

AN EXAMINATION OF A MODEL
OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
IN PLANNING

This thesis is submitted in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Honours in Sociology.

Denise Geary
September 1977

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER 1	Introduction
	1
CHAPTER 2	Theoretical Framework
	10
CHAPTER 3	The Field Area and Its Inhabitants
	27
CHAPTER 4	Methodology
	50
CHAPTER 5	Findings
	68
CHAPTER 6	Conclusion
	87
APPENDIX I	97
APPENDIX II	99
APPENDIX III	
APPENDIX IV	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis attempts to explore the relationship between individuals' attitudes to Government bureaucracy and their desire for public participation in the planning process. To ascertain the nature of the relationship between these variables, fieldwork was undertaken in the area around Humpty Doo in the Northern Territory, where the question of local planning is problematic. Prior to 1976 the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon (HD/McM) subdivisions of the Darwin Rural Area were not subject to any kind of planning or zoning controls. However in November 1976, planning proposals were suggested for the area by the local planning body, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission (DRC). Thus until the suggested revision of the planning Guidelines in March 1977, the legitimacy of planning controls was a topic foremost in the minds of many rural residents who feared restriction of their freehold landuse rights.

In January 1977, the author spent a month in the area discussing with residents their perceptions of the area, of Darwin and of these planning controls. A return trip was made in June, during which time the author administered a questionnaire to a random sample of local residents. The questionnaire was designed to test the validity of a causal model specifying the nature of relationships between the variables named above.

The notion of public participation has received increasing attention in popular, as well as academic journals over the last decade, chiefly because the number and intensity of calls for it have risen rapidly. In a number of Western countries including Australia, groups and individuals are demanding more say in decisions that are likely to affect their interests. Of the trend in America, Kasperson and Breitbart have commented:

"the right of participation, indeed the expectation of an opportunity to participate in any major decision is becoming the *sui generis* of the citizen."(1974:2)

Planning is one area among others such as education, health care and social welfare in which this desire is currently being manifested. Citizen groups such as the Canberra Planning Forum, have formed in order to:

"bring about legislation ensuring the opportunity of the people to interact in a positive and significant way with the local decision-making bodies to ensure a more people-oriented Canberra." (Draft Terms of Reference, July 1977)

Dissatisfaction with the inaccessibility and impersonality of government bureaucracies is one factor that is thought to have produced this desire. (Kasperson and Breitbart, p. 2) Appendix 1 discusses in greater detail the origins of this desire for public participation in decision-making processes.

1.2 Theoretical Background

The main task of this research has been to explore the nature of the relationship between individuals' attitudes to government bureaucracy and their desire for participation in planning.

Embedded in the literature on this topic is the assumption that a causal relationship exists between the variables, "attitude to government bureaucracy" and "desire for public participation" that is negative in sign. That is, the more dissatisfied individuals are with government bureaucracies, the more they will desire a say in decisions that affect their lives. The following quotations are examples of the argument which implies a negative association between these variables:

"the demands for participation are symptoms of public dissatisfaction with bureaucracy. It is significant that of all the submissions received by the Royal Commission (on Australian Government Administration), over 200 (more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total) are critical of the relationship between the administration and the public, and of these, many are couched in terms of the need for more participation by citizens if the bureaucracy is to be responsive to their wishes and needs." (Matthews, 1976:353)

"Over-centralisation, lack of communication between public authorities, their indifference to the effectiveness of their work, and their unresponsiveness to the people they serve - in other words, oppression by the public sector.....these are the problems from which community action has emerged, and begun to demand some say in decisions which affect people's immediate interests." (Sandercock, 1975:9)

"What used often to be mainly negative attitudes to government, expressed in the form of public protest, have been increasingly supplanted or even replaced by a more positive desire to participate, to 'co-operate' with the administration and to influence its actions from within." (Spann, 1975:357)

Without empirical evidence to either support or refute this hypothesised connection, it can only be assumed that the suggested relation is a plausible one. Yet even a brief consideration of well established sociological findings such as the differential participation rates of middle and working class people in voluntary organisations leads

one to question the applicability of this hypothesised relation to all individuals and groups.¹ For instance, will people want to participate under all conditions; which people or groups will have no desire to participate in decision-making processes and why? With these considerations in mind, it seems that this suggested relationship is too broad in its present state to shed much light on the attitudes and motivations of individuals and groups. On the topic of managerial participation, Crozier has stated that:

"Human relations theoreticians.....have long assumed that people want to participate, and are ready to participate under all and any conditions. They have always argued as if the reasons for lack of participation were to be found only in the contingencies of organised activities and in the misgivings and apprehensions of management.....however the limits are narrower than one usually thinks they are, and it is necessary, if one wants to determine them to inquire into the actors' motivations." (1963:204)

Thus if this theory is to have any explanatory or predictive value it must be investigated empirically; its limits should be established and any needed qualifications to it should be made.

On the basis of support in the literature I have hypothesised that a negative correlation will be found between rural residents' attitudes to government bureaucracy and their desire for participation in the planning process. As I have indicated above it is doubtful if this one link can adequately explain the differential patterns of desire for participation found in varying social groups.

Without a doubt many factors are probably responsible for stimulating or inhibiting this desire. However, findings cited in sociological and planning literature point to the significance of socio-economic status and perceived efficacy of participation in planning. In addition support can be found for the hypothesis which states that the higher the perceived efficacy of participation the higher the level of desire for involvement in planning matters. I also intend to establish whether a direct causal link exists between socio-economic status (SES) and the desire for participation in planning. Evidence will be cited to support these hypotheses.

Such variables will tend to modify the original connection so that individuals of high SES with negative attitudes to bureaucracy will

¹ Alford and Scoble (1968) as quoted in Kasperson and Breitbart (1974).

manifest a higher level of desire for participation in the planning process than will their counterparts of lower SES.

Another series of variables which may affect the hypothetical connection between government bureaucracy and the desire for participation are residents' attitudes to local factors such as the DRC and government controls in the Rural Area.¹ Hence in order to establish the validity of the original hypothesis, it is necessary to ascertain whether this is the case.

Briefly stated the framework I have constructed consists of -

- (a) a negative correlation between attitude to government bureaucracy and the desire for participation in the planning process;
- (b) a negative correlation between attitudes to local factors and the desire for participation;
- (c) a positive correlation between attitudes to government bureaucracy and attitudes to local factors;
- (d) a positive correlation between SES and desire for participation;
- (e) a positive correlation between perceived efficacy of participation and desire for participation;
- (f) a positive correlation between SES and perceived efficacy of participation.

1.3 Discussion of Terms

1.3.1 Attitude

Throughout the course of this thesis, the term "attitude" will refer to:

"a relatively enduring system of evaluative, affective reactions based upon and reflecting the evaluative concepts or beliefs which have been learned about the characteristics of a social object or class of social objects." (Shaw and Wright, 1967:3)

In this case the social objects about which attitudes have been formed are government bureaucracy, government controls in the rural area, the DRC and the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines (DRAIDG).

1.3.2 Government Bureaucracy

As defined by Broom and Selznick, the term "bureaucracy" refers to:

¹ It was considered that as the local bureaucracy (that is the DRC) is such a powerful and pervasive presence in the rural area, people may respond to the questions on government bureaucracy on the basis of their present dealings with the local bureaucracy, rather than on the basis of their total experience with government bureaucracy.

"the formal organisation of administrative officials." (1973:218)¹

Because there is a tendency in bureaucratic organisations toward the development of "red tape", strict rules and emphasis on procedures, the term "bureaucracy" also carries negative connotations. In illustrating the pejorative sense of the word, Watson has used bureaucracy to refer to:

"Complicated organisations that fail to allocate responsibility clearly, and rigid rules and routines that are applied with little consideration of the specific case, blundering officials, slow operation and buck passing, conflicting directives and duplication of effort, empire building and the concentration of control in the hands of a few."

Both meanings of the term "bureaucracy" have been provided because in the opinion of the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration, (if not the general public as well) both meanings are relevant to any discussion of Australian government bureaucracy. On page 18 of their report, the Royal Commission has stated its belief that:

"there is no doubt that government service is, with notable exceptions within it, like many other large organisations, excessively centralized, excessively hierarchical, extremely rigid and inflexible, and excessively resistant to organisational change." (1976)

The term "Government" will accompany every further mention of the term bureaucracy to distinguish the physical reality of government administration from the notion of bureaucracy as an organisational type. Government bureaucracies will not refer to the political/Parliamentary system in any way but will refer to the fairly stable machinery that continues its functioning despite changes of government.

1.3.3 Planning

Planning has been defined by Crombie as the

"process of anticipatory decision-making which is directed to the production of future states of affairs that are considered to be desirable but which could not be expected to occur naturally without active intervention." (1972:185)

In addition Crombie points out that:

"planning is therefore purposeful, involving the choice of appropriate means as well as the choice of goals and objectives."

¹ A more comprehensive definition of "bureaucracy" is that given by Weber:

"a bureaucracy establishes a relation between legally enstated authorities and their subordinate officials which is characterised by defined rights and duties prescribed in written regulations, authority relations between position, which are ordered systematically; appointment and promotion based on contractual agreements and regulated accordingly, technical training or experience as a formal condition of employment; fixed monetary salaries, a strict separation of office and incumbent in the sense that the official does not own the 'means of administration' and cannot appropriate the position; and administrative work or a full time occupation." quoted in Sills (1986:206)

The actual process of planning that I shall frequently refer to involves:

"the establishment of an objectively defined set of goals; the statement of all possible alternate courses of action in terms of their efficiency; the selection of that alternative which most nearly optimizes the set of goals; and finally the assessment of that action, once implemented, in terms of its actual benefits upon the overall structure." (Grabow and Heskin, 1973:106)

A definition of planning such as the one I've provided tends to obscure the fact that a controversy is raging at the moment over what really constitutes the sphere of physical planning.

The traditional school of thought in planning would consider that the above definition of the planning process exemplifies the actual practice of planning. For them, planning is conceived of in rational, comprehensive terms. This view of planning also assumes that a planner's professional ethic and his/her staff role combine to keep him/her apart from vested economic and political interests. As a planner has no specific "clientele" in the same way that a politician has, it is assumed that he/she can objectively consider all the factors that are relevant in making planning decisions.¹ Because a notion of the public interest exists in the sphere of planning, adherents of the traditional view of planning believe that it is possible to arrive at a "best" solution to any planning problem.²

Critics of planning are quick to point out that

"the public interest is not an objective fact or pattern, but the resultant of the political interaction, on equitable terms, of special interest." (Parker, 1972:32)

Hence if it is accepted that no single public interest exists as such, it must also be conceded that there can be no "best" solution to any given problem. Interest groups including residents, politicians, businessmen and government authorities compete for the allocation of scarce resources by planners. Employing Parker's definition of politics, that is

"the process whereby people, singly or in groups, try to influence the choice of social ends and means and the distribution of valued social goods,"

it must be conceded that planning is a highly political activity, and thus free only from involvement in the conventional political sphere. (1972:26)

1 These conceptions of planning are outlined in Parker (1972:30).

2 See Simmie, J. M. 1974 Citizens in Conflict: The Sociology of Town Planning London: Hutchinson Educational p.121.

Furthermore the notion that planning is a rational and objective activity is questionable in view of the fact that planners' attitudes are shaped by an occupational ideology and also by their membership in a particular socio-economic class.¹ (Usually the middle and upper-middle class.)² It is unavoidable that these two factors combine to limit planners' perceptions of the goals, problems and means to their solutions. Friedmann has commented that:

"Planning is done by individuals whose fundamental motivations derive in part from an ideological interpretation of the function of planning in society. This influences the choice of problems, method of work and opposed solutions. It introduces an important normative element in planning." (Quoted in Simmie, 1974:180)

Thus although the original definitions given on planning and the process of planning convey an ideal notion of what "planning" comprises, they ignore the political, subjective and sometimes irrational aspects of planning.

1.3.4. Public Participation in Planning

Unfortunately one of the most difficult tasks in the whole public participation debate has been to define and delimit this concept. To quote Arnstein, the public participation controversy

"has been waged largely in terms of exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms." (1971:176)

In view of the fact that the term "participation" can mean shared or common action on a number of levels, a distinction will be made between forms of participation such as protest, that is letter writing, petition signing and more co-operative, though formal, types of public participation. Though not to deny the legitimacy of informal involvement, "participation" in the context of this thesis will imply two-way communication and co-operation between decision-makers and the planned. As defined by the Skeffington Committee on Public Participation, public participation is the

"act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals." (Dennis, 1972:220)

On the basis of past participation exercises, it is implied that such participation would take place within a bureaucratic context, that is, via committees, representation of interests, delegated authority etcetera.

1 "That people don't view themselves working within so explicit an ideology, however, doesn't contradict the fact that they do promote it through their action." Goodman (1972:52)

2 A study, based on a small sample of British planners, described the social status of these planners as "undifferentiated middle class". (Marcus, 1971:54)

In the planning literature, varying degrees of communication between planners and the planned are lumped together under the rubric of public participation. For instance, the term "participation" can be used to describe a situation in which citizens are merely "informed" of planning schemes a little earlier than they would normally have been, or it can refer to a situation in which citizens are given complete authority to plan their local neighbourhoods or cities. (Arnstein, 1971:176-181)

If public participation is assumed to involve a redistribution of decision-making power, then it can only be considered as meaningful in my terms, at the level of shared decision-making responsibility between planners and the planned.

However, despite the fact that decision-making responsibilities shared between planners, elected representatives and citizens sounds a fairly egalitarian compromise, the imposition of such a structure might not be welcomed by citizens if they themselves have no comprehension of the purposes of such a structure or of the array of issues that shared decision-making responsibility implies. Thus perhaps an advisory level of citizen participation offers a less threatening and more comprehensible beginning, as such a move would enable the residents to discover its limitations (if any) and thus to evolve an awareness of their own needs and of the structures that could best satisfy these.

Hence the term citizen participation will be employed throughout the thesis to refer to structures which enable citizens to have an advisory role in the making of planning decisions, as a minimum requirement but which may well evolve into shared decision-making roles.

It is important that the multi dimensional nature of participation be recognised. Matthews has outlined five dimensions of participation. Employing his format, the first dimension that can be identified is the degree of participation desired by residents and planners; for instance, who should participate? The second dimension is a consideration of the structures of participation; what structures and processes are used to enable citizens to participate in decision-making, and the third dimension asks at what level of decision-making should the participation of citizens take place? The fourth level attempts to determine exactly how much power citizen participants actually have in the decision-making process and the fifth tries to establish what participants see as the purposes of citizen participation. (1976:356)

As regards the statutory status of public participation in Australia today:

"All States have formal procedures by which draft plans and ordinances are placed on public exhibition for a certain period during which time the citizens and property owners can study the documents and make their objections." (Coleman, 1971: 46)

The Darwin Reconstruction Commission Act which covers the Darwin Rural Area states that planning proposals are to be made available

"for inspection by the public at all reasonable times in the Darwin Area, and in such other places as the Commission determines, for a period of one month." (1973: 4)

The Act also states that:

"At any time during the period which any proposals are made available for public inspection under sub-section (1), a person who has an interest in land in the Darwin Area that is affected by those proposals may object to the proposals."

Under these laws, citizens are afforded a right of objection rather than one of participation, in the decisions that affect their interests. Furthermore, only property owners whose specific properties are affected by planning proposals have the right to object to them. Hence it is well nigh impossible for non-property owners to be heard in planning matters on the basis of an expressed ecological or historically based concern.

The term public participation then, refers to co-operation and meaningful communication between planners and the planned. Where practicable, joint decision-making power involving a redistribution of power between citizens and traditional power-holders is implied by the term. Gauged by these standards, current planning law in Australia (with the exception of Monarto, SA) permits citizens a right of objection to planning proposals rather than a right of participation in the formulation of those proposals.¹

The following chapter will expand on the model which was briefly outlined in the "Theoretical Background" section of this chapter, and will provide some documentary support for the relationships I've hypothesised.

¹ It should be recognised that the author is not promoting public participation as a panacea to all planning problems. On the contrary, it is realised that if misused public participation can produce as many problems as was hoped it would solve. Appendix 2 lists some of the shortcomings of public participation.

CHAPTER 2 - THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The Theoretical Framework Outlined

Accompanying the description of each hypothesis in the model will be a brief discussion of literature which lends support to the hypothesised relation. As the inclusion of literature from many sources may tend to obscure the interrelatedness of the model, it is hoped that reference to Diagram 2.1 will assist in clarifying the following description of hypotheses.

THE MODEL

DIAGRAM 2.1

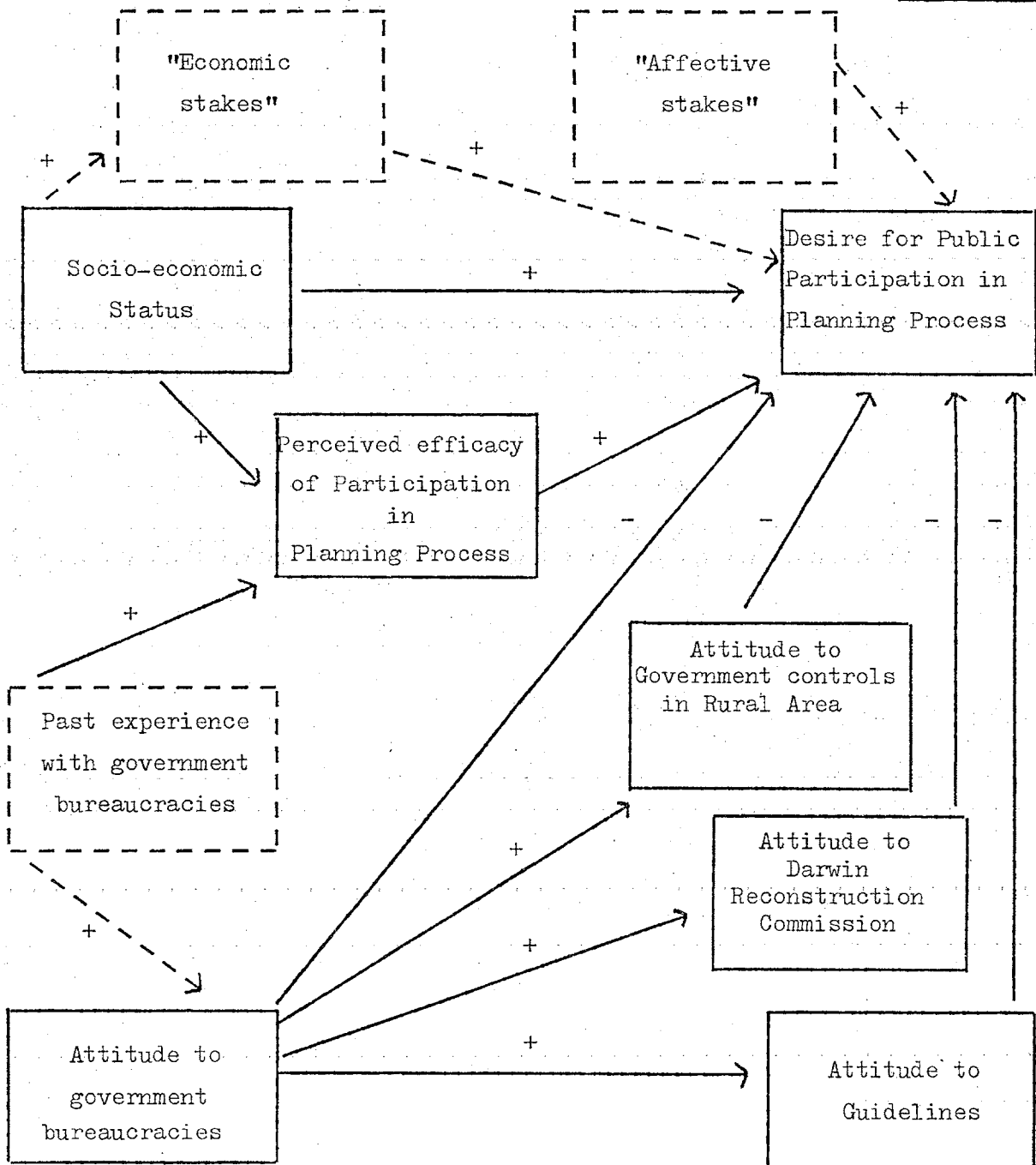


Diagram 2.1 illustrates how the variables in the model being examined relate to each other. Some variables are connected by dotted lines while others are connected by solid lines. The dotted lines represent relationships that were not amenable to measurement using the cross-sectional survey technique. Hence, while the variables in the dotted squares are necessary to the logical completeness of the model, an inability to measure them means that in the context of this thesis there is little point in discussing them further, except to say that support can be found for them in the literature.¹ Hence the discussion will centre on the relationships implied by the solid lines.

