areas in the country. The study was to have been completed by 1977.

³⁷ For a discussion of that movement see Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America*, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-180.

The more complex options - the ones more suitable for large, diverse highly urbanized areas - are the converted multi-jurisdictional organization³⁸ and the regional service corporation. When applied to such areas, these two approaches would create *three-tier* governmental structures, involving a new area-wide organization, plus two or more counties at the sub-regional level, and municipalities as well as other local governments at the local level. These options would be especially suitable in areas where a single area-wide government would be too large and too remote to provide any but the most highly regional types of services. In this situation, the traditional county functions, such as courts, public welfare, public health, public safety and corrections would be left to county administration, as well as those that might be assumed as a result of functional home rule reforms. Local services would be left to the municipalities, subordinate county service areas, or dependent special districts.

The final option proposed by ACIR was city-county consolidation, which it recognized as being difficult to achieve, involving as it did the merger of the existing governments in a county region into a single government. It would be especially suitable for regions consisting of a single county with a single dominant municipality. Other smaller municipalities and special districts could be merged at the same time as the predominant city and county are consolidated. Alternatively, they could be left as local units with the new county serving as their area-wide government, an approach, as has already been suggested, that has been applied in some recent consolidations. Where several major cities were involved, this reform could prove difficult - if not impossible - to achieve. The size of the county area, then, should be small enough so that a single government encompassing it would not be too remote from its residents. Once the consolidation had taken place, subordinate service districts or limited purpose neighbourhood units of government would be established.

The move to one of these options in any given metropolitan area, the Commission believed, might be initiated in a number of different ways. But any initiative, regardless of its source, would be subject to a popular referendum involving a simple area-wide or concurrent majority vote, thus placing the ultimate decision on fundamental area-wide reorganization in the hands of the citizens.

³⁸ An 'umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization' (UMJO) is defined by ACIR as 'a substantially strengthened areawide unit that could be built on the foundation of current regional councils of governments', designed to serve as the agent of local governments in performing intergovernmental functions. (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Improving Urban America*, op. cit., p. 109.)

The Commission observed that the recent record of such fundamental approaches to area-wide governmental reform indicated spotty application of the ideas in practice. Nevertheless it noted that examples of practically all of the options do in fact exist. Only the multi-county merger model stands apart as a theoretical option, not yet tried in contemporary real life.

In adopting these proposals for metropolitan governmental change, the Commission clearly was conscious of the march of time. It did not intend to denigrate non-structural approaches to area-wide servicing. But the Commission strongly believed that the time has come to give citizens and their governments a chance to change their metropolitan governance system should future developments demonstrate the need. Given the rapid pace of institutional and servicing change at this level, no other position is tenable - assuming, of course, that the electorate under the American system is to retain the ultimate right to shape the governmental system. In these recommendations the Commission gave paramount recognition to this right. Yet it made no claim as to the merit of one reform option as against another in any given situation. Nor did it necessarily assert that any of them is necessary in any particular region. The Commission was profoundly aware of the nearly unending variety of individual regions and the foolishness of assuming such unbending positions.

Its recommendations, then, merely urge state enactment of permissive legislation that will allow area-wide electorates and their local governments to reorganize regionally, if and when substantial sentiment for such reform develops. At the same time, they deal with several fundamental questions that must be faced whenever this point is reached. First is the issue whether a given metropolitan area should have a one-tier, two-tier or three-tier governmental structure. This is a question ACIR believes should be determined largely by the size and complexity of the area, the number of forms of local government within it, and whether the area crosses state lines. The approach ACIR has taken permits any of the three general options to be used, with alternatives in two of them, and relies upon the citizens and local governments concerned to make the final choice for a given area.

Another issue is whether the governing body of the upper-tier (area-wide) government should be separately elected, rather than consist of *ex officio* representatives of the lower-tier localities. This is really not an issue where the chosen form of area-wide government is the multi-county merger, city-county consolidation or reformed county. In each of these cases, the upper-tier government will be a *bona fide* county government in the traditional sense, and

in the United States these are always headed by directly elected officials. However, the question does become important in relation to the converted umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization and the regional service corporation, both of which will exist at a third-tier level with the counties and municipalities operating below. In this situation, a directly elected governing body will be the third substate level body to be chosen by the same electors. There are precedents for this, in that a number of special districts and school boards are elected independently of city and county governments.

Nevertheless, the existence of a separately elected body at this level, exercising area-wide responsibilities, will undoubtedly be a sensitive point with local government officials. A possible compromise here, the Commission felt, is a bicameral formula with one chamber popularly chosen and the other composed of representatives of the constituent governmental units. Variations of this approach have been embodied in some of the proposals advanced in the California legislature to strengthen the Association of Bay Area (San Francisco) Governments. Another possibility is to appoint area-wide governing body members during a transitional period and then provide for popular election of the members.

In adhering basically to the elective principle, the Commission emphasized that both the converted umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization and the regional service corporation would have governmental authority of their own which could be independently exercised with respect to those area-wide functions assigned to them. With this independent authority, there was every reason to elect an independent governing body. Candidates would be forced to run on regional policies and would seek re-election only within the context of their performance as regional statesmen. This was consistent with the basic maxim that governmental responsibility should be placed where governmental authority exists.

Regarding the several initiating options, the Commission was convinced that most of the drives for area-wide reconstruction would emanate from local governments and local electorates. Yet with the exception of boundary changes in some states, state legislatures have always reserved to themselves the right to establish, dissolve and consolidate units of local government. The Commission fully expected that this situation would continue, but recommended that wherever state constitutions prohibit local initiated efforts to merge counties, such prohibitions be removed.

The final issue raised in the Commission's studies is what kind of referendum the state should require for approval of locally initiated government reconstruction proposals. The basic alternatives are to call for simple concurrent majorities in each affected

major jurisdiction or area, or a simple area-wide majority of those voting in the whole area affected. A provision for concurrent majorities will give added protection to the separate electorates in the central city and the suburbs when a metropolitan reorganization is proposed. It will allow jurisdictional as well as numerical factors to condition the outcome. This kind of referendum, it should be pointed out, frequently has proven to be a major obstacle to achieving area-wide reorganizations. If the objective then is to accentuate the force of the overall regional vote, a simple majority of all those voting in the area affected should be stipulated.

To sum up, what is proposed in ACIR's regional reform proposal is state authorization of a number of approaches to area-wide governmental reorganization for metropolitan areas. The intent is to open as many avenues as is reasonable for this type of reform action. No power play or preferred restructuring proposal is implied, but a major unshackling effort is clearly contemplated. Legal obstacles, after all, should not overcome the desire of a region's governments or its citizens to achieve their own area-wide objectives. The range of options is necessary in light of the very diverse needs of the different substate areas and the rather slim record of actual area-wide reform in recent years.

It should be noted that ACIR's studies and proposals were directed at local government reform across the board in the United States, not merely at the structural reform in metropolitan areas necessary to meet the service demands of residents of those areas. Thus the recommendations just reviewed must be considered in the context of the broader range of proposals made by the Commission for local government reform. In addition to setting forth a number of basic area-wide governmental reorganization options, it recommended:

- ' - placing the full force of state statutory authority behind a set of enforceable standards relating to the incorporation of new municipalities, local government viability, and municipal annexation;
- establishment by the states of local government boundary commissions to apply those standards in specific cases and to assume an on-going responsibility with reference to such matters as the dissolution or consolidation of special districts and non-viable general governmental units, adjustments of county and substate regional boundaries, and annexation developments;³⁹

³⁹ Between 1959 and 1974 seven states established broad-gauged local boundary review boards to assure a more orderly and logical expansion and adjustment of municipal boundaries.

- promulgation of a packet of nine reform possibilities designed to revitalize the structure of counties, to reconcile and rationalize county and municipal functional responsibilities, and to carve out a supportive state role in some of these undertakings;
- the formation, where lacking, of broadly representative state advisory commissions on intergovernmental relations to probe on a continuing basis the structure, functions, finances, and relationships of lower-tier, middle-tier, and state governments. These commissions would publish reports on specific topics, make recommendations for solving interlevel problems, and submit an annual report to their respective governors, legislatures, local and regional units, and electorates.'

All these efforts, the Commission believed, are necessary to facilitate the modernization of local and area-wide governmental institutions, so that they may discharge their servicing responsibilities to their respective communities in a more effective, equitable, efficient, and accountable manner. The primary burden for leadership in this matter is placed by the Commission on the states, in the conviction that the states no longer can assume the role of the passive bystander in this vital matter. Given the plethora of programs, mechanisms and special purpose bodies that have by-passed or superseded general local governments, the Commission was certain that it does not overstate the case to claim that the existence of such local governments is very much at stake. At this juncture, the states, as the legal parents of the localities and of many of the institutions that compete with them, must assume an active stance, as some states recently have done. The localities obviously have a role here, and a complementary federal role could be of critical help. However, the Commission concluded that in the final analysis the electorate has the final word on major reform. But the initiating thrust must come from the states, and such is the basic assumption undergirding its recommendations.

A Concluding Note

The proposals for governmental reform in metropolitan areas which have been put into force or recommended, as described in this chapter, disregard an important aspect of metropolitan reorganization in the United States. When the metropolitan area concept was first developed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1910, it was defined as a city having a population of at least 200,000 plus such densely populated places as lay within 10 miles of the boundaries of the central city. In 1910, no two metropolitan areas in the United States touched. Usually they were

separated by miles of agricultural country or even wasteland. But in the United States today many metropolitan areas grow into one another until they form great metropolitan regions. As a result, the time-honoured belief that each metropolitan area is a separate unit, and thus that its political needs can be met in isolation, no longer makes sense in many parts of the country. Certainly, none of the proposals yet advanced is a solution for a metropolitan cluster (some now call it a megalopolis) that runs from somewhere around Springfield, Massachusetts, in the north through Washington, D.C. and on to the vicinity of Norfolk, Virginia, in the south - a distance of some 600 miles, with a width ranging from 10 to 60 miles. In fact, what form of governmental structure at the local level could possibly meet the governmental needs of so vast a social and economic aggregation?