A further point should be made concerning the issue of temporality in this theoretical framework. Feedback connections have been eliminated from the model because of the impossibility of testing them via the cross-sectional survey procedure to which this study was limited.

2.1.1 The Government Bureaucracy-Participation Hypothesis

I've hypothesised that a negative correlation will exist between the "attitude to government bureaucracy" variable and the "desire for participation in the planning process" variable. Phrased in causal terms, the more negative the attitude to government bureaucracy, the more positive the desire for participation in the planning process. Conversely, the more positive the attitude of individuals to government bureaucracy, the less they will desire participation in the planning process.

The assumption behind this link is based on the notion that if people are dissatisfied with the way government bureaucracies are administering their lives, they will demand some say in the decisions that are likely to affect their own interests.

As stated previously, there is general agreement in the literature that such a link exists between these two variables. For example Matthews claims that:

"the demands for participation are symptoms of public dissatisfaction with bureaucracy." (p.353)

Both Richardson in Canada and Sandercock in Australia (1975:9) have commented on the way that disenchantment with the processes of

¹ Various American studies have found that the factors which produce a participatory reaction are:

"economic stakes in business and home ownership, affective stakes in tenancy, social stakes in the community, the institutional stakes of local organisations, status preservation and community consciousness. Summarised by Batley from the work of Rossi and Dentler in The Politics of Urban Renewal and in Pinco "Why Some Residents Oppose Urban Renewal", unpublished paper (Carleton University, 1966 on p.113).

of government bureaucracy has produced a desire for public participation. For instance, Richardson considers the differing perspectives of planners and residents to be:

"manifestations of a general phenomenon, the growing remoteness of the citizen from his government - even so-called local government - of ever-increasing size, complexity and technical specialization. The response to this trend" he believes, "is the development, in one form or another of the concept of participatory democracy, the right of the individual to have a direct voice in the decisions which immediately affect his life." (1970:55)

Loveday too has observed that similar criticisms are being directed toward the planning and development authorities of the public sector. (1972:132)

2.1.2 Attitudes to Government Bureaucracy

Much of the literature testifies to the fact that negative attitudes to government bureaucracy are widespread throughout Western society. "For many", state Kasperson et al, "government has become like Kafka's castle, vast, remote and inaccessible." (1974:2)

The Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration has noted that:

"Historically, there appears always to have been some tension and frequently conflict between the community (or at least parts of it) and governments and their servants." (1976:125)

Though negative attitudes to government bureaucracy can be found in all social classes, they may well be concentrated amongst low income people. Apparently the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in Australia, observed this tendency. (Matthews, p.353)

In regard to my particular field study, anti-government feeling, and presumably negative attitudes to government bureaucracy, have always characterised the Northern Territory. A former Administrator of the Territory noted that even in periods of relative calm in the agitated 1920's "friction and hostility" towards Commonwealth Government was widespread. (Abbott, 1950:52) Even as late as 1950, the same author commented that:

"There are obstacles in the way of smooth and progressive government of the Northern Territory, many of which are caused by the disinclination of the local people to accept and co-operate with authority." (p.200)

Such feelings have probably been reinforced by the monolithic nature of Government administration in Darwin as well as by the limited opportunities for local representation of interests.

Amongst rural residents, negative attitudes to government bureaucracies seem to be widespread largely because of an inequality in the provision of services to Darwin and to rural residents. This inequality is exacerbated by the self perceptions rural residents hold of themselves.

Even though most residents have numerous connections with the city of Darwin they identify as "rural" and therefore regard themselves as both different and opposed to "urban" dwellers in Darwin. Urban dwellers (in particular the new Northern suburbs residents) are seen to be favoured by the Government in the area of service provision. Hence rural residents have largely negative attitudes to government bureaucracy because government services such as electricity have been exceedingly slow in coming to the area. (See Appendix III) I was frequently told while in the HD/McM area that the attitude of Government to rural residents has been: "You wanted to move out to an unserved area, now you put up with no government services."

As 70% of the respondents I interviewed had lived on their blocks less than 4 years (45% had lived on them less than 2 years) and as most are employed in Darwin, the development and expression of such strong "us (rural)-them (urban)" attitudes seemed inconsistent. However, writers such as Pahl have recognised the internal consistency of such attitudes. Pahl, who has studied the interactions of rural village people and exurbanite rural retreaters in England, has remarked that:

"Many middle-class people create for themselves a village-in-the-mind and no matter what the physical situation, it is in this that they live." (1970:61)

He also argues for the acceptance of individuals' self perceptions.

"...as 'urban' people try to escape from the physical urban world into an arcadian vision of a 'rural' area, then perhaps in a culturally urbanised nation, those who are truly village people are those who have defined themselves in their own minds as villagers and act as they suppose villagers should act." (p.30)

Given the different settlement patterns of England and Australia, I've considered that the terms "rural" and "village" are interchangeable in this context.

1 It has only been since 1974 that a locally elected Legislative Assembly of 19 members has existed to give local interests and considerations some political clout.

Support for the "attitude to government bureaucracy-desire for public participation" hypothesis can be found in the actions of a small group of residents in the Darwin Rural Area. In 1975 some residents with obviously negative attitudes to government bureaucracy advertised their desire for greater involvement in the planning of the Darwin Rural Area by forming an association which attempts to present its views on rural issues to government authorities in Darwin. The Darwin Rural Landholders' Association has as one of its stated aims:

"To seek an active role in the planning and development of the Rural Area and in any future development program considered to be necessary by the landholders." (Darwin Rural Landholders' Association Constitution, 1975: 1)

2.1.3 Attitude to Local Government Factors

The explanatory model I have devised assumes that positive causal connections link the "attitude to government bureaucracy" variable and each of the area-specific local variables I have included in the model. The assumption behind this connection is that attitude to government bureaucracy is long established and that attitudes to recent issues and institutions are shaped by this well established attitude. Because each of the "local issue" variables reflects some form of government incursion into the rural area, it is hypothesised that individuals who have negative attitudes to government bureaucracy will also have negative attitudes to these local factors. I have also hypothesised that a negative correlation will hold between attitudes to these local factors and the desire for public participation in the planning process for the same reasons that one is expected to exist between attitudes to government bureaucracy and the desire for participation.

As the area-specific variables were included on the basis of their local significance, support for the hypotheses is derived from specific local events, rather than from any sociological literature. A discussion of each "local issue" variable follows.

2.1.4 Attitude to Government Controls in the Rural Area

As explained to respondents, government controls refer to restrictions such as the Cyclone Building Code and various planning controls. That negative attitudes were held toward such controls as Building Codes seemed certain during my first visit to the Darwin Rural Area. At that time the Building Section of the Department of the Northern

Territory was issuing letters informing residents who had building work in progress to desist from building until plans and specifications were submitted and a Building Permit had been issued. Such a permit is necessary within the 40 kilometre Darwin Town Boundary. Most residents I spoke with seemed genuinely angry that a government department should place controls on them and yet not take responsibility for the provision of services to the area.

Connected with this issue, an additional dichotomy which exists in the minds of many residents, that is, the "Aussie battler versus big government" dichotomy, aggravates residents' attitudes to government controls in the rural area.



Residents trying to get ahead by using their own skills in drawing up and executing building plans, see themselves thwarted by an unsympathetic government bureaucracy. Many residents claim that bureaucrati

"rules and regulations" do not take account of their "pay-as-you-go" building style, that is, building at a rate and of a style that reflects one's ready cash. In accordance with the letters they received, many residents were forced to halt their building mid-project.

Thus a combination of government controls which are considered by some residents to be over restrictive, and a perception of government as overly bureaucratic and unsympathetic, has resulted in many residents holding a negative attitude to government controls in their area.

2.1.5 Attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission

Despite the fact that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission is itself a government bureaucracy, it was thought necessary to gauge people's attitudes to it separately largely because of the unique position it has held in Darwin since early 1975. Besides the fact that the conditions under which it was formed make it an atypical government organisation, it was only granted a maximum life of 5 years. Hence, though ubiquitous, it is ephemeral.

As regards the attitudes of Darwin residents to it, the broad powers it was given made it seem liable for every problem connected with the reconstruction and replanning of Darwin. Hence, it was not just the Darwin Rural Area that regarded the Darwin Reconstruction Commission in a negative light, but the whole of Darwin. To quote Pandanus, a local writer in the Darwin Star:

"The Commission was Darwin's favourite whipping boy. About the only thing which it didn't get blamed for was the weather."
(February 24, 1977)

Of particular importance to the Humpty Doo and McMinn's residents was the fact that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission was accorded jurisdiction over the area they lived in, that is, under the Darwin Reconstruction Commission Act (1975:2) the Darwin Town Boundary was extended to include the "rural" areas which were previously "independent" of Darwin.

Thus rural residents self perceptions were forced to adapt to this change. As previously stated, many people resented the extension of government control into the Rural Area largely because it was not accompanied by increased government services. To quote from a letter written to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission by one Humpty Doo resident:

"I feel that the fact that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission has not (to my knowledge) expended any monies on improvements in the area precludes them from having the right to alter the situation (re the Humpty Doo area) as it stands at the present time."

In an area where controls of any sort had been few and far between the assumption of control over that area, by a new and Canberra inspired organisation challenged rural residents' perceived independence from Darwin city.

Hence, many people specifically disliked the Darwin Reconstruction Commission because in their view, it is the organisation which has tampered most with their rural freedoms. Because of this specifically anti-Darwin Reconstruction Commission attitude, it was necessary for the author to separate out attitude to government bureaucracy and attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, and see how each affected rural residents' desire for participation in the planning process.

2.1.6 Attitude to the Guidelines

It would seem from general observations that a very negative attitude to the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines has most recently produced a positive desire for participation in the planning process of the Darwin Rural Area.

Very briefly, these planning Guidelines were a comprehensive set of zoning proposals for the Darwin Rural Area that were formulated, in the words of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission:

"to maintain and enhance the rural residential character of the area both as a way of life and as a landscape." (Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines, 1976: 1)

These Guidelines were actually produced by the Urban Development and Town Planning Branch of the Department of the Northern Territory, but in line with the Darwin Reconstruction Commission Act, they were approved, exhibited and generally regarded as a product of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission.

The proposals limited the kinds of use that certain size blocks could be put to, and designated certain activities to specific areas. A public display of these proposals was held for $3\frac{1}{2}$ weeks over November and December, 1976.

At the time of exhibition, rural residents' responses to the Guidelines were very mixed. The majority of residents who were aware of these Guidelines were angry that they had been so suddenly introduced and that no consultation had taken place with the residents of affected areas

when they were being formulated.¹ Many residents were incensed that the Guidelines were so restrictive and fears of acquisition were frequently expressed.²

Numerous letters of complaint to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission over these Guidelines testify to residents' desire for some participation in the planning of the area. Some residents stated a desire to be informed by the Darwin Reconstruction Commission of planning proposals. For instance, one couple wrote that:

"We are most distressed that this plan has proceeded so far without our knowledge.....we feel it was your duty to see that every resident was personally notified of the new proposals."

Others stressed the need for consultation with residents. For instance,

"I believe (despite the obvious difficulties involved) that people in the area should have been asked their views first."

And from another letter,

"...not enough effort has been made to contact land owners in the area, to solicit their views."

It is understandable that attitudes to these planning proposals are intimately linked with residents' attitudes to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission. The difficulties inherent in separating these three constructs are exemplified by an excerpt from a letter to the editor written by an irate rural resident.

"The Darwin Reconstruction Commission may have done a good job in helping to rebuild Darwin, but it has done nothing for the rural people except to draw up grandiose plans for zoning all the freehold land in the Howard Springs, McMinns and Humpty Doo area. This has created uneasiness in the minds of the many small landholders who bought their 5 or 10 acres to get away from such bureaucratic controls as would automatically follow from any form of zoning." (Rural Resident, Northern Territory News, February 1977)

Given the interrelatedness of the three local variables and the demonstrated link between negative attitudes to the Guidelines and a positive desire for participation, it is hypothesised that a negative correlation will exist between all three local variables and the desire for participation in the planning process.

1 Some people confused the idea of proposals with a final plan for their area and so were very angry that the Guidelines had been "imposed" on them by the Darwin Reconstruction Commission.

2 An acquisition of 32 square miles of rural land on the outskirts of Darwin took place in 1973, ostensibly to permit the growth of Darwin. Local residents violently opposed the move and in so doing, gained the sympathies of other rural residents. During the acquisition announcement, the then Minister of the Northern Territory, Kep Enderby, stated that

"further acquisitions of freehold land on the outskirts of Darwin may be considered in the future." (Northern Territory News, March 10, 1973: 3)

Since that time the acquisition of additional rural land

In regard to the specific nature of the "local factors" variables, literature cannot be presented in support of the hypothesised positive correlation between attitude to government bureaucracy and attitudes to local factors. However, given the material I have presented I consider it reasonable to hypothesise that negative attitudes to government bureaucracy (shaped by past experience) will produce negative attitudes to the more recent actions of various arms of government bureaucracy.

Ample evidence exists to support the hypothesised negative correlation between attitude to the Guidelines and the desire for public participation in the planning process. Given the apparent interrelatedness of the three local variables, it is reasonable to hypothesise that negative attitudes to them will produce a positive desire for participation in the same way that negative attitudes to government bureaucracy are thought to produce a positive desire for participation in planning.

The discussion will move now to a description of other links in the model. As previously stated, this second section constitutes an attempt to refine current thinking on the factors that produce a desire for participation in decision-making processes. As is evident from Diagram 2.1, the independent variable "Socio-economic Status" and the intervening variable "perceived efficacy of participation" complicate the effect that the "attitude to government bureaucracy" variable has on the dependent "desire for participation in planning" variable.

The hypotheses in this section of the model state that "the higher the Socio-economic Status, the stronger the desire for participation in the planning process" and, "the higher the Socio-economic Status, the higher the perceived efficacy of involvement in planning". The last hypothesis states that the "higher the perceived efficacy of participation in planning, the greater the desire for participation in the planning process".

Assuming this hypothetical model is an accurate representation of reality, one would expect to find Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon residents of high Socio-economic Status who have negative attitudes to government bureaucracy expressing a high level of desire for participation in the planning process. Conversely, individuals of lower Socio-economic Status, with negative attitudes to government bureaucracy will express a lower

level of desire for participation in the planning process.¹

2.1.7 Socio-economic Status and the Desire for Participation

To facilitate a clearer discussion, the hypothesis which directly links Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation in the planning process will be discussed first. This hypothesis states that the higher the Socio-economic Status, the stronger the desire for participation in the planning process, and conversely, the lower the Socio-economic Status of respondents, the weaker their desire for participation.

The reader will recall that, in the discussion of terms section of the thesis, I mentioned that the practice of participation, as I envisaged it, would take place within a bureaucratic structure, that is, via committees, advisory panels etc. The decision to conceptualise any future public participation involving rural residents in this way, was based on pragmatic grounds; all the attempts at public participation I have read about have taken place within bureaucratic frameworks.

From the available literature on this subject it appears that such structures are likely to be patronised more by individuals of higher Socio-economic Status. In a public participation exercise in North Sydney recently, Sandercock observed that the formal and bureaucratic structures provided for participation, had tended to attract the more articulate and more highly educated members of the community (that is, those of higher Socio-economic Status, if level of education and degree of articulateness can be equated with level of Socio-economic Status). Of membership in the participation groups she states:

"Clearly the opportunities to be involved - attending public meetings, joining the precinct committee, responding to the survey - are most appealing to, and therefore most likely to attract the more articulate and educated members of the community. The most active committees have

¹ On the issue of just how much this latter group can be expected to desire participation, it is very difficult to speculate. It may be that the combination of the Socio-economic Status variable and the perceived efficacy of participation variable tend to suppress all signs of the desire for participation in the planning process. Part of this problem would lie in knowing, if possible, whether respondents of lower Socio-economic Status, do desire participation but don't wish to vocalize that desire, or whether they have no desire for participation at all. Alternately, the variables of Socio-economic Status and perceived efficacy may have relatively little effect on the extent to which such individuals desire participation in the planning process. All that may be surmised from the model is that respondents of higher Socio-economic Status will have a higher level of desire for participation in the planning process than will respondents of lower Socio-economic Status.

been...; in neighbourhoods where particular residents with environmental and management/professional skills and familiarity with Council workings have stimulated their precinct committee; and in neighbourhoods of substantial single family housing with fairly stable, higher income populations who've been stimulated by recent issues of road closure and high-density development." (1975: 52)¹

Besides implying some sort of bureaucratic framework, the concept of "participation", as I have employed it, implies membership within a formal group. On the basis of the fact that middle and upper-middle classes have higher rates of participation in voluntary organisations than do members of the working class, it is considered that the same trend would be evident in any participation exercise initiated in the rural area.² In commenting on this tendency of the middle class to join more voluntary organisations, Pahl has commented that they are:

"prepared to use collective means for individualist ends."
(1970: 65)

Conversely, he has partly explained lower levels of participation by the working class in such groups by stating that:

"it has long been widely known that it is not part of the working-class culture to join formal social organisations." (p. 41)

A study of relevance to the effect of Socio-economic Status on the desire for participation in planning was undertaken by two researchers in South London. Two hundred adult women living in the local area, were interviewed about matters such as whether they desired a greater say in the planning of their local area and so on.

The authors, Taylor and Stringer observed that education and social class were found to be important factors in describing the kind of woman who "tried to get something done" in her local area. (The level of activity in trying to achieve change is assumed here to reflect the desire for public participation in planning.) They found that

¹ It might have been noted by the reader that this quotation refers to differential rates of activity in planning groups, rather than to differing levels of desire for participation in planning. As empirical studies on the factors that influence the desire for participation are extremely rare, evidence of differential rates of participation has been supplied in lieu of studies on the desire for participation. The assumption behind this substitution is that level of desire for participation and level of desire in participation exercises are similar enough to be equated.

² Alford and Scoble (1968)

"while only 18% of those who had finished their education at 14 years of age or earlier had taken some form of action, 35% of those finishing between 15 and 17, and 57% of those finishing at 18 or older had tried to achieve change. Similarly, 17% of social classes 4 and 5 (that is, partly skilled and unskilled workers) had tried, as against 30% of class 3 (skilled occupations) and 48% of classes 1 and 2 (professional and intermediate occupations)."

The authors consider that:

"these findings are strong evidence for the common argument that it is those who belong to the middle and professional classes who seem best able to understand and work within the legal, political and administrative framework that exists for public activism." (1973: 173)

Thus ample evidence of a comparable nature can be found in the literature to support my contention that individuals of high Socio-economic Status have a higher level of desire for participation in planning.

2.1.8 Socio-economic Status, Perceived Efficacy of Participation and the Desire for Public Participation in Planning

The second set of links in the model indicate that the relationship between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation is mediated by the perceived efficacy of participation. In addition this variable is itself dependent on Socio-economic Status.

The perceived efficacy of participation variable does not necessarily refer to the effectiveness of personal involvement in the planning process. This variable refers to the degree of effectiveness which a respondent considers that a group of like-minded citizens, representing his interests, is likely to have on planning matters. It is thought that respondents would probably not entirely gauge local residents' efficacy in participation simply on the number of battles which they had won, but would also consider the extent to which they felt local residents' opinion had been taken into account when formulating planning proposals.

As regards the relative importance of the "perceived efficacy of participation" variable, it is possible that this variable is the sole link between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation. The effect of the perceived efficacy variable might well be the cause of the supposed relation between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation in the literature I've cited. It could well be that the researchers omitted to test other factors that correlate well with Socio-economic Status before they reported the existence of a direct link between the variables.

Put in causal terms, the "perceived efficacy" hypothesis states that the higher the Socio-economic Status of respondents, the greater their perceived efficacy of participation in planning and thus the greater will be their desire for public participation in the planning process. Conversely individuals of low Socio-economic Status will consider that as they will have little chance of affecting decisions, there is little point in taking part in the decision-making aspects of the planning process.

Before analyzing class based support for these hypotheses, it should be noted that perceived efficacy of involvement is in general an important factor in stimulating or inhibiting individuals' desire for participation in planning.¹ In commenting on the effectiveness of a participation exercise in Coventry, one planner commented that:

"There was a widespread feeling among the public that it was no use contributing, because no account would be taken of their views." (Masters, 1973: 461)

Thus a low sense of efficacy militated against the desire for participation in planning. Two American researchers, Milbrath and Klein, found that among other factors,

"perceived personal efficacy was an important motivating factor in political participation. In a study of lobbyists, they found that persons with low ratings on a 'sociability-dominance esteem syndrome' were not likely to participate in politics."

They concluded that:

"Such traits as sense of efficacy, ego-strength, gregariousness and positive self image are all important psychological ingredients in active participation in the polity." (1962, pp. 53 - 66)²

There are several general reasons why the hypothesised positive correlations between Socio-economic Status and the perceived efficacy of participation, and between the perceived efficacy of participation and the desire for public participation, should be found in my study.

The first reason is that in general people of higher Socio-economic Status can articulate their needs and perceptions better than people of lower Socio-economic Status. Two points can be made in support

1 Indeed it may be so important that it completely negates the effect that a negative attitude to government bureaucracy has on the desire for participation in planning, among respondents of low Socio-economic Status.

2 These quotes which do not refer to the class based nature of perceived efficacy do not, I feel, negate my hypothesis in any way. I would suggest that the class based nature of efficacy was not mentioned, because this aspect of it was of no interest to the author, rather than because it does not exist as such.

of this assertion. First, the middle and upper-middle classes generally advance further in the field of formal education and so learn more thoroughly the verbal skills essential to communication in the context of participation. (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) Furthermore it is easier to communicate their perceptions and needs when the individuals they are attempting to communicate with are of the same Socio-economic Status and thus share their perceptions and understand their needs. That planners are generally of middle class status is an established fact. For instance, a study of the social backgrounds of British planners described their social status as "undifferentiated middle class". (Marcus, 1971:54)

Indeed if Robert Goodman's statement is correct, that is, the entire "bureaucracy of the Welfare State was conceived, designed and is manned almost entirely by the middle classes," it is little wonder that residents of these same socio-economic groups perceive their interactions with planners as being more efficacious. (1972:29)

In addition to verbal skills, members of the middle and upper-middle classes have a wide variety of the kinds of skills that facilitate their comprehension of proposals, and that aid them in presenting their arguments in terms acceptable to government bureaucracy. The kinds of skills that I refer to involve comprehending often jargonistic planning reports, filling in survey forms, understanding information from a variety of spheres and synthesising that information into well presented and documented submissions. On the topic of appropriate skills, Batley observed that amongst a middle and upper-middle class group of residents involved in participatory planning for their area, several were private architects or town planning lecturers and so could present "well argued alternatives to the Council's plan". (1972:112) Because such a group is relatively familiar with bureaucratic procedures and thus knows when and how to intervene with their own proposals, it can be expected that they will feel little of the confusion and the helplessness of a working class group who have had little experience in knowing what is required of

1 The differences in perception between the high and lower Socio-economic groups and the relative similarities of planners and middle class citizens' perceptions are well illustrated in the following quote from Richardson:

"Upper and upper-middle class people are more likely to think in terms of general plans, the neighbourhood or community as a whole, and long term benefits (even when they might involve immediate costs to themselves); lower and lower-middle class people are more likely to see such matters in terms of specific threats and short term costs. These differences account in large measure for some of the frustrations of the planners, redevelopers and community organisers who are involved in urban renewal." (1970:55)

them in a participation exercise. Because recourse to formal organisations is less frequently taken by working class groups, little of the support and sense of efficacy derived from formal organisations by middle class groups would be found among the former group. Without the "solidarity" generated by such a group, working class residents are expected to express less confidence in their role as participants in the planning process.

Much of the literature acknowledges the effect of the class-based "perceived efficacy" variable on the individuals' desires for participation in planning processes. For instance in the study cited by Taylor and Stringer, it was found that

"the lower the social class of respondents, the more likely they were to feel that they could do nothing"

to help achieve what they wished for their area. (p. 174) A study by Batley in the working class area of Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne also tends to support the hypothesised relationship. It is significant that although threatened by an urban renewal scheme,

"there was no lasting response by residents to try to affect their fate." (1972:97)

Batley considers that one of the reasons "citizens rejected an active role" in negotiations with planners over the renewal scheme, was that residents assumed

"that their action would be ineffective and that public policies were beyond influence." (p. 114)

Hamilton-Smith too has hypothesised along similar lines regarding the "perceived efficacy" variable. His hypotheses are quite similar to mine although he has assumed that "power resources", rather than Socio-economic Status is the main determinant of the perceived efficacy of participation in community action.¹ Despite the fact that "power resources" and "Socio-economic Status" appear to constitute different variables, a case could be made for their relative similarity on the basis of a strong correlation which can be found to exist between them. He considers that if individuals

"see themselves as impotent, they are unlikely to act. Thus," he continues "the rich, the politically skilled and the knowledgeable are likely to act; the poor, the uninvolved and the uneducated are unlikely to act. Even in the unlikely event that they do act, they will probably fail to achieve anything and will be even less likely to act in response to any future situation." (1975:12)

¹ His hypotheses state that

"Participation in community action will (also) be related to the perceived likelihood of the action being successful," and also that

"Participation in community action is therefore more likely to occur among those with the greatest resources at their disposal." (p.12)

The last piece of supportive evidence is derived from the work of Alford and Scoble (1968) in four Wisconsin cities. Analyzing a variety of forms of participation, these researchers found that:

"high organizational activity, a certain stability of residence in the community and a high social status defined the bulk of participants in local politics."

These factors apparently

"showed a high correlation with a sense of political confidence or efficacy." (cited in Kasperson et al, p. 8)

Before moving to Chapter 3, a brief summary of the model may prove useful. It has been considered that the more dissatisfied individuals are with government bureaucracies, the greater will be their desire for participation in the planning process. Negative attitudes to government bureaucracy, it has been argued, will produce negative attitudes to a variety of local issues and bodies. As with government bureaucracy, the less satisfied individuals are with these local variables the more they will desire participation in the planning process.

Complicating the manifestation of this desire though, are the variables of Socio-economic Status and the perceived efficacy of participation. Because a positive connection is hypothesised to exist between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation, it is considered that of persons with negative attitudes to government bureaucracy, individuals of higher Socio-economic Status will manifest a higher level of desire for participation in the planning process. Similarly it has been hypothesised that because individuals of high Socio-economic Status will perceive participation by citizens as efficacious, they will manifest a high level of desire for participation. Because the factors of Socio-economic Status and the perceived efficacy of involvement in planning tend to dampen working class respondents' desire for participation, it has been hypothesised that this group will manifest a lower level of desire for participation in the planning process.

It is significant that although evidence for individual hypotheses can be found in the sociological and the planning literature, no attempt, to my knowledge, has been made to integrate the variables I have outlined into a unified causal scheme.

CHAPTER 3 - THE FIELD AREA AND ITS INHABITANTS

3.1 How the Thesis Topic and Field Area were selected

The author's first trip to the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area in January 1977 took place shortly after an exhibition of the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines. Many residents were incensed that they had neither been consulted during the formulation of planning proposals for their area, nor personally informed of their existence.

Although the Darwin Reconstruction Commission had been responsible for publicising the exhibition, "government" in general seemed to receive as much criticism as the former group.¹ In very general terms, a strong "we (rural residents) - they (big government) feeling was frequently expressed.

It was interesting to return to Canberra and find in the literature numerous instances of dissatisfaction with government bureaucracy and manifestations of a desire for involvement in decision-making processes. The question arose as to whether all people under all circumstances would desire citizen participation as a means of redressing an apparently unacceptable imbalance in power between government and citizenry.

On the basis of frequently stated criticisms of the Guidelines and of government bureaucracy in general, Humpty Doo seemed like a good place to determine the strength and direction of the connection (if any) between attitudes to government bureaucracy and the desire for public participation in planning.

3.2 What Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon feels like

The Arnhem Highway, along which Humpty Doo is situated, joins the Stuart Highway about 22 miles south-east of Darwin. Driving down the long straight highway, or the Humpty Doo Road, as it's called locally, one observes the usual cyclone damaged bushland in addition to vast numbers of beer and soft drink cans strewn along the road by weekend tourists. A few kilometres in from the turnoff, one begins to observe occasional dirt tracks leading off into the bush, tracts of cleared land and an assortment

1 Many residents expressed contradictory attitudes to government in that first period of fieldwork. In the words of one rural dweller:

"What right have the Darwin Reconstruction Commission to control us? After the Cyclone they didn't even come out and see if we were all still alive,"

and in the next breath,

"if they (that is, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission) ever stepped foot on my land, I'd shoot 'em."

of dwellings, ranging from tents, caravans and sheds to completed homes. Once past the Humpty Doo Pub and store, the signs of settlement fade out and are replaced by swampy plains and Arnhem bush. If one were to drive back to Humpty Doo and down some of these dirt roads one would be struck by the large number of dwellings in the area. One gets the impressions that the area is growing in a very hurried and makeshift way.

Some subdivisions are 5 and some are 20 acres, and each subdivision has a slightly different "feel" to it. What is remarkable in every subdivision is the difference in living standards between caravan and dongger dwellers and those who have built homes (in the colloquial sense of the word).¹ For instance, some people have bores, septic tanks and electricity while other rural residents cart water from the watering point on the Stuart Highway, use bush toilets and kerosene lamps. I have heard one Darwinite refer to Humpty Doo as a "rural slum".

McMinn's Lagoon has a slightly different feel to it again. It is 2 or 3 miles closer to Darwin than Humpty Doo, and is more closely settled with a higher proportion of new or completed homes in it. Humpty Doo and McMinn's Lagoon are connected by a dirt road that traverses part of the McMinn's Lagoon. Although they are geographically close, the residents of Humpty Doo and McMinn's perceive of their subdivisions as separate communities.

Humpty Doo and McMinn's are but two subdivisions which comprise the Darwin Rural Area. Very roughly delimited, the Darwin Rural Area stretches from 5 acre (and more) subdivisions at the "13 mile" to Berry Springs (57 kilometres from Darwin).³ The majority of rural dwellers like to identify as such.⁴

1 A dongger is a local term for a "temporary home". Donggers are usually made of tin, fibro and wood and are lived in until the major home is completed. Many donggers though, become permanent residences.

2 Of the people I spoke to in January, feelings were divided as to what constitutes the Humpty Doo area. 7 respondents of the 13 that I discussed this matter with felt that the name "Humpty Doo" could aptly apply to the 5 major subdivisions around the Arnhem Highway while 6 felt that the term Humpty Doo referred only to the subdivision closest to Skewes' pub. Because McMinn's Lagoon is so neatly subdivided into two squares of the Goyder grid (that is, of 360 acres each) there is little doubt amongst local people as to where the boundaries lie.

3 The "13 mile" refers to an area 13 miles from the Darwin Post Office or thereabouts. Most small settlements along the Stuart Highway have been christened on the basis of their distance from Darwin.

4 In his article on "Planning in Rural Areas", Hahn uses the term "rural" to refer to:

"all areas outside heavily builtup areas one would call 'cities' or 'suburbs'." (1970: 47)

TABLE 3.1

ANNUAL RUNNING COSTS OF RURAL FAMILY (OF 5)

QUANTITY	TYPE (FUEL)	COST
14 x 44 gal.	Super Petrol for Car (One adult employed in Darwin)	\$28.78 per 44 gal. drum
6 x 44 gal.	Standard Petrol for Truck and Mower	\$28.50 per 44 gal. drum
5 x 44 gal.	Kerosene for Fridge and Freezer	\$19.08 per 44 gal. drum
8 x 44 gal.	Diesoline for Generator and Bore	\$18.80 per drum
5 100 lb	Gas for Stove	\$35.00 per 100 lb
2 x 13 gal.	Oil for General Running	\$37.26 per drum

1. These figures have been estimated and averaged out from costs for the last 3 years.
2. The bore is only used for 7 months of the year - in that time 90,000 gallons are pumped. To sink a bore costs \$3-4,000.
3. Comparative costs for Darwin : 1972 figures; electricity costs about \$25.00/quarter. In 1972 rates averaged out at a little over \$2/week for all sewerage, water and garbage facilities. Undoubtedly Darwin is more expensive now, however, even taking into account the fact that rates are not paid in the Rural Area, general running costs are higher there.

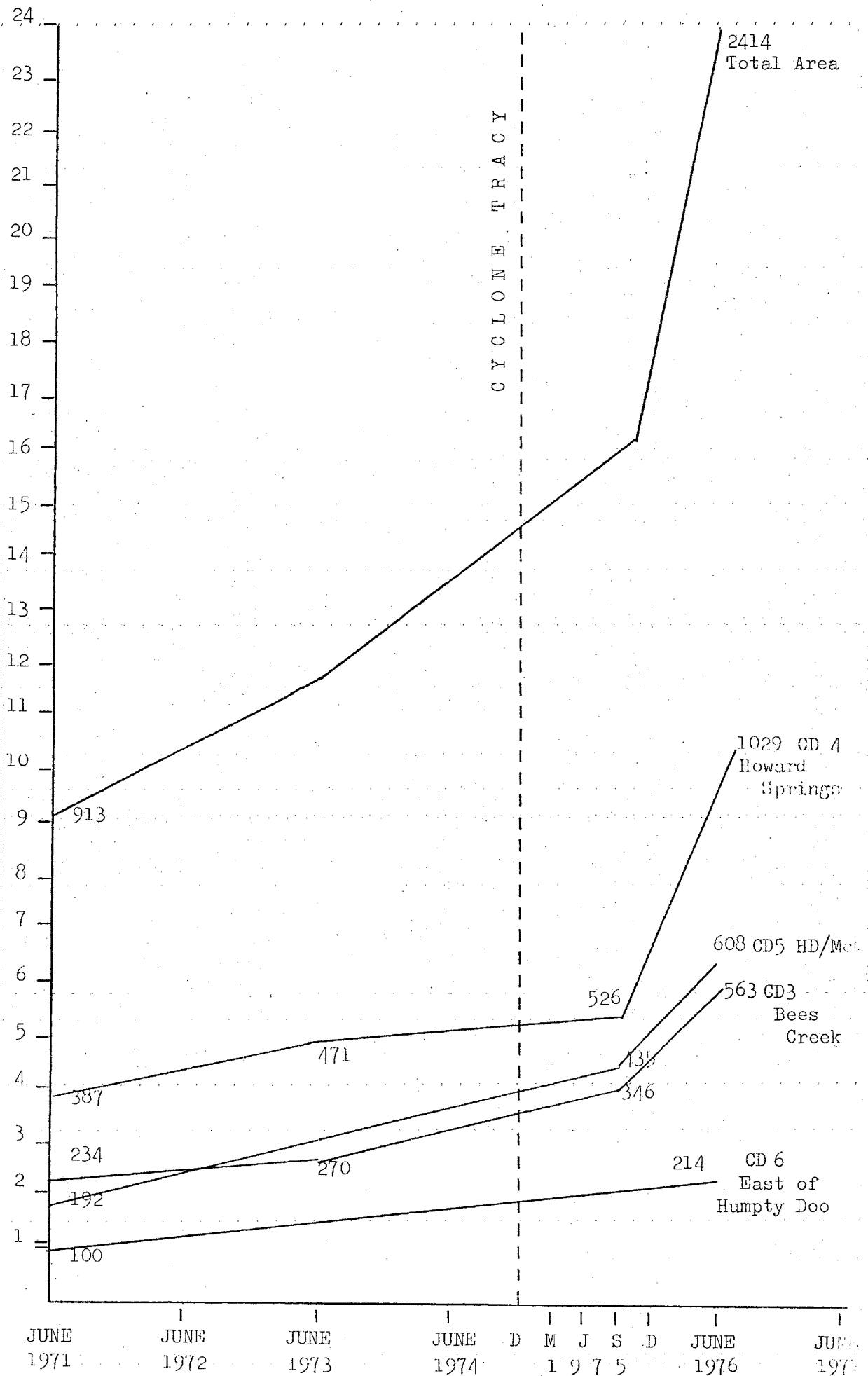
Most people I talked to were happy to talk about their reasons for moving out of Darwin.¹ A non-random group of people I talked to on my first visit to the Darwin Rural Area gave as their reasons for moving out:

- (a) That Darwin is growing fast and changing its character, that is, it has become too much "like a city" since the cyclone. Too many new people with purely financial motives are moving to Darwin and disrupting the warm and casual lifestyle that previously characterised Darwin.
- (b) That it is too expensive to buy a house or build a home in Darwin - due to the 2 year Building Covenant.
- (c) Some people said that they have always preferred rural living, and nothing actually propelled them away from Darwin.

Even those people who moved out of Darwin because rural land was cheaper and building regulations were not actively enforced, commented that they now appreciated the area for other than monetary reasons, for example, the peace and quiet, the sense of community.

On the topic of why people like living at Humpty Doo and McMinn's, (incidentally 100% of respondents said they like living at Humpty Doo) 84% said they like the privacy a 5 or 20 acre block afforded, 53% said they like the freedom from restrictions, 49% said they liked to feel that they owned their own land and 41% said they felt they could lead the life they wanted to in the Rural Area. 20% of respondents cited liking the wildlife and bush surrounds of the Rural Area and 16% liked the Rural Area because it afforded them some measure of self-sufficiency in growing foodstuffs. Two reasons for liking the Rural Area that I suggested to respondents, were not very accurate in their eyes. Only 8% of people said they liked living in the Rural Area because it was cheaper (growing own vegetables etc) and only 12% said they could build their own dwellings more cheaply there.

¹ 98% of the respondents I interviewed had lived in Darwin before moving out to the Rural Area. Of this 98%, 82% had lived in Darwin for 3 years or more. According to my respondents for residents who moved out to Humpty Doo and McMinn's Lagoon 3 or more years ago, land had been cheap to buy. Living in the Rural Area, though, had never been cheap. The statistics on running costs of vehicles, generators and bores etc provided by one family, testify to the additional costs of living in the Darwin Rural Area. See Table 3.1



Totals from Censuses and Population Counts are shown -
lines are growth estimates.

3.3 How the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon Area came to be

The name "Humpty Doo" was originally reserved for the Ricefields Area, about 16 or so miles further along the Arnhem Highway. However once a local landowner started subdividing his land close to town, and once numbers of people started moving to this location, the name "Humpty Doo" and the sense of place that goes with it shifted down the Arnhem Highway to its present site. The population decline in the Ricefields Area, combined with the construction of the Humpty Doo pub in about 1970, clinched the area's present name. McMinn's Lagoon was also subdivided in the late 1960's (1969).

In the Skewes subdivision at Humpty Doo, land in those first few years could be bought very cheaply. According to one respondent, a buyer paid \$50 a month over 5 years (for a 5 acre block) with no deposit and no interest. The first residents on Walhalla Estate (alias Wobbly Downs) also bought their land for \$3,000. All land in this area is freehold.¹

Land prices in the Rural Area have skyrocketed since then. One Walhalla informant told me a family had just bought an unimproved 5 acre block on the estate for \$12,000. Undoubtedly some of the price rise is due to the forthcoming provision of electricity to the whole area.

If land prices have increased since 1968, so has the population of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area. Graph 3.1 illustrates the rapid growth of all rural areas including the present Census District 5. The Census District 5 June 1976 Census figure for the area stands at 608 whereas a population count I undertook in January 1977 revealed that 712 people live in the area.² Even if the actual figures presented in the graph are incorrect, the magnitude and pace of population growth in the area is great.