Or to bring the matter down to somewhat more manageable dimensions, take the case of the New York metropolitan area. It contains some 1,400 governmental units of one kind or another in three states. The variation of service delivery among so many units is obviously very great. Except to the extent that several special districts have provided some integration of planning and operation in transportation, water pollution and recreation, the area has not worked out an adequate method of getting at its overall problems. As *Time* put it in 1975: 'Looking ... into the future, [the] New York [area] will have to consider some revision of its governmental structure. The city is really part of a tristate region and thus has a problem unique among American municipalities. Many of its most affluent commuters live in Connecticut and New Jersey and do not pay their fair share of taxes for the city's upkeep. They are determined to keep it at a distance; yet its problems continue to spread and will ultimately engulf them ... a sensible approach would be to increase regional government in the tristate area.'⁴⁰ How to do so has yet to be developed in the United States.

The problem is that many metropolitan areas are not within the jurisdiction of any single state, including many important ones such as the Philadelphia area and the St. Louis and Kansas City areas in addition to the New York area. Innumerable difficulties confront state action in providing adequate arrangements for interstate areas, particularly if they would involve the creation of some kind of agency with general governmental powers. Some of the difficulties are constitutional and legal, others are fiscal. But perhaps even more important than these is the fact that the American political party system is built on state lines; an interstate

⁴⁰ *Time*, 20 October 1975, p. 47; see also Joan B. Aron, 'Regional Governance for the New York Metropolitan Region: A Reappraisal', *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3, May/June 1974, pp. 260-264.

governmental body would have no real political base and no political constituency. Consequently, the idea has little appeal to practical politicians. Finally, vested economic interests create obstacles. Differences in state regulations, tax systems and licensing provisions in interstate areas all operate to the benefit of some business groups and to the disadvantage of others. Those who benefit would strongly oppose change.

In the light of all this, state action to solve the governmental problems of interstate metropolitan areas is so beset with difficulties that many students of the problem have concluded that 'federal intervention is inevitable in one of two forms ... [either] federal assumption of primary responsibility for those interstate metropolitan functions for which no adequate local authority exists ... [or] federal stimulation, perhaps even coercion, of states and local governments towards creating new interstate instruments of integrated local government for the whole area'.⁴¹

Finally, there is the problem of those metropolitan communities that lie athwart the American boundaries with Canada and Mexico. It is obvious from their very nature that governmental arrangements there cannot be handled by the communities themselves or even fully by the states. As yet, there is no effective machinery at the federal level for recognizing and solving the problems that arise in these communities.

Thus a federal role in devising methods of metropolitan governance is not to be ruled out in the United States. As already noted, increased federal aid to stimulate restructuring, with strings attached, has been recommended as a means of attacking metropolitan service needs. In combination with the need to act in interstate and international metropolitan areas, an even larger federal role is a real likelihood. What that role will be cannot yet be described.

⁴¹ Daniel R. Grant, 'The Government of Interstate Metropolitan Areas', *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 1955, p. 106.

VII SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This study was based on the premise that existing arrangements for governing the large metropolitan areas of Australia are not satisfactory, because of their inability to provide services adequately to residents across each metropolitan area, to develop a comprehensive plan for area-wide development, and to provide some kind of regional machinery for democratic government. A major cause of that disability is the fragmentation of governmental authority in those areas among a number of local councils on the one hand and of a good many state agencies and semi-governmental bodies on the other. Although some efforts have been made to deal with local government fragmentation in some of the states, they have not been successful, and in none of the states have attempts been made to rationalize the multipartite state involvement in servicing metropolitan areas. The study has recognized the universality of the problem and has reviewed Canadian and American responses to it in some detail. Indeed, as the preceding chapter has demonstrated, those responses offer many models for local government reorganization and for redefining the states' role in metropolitan areas. Some of them are already well known in Australia.

In the light of the evidence advanced in this study, what are the prospects for remedial action in Australia and what direction might such action take? It should be noted first that the states, which have primary responsibility for the arrangements for governing metropolitan areas in Australia, have already begun to recognize the need for remedial action. As noted throughout this report, the states play an important service role in metropolitan areas just as they do in the rest of the states. If all of them have not rationalized their own activities in those areas, a beginning has been made in Queensland through the co-ordination councils and there are signs in other states that they may not be averse to taking some steps in the same direction.