At this point, a description of the population characteristics of the respondents is desirable.

1 According to Else-Mitchell, "freehold estate":

"gives at law the right to use the land as the owner wishes, subject to no duty except the limited obligation not to injure his neighbour."

Else-Mitchell adds that:

"It will at once be apparent that the accepted devices which planning schemes adopt cannot fail to impair these rights of ownership." (1975: 23)

2 If 92 people remain unaccounted for, even after a 2% error margin is permitted, there is a good chance that the earlier population estimates for the area are too low. It is understandable that in new rural subdivisions such as the ones I'm dealing with, under-enumeration would be of a much higher order.

3.4 Population Characteristics

Roughly comparable census figures are available for some of the more basic statistics that my questionnaire provided. Comparable statistics come from the 1971 and 1976 Censuses, for the Greater Darwin Area and also for the 1971 Census District 5 which includes Humpty Doo and McMinn's Lagoon. This area is several times larger than the present census district, which contains only the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area. Hence there is a real problem of equivalence between my sample of Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents and the 1971 Census statistics which relate to a larger area. For instance, the 1971 total population census figure for Census District 5 was around 605 while the 1971 Bureau of Census and Statistics estimate for the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area specifically was 192 people. Another problem relates to the fact that I only recorded details pertaining to the individual respondents (except for number of children, ages and spouses' occupation). To add to the problems of comparability with population wide census data, 80% of my respondents were male and all were adult. (That is, the youngest respondent was 24 years of age.) Furthermore, I coded population characteristics quite differently to the census in some instances. However, if some problem of comparability of data arises, acknowledgement of this fact will accompany the relevant figures.

My sample of households was derived from a 29% sample of the 204 occupied households which comprise the 1976 Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon Census District (by my tally).¹ 60 out of 204 household "heads" were initially approached on the subject of the questionnaire and interviews were obtained with 51 heads or 25% of the total number of occupied dwellings.² 41 males (80% of sample) and 10 females (20%) were interviewed.

Of the 9 non-respondents, 8 were either absent from their blocks at the time of the survey or had vacated them due to reasons such as death of the owner. One person declined to grant me an interview on the grounds that the questions I asked were too personal.

1 Details of how the sample was selected are provided in Chapter 4.

2 Normally when the word "head" was mentioned, males stepped forward to be interviewed. However, where women were separated, divorced or where the term "head" was questioned by female spouses, the author interviewed women. The term "head" was thought preferable to either "husband" or "bread-winner" largely because in asking questions about attitudes I thought it best to ask the person whose opinions and decisions would most likely dictate, or at least influence a course of action.

14 (27%) of the respondents were from McMinn's Lagoon, 14 (27%) were from Humpty Doo subdivision (the two largest subdivisions), 9 (18%) were from Wobbly Downs, 4 (8%), 4(8%) and 6(12%) were from the Arnhem Highway subdivision, Noondoo and Watermelon Road (combined with Fred's Pass) respectively.¹

3.4.1 Age Structure

TABLE 3.2

	PROPOSED GREATER DARWIN				CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	1971 CENSUS		1976 CENSUS		1971 CENSUS		25% SAMPLE 197	
Age Group	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Person.
20-24	5,104	.228	5,285	.197	54	.144	2	.039
25-29	4,716	.211	5,909	.220	67	.179	9	.177
30-34	3,388	.152	4,410	.165	75	.202	12	.235
35-39	2,415	.108	3,125	.117	51	.136	10	.196
40-44	2,153	.096	2,148	.080	25	.067	7	.137
45-49	1,609	.072	1,949	.073	31	.083	5	.098
50-54	1,108	.050	1,572	.059	22	.056	2	.039
55-59	776	.035	1,019	.038	19	.052	2	.039
60-64	469	.020	660	.025	12	.032	1	.025
65-69	303	.014	376	.013	7	.019	1	.026
70 +	309	.014	358	.013	11	.029	0	.000
TOTAL	22,350	1.000	26,811	1.000	374	1.000	51	1.000

1. Only 20-24 category and above was used because I didn't have adequate data on exact ages of respondents' children.
2. Only numbers and proportions of male/female population are given due to the fact that the number of female respondents in my sample is too low a figure on which to attempt comparisons.

¹ It was thought necessary to combine results analysed from Fred's Pass (2 respondents) and Watermelon Road (2 respondents) because
 (a) numbers of respondents from each area are so small,
 (b) both subdivisions are composed of 20 acre blocks.

Table 3.2 compares the age-structure of the 1971 and 1976 adult populations of Darwin with 1971 Census District 5 figures and 1977 figures for the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample. Given the small number of female respondents in my sample, only comparisons based on combined population figures are presented. From Table 3.2 it is apparent that there are substantial differences in the age structures of the Darwin population and the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample.

Firstly a much lower percentage of respondents between the ages of 20 and 24 were found in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample than were represented in the 1971, 1976 Darwin populations (23% and 20% respectively) and the 1971 Census District 5 (14%). This low figure is probably due in part to high land prices in the area. Furthermore purchasing a 5 acre block may entail a commitment that many younger people may not wish to make.

The largest percentage of Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents (51%) were between the ages of 30 and 44. Comparable percentages for Census District 5 in 1971 were 41% and 36% for Darwin 1976. Adequate savings and relative youth is the likeliest explanation for the over-representation by 30 to 44 year olds in the rural sample.

Thus the most remarkable feature of Table 3.2 is the predominance of individuals aged between 30 and 44 in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area.

MARITAL STATUS

TABLE 3.3(a)

	PROPOSED GREATER DARWIN				CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	1971 CENSUS		1976 CENSUS		1971 CENSUS	
	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons
Never Married	19,455	.525	22,312	.516	292	.483
Married	15,904	.429	18,243	.422	281	.465
Permanently Separated	702	.019	1,155	.027	7	.012
Divorced	380	.010	837	.019	8	.013
Widowed	619	.017	676	.016	17	.028
TOTAL	37,060	1.000	43,223	1.000	605	1.000

TABLE 3.3(b)

	CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		
	1971 CENSUS		25% SAMPLE 1977		
	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	
Never Married 15 yrs & Over	98	.238	5	.098	Not Married
Now Married	281	.684	41	.804	Married/Living Together
Permanently Separated	7	.017	3	.058	Permanently Separated
Divorced	8	.020	1	.020	Divorced
Widowed	12	.041	1	.020	Widowed
TOTAL	411	1.000	51	1.000	TOTAL

3.4.2 Marital Status

Given the fact that I only collected information on the Marital Status of adult respondents, comparisons between population-wide census material and my data would be misleading. Tables 3.3(a) and 3.3(b) are presented only for the reader's perusal.

Without attempting comparisons it appears that the number of respondents married or living together in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area is high (80.4%). Many married couples probably moved to the Rural Area with the intention of settling there. In support of this supposition, question 12 revealed that whereas only 9.8% of respondents intend staying 5 years or less on their blocks, the majority (51%) intend to stay more than 10 years. 15.7% plan to stay between 5 and 10 years, while the remainder are unsure of their future plans (23.5%).

3.4.3 Children

It is interesting to note that although the largest proportion of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents are of child bearing age, and appear to be moderately settled, 39% of respondents (that is, 20) have no children. Of the 61% who have children, 29% (9) have one child 33% (11) have 2, 23% (7) have 3 and 13% (4) have 4.

The age structure of children in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample is a reflection of the preponderance of 30-44 year old respondents. Only 3 respondents have children older than 18, and only 7 respondents have children of secondary school age.

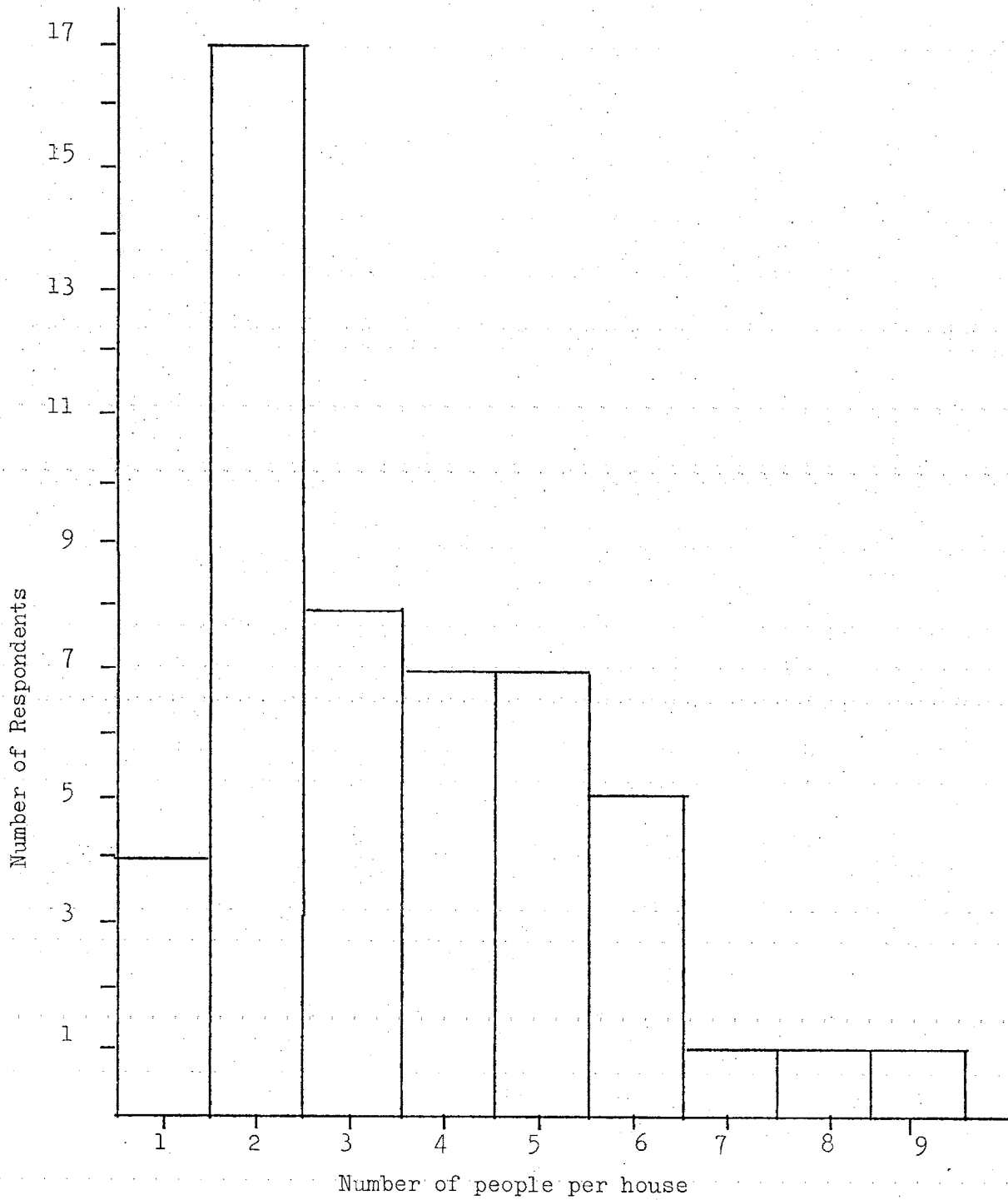
Responses to the question "How many people reside in this house at present?" reflect the large number of childless couples in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample. The largest group of respondents (33%) live in houses with only one other person. The Frequency Histogram below indicates the number of residents per house among the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample.

In summary, the two most salient aspects of this topic are that

- (a) almost 40% of respondents have no children
- (b) the majority of respondents' children are aged between 0 and 12 years.

HUMPTY DOO/McMINN'S LAGOON SAMPLE NUMBER
OF RESIDENTS PER HOUSE

GRAPH 3.2



BIRTHPLACE

TABLE 3.4(a)

	PROPOSED GREATER DARWIN				CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	1971 CENSUS		1976 CENSUS		1971 CENSUS		25% SAMPLE 1977	
	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons
Australia	27,733	.748	29,649	.747	501	.828	31	.607
Other	9,327	.252	10,031	.253	104	.172	20	.392
TOTAL	37,060	1.000	39,680*	1.000	605	1.000	51	1.000

* Does not add up to total population of 43,344 because 3,664 places of birth not stated.

BIRTHPLACE OF "OTHER" BORN

TABLE 3.4(b)

	PROPOSED GREATER DARWIN*		CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	1971 CENSUS		1971 CENSUS		25% SAMPLE 1977	
	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons
New Zealand	546	.059	7	.066	1	.050
UK/Ireland	3,154	.338	54	.519	7	.350
Austria/Germany	639	.067	16	.154	6	.300
Other Europe	3,066	.329	19	.183	6	.300
Asia/Africa	1,159	.124	1	.010	0	.0
USA/ Brazil/ Mexico/Argentina/ Peru/Chile	616	.066	3	.030	0	.0
Other	157	.017	4	.038	0	.0
TOTAL (Of "Other" Country of Birth)	9,327	1.000	104	1.000	20	1.000

* 1976 Census figures for birthplace of foreign born are not yet available to the public.

3.4.4 Country of Birth

This brief discussion is also prefaced by a statement of caution. It can be noted that the 1976 Darwin figures on birthplace do not add up to the grand population of 43,344 because 3,664 residents failed to give "Country of Birth" information when filling in their census forms. However there does not appear to be a similar "Not Stated" category in the 1971 Darwin census data. Furthermore all the figures added equal the total 1971 Darwin population so I can only assume that in 1971 everyone in Darwin answered this question.

What is most noticeable in Table 3.4(a) is that a much higher percentage of foreign born respondents are currently living in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area than lived in Darwin in 1971, 1976 or in Census District 5 in 1971. Numbers of foreign born Darwin respondents appear to have remained almost the same between 1971 and 1976 but there has been a marked increase in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area between 1971 (17%) and 1977 (39%).

Table 3.4(b) provides a breakdown of the countries of birth of foreign born respondents. The three largest groups of foreign born respondents are from Britain (35%), Germany/Austria (30%) and other European countries (30%).

Of note then, is the fact that 39% of Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents were born in other countries.

LEVEL AT WHICH FORMAL EDUCATION WAS TERMINATED

TABLE 3.5

	HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	25% SAMPLE 1977	
	Number of Persons	Prop. of Persons
1. Completed Primary (Grades 1-6)	1	.020
2. Completed Form 1/Grade 7	10	.196
3. Completed Form 2/3/4	10	.196
4. Completed Tech/Apprenticeship	19	.373
5. Completed Form 5/6	5	.098
6. Completed High School + Course	5	.098
7. Completed University	1	.020
TOTAL	51	1.000

3.4.5 Education

Unfortunately census information on this population characteristic is in a form which makes comparison with my own limited data impossible.

From Table 3.5 it can be seen that individuals who have completed technical courses and apprenticeships are numerically the largest group in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample. 40% of respondents had completed between 1 and 4 years of high school. 10% respectively (that is, 5 cases each) had completed high school or a further course in addition to high school. One individual in each category had completed primary school and university respectively.

Hence the two salient features of Table 3.5 are

- (a) that the majority of cases (76.5%) lie between categories 2 (completed Form 1/Grade 7) and 4 (completed technical courses or an apprenticeship);
- (b) that the largest single category comprises individuals who completed technical courses or apprenticeships.

	PROPOSED GREATER DARWIN										CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON			
	1971 CENSUS					1975 MINI-CENSUS (Incomplete Data Unedited)					1971 CENSUS			
	Number of Men	Prop. of Men	Number of Women	Prop. of Women	Number of Men	Prop. of Men	Number of Women	Prop. of Women	Number of Men	Prop. of Women	Number of Men	Prop. of Men	Number of Women	Prop. of Women
Professional Technical etc	1,163	.096	846	.158	1,451	.112	964	.170	14	.065	4	.065	2	.043
Administrative	1,008	.083	173	.032	958	.074	143	.025	12	.055	2	.032	3	.064
Clerical Workers	1,121	.093	1,883	.351	1,395	.108	2,493	.439	6	.028	14	.226	5	.106
Sales Workers	378	.031	601	.112	353	.027	520	.092	8	.037	7	.113	3	.064
Farmers	253	.021	27	.005	186	.014	12	.002	40	.184	7	.113	1	.021
Miners	95	.008	0	0.0	32	.003	1	.0002	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Transport, Commune Workers	912	.075	133	.025	924	.071	178	.031	12	.055	1	.016	5	.106
Craftsmen etc	4,489	.371	169	.032	5,816	.449	231	.041	80	.369	5	.081	24	.511
Service Workers	616	.052	971	.181	818	.063	815	.144	5	.023	14	.226	3	.064
Armed Services	916	.076	118	.022	653	.050	57	.010	3	.014	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other & Not Stated	896	.074	273	.051	36	.003	27	.005	37	.170	8	.128	0	0.0
Unemployed	245	.020	168	.031	341	.026	240	.043	No figures given		No figures given		1	.021
TOTAL	12,092	1.000	5,362	1.000	12,963		5,681		217	1.000	62	1.000	47	1.000

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCALE

TABLE 3.6(b)

	Number of Heads	Proportion of Heads
Upper Professional	0	0.0
Graziers etc.	0	0.0
Lower Professional	0	0.0
Managerial	5	.098
Self Employed, Shop Proprietors	1	.020
Other Farmers	1	.020
Clerical, & Related Workers	8	.157
Members of Armed Services and Police	3	.059
Craftsmen and Foremen	21	.412
Shop Assistants	0	0.0
Process Workers & Operatives	3	.059
Drivers	2	.039
Personal, Domestic & Other Service Workers	2	.039
Miners	0	0.0
Farm & Rural Workers	0	0.0
Labourers	4	.078
Inadequately Defined	1	.02
TOTAL	51	1.000

3.4.6 Occupation

In perusing Table 3.6(a) the reader will note that the more recent occupation figures for the Darwin area are based on a "mini-census" undertaken by the Department of Census and Statistics in September, 1975. They have stressed that these figures are unedited.

A point of note in Table 3.6(a) is the much higher percentage of craftsmen and labourers in the 1977 sample, than in the 1971 Census District 5 (40%). This proportion was also higher than the 1971 and 1975 percentages for Darwin (37% and 45% respectively). Many tradesmen and craftsmen may move out to the Rural Area with the intention of establishing businesses on their own blocks.¹

Among my Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample, 22 women are not employed. Of the 21 working women 67% (14) are employed in clerical work. This percentage is far higher than the 1971, 1975 figures for both the Darwin (35% - 44%) and the rural area in 1971 (23%).

¹ 16% of heads of sample households, it was found, work from their own blocks.

In addition to the above occupational groupings, the heads of occupations were ranked using "An Occupational Classification of the Australian Workforce". (Broom et al, 1965) (Table 3.6(b)) This scale provides a prestige hierarchy of 16 occupational groups. Only two female heads were ranked on this scale.¹ 41% of occupations fall into category 9 "Craftsmen and Foremen". 16% of respondents are clerical workers. Proportions of respondents in other occupational groups are relatively low.

Of note then, is the fact that the largest proportion of employed males in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample are craftsmen and foremen. The largest group of working females in the sample are employed in clerical occupations.

GOVERNMENT/NON-GOVERNMENT WORKERS

TABLE 3.7(a)

	CENSUS DISTRICT 5 HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON		HUMPTY DOO/ McMINN'S LAGOON	
	1971 CENSUS		25% SAMPLE 1977	
	Number of Persons	Proportion Persons	Number of Persons	Proportion Persons
Government	81	.290	30	.448
Non-Government	198	.710	37	.552
TOTAL EMPLOYED	279	1.000	67	1.000

1 Notes on Table 3.6(b)

- (a) It was felt that as a married couple's or a family's prestige is usually ranked (in part at least) on the occupation of the male spouse, this convention had best be followed in scaling occupations on the basis of prestige.
- (b) 3 male respondents were not working at the time of interview. Hence in Table 3.6(b) 2 of these 3 were classified according to their former occupation. The third case has been located in the "Inadequately Defined" category.

NATURE OF EMPLOYER

TABLE 3.7(b)

	HUMPTY DOO/McMINN'S LAGOON 25% SAMPLE 1977			
	Number of Males	Proportion of Males	Number of Females	Proportion of Females
Government Employed	18	.390	12	.570
Private Enterprise	11	.240	8	.382
Self Employed	17	.370	1	.048
TOTAL	46	1.000	21	1.000

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

TABLE 3.7(c)

	HUMPTY DOO/McMINN'S LAGOON 25% SAMPLE 1977			
	Number of Males	Proportion of Males	Number of Females	Proportion of Females
Work in Darwin	31	.674	19	.904
Work on Own Block	8	.174	1	.048
Other	7	.152	1	.048
TOTAL	46	1.000	21	1.000

3.4.7 Nature of Employer and Place of Employment

A comparison of numbers of people in government and non-government employ is presented in Table 3.7(a). Figures for the 1977 sample have been computed by including the occupations of heads of households and employed spouses. The first interesting fact to note is that the proportion of people living in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon are and working for the government has increased by about 16% since 1971. This finding is probably accounted for in part by the comparatively large numbers of women who are in government employ. Of the 21 working women, 12 (57%) work for the government.¹

Of the 46 working males, 18 (39%) are employed by the government, 11 (24%) work for private enterprise and 17 (37%) are self employed. See Table 3.7(b)² Table 3.7(c) reveals that the vast majority of working people (31 males (67%) and 19 females (90%)) give Darwin as their place of work.

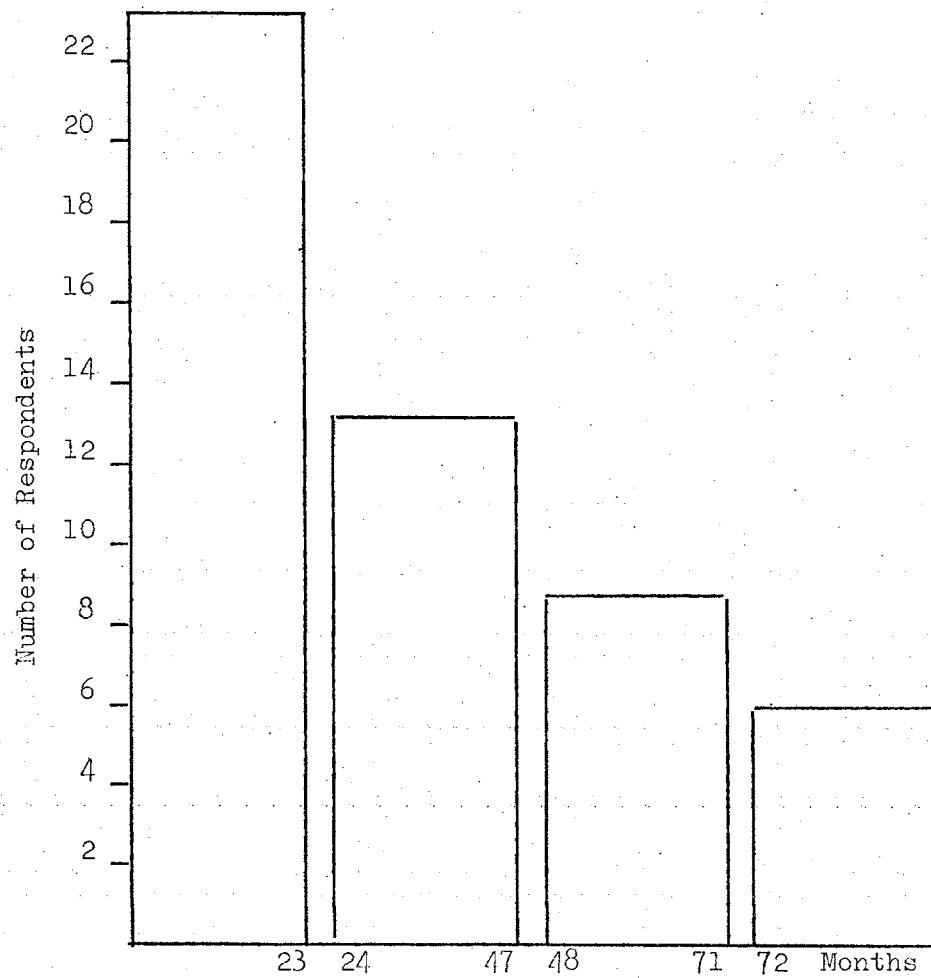
Hence the majority of employed persons in the sample work for the government and commute into Darwin daily.

1 In addition, the 1971 Census District 5 covered a much larger area than the one today. Hence it would have been impractical for many to travel to government jobs in Darwin.

2 It seems that the number of self employed males in my sample who live in the Rural Area is quite high. Most of these men are craftsmen/tradesmen (with the exception of one bookkeeper and one storekeeper).

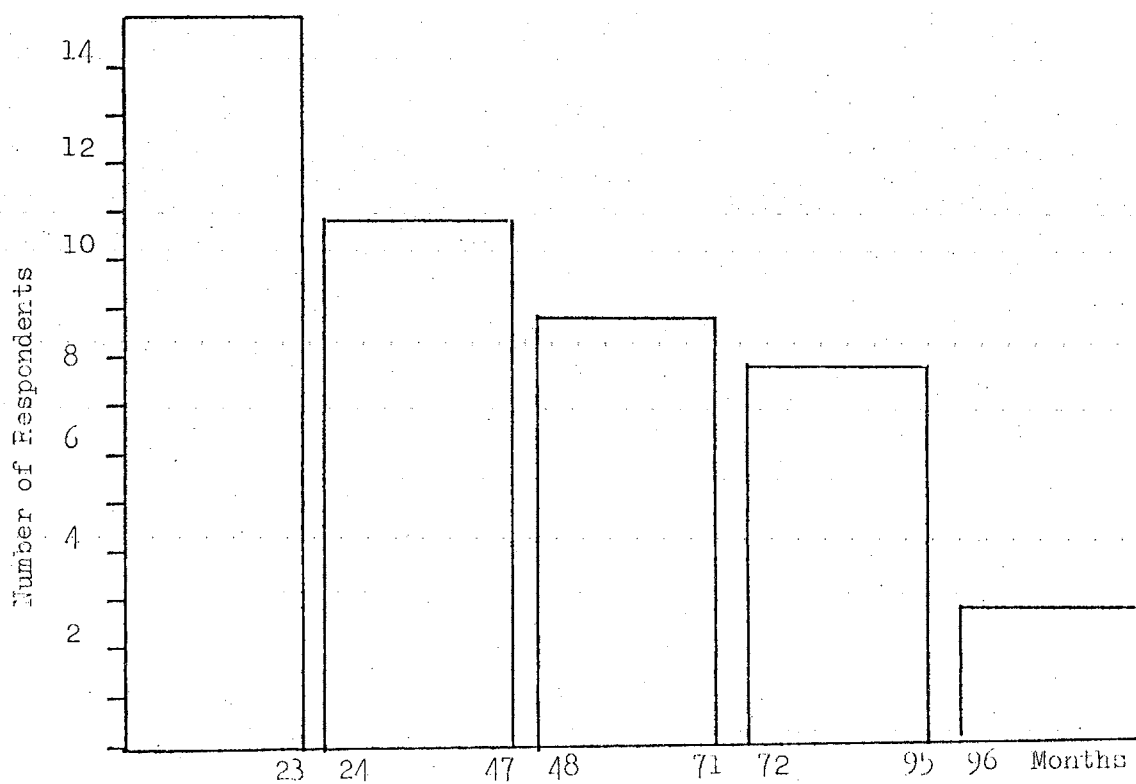
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE ON RURAL BLOCKS IN MONTHS

GRAPH 3.3



LENGTH OF TIME RURAL LAND OWNED IN MONTHS

GRAPH 3.4



3.4.8 Length of Residence

Graph 3.3 reveals that the majority of Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents (45%) have been living on their present blocks for 23 months or less. Only 12% of this group have been living on their present land for 6 or more years.

Graph 3.4 points to the fact that the majority of respondents (51%) have owned their blocks for less than 4 years. Only 10% of respondents (that is, 5) have owned their blocks from the time of subdivision.¹ 3 respondents are renting their blocks.

Hence, in pre and post cyclone terms, the majority of residents are new-comers (61%), that is, they have moved to the area since the 1974 cyclone.

3.4.9 Local Action Groups

A brief review of the local rural associations will be undertaken to familiarise the reader with their activities. Local attitudes to one such group are presented here.

The Humpty Doo Rural Association was formed by inhabitants of the Skewes' Subdivision in 1971 to push for electricity, and to fight for titles to their land. According to one informant the illegal subdivision of one tract of land prevented residents being given title to their land. After a protracted battle, titles were granted at the end of 1975. Electricity is being supplied to this subdivision at present.

The McMinn's Lagoon Development Council was formed 5½ years ago to press the government for water, power and better roads. The water proposal proved unfeasible and the power objective was achieved 18 months ago. Both organisations appear to be dormant at present.

In contrast to those area-specific groups is the Darwin Rural Landholders Association. According to one office bearer the DRLA has about 25 financial members. In times of crisis membership has peaked at about 75. Despite their size the influence of the DRLA is widespread.² Among my sample, one respondent was a member of the Association. Hence, only the reasons given by respondents for not joining this organisation will be examined.³

1 Unfortunately one cannot extrapolate from this fact because not all subdivisions were opened up 8 or 10 years ago.

2 A meeting of the Darwin Rural Landholders Association called last year at which proposals to form a rural shire were discussed, was well attended by about 300 rural residents.

3 To this question, respondents could give as many answers as they thought applicable.

The largest group of respondents said they were too involved in their own affairs to join the Darwin Rural Landholders Association. 14% preferred the idea of or belonged to a more local group. 20% respectively stated that they disliked the idea of belonging to any organised group or that this particular group was too self interested. 24% of the sample had other reasons for not joining the Darwin Rural Landholders Association and 9 people knew nothing about the organisation.

All in all, 21 negative remarks were made about the Darwin Rural Landholders Association as a specific organisation as opposed to 30 general comments which indicates that a similar group would also be poorly patronized.

3.5 Summary

The subdivisions outside Darwin in which I undertook fieldwork are relatively new entities. Consequently the inhabitants are mostly newcomers to their area. Almost all respondents had lived for some time in Darwin before moving out to the Rural Area. The majority of respondents are aged between 30 and 44 and almost 40% have no children. Slightly more than one third of my rural sample were born in countries other than Australia. In terms of occupations, about 41% of working males are craftsmen and foremen. Of the working males, 39% are employed by government, 37% are self employed and 24% are employed in private enterprise. 67% work in Darwin as do 90% of employed females.

Hence the data I have presented lends some support to the assertion made by many residents that they have a separate identity to Darwin people.

CHAPTER 4 - METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the way in which data for this thesis was gathered and analysed. The discussion will follow the various stages of questionnaire design and analysis.

4.1 The First Visit to Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon

The author spent the month of January 1977 discussing with residents, their attitudes to local issues such as the Guidelines, to government bureaucracy, and their reasons for moving to the Northern Territory and to the Darwin Rural Area in particular. An attempt was made to try and understand in people's own terms what they like about their area, how they perceive of themselves and how they regard Darwin residents. I also tried to ascertain how the rationale given for their presence in the Rural Area matches up with the realities of their existence there.

Chance meetings with several well known Humpty Doo residents ensured a good supply of informants. Having stated my desire to meet as many Humpty Doo /McMinn's Lagoon residents as possible, I was taken around and introduced to a wide variety. Before leaving the house of a new informant on such visits, I would suggest to him/her that I return at a later date to discuss with them, the issues which I had briefly outlined.¹ During this later interview I attempted to direct the conversation to matters such as where respondents thought the Humpty Doo boundaries lie, what their reasons for moving to the area were and whether their initial expectations about the area had been satisfied.

In addition to making contacts by such a non-random method, a population count undertaken for sampling purposes enabled me to meet a more representative cross section of residents and to view the full range of activities and life styles in the area. Extra acquaintances were made through the food stores and craft and batik shops. Interviews were also held with representatives from government departments and from local organisations such as the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association. An attempt was made to establish what "official" attitudes to the Rural Area, and to its residents, are. One of the planners involved in the formulation of

¹ A later conversation permitted the new respondent to express personal opinions on local matters which he/she may have suppressed in the presence of another local resident.

the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines was interviewed in order to determine the rationale behind the formulation of the proposals.

4.2 Testing the Model

Having formulated a theoretical model the problem arose as to how it could best be tested. Had I been aware of its existence earlier, I could have based my findings on the results of a natural experiment which was taking place in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area at the time of fieldwork.¹ Given the time constraints of an Honours year in addition to the fact that attitudes during that pre-experimental stage had not been gauged, it was decided to abandon the idea and to use a cross-sectional survey method instead.

Initially it was felt that respondents would find a questionnaire too formal and too reminiscent of the government procedures of which they seemed critical. It was recalled however that during my first visit to the Darwin Rural Area the question was sometimes asked of me: "When's your work going to begin?" To many, sociological research is equated with survey work. Hence it was decided to make use of the "social researcher" stereotype by administering a questionnaire to a sample of residents. The advantage of this method, within the context I was working, is that comparability can be maintained by asking identically phrased questions within a fairly structured situation.²

It was hoped that any loss of spontaneity could be compensated for by noting down respondents' anecdotes and remarks, by phrasing the questions in an informal mode and by keeping the interview conversational.

1 Had I been free during the months of October and November 1976 I could have observed the effect of the proposed zoning scheme on local residents' desire for participation. The experiment would have comprised several stages, each stage being separated from the next by a stimulus such as a government announcement on planning in the area.

I could have observed the level of desire for participation in the period prior to the announcement of the Guidelines and then used this base level to gauge the change in attitudes to participation after their announcement. Residents' attitudes could again have been measured after the Guidelines had been revised. Given the apparent responsiveness of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission towards the local residents' comments and complaints, it would have been interesting to note whether the level of desire had dropped again to that of the pre-experimental stage. (DRC letter, 16 March 1967.)

2 In an area such as Humpty Doo, where sitting around and talking comprise the major social activity, some structuring of the situation was deemed necessary to keep the respondent on the topic.

4.3 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire which I developed comprised three separate sections. The first section was designed to yield the characteristics of the heads of households whom I interviewed. Additional information such as spouses' occupation and number of children in family was also obtained. As well as questions on population characteristics, respondents' knowledge of the Guidelines and attitude to the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association were also gauged. Basic information on respondents' knowledge of the Guidelines was needed to make sense of responses to the scale on "Attitude to the Guidelines". In addition, membership in the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association was considered to provide a crude measure of activism in local planning and development issues.¹ (See Appendix IV.)

The second section of the questionnaire comprised sets of potential scale items which it was intended would measure attitude to government bureaucracy, to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission to participation in planning etc. The decision to use several statements to gauge attitudes toward each variable was based on a consideration of the fact that a scale of several items provides a more reliable measure than a single item.² On my return from Humpty Doo the adequacy of these scales was tested using such methods as item analysis and factor analysis.

The last part of the Questionnaire (Questions 1 to 22) attempted to gauge the self-sufficiency and degree of dominance-independence of individuals in the Humpty Doo area.³ Given the initial difficulty in setting up a home in the Rural Area, I was interested to determine whether individuals scored higher on these personality traits than would a typical cross section of adults. Unfortunately a problem of comparability exists here as appropriate personality tests have been standardised only on American populations. However as time constraints prevented a thorough analysis of respondents' performances on this test, the results cannot be provided.

1 As it was found that only one respondent in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample was a member of the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association, little use could be made of this measure.

2 In formulating statements, the Likert method of scaling was employed. To avoid interviewer bias and the "yea saying" effect the items were phrased in both positive and negative terms.

3 As work deadlines prevented a thorough analysis of respondents' performances on this test, they will not be discussed further.

4.4 Devising Test Items

My first trip to the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area proved useful in the selection of test variables and individual items. To the list of variables specified in the literature as affecting the desire for participation (for example, government bureaucracy, Socio-economic Status and perceived efficacy of participation) were added several factors.

As it was thought that local institutions and issues such as the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, the Guidelines and government controls and plans in the Rural Area might affect the relationship between government bureaucracy and the desire for participation, a place was accorded them in the theoretical model.

In devising each set of items, I considered the dimensions of each variable and then formulated statements which gauged attitudes to these various dimensions. For instance the "desire for participation" questions measured two dimensions of this variable:

- (a) the degree of decision-making power that rural residents should be accorded ranging from an advisory level to total decision-making power;
- (b) the level of desire for personal involvement in a participation exercise.

The "Attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission" questions also covered a number of dimensions. For example the scale items included the question of whether a need had existed after the cyclone for an organisation such as the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, whether that need was being met, whether the organisation is flexible and responsive and whether its closure is a good thing.

Several terms had to be simplified so that they could be understood by all rural residents. For instance, the terms "government departments" and "red-tape" were used in preference to "government bureaucracy".

Questions 65 to 70 (excluding 69) did not fit into any scale but were considered worthy of inclusion because they gauged individuals' views on alternatives to participation. Some of these alternatives to, or alternative forms of participation, had been suggested in the literature and it was interesting to determine local residents' attitudes to them.

Question 67, for instance, postulates a situation very close to that suggested by the Skeffington Committee. To ensure complete canvassing of

opinion on planning matters, they proposed that a "Community Development Officer" be employed to gauge the attitudes of non-participants to planning proposals. Opinions were also gauged on the relative success of individual, as opposed to group complaint.

Ten statements respectively were formulated to measure desire for participation and attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission (Questions 20-28 and 69 and Questions 29-38). Questions 39-46 gauged the attitude to government controls in the Rural Area and Questions 47-49 measured the "need for planning" variable. Questions 50-55 measured attitude to government bureaucracy, while Questions 56-60 measured attitude to the Guidelines. Questions 61-64 gauged individuals' attitudes to the perceived efficacy of participation in planning.

4.5 Need for Pretest

Given the centrality of the questionnaire to the testing of hypotheses, an attempt should have been made to test its validity prior to administering it to the chosen Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample. However, as the pretesting of Likert scales is only of use when the scales are standardized on a sample of the target population, a third trip to the Northern Territory would have been required. Given the time constraints of the Honours year, such an undertaking was impossible.

Despite the absence of a pretest, attempts were made to ensure the validity of individual questions. As I spent four weeks talking to residents in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area prior to formulating the questionnaire I consider that the questionnaire has adequate face validity. And, in subjecting the questionnaire items to the types of analyses described below, the issue of construct validity has also been considered.

4.6 Sampling

One of the tasks undertaken in January 1977 in preparation for my return trip to the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area, was to count all the occupied households in the area. With this information it was possible to select a random sample of respondents from the area. It should be noted that very few alternative options were open to the author. Records such as the Electoral Rolls are notoriously inadequate largely because of the recent influx of people into the area.

To obtain a simple random sample of respondents, all occupied blocks were given a number between 1 and 204 and the first 60 numbers within that range were selected from a table of random numbers with replacement. Of this sample of heads, 25% of households in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area were interviewed.

4.7 The Interview

The 53 respondents who could be contacted were initially approached on the subject of the interview. To these 53 heads of households I related my identity, explained the purpose of my research and established my independence from government authorities.

The fact that during my population count in January, I had approached almost all the households and mentioned the possibility of a future interview aided in establishing my identity as a bonafide social researcher. Many interviews were gained on the strength of my status as "student" researcher. Having explained that I alone was responsible for the entire project, many respondents often felt only too glad to assist a fellow "battler".

After explaining the purpose of the research to each prospective respondent, I generally made an appointment to interview respondents at a time convenient to them. Before each interview I assured the "head" of his/her anonymity and briefly explained how the research had come about.

Usually interviews took one hour to one and a half hours. Where the respondent was agreeable I read the statements to him/her and recorded the responses. Given that the author was more familiar with questionnaire forms such procedures were employed to eliminate possible mistakes in comprehension and in the recording of responses by respondents. However, in an effort to eliminate any unintended secretiveness, the questionnaire was freely shown to respondents. Often the respondent would read the questions while the questions were read aloud to him/her. Given the hypothetical nature of some questions, I occasionally had to explain the meaning of a question to respondents. Maintaining question equivalence was not problematic though, as a standard explanation for each problem question was soon evolved.