Moreover, the states are not blind to the financial burden imposed on local governments by the expanding role they are expected to assume. Thus ministers for local government resolved at their 1975 annual meeting to study and make recommendations on short-term as well as long-term measures to improve local government finances¹ and by such actions as the earlier creation of a board

¹ The study was completed in January 1976 with the publication of the Joint Steering Committee: *Joint Study into Local Government Finances Australia and New Zealand*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976. The Conference includes Australian (Commonwealth) and New Zealand ministers as well as state ministers.

of inquiry into local government finance in Victoria. Even before the decision to establish state grants commissions under the federal government's federalism policy, whereby local governments receive a share of federal personal income tax collections, three of the states had set up a system of state grants for local governments, Queensland on an interim basis and New South Wales and Western Australia on a permanent basis. The position in New South Wales has been described as follows:

'Legislation was passed in 1968 amending the Local Government Act, 1919, to provide for the constitution of the Local Government Grants Commission and the creation of the Local Government Assistance Fund. The Legislation, which commenced as from January 1, 1969, required that an amount of at least \$4 million be paid into the Fund annually from Consolidated Revenue. The Government indicated at the time that it was hopeful of adding to the \$4 million as its finances permitted. The Fund has been steadily increased over the years and an amount of \$7 million was allocated for distribution in the 1975 calendar year. In the recent Budget the Fund was augmented by an amount which, with additional funds to be made available in 1976-77, [permitted] allocations to councils in the 1976 calendar year to be increased to \$8 million. The Government has undertaken to increase the amount available for allocation to \$10 million in its current term of office.

Grants made available to councils from the Assistance Fund are not now tied to specific projects (originally a proportion was so allocated) and may be used completely at councils' discretion for works or services from funds other than water supply, sewerage or trading funds. Grants are based on a broad formula devised by the Commission ... one of the bases of that formula is a "needs" factor assessed by the Commission through its knowledge of the financial position of councils ...'²

For purposes of administering the grants program, the state was divided into three zones, one of which, the Central Division, broadly represented the councils in the three metropolitan areas of the state. The distribution formula was weighted so as 'to reduce the value of the large populations and rate resources

² C.B. Cutler, Deputy Premier and Minister for Local Government, New South Wales, to author, 3 December 1975.

of councils in the Central Division', and to enhance the possibility of giving 'an equitable distribution over all councils in the State'.³ Even so, most of the councils in the three metropolitan areas of New South Wales, as Table VII-1 reveals, received grants from the Commission in amounts large enough to help them considerably with their service problems.

In Western Australia, a Local Authorities Assistance Fund was established in 1971 with \$500,000 per year and raised in 1975 to \$1,500,000 per year. However, the Fund was directed primarily to the 'relatively greater needs of councils with small rateable populations and therefore small rate revenue resources in relation to the areas they are required to service. The six country town councils were given special treatment because they have special requirements as regional centres. The available funds are therefore spread widely and are weighted in favour of the financially weaker and more remote local authorities ... Metropolitan councils do not receive a great share ...'⁴

Thus a beginning had been made to supplement local revenues as an aid to metropolitan governments to some extent. The states' own programs have since been augmented by the larger federal grants, which since 1973 have been made on the recommendations of the Commonwealth Grants Commission and which under the new tax-sharing arrangements will be distributed to individual councils on the basis of recommendations from state grants commissions. So far, no state has given metropolitan councils priority or tied grants to some requirement for consultation and co-operation between local councils, much less for consolidation. Yet it seems logical to expect that as the states contemplate the increasingly large investment of state and federal funds being devoted to local aid, and the probability of even larger grants being necessary in the future if needs in housing, transportation, water supply, sewerage, waste disposal and recreation so prevalent in metropolitan areas are to be met, they will want to link more generous fiscal arrangements to the attainment of some kind of metropolitan government reform.

One possibility would have been to develop, support, and use for broader purposes the regional organizations established by the federal Labor government in 1973 for Grants Commission purposes.

³ A.L. Mosse, Chairman, Local Government Grants Commission, *Address to the Casino Municipal Council*, 18 May 1972 (mimeographed), p. 5.

⁴ E.C. Rushton, Minister for Local Government, Western Australia, to author, 18 November 1975.

Table VII-1

NEW SOUTH WALES LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE FUND: GRANTS
APPROVED FOR COUNCILS IN THE CENTRAL DIVISION

COUNCIL Municipal	1975 Grant \$	1976 Grant \$	Municipal	1975 Grant \$	1976 Grant \$
Ashfield	31,000	37,000	North Sydney	38,000	45,000
Auburn	33,000	39,000	Parramatta (City)	55,000	66,000
Bankstown	72,000	85,000	Penrith (City)	50,000	60,000
Blacktown	84,000	100,000	Randwick	50,000	60,000
Botany	33,000	39,000	Rockdale	42,000	51,000
Burwood	29,000	33,000	Ryde	43,000	53,000
Camden	32,000	38,000	Shellharbour	38,000	45,000
Campbelltown (City)	63,000	70,000	South Sydney	36,000	44,000
Canterbury	55,000	65,000	Strathfield	29,000	35,000
Concord	35,000	40,000	Sydney (City)	51,000	55,000
Drummoyne	35,000	40,000	Waverley	36,000	45,000
Fairfield	63,000	70,000	Willoughby	38,000	45,000
Holroyd	43,000	50,000	Windsor	32,000	37,000
Hunters Hill	19,000	20,000	Wollongong (City)	65,000	80,000
Hurstville	40,000	48,000	Woollahra	38,000	43,000
Kogarah	30,000	35,000			
Ku-ring-gai	42,000	50,000	<u>Shire</u>		
Lane Cove	29,000	35,000	Baulkham Hills	44,000	53,000
Leichhardt	39,000	45,000	Gosford	50,000	60,000
Liverpool (City)	62,000	75,000	Hornsby	48,000	58,000
Manly	34,000	40,000	Lake Macquarie	52,000	67,000
Marrickville	44,000	52,000	Sutherland	58,000	75,000
Mosman	30,000	36,000	Warringah	60,000	74,000
Newcastle (City)	58,000	68,000	Wyong	45,000	53,000

Source: Figures supplied by C.B. Cutler (see footnote 2, p. 181).