The author considered it expedient to accept the beer or "cuppa" proffered after the interview and to stay and chat often on matters

only remotely connected to the topic of the questionnaire. To those who were interested enough to ask "Why'd you come to this house?", the sampling procedure was explained. In addition a copy of the survey results was promised to those respondents desiring them.

4.8 Coding

The coding of responses was undertaken to convert the data obtained from the questionnaire into a form amenable to computer analysis.

Open ended questions and questions with comments sections were classified and coded on logical grounds. If a question such as 17(b) received more varied answers than those provided by the author, new categories for these responses were created. In these questions each response constituted a variable. Thus a "1" meant "yes", that is, that person had selected this answer and a "2" or "no" meant that another response had been chosen. In questions such as "Age" "Length of Residence in the Rural Area", the actual age or length of residence in months was recorded.

The scale items were scored between 1 and 5. Code 3 meant that the respondent was undecided on that question. Negative attitudes to participation, to government bureaucracy etc were scored low while positive attitudes were scored high. For the "attitude to the Guidelines" questions, a coding of 9 meant that the respondent had not heard of them or did not feel familiar enough with them to express an opinion.

In the last section of the questionnaire, traits of self-sufficiency and dominance were scored high (3) while their opposites were scored low (1). On the original 16PF Test, the highest score given to these traits is 2. The traits of submissiveness and group adherence are scored 0 while the inbetween category is scored 1. For obvious reasons it was considered that the use of 1 as a minimal code number would provide more information than a nought.

4.9 How the Scales Were Derived

Being a more valid and reliable measure, scales were used in preference to individual items as indicators of attitude. Although the author had hypothesised sets of scales on rational grounds, it was necessary to determine statistically whether these sets of scale items were in fact related, and whether they all referred to the hypothesised attitude dimensions. The operations described below are all attempts to determine the use value of individual scale items.

4.9.1 Frequency Distributions

The first task of scale formation was to examine the frequency distributions of responses to all possible scale items. Frequency distributions were obtained for all items. A majority of scale items had even bell shaped distributions, although the distributions of several were highly skewed. For instance on Question 68, 86% of the sample agreed that rural residents should make their views on rural planning matters known to the planners as soon as possible. Although the distributions of such items are in themselves informative, they do not discriminate well between residential attitudes. Hence such items were discarded from the pool of potential scale items.

When administering the questionnaire it was found that several of the items were ambiguous. Questions such as 33 forced individuals to respond in a way that belied their real attitude to a particular issue. Questions that were found to be ambiguous were also discarded from the pool of scalable items. The following methods of analysis were employed in order to determine what sort of relationships exist between the items of each hypothesised scale.

4.9.2 Crosstabulations

Crosstabulations are an adjunct to inter-item and item-total correlations and are necessary to test the degree of linearity between items. This knowledge is essential for correlation analysis.

Crosstabulations were obtained between the items that comprised each of the hypothesised attitude scales. For instance all items with satisfactory frequency distributions in the "Attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission" scale were crosstabulated with each other. Any crosstabulations between items that were weak or negative were noted and were later considered in relation to item-total correlations.

4.9.3 The Initial Item-Corrected Total Correlations

Having selected the scale items on rational grounds, I was interested to examine their item-total correlations. Items that correlate highly with total scores are desirable because, according to Nunnally, they "have more variance relating to the common factor among the items, and they add more to the test reliability". (1967: 261)

It was encouraging to note that the items within the seven scales I had hypothesised correlated moderately well with each other.¹ The following table lists the best item-total correlations within each scale.

ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATIONS OF SCALES

TABLE 4.1

(PRE FACTOR ANALYSIS)

Attitude Scales	Item No/Item-Total Correlations
Attitude to government bureaucracy	52/.3121 53/.4404 54/.3811
Attitude to Darwin Reconstruction Commission	30/.5957 34/.7144 35/.4585 36/.6015 38/.5565
Attitude to government controls in the Rural Area	39/.3519 42/.3746 43/.4203 44/.5287
Attitude to Guidelines	57/.2527 58/.4133 59/.3647
Desire for Public Participation	23/.4489 25/.5216 26/.3753 28/.3439 66/.4708
Attitude to Perceived efficacy of Participation	62/.3076 14/.1966 65/.3893

Although they indicate how well scale items hang together, neither the inter-item correlations nor the item-total correlations indicate to the researcher whether the hypothesised scale items have some single factor in common that justifies their inclusion within a particular scale. Factor analysis can provide that knowledge. (Nunnally, 1967: 100)

4.9.4 Factor Analysis

To test the hypothesis that seven sub scales exist among the total set of 38 attitude items, a seven factor principle components solution was obtained.

¹ Originally I formulated seven scales. The scale I have not mentioned is "attitude to planning" in the Rural Area. As one of the three items that comprised this scale had a poor distribution, this scale was abandoned early in scale analysis. No previous mention has been made of this scale largely because what has been written about attitude to the Guidelines and government controls in the Rural Area is applicable to this variable.

VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX FOR 7 FACTORS

TABLE 4.2

Q.NO	ATTITUDE TO THE DRC Factor 1	ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY Factor 2	ATTITUDE TO PLANNING Factor 3	ATTITUDE TO GUIDELINES Factor 4	ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLS Factor 5	DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION Factor 6	UNNAME Factor
22					-.56537		
23						.45066	
28					-.48333		
30	.69743						
34	.78714						
35	.56182						
36	.68088						
38	.52748						
43					.46664		
44					.46078		
52		.50988					
53		.51221					
62		.43642			.64085		
64						.61366	
69						.67610	

The 7 scales accounted for 56.6% of the total variance. Only 6 of the 7 factors appeared as predicted. The seventh factor contained only 2 high loadings. Given that the hypothesised "perceived efficacy of participation" items had not formed a separate factor, a 6 factor solution was obtained.

These 6 factors accounted for 57.4% of the variance. The varimax rotated factor loadings matrix from this solution is given in Table 4.3.

VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX FOR 6 FACTORS

TABLE 4.3

Q.NO	ATTITUDE TO THE DRC Factor 1	ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLS Factor 2	ATTITUDE TO GUIDELINES Factor 3	DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION Factor 4	ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY Factor 5	UNNAMED Factor 6
22		-.62587				
23				.50456		
28		-.51475				
30	.75760					
34	.78110					
35	.52882					
36	.68032					
38	.60834					
43		.54930				
44		.51070				
52					.45381	
53					.49294	
54					.37089	
62		.62081				
64				.69637		
69				.63207		

4.9.5 Inter-item and Item-total Correlations of the Scales

Inter-item and item-total correlations were obtained for the remaining four factors. Tables 4.4 - 4.8 indicate the degree of relation between items.

INTER-ITEM CORRELATION MATRIXES (FOR 6 FACTOR ANALYSIS)

FACTOR 1 - ATTITUDE TO DARWIN RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSION

TABLE 4.4

	Q.80	Q.84	Q.85	Q.86	Q.88
Q.30	1.0	.476	.300	.543	.49
Q.34		1.0	.503	.529	.616
Q.35			1.0	.422	.246
Q.36				1.0	.322
Q.38					1.0

FACTOR 2 - ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLS IN RURAL AREA

TABLE 4.5

	Q.22	Q.28	Q.43	Q.44	Q.62
Q.22	1.0	.458	-.459	-.23	-.404
Q.23		1.0	-.268	-.420	-.312
Q.43			1.0	.46	.37
Q.44				1.0	.28
Q.62					1.0

FACTOR 3 - ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

TABLE 4.6

	Q.52	Q.53	Q.54
Q.52	1.0	.296	.228
Q.53		1.0	.399
Q.54			1.0

FACTOR 4 - DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION

TABLE 4.7

	Q.23	Q.64	Q.69
Q.23	1.0	.349	.174
Q.64		1.0	.461
Q.69			1.0

ATTITUDE SCALE	QUESTION/ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	RELIABILITY COEFFICIENT ALPHA
Attitude to government bureaucracy Frequencies	52/.3121 53/.4404 54/.3811 23 2 9 9 11 5 4 1 4 1	.3839
Attitude to Darwin Reconstruction Commission Frequencies	30/.5957 34/.7144 35/.4885 36/.6015 38/.5565 10 1 1 3 4 7 3 6 2 4 6 4 3 1 1	.6507
Attitude to government controls in the Rural Area (vis-a-vis Decision Making Power) Frequencies	22/.5389 28/.5021 43/.5483 44/.4794 62/.4697 Unrecorded	.6070
Desire for Participation Frequencies	23/.3063 64/.5312 69/.3910 1 8 5 0 12 6 6 7 11 1 2	.4058

The four remaining factors can be identified as the "attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission" scale, "attitude to government bureaucracy" the "desire for participation" scale and the "Attitude to government controls in the Rural Area" scale. The addition of two questions from the hypothesised public participation scale has changed the meaning of this last scale though. A power dimension has been added to this scale of attitudes to government control in the Rural Area. Judging by the accent of the questions, this scale seems to measure how much decision-making power the government should have in the Rural Area with respect to rural residents.

As the reader has probably observed, only 16 of the 29 items that were included in the last 6-factor analysis now constitute the 4 scales. Some items were dropped out on the grounds that their factor loadings on every factor were low, while others were discarded as a result of their ambiguous phrasing.

4.10 The Formation of the Socio-Economic Scale

To test the hypothesised link between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation in the planning process, it was necessary to compute a scale of Socio-economic Status.

Usually a Socio-economic Status scale is formed by compounding variables such as education, occupation, income and subjective social class. However only data on respondent's occupation and education was gathered. No apologies though, are to be made for the absence of data on income. Losing some information was considered less harmful to the research project, than losing the rapport that had been built between researcher and respondent. Such a decision was based on an observation made during my first visit, about how the majority of Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon respondents had reacted to the Census and in particular to the income question on the form. Given their antipathy to "prying" into such matters, especially by a young person perceived to be upwardly mobile herself, no mention of income was made.

The 17 occupational categories and the 7 educational categories into which the raw data were coded had to be recoded into categories more meaningful to the concept of Socio-economic Status. The two scales were recoded on the basis of natural breaks rather than on their frequency distributions. These recodes are presented in Table 4.9 and 4.10.

EDUCATION RECODES FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

TABLE 4.9

CATEGORY	PREVIOUS CODE	NEW CODE
Completed High School	5	1 (High level of formal education)
Completed High School and Course	6	
Completed University	7	
Completed Apprenticeship/Technical Course (not High School)	4	2
Completed Primary/Grade 6	1	3 (Low level of formal education)
Completed Form 1/Grade 7	2	
Completed Form 2/3/4	3	

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RECODES FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

TABLE 4.10

CATEGORY	PREVIOUS CODE	NEW CODE
Upper Professional -- Members of Armed Services and Police Force	1 - 8	1 (High occupational prestige)
Craftsmen and Foremen	9	2
Shop Assistants - Inadequately Defined	10 - 17	3 (Low occupational prestige)

EDUCATION BY OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

TABLE 4.11

		HIGH OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE No/Column %	No/Column %	LOW OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE No/Column %	ROW TOTAL No/Column %
		1	2	3	
High Formal Education	1	5/28%	3/14%	3/25%	11/22%
	2	6/33%	12/57%	1/8%	19/37%
Low Formal Education	3	7/39%	6/29%	8/66%	21/41%
Column Total		18/35%	21/41%	12/24%	51/100%

Raw Chi Square = 8.62856 with 4 degrees of freedom

Contingency Coefficient = .38040

Significance = .0/11

These new categories were not identified as representing a particular social group. Individual categories were important only in so far as they represented a point along the continuum of Socio-economic Status about which I had hypothesised. Hence category 1 of the occupation scale only indicates that a certain number of respondents hold occupations of higher prestige than those in category 3.

Before combining these two scales, a crosstabulation of education by occupation was obtained to observe the degree of consistency between scales, that is, one would expect individuals of high occupational status to have attained a high level of formal education and vice versa.

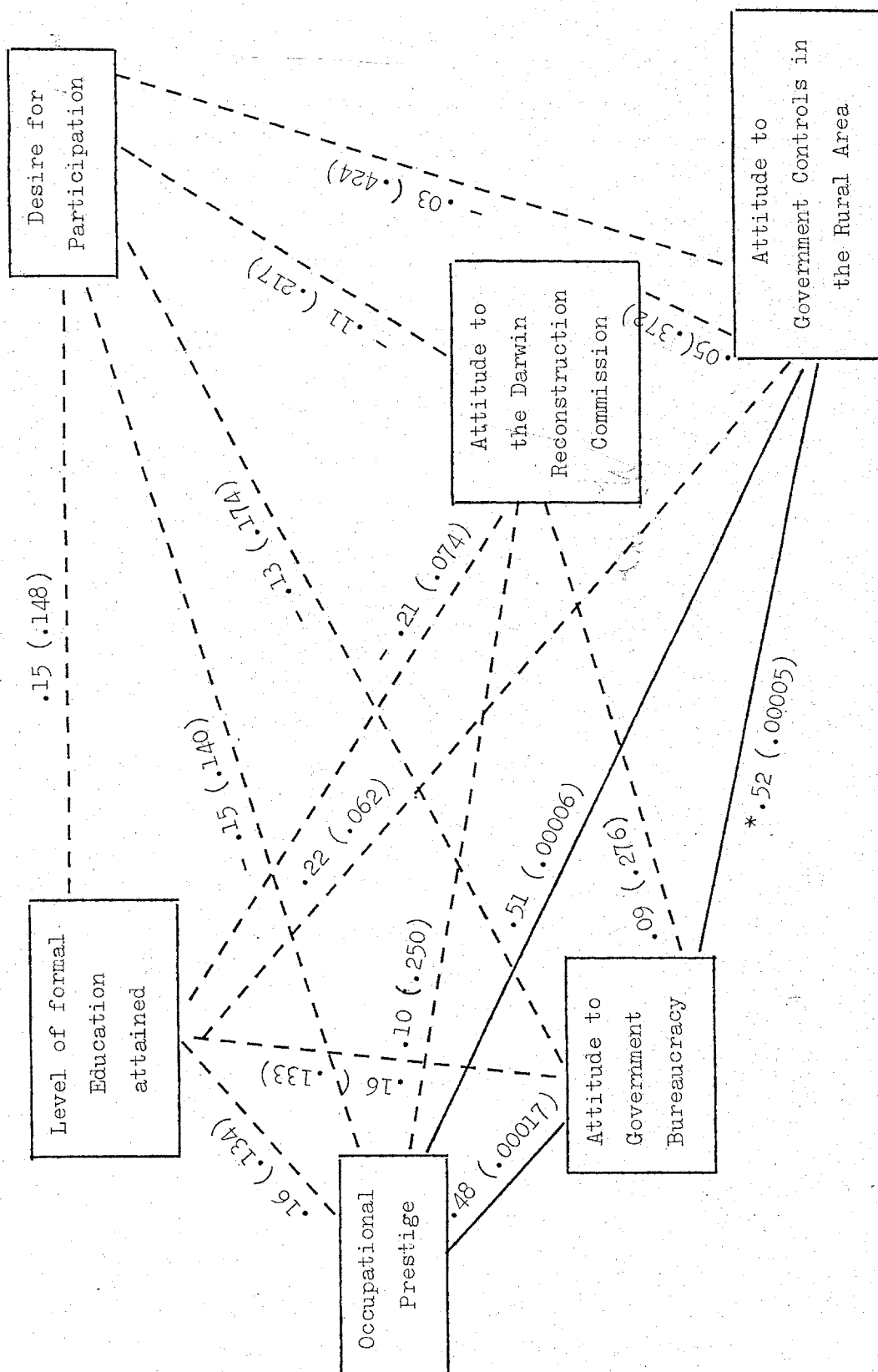
Given the nature of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon community, the results of the crosstabulation presented in Table 4.11 come as no surprise. The relationship between the variables of occupational prestige and education cannot be considered significant as there are 7 chances in 100 that this relationship may well be a product of chance.

The obviously high degree of status inconsistency illustrated by Table 4.11 indicates that the formation of a Socio-economic Status scale would be at best, of little value, and at worst, misleading in any analysis of the effect of Socio-economic Status on the desire for public participation in planning processes. Unfortunately, neither education nor occupation alone are sufficiently discriminating to provide an accurate measure of Socio-economic Status. The two variables of education and occupation can be tested to observe the degree to which they account for the desire for participation, however neither can legitimately be used as an indicator of anything else. Hence the high degree of status inconsistency in Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon evident in high school graduates with labouring jobs and managers with low levels of formal education militates against the formation of a Socio-economic Status scale to test the assertion that a positive correlation exists between Socio-economic Status and the desire for participation.

4.11 Summary

Of the 7 sub scales only 4 were considered to be adequate indicators of attitude. One of the 3 unsuccessful scales (perceived efficacy of participation) was abandoned on the grounds that it did not form a discrete factor during the process of factor analysis. The "need for planning" variable could not be utilized as one of its three items had an unsatisfactory frequency distribution. The Guidelines scale was also abandoned because the small number of cases on which it was based would have created difficulties when the connections between it and other scales were tested. In addition the apparent degree of status inconsistency in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area prevented the formation of a reliable Socio-economic Status scale based on occupation and education.

The remaining scales or constructs are attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, attitude to government bureaucracy, attitude to government controls in the Rural Area and desire for participation. Despite the collapse of the Socio-economic Status scale, occupational prestige and education were correlated with the other variables.



* Spearman correlation coefficient figures in brackets are levels of significance.

CHAPTER 5. - FINDINGS

5.1 The Model

Having created the scales described previously, the hypothesised relations between them were tested. The actual links tested were between government bureaucracy, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, government controls in the Rural Area and participation, and between government bureaucracy, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission and government controls. In addition, education and occupational prestige were correlated with the other variables. It was expected that these 2 variables would correlate positively with the other variables. Pearson correlation coefficients between variables and levels of significance are presented in Diagram 5.1.

From this diagram it is obvious that most of the results have not come out as predicted. For instance, the "attitude to government bureaucracy" variable accounts for very little of the variance of the "desire for participation" scale. Similarly the links between "attitude to government controls in the rural area" and participation are also not significant. A very low correlation exists between "attitude to government bureaucracy" and "attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission".

However as hypothesised, a significant positive correlation appeared between respondents' attitudes to government bureaucracy and their attitudes to government controls in the Rural Area, that is the more positive the attitude to government bureaucracy, the more positive the attitude toward government controls in the Rural Area. It is understandable that respondents who consider that government bureaucracies are necessary to the smooth functioning of society will also consider government controls to be functional in the Rural Area. However respondents who regard government bureaucracies as overly "bureaucratic" (in the negative sense of the word) will also perceive rural controls to be manifestations of this tendency.

Consideration though must be given to the possibility that a significant correlation exists between these two variables largely because they measure similar attitude dimensions. This assumption is partially supported by the distribution of points on a scatterplot of the two variables. On this scatterplot the two clusters of scale items (that is, attitude to government bureaucracy and attitude to government controls) are situated quite near each other. In addition, the correlation between

these two variables may be a reflection of the fact that individuals do not form opinions in the abstract, but rather base their responses to concepts like government bureaucracy on their most recent or their most memorable interactions with government departments. For many rural residents, issues like the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines, the Cyclone Building Code and power supply constitute their most recent interactions with government.

Other significant correlations were found to exist between the occupational prestige variable and attitude to government controls in the Rural Area and between occupational prestige and attitude to government bureaucracy. These findings indicate that the higher an individual ranks on the occupational prestige scale, the more positive is his attitude to government bureaucracy and to government controls in the Rural Area.

An established association between occupation and income partly accounts for the connection between occupation and attitude to government controls in the Rural Area.¹ If rural residents of high occupational status tend to have high incomes then it is conceivable that this group would favour government controls in the Rural Area. Regulations and controls affecting land use and building will be applauded by this group because they protect the economic interests which these individuals have in their homes and land. Although the value of their land is similarly protected, individuals of lower occupational prestige may resent such controls because they are prevented from establishing businesses and heavy workshops on their blocks. (However as the individuals of higher occupational prestige in the sample were white collar workers, most would not wish to put their land to such uses.)