It would seem on the face of it that if they had been so strengthened they could have served the purpose of area-wide co-ordinating bodies if not of area-wide bodies of government. They could have fulfilled a clearing house function, assembling information and making plans to recommend to local councils. In this way they would have provided a basis for community development programs in Australian metropolitan areas and at the same time facilitated better arrangements for the provision of services area-wide. However, there was considerable opposition, on the part of local governments themselves, to these councils being expanded in function. Thus the Australian Council of Local Government Associations at its 1974 annual conference concluded that while

' ... changing times and changing public attitudes necessarily demand flexible administrative processes, and ... regular and frequent communication [with] the Australian and State Governments ... [it] reject[ed] any proposition to superimpose any over-riding administrative authorities over local government ... [and] assert[ed] that any regional organisations of local government should be voluntary and not forced on local government ... '.⁵

The Local Government Association of New South Wales at its 1975 state meeting reiterated that stand, declaring that rather than have regions imposed on them 'councils should be encouraged to think regionally for themselves on specific matters'.⁶ As noted above, regional organizations for purposes of Grants Commission arrangements have been abolished under amending legislation in 1976. Although regional social development councils established for purposes of the Australian Assistance Plan may continue to exist under state or local auspices, federal financial support is being withdrawn. Thus the regional approach seems to be foreclosed at least for the immediate future.

In addition to financial aid, the states are also beginning to pay closer and more systematic attention to local government

⁵ Australian Council of Local Government Associations, *Proceedings of the 1974 Conference 11th-13th November 1974*, Sydney, 1974, p. 16.

⁶ G. Iles, Secretary of the Local Government Association of New South Wales, quoted in *The Canberra Times*, 30 October 1975, p. 13.

boundary adjustments⁷ and to the possibilities of assuming fuller responsibility themselves for particularly expensive local functions, such as road maintenance. And, as already noted, several of the states have provided the basis for more effective planning for growth and development in their metropolitan areas.⁸ These illustrations of awareness of and concern about a more effective response to service needs in metropolitan areas do not exhaust the list.

However, the question is whether the states have gone as far as they can - or should - to bring about better arrangements for metropolitan governance in Australia. Even if they have begun to move on some fronts, they have been slow to act to bring change in the form of metropolitan government itself, not having proceeded much further than the study/report stage in most instances. As Mr Justice R. Else-Mitchell wrote in December 1975: 'State governments, ... in spite of the recommendations of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry, have declined to raise the status or extend the powers of local governing bodies.'⁹

When proposals for area-wide metropolitan government have been made, either officially or by academics, the states have turned a deaf ear to them. This may have been because of 'the fear ... that large-scale local government units would detract

⁷ The New South Wales Local Government Boundaries Commission, the prototype of such bodies in Australia, has been criticized as reflecting political interests in its assessments and as being too dependent on the Minister for Local Government for referral of cases to it on which to act. Moreover, as one critic put it, the Commission had not, at the time he wrote, developed 'any overall plan of reorganization' within the framework of which to operate, nor did it 'utilize any set of criteria by which to measure the requirements of optimum local government units'. See I.R. McPhail, 'The Role of the New South Wales Local Government Boundaries Commission: Evolving Definitions', *Public Administration*, Sydney, Vol. 31, No. 3, September 1972, pp. 218-29. See also Chapter IV above.

⁸ See P. Harrison, 'Planning the Metropolitan Areas', in I.H. Burnley, *Urbanization in Australia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-220.

⁹ R. Else-Mitchell, 'The Grants Commission and Local Government', *Public Administration*, Sydney, Vol. 34, No. 4, December 1975, p. 269.

from their [own] status and ability to deal with State-wide problems',¹⁰ and perhaps because of the fear that inasmuch as metropolitan government would not 'have to concern itself with non-metropolitan voters it [might] well make better decisions than the State'.¹¹ It may have been because they have not wanted to aggravate metropolitan local governments - and metropolitan voters - by inflicting change 'from the top downwards'.¹² At least the latter position is understandable, for it has been made amply clear that local forces will resist attempts at amalgamation, claiming that under an amalgamated government 'local feelings would be outraged, party politics [would] become rampant, councils [would] lose their sense of local intimacy and become more like parliaments, and areas without common interests [would] be included within the one local authority'.¹³

Even so, state governments remain ultimately responsible in Australia, as in the United States and Canada, for the long-term viability of local governments, in metropolitan areas as in country areas. It may be that they have not yet grasped the fact that the problems of metropolitan areas are 'those of very highly populated urban centres, with little, if any, resemblance

¹⁰ L. Hawkins, 'Education for Local Government - Why the Maddick Report is Not the Answer', *The Australian Municipal Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 875, August 1975, p. 50.

¹¹ M. Neutze, in R.L. Mathews, ed., *Intergovernmental Relations in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974, p. 84.

¹² 'Future Role and Structure of Local Governments Largely Depend on Ourselves', Editorial in *The Australian Municipal Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 867, November 1974, p. 134.

¹³ J.D.B. Miller and Brian Jinks, 'Local Government', in R.N. Spann and G.R. Curnow, *Public Policy and Administration in Australia: A Reader*, John Wiley, Sydney, 1975, p. 114. The same thought was expressed by C.R. Forell when he noted that opposition could be counted on when amalgamation was proposed from 'local councils which would lose their powers and privileges, [would disagree] over the composition of a "Greater City Council", [would be reluctant] to entrust wide powers to a few men, and [would fear the influence of] party politics in local government affairs ...'. C.R. Forell, *How We are Governed*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1974, p. 105.

to the small towns and cities of the past'.¹⁴ At least there is evidence that local government departments, presumably the focal points of state interest in the matter, are not yet fully aware of the special governmental problems of metropolitan areas. Thus while the Secretary for Local Government of South Australia did recognize that 'it is quite obvious that local government in the metropolitan area does meet with differing problems and differing needs from those to be found in the country areas', he declared that his 'department view[ed] metropolitan local government as basically being similar to other units of local government in South Australia'.¹⁵ Further, the responses to a question I directed to the six ministers for local government (four of whom - those in Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania - replied, either through the secretary of the department or in person) revealed that none of the departments had either special officers or arrangements to deal particularly with the governmental problems of metropolitan areas, or special policies concerning local government units within metropolitan areas. The Secretary in South Australia did note the exception that the government of the City of Adelaide presented, making it 'a special case of local government', but this was because of it being the capital city rather than because it is the state's only metropolitan area. Indeed, the responses indicated that special interest in state governments is more apt to be centred on non-metropolitan governments than on those in metropolitan areas. The Secretary in Victoria thus pointed out that the availability of state subsidies 'to non-metropolitan local government areas is greater than that of metropolitan areas, especially in the fields of providing for recreation areas, drainage schemes, establishment of libraries, the maintenance of public halls and comfort stations'.¹⁶

None of the responses expressed the viewpoint that the departments had any special responsibility for taking leadership in effecting change in metropolitan government. The Secretary for Local Government in South Australia said that 'changes which may occur in the future will occur following action taken by councils or ratepayers themselves',¹⁷ so that the door to departmental (ministerial) leadership may not be closed.

¹⁴ The Institute of Local Government, *Urban Population Growth and Municipal Organization*, Local Government Reference Paper No. 1, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1973, p. ix.

¹⁵ K.T. Hockridge, Secretary for Local Government, South Australia, to author, 24 November 1975.

¹⁶ George Pentland, Secretary for Local Government, Victoria, to author, 27 November 1975. See re New South Wales the remarks of T.N. Cappie-Wood, 'Regional Development Viewed from Sydney', *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. 34, No. 1, March 1975, pp. 77-86.

¹⁷ K.T. Hockridge, Secretary for Local Government, South Australia, to author, 24 November 1975.

Finally, the responses made it clear that local government departments are not involved in attempts to co-ordinate the services provided to residents of metropolitan areas by state departments and agencies or by semi-governmental authorities. Thus departments do not serve as focal points for rationalization of complicated state arrangements for servicing metropolitan areas. If the departments of local government do not fulfil this function, there seem to be no other organizations which will do so.

It may well be that the states have not done more to prepare the way for remedial action because they do not feel much pressure for it from the people. Certainly little urgency seems to be felt by most metropolitan residents of Australia about the matter. It may well be that what Edward Banfield said in 1974 about American urban residents is equally true of Australians. Banfield's conclusion was as follows:

'The plain fact is that the overwhelming majority of city dwellers live more comfortably and conveniently than ever before. They have more and better housing, more and better schools, more and better transportation, and so on. By any conceivable measure of material welfare the present generation of urban Americans [read Australians if you will] is, on the whole, better off than ... ever ... What is more, there is every reason to expect that the general level of comfort and convenience will continue to rise at an even more rapid rate through the foreseeable future.'

In fact, Banfield declared, 'many so-called urban problems ... are more characteristic of rural and small-town places' than of metropolitan areas. Moreover, 'most of the "problems" that are generally supposed to constitute "the urban crisis" could not conceivably lead to disaster. They are - some of them - important ... but they are not critical ... They have to do with comfort, convenience, amenity, and business advantage, all of which are important, but they do not affect either the essential welfare of individuals or what may be called the good health of the society.'¹⁸ Obviously, to the extent Banfield's observations

¹⁸ Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City Revisited*, Little Brown, Boston, 1974, pp. 1-2, 4.

apply to Australia - and there is evidence that they do¹⁹ - pressure from the metropolitan citizens for remedial action does not seem to be building up, and without it there appears to be little reason to expect much change to be instituted.