Given the fact that Broom et al. found a correlation coefficient of .77 between the occupational prestige scale and their derived Index of Social Rank, the occupational prestige scale may be regarded as a partial indicator of social rank. This fact, combined with an awareness that individuals of higher Socio-economic Status are more able to manipulate bureaucracy to their advantage than individuals of lower Socio-economic Status provides an explanation of why the link between occupational prestige and government bureaucracy should be positive. (in sign) Sjoberg observed that in contrast to the lower class person who "stands in awe of bureaucratic regulations" is the middle class individual. In regard to this group Sjoberg is of the opinion that they

¹ For the Australian population Broom et al. found a correlation of .51 between occupation and income. (1968: 230)

"generally learn how to manipulate bureaucratic rules to their advantage..." (1965: 325)

The assumption behind Sjoberg's statement that

"Bureaucracy is a key medium through which the middle class maintains its advantaged position vis-a-vis the lower class"

is that bureaucracy works for the higher socio-economic groups, presumably to the disadvantage of the lower classes. (p. 325) That individuals of higher Socio-economic Status hold more positive attitudes to government bureaucracy is understandable if it works in their favour.¹

Given that occupational prestige is not equivalent to, but is rather a dimension of Socio-economic Status, the attempts at explanation I have made are purely speculative. However a tendency was observed when interviewing in the Rural Area for residents of higher Socio-economic Status (in the interviewer's estimation) to regard the activities of government in the Rural Area in a more positive light than their working class counterparts.

The correlation coefficients between level of formal education and attitudes to government bureaucracy and government controls are very low in comparison to those just discussed. The problem of status inconsistency which I will discuss later probably accounts in large measure for this finding. However it is of significance that education correlates least well of all the Socio-economic Status indicators with Broom et al's Index of Social Rank (that is, .63). Neither level of formal education attained nor degree of occupational prestige predict a respondent's attitude to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission. (It is interesting to note that level of formal education does not correlate well with the other variables either.) The solution to this problem may lie in the conditions under which the Darwin Reconstruction Commission was created.²

1 The fact that government bureaucracies tend to make decisions which favour the upper socio-economic groups need not be consciously realized by these groups who hold positive attitudes to government bureaucracy. Without recognising their own advantaged position vis-a-vis lower socio-economic groups, it may seem to them that government bureaucracies consider all individuals' needs in the making of decisions.

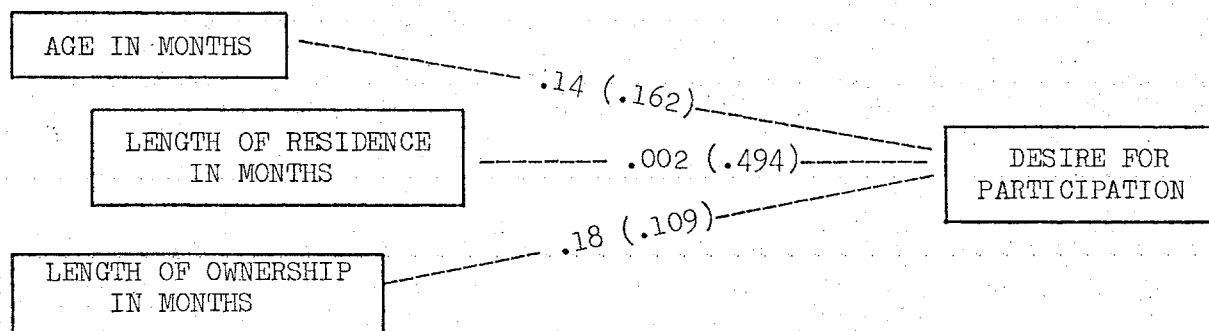
2 Having been created under unique circumstances, given a specific mandate and a limited lifetime, individuals may regard the Darwin Reconstruction Commission as an organisation apart from the other arms of government bureaucracy. It is possible that factors which normally contribute to the formation of an individual's attitude to a particular object, are secondary to factors such as the impact of Cyclone Tracy or the prevailing attitude towards reconstruction at the time. Once again I must qualify my remarks by stating that, in the absence of meaningful correlation coefficients they are purely speculative.

Neither education nor occupation correlate well with "desire for participation" and neither correlation is statistically significant. A perusal of Diagram 5.1 makes it clear that none of the hypothesised independent variables correlate with the "desire for participation" variable.

To find out exactly what the "desire for participation in planning" variable correlates with correlations were obtained between desire for participation and respondents' age, length of residence on rural block and length of ownership of block. Correlation coefficients were once again extremely low and none are significant. Diagram 5.2 indicates the magnitude of each correlation and its level of significance.

CORRELATIONS OBTAINED WITH ADDITIONAL VARIABLES

DIAGRAM 5.2



* Figures in brackets are levels of significance

Hence, it has been found in my study that attitudes to government bureaucracy, government controls, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, level of occupational prestige and formal education are not associated with desire for participation. Neither are age, length of residence nor length of ownership of block.

Taking into account the number of connections I have tested as well as the literature on the correlates of participation, I would contend that either the concept of participation or the way in which it has been operationalised or both have contributed to these negative findings. Chapter 6 will explore this possibility.

5.2 Frequency Distributions of Questionnaire Items

On the grounds that the distributions of various questions were highly skewed and therefore poor discriminators of individual attitudes, many test items were disqualified from use in the construction of scales. It

could be argued however that a valuable indication of local opinion was overlooked. Frequency distributions, whether bell shaped or skewed, indicate the prevailing attitude in a community toward a particular attitude or issue. If most people in an area such as Humpty Doo agree that they are ignored by government departments, then from a sociological point of view it is necessary to recognise the forces which act on that group and cause it to respond to such questions in similar ways.¹

The following section contains an analysis of responses to individual scale items. The topics discussed are not arranged in the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire.

ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

TABLE 5.1

Q.NO	QUESTION	* SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
50	With the kind of society we have today, we just can't do without large government organisations.	1/ 2%	29/57%	4/ 8%	13/25%	4/ 8%
51	Government departments will make few allowances for the needs of individuals	4/ 8%	33/65%	6/12%	8/15%	0/ 0%
52	If you do battle with a government department, it will always win out in the end.	7/14%	26/51%	2/ 4%	14/27%	2/ 4%
53	Government departments are always top heavy - too many managers and too few workers.	9/17%	27/53%	5/10%	10/20%	0/ 0%
54	I'm sure if people thought hard about it, there would be some way to get around having to have large government departments.	5/10%	20/40%	8/15%	18/35%	0/ 0%
55	When you have to deal with a government department you really have to prepare yourself for a long wait.	10/20%	38/74%	1/ 2%	2/ 4%	0/ 0%

* SA Strongly agree

A Agree

U Undecided

D Disagree

SD Strongly disagree

¹ Admittedly one could argue the alternative view that such questions are poor discriminators in that any group of people under any circumstances would tend to express such opinions.

5.2.1 Attitude to government bureaucracy

Most of the statements included in this section were designed to gauge how the Humpty Doo McMinn's Lagoon sample react to oft asserted criticisms relating to the bureaucratic mode.

With the suggestion that government departments make few allowances for the needs of individuals there was widespread agreement. (See Table 5.1) Remarks made in conjunction with this question point to the fact that although the enforcement of strict rules is an accepted bureaucratic procedure, it is not applauded.

From Table 5.1 a high level of agreement with Question 52 is also evident. Of those who disagreed with the statement, many recounted instances of where their constant wrangling with government departments had brought them some measure of success. Similarly the bulk of the sample agreed that an imbalance in the ratio of managers to "real" workers characterizes government bureaucracies. From Question 55 it is also evident that long waiting times (over issues such as power installation) are an aspect of rural respondents' interactions with government departments.

If analysed together, responses to Questions 50 and 54 indicate that some respondents may hold contradictory attitudes to the perpetuity of government bureaucracies. While 49% of respondents think that a way can be found to avoid maintaining large government departments, 58% feel in Question 50 that large government departments are essential to the kind of society we have today. In opposition to the results, one would suppose that individuals who tend to agree with Question 50 would disagree with Question 54. With the exception of the 8 or 9% who responded in a contradictory manner this was generally the case.¹

In summary, obvious dissatisfaction has been expressed with the following aspects of bureaucracy:

- (a) adherence to strict rules and procedures
- (b) inefficient structuring
- (c) inflexibility and non responsiveness toward its clientele.

Despite the fact that the individuals who believe there are alternatives to large government departments are in a minority, their numbers are by no means small.

¹ It is conceivable that the slightly different wording of Questions 50 and 51 is partially responsible for the difference in results obtained on the two questions.

ATTITUDES TO THE DARWIN RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSION

TABLE 5.2

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
29	After the Cyclone, there was a real need for an organisation like the Darwin Reconstruction Commission to be set up.	7/14%	32/62%	2/ 4%	5/10%	5/10%
30	The Darwin Reconstruction Commission is serving that need well.	4/ 8%	23/45%	7/14%	11/21%	6/12%
34	The Darwin Reconstruction Commission adjusts itself well to changing needs and conditions.	0/ 0%	14/27%	14/28%	18/35%	5/10%
35	The staff planners of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission are just too high-handed with the rural residents they have to deal with.	4/ 8%	18/35%	20/39%	9/18%	0/ 0%
36	The Darwin Reconstruction Commission are too remote from the citizens whose lives are affected by their work.	6/12%	25/49%	13/25%	7/14%	0/ 0%
38	The Darwin Reconstruction Commission generally consider the needs of people for whom they plan.	0/ 0%	16/31%	14/28%	16/31%	5/10%

5.2.2 Attitudes to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission

Although Questions 31, 32, 33 and 37 were originally designed as part of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission scale, the fact that respondents interpreted them in unintended ways warrants their exclusion from this discussion.

As Questions 29 and 30 were designed to complement each other, they will be discussed consecutively. From Table 5.2 it is apparent that the majority of respondents accept that the post-cyclone situation necessitated the setting up of an organization like the Darwin Reconstruction Commission. Although a majority, fewer respondents consider that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission is adequately serving the purpose for which it was created. Undoubtedly in this question most respondents interpret the issue of "need" as it applied to the city of Darwin after Cyclone Tracy.¹ From Table 5.2, it is apparent that a majority of respondents consider that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission is too remote from those it plans for, in addition to being unresponsive to changing needs and conditions.

¹ The Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area was considerably less affected by the 1974 cyclone than the more densely populated urban areas.

Although only a slim majority agreed with Questions 35 and 38, it is apparent that many respondents consider the Darwin Reconstruction Commission to be neglectful of the needs of those it plans for. The frequent use of the "undecided" category in this subset of questions is indicative of the uncertainty residents evinced in whether to respond to statements on the basis of hearsay or personal experience.¹ For instance on Question 35 most residents who had heard that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission were "high-handed", admitted that they hadn't personally experienced this behaviour. The indecision frequently expressed by respondents on this question is also perhaps a reflection of the general attitude change to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission which has become apparent since the announcement that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission will cease operations in December 1977.²

In summary it is apparent that most residents recognised and accepted the need for the Darwin Reconstruction Commission after the cyclone. Although still a majority, fewer respondents feel that the organisation is fulfilling its appointed functions well. A majority of respondents in each case feel that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission is too remote from the public it serves and too unresponsive in the face of changing needs and conditions. Despite the fact that many residents were undecided on the question of responsiveness, a slim majority feel that the Darwin Reconstruction Commission does not generally take into account the needs and opinions of residents it plans for.

1 Attitudes to an object based on these two frequently differ. For instance in a survey undertaken by the Royal Commission on Australian Public Administration, it was found that respondents gave higher ratings to the government employees they had contact with, than to "all the people in government offices (they'd) ever come into contact with". In trying to explain this disparity the authors stated that "in making general assessments people are influenced by commonly held beliefs or by what everyone says and so assert that public servants do not give good service..." (1976: 222)

2 Such disparity is evident when my field notes for the months of January and June are compared. In response to the announcement that the Guidelines are to be revised attitudes toward their perpetrators perceptibly improved.

ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLS IN THE RURAL AREA

TABLE 5.3

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
39	All I want out here is to be left alone.	16/31%	23/45%	0/ 0%	12/24%	0/ 0%
40	Providing they serve a purpose, I don't mind government controls in the Rural Area.	1/ 2%	44/86%	1/ 2%	4/ 8%	1/ 2%
41	For our own good we must obey restrictions like the Cyclone Building Code.	6/12%	32/63%	1/ 2%	9/17%	3/ 6%
42	I came out here to get away from too many government-imposed restrictions in the city.	4/ 8%	16/31%	2/ 4%	29/57%	0/ 0%
43	No government department should be able to tell me what to do on my own land.	8/16%	18/35%	3/ 6%	22/43%	0/ 0%
44	The government is trying to regulate individuals' lives just too minutely.	8/16%	21/41%	5/10%	17/33%	0/ 0%
45	I would be willing to accept more government controls out here in exchange for more government services.	0/ 0%	17/33%	0/ 0%	30/59%	4/ 8%
46	The government should have no say in this area about anything.	2/ 4%	4/ 8%	3/ 6%	38/74%	4/ 8%

5.2.3 Attitudes to Government Controls in the Rural Area

Table 5.3 presents the frequency distributions of responses to the "Government Controls in the Rural Area" items.¹

Although the high level of agreement with Question 39 can be accounted for by the broadness of the statement it is interesting to note that almost one-third of respondents have chosen an extreme category to express their opinions.

The distributions of responses to Questions 40 and 46 reveal that respondents favour some government controls in the Rural Area. A further indication of rural residents acceptance of "reasonable" controls in the Rural Area is the distribution of responses to Question 41. Several of the 12 respondents who are opposed to such restrictions supported their answers by pointing out that such controls were unnecessary in a relatively unbuilt-up area.²

1 Given the inapplicability of Question 42 to an analysis of government controls in the Rural Area, it will not be discussed.

2 In observing responses to this question, it was obvious that most residents based their answers almost entirely on their attitude to the Cyclone Building Code. Rather than just providing the concrete example it was intended to, the Cyclone Building Code became the main focus of the question.

The slight majority of respondents who disagreed with Questions 43 and 44 would appear to contradict the tenor of responses to the previous questions on government controls in the Rural Area. Undoubtedly in Question 43 it is the principle of maximum control of one's own land that is considered when responding to the question rather than the actuality of such a situation.¹

From Question 45 it is apparent that only one-third of respondents would be willing to accept more government services in exchange for more government controls. Many of the individuals who disagreed with the question added that government services should not have to be gained by trading in freedoms available only in the Rural Area. In addition some respondents mentioned that they desired no further government services in the Rural Area.

It appears then, that most respondents in the sample are willing to accept government controls which they perceive to be necessary to the maintenance of the Rural Area.

ATTITUDE TO THE NEED FOR PLANNING

TABLE 5.4

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
47	Without planning this area will just get worse and worse.	0/ 0%	24/47%	2/ 4%	22/43%	3/ 6%
48	I myself think there is no need at all for any planning in the Rural Area.	2/ 4%	2/ 4%	2/ 4%	44/86%	1/ 2%
49	I think that by and large, the people out here are in favour of planning for the Rural Area.	0/ 0%	22/43%	21/41%	7/14%	1/ 2%

5.2.4 The "Need for Planning" Variable

That the majority of respondents perceive some need for planning in the Rural Area is obvious from an analysis of responses to Question 48 (see Table 5.4). It is conceivable that a high level of disagreement with this question may have been expressed in reaction to the extreme terms in which it was phrased.

¹ When interviewing the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample it was apparent that few individuals answered this question on the basis of a consideration of how such a principle would affect the way in which other individuals utilized their land.

Of interest in Table 5.4 is the almost equal division of responses to Question 47. As an addendum to their response, many respondents who disagreed with the question added that if all future subdivisions were 5 acres or larger, the rural residential character of the area would not be adversely affected by further growth.

The large number of respondents who were undecided on Question 49 is clearly a reflection of the individualist orientation of many rural residents.

In summarising the attitude of the majority of respondents on this issue it appears that most respondents would like to see a limited amount of planning in the Rural Area. However the question of whether the area would deteriorate if no further planning took place is contentious, that is opinions were evenly divided on this point. Of the 59% of respondents who stated an opinion on Question 49, the majority felt that most rural residents are in favour of planning for the Rural Area. The large number of respondents who were undecided on the issue points to the general lack of communication between residents on issues such as planning and development in the Rural Area.

ATTITUDE TO THE GUIDELINES

TABLE 5.5

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%	*NA No/%
56	The Guidelines didn't take into account what rural residents really wanted.	1/ 2%	19/37%	6/12%	1/ 2%	0/ 0%	24/47%
57	The Guidelines were the best solution to the problem of keeping out unwanted development in the area.	0/ 0%	12/23%	4/18%	5/10%	1/ 2%	24/47%
58	The Guidelines were far too restrictive in terms of landuse.	4/ 8%	11/21%	5/10%	7/14%	0/ 0%	24/47%
59	The Guidelines would have done much to maintain the way of life I enjoy out here.	0/ 0%	12/23%	6/12%	8/16%	1/ 2%	24/47%
60	It was more the way the Guidelines were presented than its actual content that I objected to.	1/ 2%	13/25%	3/ 6%	10/20%	0/ 0%	24/47%

* NA Not applicable

5.2.5 Attitude to the Guidelines

In Table 5.5 a "Not Applicable" response was added to the other categories into which were placed the responses of individuals who had not heard of the Guidelines at all or who had heard only that they existed.

Responses to Questions 56 and 58 lend support to my observation that the Guidelines were generally disliked in the Rural Area. Most respondents who answered in the affirmative to Question 57 qualified their answer by remarking that the Guidelines constituted the best solution for restricting development yet offered to them by a government organisation.

Although the majority of responses to Question 59 appear to contradict the feelings expressed by respondents in Questions 56 and 58 the apparent anomaly can be explained in part by reference to Question 60. In this question a slight majority of residents agreed that it was more the way that the Guidelines were presented than their actual content that they found objectionable. Thus although many respondents realized that the Guidelines would protect their preferred lifestyle, slightly more than half the respondents familiar with them disapproved of the methods by which they were publicized and exhibited.

Hence among the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample many were dissatisfied with the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines, on the grounds that they didn't take into account what rural residents really wanted. In addition some criticism focused not on the substance of the Guidelines but on the means by which they were presented.

DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION

TABLE 5.6

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
20	Getting a few rural residents together with a planning group to discuss planning matters is certainly worth a try.	9/18%	36/70%	1/ 2%	4/ 8%	1/ 2%
21	I would like to meet with planners for early (preliminary) discussions on the ways in which planners and rural residents could work together that would suit the residents of the Rural Area.	5/10%	35/69%	2/ 4%	9/17%	0/ 0%
22	All decisions which are presently made by the planners on matters that affect the Rural Area should be made by the rural residents themselves.	5/10%	28/55%	1/ 2%	15/29%	2/ 4%
23	I would like to be involved in a situation where a group of residents (whose function was accepted by the planners) would discuss planning matters and then advise the planners on what they thought best for the Rural Area.	5/10%	32/63%	1/ 2%	13/25%	0/ 0%
24	Unless we work with the planners on their terms (that is, within a bureaucratic framework) we will achieve nothing for the Rural Area.	1/ 2%	25/49%	5/10%	17/33%	3/ 6%
25	I wouldn't mind giving up quite a bit of my freetime so that I could take an active part in discussing rural planning matters with a group made up of residents and planners.	0/ 0%	22/43%	4/ 8%	23/45%	2/ 4%
26	Before you mentioned it I had thought a bit about the advantages of giving rural residents more say in the making of plans that affect us.	3/ 6%	31/61%	0/ 0%	17/33%	0/ 0%
27	I'd be willing to lobby pretty hard to make sure that my views were known to planners.	10/19%	26/51%	4/ 8%	10/20%	1/ 2%
28	The only situation worth being in is one in which residents have as much power as planners to make decisions on matters that affect the Rural Area.	6/12%	33/64%	0/ 0%	10/20%	2/ 4%
69	Rather than forming a residents' group to discuss rural planning matters with the planners, I would prefer just to make my complaint heard.	1/ 2%	19/37%	2/ 4%	28/55%	1/ 2%

5.2.6 Desire for Participation in Planning

The first subset of statements to be discussed under the rubric of participation postulates an advisory level of citizen involvement. In the subset of Questions 20, 21, 23 and 25, each subsequent statement implies a slightly higher level of personal involvement in planning matters. As can be expected from the innocuous manner in which Question 20 is framed, a very high percentage of respondents would approve of an attempt to bring residents and planners together to discuss rural planning issues. In both Questions 21 and 23 a large majority of respondents have stated a personal desire to be involved in an advisory form of public participation.¹

The high level of personal commitment to a public participation attempt implied by Question 25 is probably responsible for the drop in numbers favouring extensive involvement in planning matters. Although there has been a drop in absolute terms of 20% in the numbers of respondents willing to participate in planning (between Questions 20 and 25), it is striking that 43% of the sample are willing to devote "quite a bit" of their spare time to participation.