Admittedly, the voice of the metropolitan residents of Australia is hard to catch, and the claims of vested interests in the *status quo* - both the claims of the many local government office-holders and employees and those of the state bureaucracies - may well serve to drown out that voice, if it is raised at all. But political leaders are not to be expected to move toward action until they hear a clear call from the people for it. That call would seem to be far from clear in Australia today.

But, Banfield notwithstanding, in the future - and in the near future at that - the situation may change in Australia. Certainly there is now more interest in local government throughout the country than there has ever been. In part, that interest was generated - or assisted in its development - by the Labor Government under Gough Whitlam, which sought to make local government more nearly a partner in the Australian federal system, a direction not wholly abandoned by the Liberal-Country Party coalition after its 1975 electoral victory. But in larger part, there seems to be developing in Australia, as in Canada and the United States, a consensus among the people that the larger governments - state and national - are approaching limits as to what they can accomplish effectively, and that local governments must be relied on to a greater extent than in the past to give the people some of the important things they want and need. Comments on the role of local government in the two Australian Constitutional Conventions of the mid-1970s emphasized those increasing expectations in Australia. What Sir Charles Court of Western Australia observed at one point in those discussions is typical of many of the delegates' points of view:

¹⁹ Thus the Australian Institute of Urban Studies Task Force report *People in the Cities* began with the assertion: 'In much of the talking and writing about Australian cities ... the emphasis has been ... on what is wrong with them ... But this stream of criticism ... has tended to overlook, or at least under-emphasise, what is good about Australian cities ... In a word Australian cities, for many, don't "live" badly at all, and for some they "live" very well indeed.' *People in the Cities*, Report of the Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies, p. ii. And Ruth Atkins noted that while local government in Australia does 'not present an exciting picture of enterprise and enthusiasm', it 'usually discharg[es] with reasonable efficiency a variety of essential jobs. Counterbalancing the occasional failure there is a quite impressive list of areas where the local council has shown leadership in community effort.' In R.N. Spann, *Public Administration in Australia*, op. cit., p. 245.

'The role of local government is undisputed. In my opinion this will increase considerably in the years ... ahead, especially as we move forward to a great[er] appreciation of the need to develop the total environment in which we live. The fact that local government is so close to the people will increase its significance and its importance.'²⁰

That acceptance of a larger role for local government in Australia is not disputed by political scientists, planners and public administrators in general.

Moreover, as the replies to the questionnaire submitted by the Task Force of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies showed, students of urban affairs in Australia reflect increasing concern about the way important urban services are being handled by existing governmental arrangements. Indeed, most respondents listed as their first priority concern that 'government at all levels is too fragmented, resulting in duplicated functions and in problems of communication and integration'. 'Generally, the urbanists in [the] sample seem[ed] to see the problems of the people in the cities in terms of equality of access to service and facilities, the quality of government ... and the adequacy of the communication links between people and structures which control them.'²¹

Thus the growing willingness to enhance the role of local government and the increasing concern about the inadequacies of urban services may combine before long to produce an insistent demand for remedial action.

Most of the burden of making it possible for local governments to meet the rising expectations of their role must be borne by the Australian state governments. It undoubtedly is true, as Ruth Atkins has pointed out, 'that more Federal interest in metropolitan problems will be a prerequisite of major advance in this field, both because of the financial predominance of the Commonwealth and of continued failure by the States... to give full attention to the problems of their cities'.²² As noted above, the federal Labor government from 1972 to 1975 evinced such an interest and began several programs in aid of local government, first among them the extension of grants through the Grants Commission to

²⁰ Sir Charles Court, *Minutes of Proceedings and Official Record of Debates of the Australian Constitutional Convention*, 3-7 September 1973, NSW Government Printer, Sydney, 1974.

²¹ *People in the Cities*, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

²² R. Atkins, in R.N. Spann, *Public Administration in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

local government authorities. The victorious Liberal-Country Party coalition asserted during its campaign that 'if the great issues of national and local concern such as education, health, social welfare, housing and urban development are to receive maximum intelligent attention ... we must restructure our forms and institutions of government ... to achieve co-operation ... through a partnership effort by all forms of government'.²³

How that partnership effort will be mounted remains to be seen. The basis for such an effort may lie in the new Advisory Council for Inter-government Relations 'being set up to improve cooperation between Australia's three levels of government', which was announced by Prime Minister Fraser in September 1976. Legislation was enacted soon afterwards. The Council will represent all three levels of government and the private sector as well, and will be modelled in its operation on the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. When the Prime Minister announced creation of the Council, he described it 'as a further step in the [Australian] Government's program to improve the functioning of Australia's political institutions'.²⁴

Yet state governments remain responsible for taking corrective measures in the long run. The problem of metropolitan government cannot be pushed into the chimney corner, in Australia or in any other country. Metropolitan areas are already the centres of Australian life and will inevitably become more so. The servicing problem involves not only making all the necessary amenities for urban life available to residents of newly developed sections of existing metropolitan areas and of areas just emerging into metropolitan status, but also clearing up 'past lags and errors in such matters as sewerage, water supplies, servicing new land developments, and improving urban transport ...'.²⁵ Moreover, new interests and problems are arising in both developed and developing metropolitan areas. Thus a survey of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Albury showed that 'discontent with the overall environment was ... widespread';²⁶ and much of the nation's coastline which

²³ The Liberal and National Country Parties, *Federalism Policy*, Canberra, 1975.

²⁴ If it works as intended, it should make a major contribution to metropolitan governance. Australian Information Service, *Australia Bulletin*, No. 9, New York, 1 October 1976, p. 3.

²⁵ *Population and Australia: A Demographic Analysis and Projection*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 421.

²⁶ *The Bulletin*, 4 October 1975, p. 32.

runs through mainland metropolitan areas faces ruin.²⁷ Such emerging needs as these will also have to be met. Somehow what Peter Madgwick has called 'the disconnections between area and authority'²⁸ have to be overcome if all these service problems are to be solved. In most Australian metropolitan areas the basic pattern for the delivery of services is the same as it was before World War II.

As areas grow and become even more interwoven and inter-dependent, the necessity of approaching problems and needs from the basis of a general community development program, derived from some kind of region-wide democratic machinery, grows as well. As Ruth Atkins has put it, what is needed is the 'creation of some elected body for [each] metropolitan area ... having general responsibility for its development, an authority whose plans could be subjected to public scrutiny and whose leadership would encourage interest in metropolitan affairs'.²⁹

In sum, the governance of metropolitan areas in Australia must be reviewed so that metropolitan residents may enjoy the services they need and desire as equitably and economically as possible, and so that areas may develop along some kind of orderly pattern, in the evolution of which the people of the area have been able to participate. The existing pattern of metropolitan governance was laid down when those needs and desires were fewer and simpler and when each local government authority presided over a discrete population. State governments must recognize the changes time has brought and alter their *laissez-faire* attitudes toward local government reorganization in metropolitan areas. The longer they wait to act, the less satisfactory will metropolitan services be and the more the interests of the areas as wholes will be neglected in favour of those of their many parts.

What is needed in every state is, first, a recognition of the central importance of the state's metropolitan areas, not only to the residents thereof (who in turn tend to constitute a majority

²⁷ See Australian Advisory Committee on the Environment, Fifth Report, *Coastal Land*, Tabled in the House of Representatives, Canberra, October 1975.

²⁸ Peter Madgwick, 'The American City', in Max Beloff and Vivian Vale, eds., *American Political Institutions in the 1970s*, Macmillan, London, 1975, p. 113.

²⁹ R. Atkins in R.N. Spann, *Public Administration in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

of the state's population) but also to those of the entire state and of the nation as well. Such a recognition must be embodied in state government policy and machinery. Then a series of metropolitan studies needs to be launched, conducted in co-operation with the local governments in each metropolitan area and allowing for the participation of both metropolitan residents and state departments and agencies. Each study can be expected to yield different results, for obviously Sydney is not Melbourne, Geelong is not Newcastle, and Adelaide is not Perth. Thus proposals for government reorganization which emanate from such studies in one area may not be suitable for another. It may be that only minor changes are required in some areas, while major restructuring will be required in others. Here the Canadian and American studies and experience may be useful. To move from the proposal stage to the action stage will, as suggested above, not be easy. The tradition of "good government" associations which have been a major force in mobilizing ... support for local government reform in the United States³⁰ has not developed in Australia. But that does not mean it will not. A sense of regionalism among metropolitan residents may already be developing in some metropolitan areas, if the 1966 annual report of the Metropolitan Region (Perth) Planning Authority is accurate in its perception. Commenting on the interest the proposed Perth Metropolitan Region Scheme had evoked in the three years since its promulgation, the report noted:

'We all live here; we are all sensitive to the protection of the worthwhile features of the Region; and we are all particularly jealous of the river.'³¹

If such a sense of community of interest is indeed developing in Perth and elsewhere, the opportunities for public enlistment in the cause of better metropolitan government are legion. Once concerned Australians begin to seize them, the door to change will be opened.

³⁰ R.N. Spann, *Public Administration in Australia*, op. cit., p. 329. Interestingly enough in this regard, the League of Women Voters, through its Education Fund, has been one of the major forces pushing for metropolitan reorganization in the United States. See its publication *Supercity/Hometown USA. Prospects for Two-Tier Government*, Praeger, New York, 1974.

³¹ Quoted in Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority, *Report 75*, Perth, 1975, p. 4.

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The governance of metropolitan areas in Australia with lessons from Canadian and American experience

Richard H. Leach

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metropolitan areas is assessed, and conclusions are reached as to possible courses of action in Australia to meet the problem there.

Richard H. Leach serves as Professor of Political Science at Duke University, where he has been since 1955. He is a graduate of The Colorado College and received his graduate degrees at Princeton University. His books and articles concentrate on various aspects of American national, state and local government, and on parallel concerns in Australia and Canada.

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