Questions 27 and 28 suggest the need for a redistribution of decision making power between planners and residents. With the "partnership" model of participation suggested in Question 28 the majority of respondents agreed. Indeed most respondents even agreed with the concept of complete Citizen's control outlined in Question 22. This model of citizen participation is analogous to the highest rung of Arnstein's ladder of Citizen participation. (1970: 180) In answer to this question though, a larger number of respondents than in Question 28 registered their disfavour with the concept of complete citizen's control.

As Table 5.6 illustrates, responses to Question 24 were divided. The esoteric nature of this question, combined with the difficulties I often encountered in explaining it have probably reduced its reliability.

Question 26 was included in the questionnaire to determine the extent to which residents themselves had considered the concept of citizen participation as a means of increasing their say in the making of local plans. Though not to discount the subtle pressure in this question to admit cognizance of the concept, the high percentage of respondents who have considered this subject

1 Where necessary, Question 21 was explained to respondents to clarify the difference in meaning between it and Question 23. However when interviewing I often observed that respondents did not differentiate between the preliminary discussions on the structuring of a public participation exercise and the actual exercise itself.

is perhaps a reaction to the contemporaneity and impact of the Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines.

In view of the actual number of complaints sent to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission in respect of the Guidelines, the number of respondents who agreed with Question 27 is probably inflated.¹ Such a figure might perhaps be more a reflection of how individuals would like to act rather than how they do act. Although still a majority, it is apparent from Question 69 that fewer respondents will choose public participation as a means of avoiding planning conflicts.

Although the issue may not be immediate, it appears that the majority of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample desire some form of public participation in order to communicate their ideas to planners. If almost 50% of respondents are willing to devote a fair amount of their spare time to an advisory form of participation, then it would seem that their desire for greater involvement in planning is genuine. Furthermore a majority of respondents are in favour of both a redistribution of decision making power between citizens and planners and a form of citizen participation in planning in which rural residents have full control of decision-making processes.

ATTITUDE TO PERCEIVED EFFICACY OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

TABLE 5.7

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
61	Allowing rural residents to have a greater say in rural planning matters would only be successful if we could make our preferences known to the planners before any actual planning took place.	7/14%	38/74%	2/ 4%	4/ 8%	0/ 0%
62	It would be no use even if residents advised planners on the needs and wants of rural residents because no account would be taken of our views.	2/ 4%	18/35%	11/22%	19/37%	1/ 2%
63	The only way that allowing rural residents to have a say in rural planning matters would work is if rural residents had 50% of the voting strength on important decisions.	3/ 6%	35/69%	1/ 2%	12/23%	0/ 0%
64	Allowing rural residents to advise planners on our needs and wants would prove hopeless, because the only people that would get involved would be those who would try to make something for themselves out of it.	3/ 6%	18/35%	10/20%	19/37%	1/ 2%

1 Given that only 6 of the 21 respondents who disliked the Guidelines actually complained to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, an inconsistency between attitude and behaviour seems apparent. This inconsistency has been documented elsewhere (Bruvold, 1972: 241-246). Of these 6 people who actually complained to the Darwin Reconstruction Commission, most used more than one form of complaint.

5.2.7 Perceived Efficacy of Involvement

The first question in this set of items attempts to determine whether individuals think public participation exercises staged at various intervals during the planning process would have equal chances of success.¹ From Table 5.7 it is apparent that the vast majority of residents consider that to achieve success in public participation it is necessary to communicate with planners on planning matters well before any planning commences.

With Question 63 which postulates equal decision-making power rather than an advisory role for rural residents, the majority of respondents agreed. Many of the respondents who disagreed with this question did so on the grounds that a situation of equal decision-making power would only produce impasses. These respondents felt that residents should have more power on planning matters than planners and bureaucrats.²

Combined, Questions 62 and 64 give a good indication of respondents' attitudes to the perceived efficacy of participation in planning. Question 62 tries to determine whether participation would fail due to the intransigence of decision makers while Question 64 attempts to determine respondent's attitudes to the motives of citizen participants.

From Table 5.7 it is obvious that as many residents would blame the efforts of citizen participants as they would the intractability of government representatives if attempts of public participation failed. If Question 64 is an accurate indication of respondents' attitudes to citizen participants, it can rightly be concluded that a lack of solidarity and trust in other residents is evident in the Rural Area.³ An explanation of this attitude may once again lie in the individualistic, self-contained nature of rural living.

1 As most writers on the topic stress the need for the earliest possible implementation of public participation, I was interested to determine how a group of residents with limited exposure to such attempts would respond to this question.

2 Unfortunately this question lost much of its value due to a simple typing error. The question should have read: "The only way that allowing rural residents to have a say in rural planning matters would work is if rural residents had more than 50% of the voting strength on important decisions." Unfortunately many respondents had been interviewed before the inadequacy of the statement was realised.

3 Unsuccessful attempts by the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association to convince residents of the desirability of a self contained Rural Shire also support this conclusion. Although many residents desire independence from the ministrations of "Darwin", many accused the Rural Shire proposal as being based on the self interest of those wishing to establish it.

Hence, 4/10 of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample are sceptical of residents' potential efficacy in a public participation exercise.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS ON PARTICIPATION

TABLE 5.8

Q.NO	QUESTION	SA No/%	A No/%	U No/%	D No/%	SD No/%
65	Letter writing to the government and to the paper and other forms of protest will always get you a lot further than making delegations to talk to planners and forming committees with them to discuss both sides of the case.	3/ 6%	6/12%	10/19%	31/61%	1/ 2%
66	There is nothing wrong with the present planning system, where you can see what is planned for the area and you have one month to make objections.	0/ 0%	18/35%	3/ 6%	26/51%	4/ 8%
67	All it would take to get our point across would be to have a planner come to our homes to talk with us.	0/ 0%	26/51%	1/ 2%	24/47%	0/ 0%
68	It is important that we rural residents make our views on rural planning matters known to the planners as soon as possible.	2/ 4%	44/86%	2/ 4%	3/ 6%	0/ 0%
70	If we get our own local member we won't need to set up a group of rural residents to advise and talk to planners on rural planning matters.	0/ 0%	14/23%	7/14%	28/55%	2/ 4%

5.2.8 Miscellaneous Questions on Participation

This set of statements attempts to gauge attitudes to sundry aspects of planning and participation.

Question 66 outlines the present planning system and suggests that it is an adequate method of communicating planning proposals. From Table 5.8 it is evident that a majority of respondents disagreed with this assertion. Many of the respondents who disagreed with this statement probably did so on the basis of their recent experience with the Guidelines.¹

Nothing need be said about the pattern of responses to Question 68 save to say that the innocuous nature of the question is probably responsible for the high level of agreement with it. Questions 65 and 70 compare the

¹ The "yea saying" effect might be in evidence here, as it was observed that several of the respondents who agreed with this statement had remarked adversely on the way in which the Guidelines had been presented for public inspection. On the question of whether the Guidelines' exhibition was inadequate, it should be acknowledged that although it was several days short of the month specified by the DRC Act (1975: 4), public exhibition of the Guidelines were held both in town and in the Rural Area. Many residents though criticised the fact that the exhibitions were held just before the Christmas break and were open for inspection only during working hours.

relative worth of alternatives to an advisory form of public participation. In both questions respondents made their preferences clear for a structured form of interaction between planners and residents. In Question 70 many of the respondents who disagreed with the idea of using a local rural member as sole mediator on planning issues suggested that to ensure maximum communication between planners and rural residents both forms of representation were necessary. Question 67 suggests a system whereby planners would visit the homes of residents affected by planning proposals and discuss these proposals with them. From Table 5.8, it is evident that responses were evenly divided on this question. Residents in favour of the idea suggested that it would be an excellent way of gauging public opinion. Many of those against the proposal felt that the scheme would be inadequate because residents would have no power to ensure that planners utilized their suggestions.

Hence among the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample a majority of respondents consider that -

- (a) there is something wrong with the present means of communicating planning proposals;
- (b) elected local representation is not enough to adequately communicate with planners on planning matters;
- (c) organized group discussion is more effective in resolving planning issues than individual protest.

On the question of whether visits by planners to the homes of residents are adequate in communicating points of view, the sample was divided.

5.3 Conclusion

In summary, none of the hypothesised correlates of participation, (that is, attitude to government bureaucracy, to government controls in the Rural Area, to the Darwin Reconstruction Committee, and level of formal education and occupational prestige), were found to correlate well with the "desire for participation" construct.

Interesting though unhypothesised are the positive associations between occupational status, attitude toward government controls in the Rural Area and attitude to government bureaucracy. However perhaps the most significant finding relates to the crudity of the concepts employed in this analysis and evident also in the literature. In addition the problems of operationalizing such ill defined concepts are also manifest.

Of additional interest are the simple frequency distribution individual questionnaire items. Apparent in the Rural Area are negative attitudes to such aspects of the bureaucratic mode as adherence to strict rules and procedures and the hierarchical organisations of staff. Though the initial need for the Darwin Reconstruction Commission was questioned by few respondents, the tenor of their interactions with the public was criticised by a large proportion of the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon sample. A majority of respondents in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area are aware of the need for some planning and landuse controls. The Guidelines however were criticized by some respondents on the grounds that they did not take into account what rural residents really wanted in their area. Although a strong desire for public participation in planning was evident in responses to the questionnaire some residents were doubtful of their own efficacy in dealing with planners, and suspicious also of participants' motives.

The following chapter will draw these findings together and will also attempt to review the study from which they were derived in a critical perspective.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

The findings cited in Chapter 5 indicate that the model I devised to explain the pattern of desire for participation in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon is only partly successful in achieving this task. This chapter attempts to point out the shortcomings of the study and to suggest improvements which may be of use in a future study of the topic. However, before embarking on a discussion of this topic, it is necessary to summarise exactly what this research has established.

6.1 Summary of Findings

As stated in Chapter 5, a positive association was found to exist between respondents' attitudes to government bureaucracy, to government controls in the Rural Area and their level of occupational prestige.¹ By drawing on the link between occupational prestige, income and Socio-economic Status an attempt was made to explain the observed relationships.

As occupational prestige and income are positively associated, it was considered that individuals of higher occupational prestige would favour government controls in the Rural Area more than individuals of lower occupational prestige largely because in prohibiting certain kinds of landuse, such controls protect the "rural residential" character of the area as well as local land values. Whereas individuals of high occupational prestige (white collar) may have bought their land for recreational and residential purposes, individuals of lower occupational prestige may have bought it with the intention of establishing businesses and workshops.²

My study also found that respondents of higher occupational prestige have more positive attitudes to government bureaucracy than do

1 An association rather than a causal connection was established between these variables.

2 That protection of land values is frequently a factor in favouring landuse controls and restrictions is testified to by a Canadian community study. In this study the authors observed that besides the ruination of the village's "special architectural character", the local Citizens' Action Committee feared "that apartment development would depress the value of neighbouring property." (1974: 57) Of importance to my study is the composition of the Citizens' Action Committee. Sinclair and Westhues noted that the CAC was composed of "newcomers" to the village whom they described as of higher occupational prestige. Few oldtimers (who generally had jobs of lower occupational prestige) belonged to this group as most favoured development in their village.

respondents of lower occupational prestige. Sinclair and Westhues have also observed this connection.¹ An attempt was made to explain this relationship by referring to the fact that bureaucracy works to the advantage of the middle and upper socio-economic groups.

As predicted, it was found that individuals who regard government bureaucracy in a favourable light also hold positive attitudes to government controls in the Rural Area. The causal agent in this relation was not established though. In explaining this connection it was considered that individuals who accept the role of government bureaucracy in general will acknowledge the legitimacy of restrictions which the government effects in the Rural Area.

An analysis of the frequency distributions of questionnaire items indicated that respondents are dissatisfied with particular aspects of government bureaucracy - for instance with its inflexible and intractable nature. Similarly, although the *raison d'être* of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission was questioned by few, a majority of respondents were critical of its responsiveness to those it plans for. However, the distribution of responses to "government controls" and "need for planning" illustrate that respondents accept the need for some planning and controls in the Rural Area. As regards the Guidelines though, respondents were as dissatisfied with the way in which they were presented to the public as they were with their actual content.

In an advisory form a majority of residents favoured the idea of public participation in planning. In addition, the bulk of respondents stated their desire to be part of an exercise. Most respondents also agreed with the items which suggested a powersharing situation wherein residents and planners contributed equally to decision-making on planning matters affecting the Rural Area. In addition, a majority of respondents gave their approval to a situation in which citizens have full decision-making power. When asked about alternatives to participation, such as better elected representation, a majority of respondents stated their preference for personal participation, although many emphasised the need for both forms. On the issue of whether an advisory form of participation would prove more efficacious, attitudes were split. Similarly, opinions were divided as to whether the self interest of those involved in a public participation

¹ They found that oldtimers (generally of lower occupational prestige) agreed with the statement that "Big government has too much power these days, and more power should be kept at the local level" more often than newcomers of higher Socio-economic Status. (p. 104)

exercise would render it useless. Hence this lack of solidarity amongst residents, combined with some people's desire to avoid membership in organised groups, may militate against the successful operation of a public participation group.

Although the following discussion constitutes a critique of my research project, several of its inadequacies are in a sense findings, because they reveal deficiencies in current thinking on participation and provide a better insight into the concept being dealt with.

6.2 Criticisms

6.2.1 The Constructs

It is my contention that the model I devised to describe reality failed in its task largely because the major constructs employed were too broad and inadequately defined. The flaws inherent in my study are in part a reflection of the relatively undeveloped nature of participation theory.

The "attitude to government bureaucracy" variable is one such broad, ill defined construct. Unfortunately the speculation about which aspects of government bureaucracy stimulate a desire for public participation is still at a very general level. For instance, statements like that by Matthews ("the demands for participation are symptoms of public dissatisfaction with bureaucracy" p. 353) reveal nothing about which aspects of government bureaucracy individuals find objectionable. Though generally acknowledged that the way in which government departments interact with the public is problematic, few authors have shifted focus to this narrower level and attempted to examine what it is about such interactions that produce dissatisfaction among the public. Hence without empirical work to support or refute their claims, authors' assertions that factors such as the vastness, remoteness, inaccessibility, overcentralisation, secretiveness and inefficiency of government bureaucracies produce dissatisfaction are of doubtful validity.

In an attempt to examine the proposed link between attitude to government bureaucracy and desire for public participation more thoroughly, it would seem advisable that any future researcher working in the field should concentrate at least initially on establishing which aspects of government bureaucracy individuals seem dissatisfied with. If a researcher intends using closed questions in a cross-sectional survey this initial research is essential.

A further comment on government bureaucracies also relates to the general terms in which they are described. Most authors, for example, Matthews (1976), Sandercock (1975) and Kasperson and Breitbart (1974) give the impression that individuals are dissatisfied with some vague, abstract notion of government bureaucracy - with the "state" of government bureaucracy in general. For instance Richardson mentions the growing remoteness of the citizen from "government" (p. 55) and Sandercock refers briefly to the phenomenon of "oppression by the public sector" (p. 9). My study has revealed though that such concepts add little to our knowledge of the correlates of participation. They may even hinder research on the topic. Indeed I consider that one of the shortcomings of my study hinges on the way I attempted to apply this broad concept of government bureaucracy to a specific study. Having observed the way in which my respondents interpreted the attitude to "government bureaucracy" questions, it seems that individuals base their attitudes not on some general concept but rather on how their own local bureaucracies relate to them. Indeed a plot of the factor loadings of items relating to these two dimensions (see Table 4.3) shows the two factors to be moderately correlated (though clearly separable). Thus, when observed on a microlevel, this growing feeling of disenchantment is rooted in specific instances of individual dissatisfaction with government bureaucracy.

Therefore, although the general concept of government bureaucracy has been employed in the past by writers in the area, this study shows that any empirical attempt to observe the connection between government bureaucracy and desire for participation should take account of the fact that individuals base their attitudes to government bureaucracy not only on general knowledge but more importantly on how a particular bureaucracy has affected them.

Another concept almost certainly responsible for the failure of the model is the public participation variable. As this concept is by nature broad and multidimensional, numerous problems are inherent in any attempt to operationalize it. Recognizing the extreme complexity of the phenomenon, I accepted in my definition of participation any form above and including a level of advisory participation. Because I thought it useful to gauge residents' attitudes to a variety of forms of participation (each advocating a greater degree of citizen power), the questionnaire I devised attempted to gauge residents' attitudes to the whole gamut of forms.

When, however, the set of participation items was subjected to factor analysis they split into several sections, with the items suggesting

an advisory form of participation forming one cluster and those suggesting a higher level of citizen power forming another.

Obviously the concept of participation as it now stands is too broad to be used productively. In attempting to analyse the notion of citizen participation in the future, the construct should be split up and analysed in terms of several discrete factors which differ in terms of the amount of decision-making power allocated to residents. One approach would be to construct a typology wherein this dimension is considered in conjunction with the other dimensions of citizen participation identified by Matthews in Chapter 1.

It should be noted that the participation scale items which were considered useable on statistical grounds actually measured residents' desire for one specific type of citizen participation, that is, the advisory form of participation. In addition, even if not stated overtly, each item at least implies that a residents' group would represent the interests of the rural community. Hence the concept tests not desire for participation per se but rather one specific form of participation. It is therefore only possible to state that low correlations were found between other factors and this particular aspect of participation.

6.2.2. Too Few Items

The small number of items actually used in each scale may have contributed significantly to the results obtained. More questionnaire items would have greatly increased the reliability and validity of each scale.

Unfortunately, the small number of scale items is a reflection of the small number of items originally devised to test attitudes to a particular construct. In some cases if only one or two items were deleted on the grounds of unsatisfactory frequency distributions or inter-item correlations then the useability of that whole scale was threatened.

Although a larger pool of items should have been devised to test attitudes, it must be remembered that a researcher can only request a limited amount of respondents' time when testing his theories. As observed previously, a pretest would have been of assistance because, in being more aware of the ways in which questions were interpreted, fewer would have been discarded in the final analysis.

6.2.3 Timing of Research

A further problem with my research relates to the time at which it was carried out. I formulated questionnaire items on the basis of an

atypical impression of attitudes to government bureaucracy in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area. Although a majority of residents may generally hold anti-bureaucratic attitudes, at the time of my visit these were certainly exaggerated by factors such as the Guidelines and the Stop Building Notices.

The degree to which my initial impressions of residents' attitudes deviated from their true expression cannot be estimated. Furthermore, given that the direction of the research and the questions I designed contained assumptions which were based on impressions different to those gained during my second period of fieldwork, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which these factors contributed to the failure of the hypothesis testing.

Fieldnotes from my second period of fieldwork testify to the change in attitudes toward planning, the Darwin Reconstruction Commission and the Guidelines. In general, residents appeared more willing to acknowledge the need for planning controls. Indeed, the way in which the Darwin Reconstruction Commission appeared to take into account residents' opinions in their decisions to alter the Guidelines may have produced in residents a more optimistic view of advisory forms of participation.

6.2.4 Participation in Planning as a Non-Issue

It should be acknowledged that before my visit to the Rural Area, participation was not regarded as an issue, other than by members of the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association. To my knowledge, it had not generally been considered as an acceptable solution to current planning conflicts.¹ As such, many of the implications of participatory forms had not been thought over by respondents and many responses were based on a fairly superficial understanding of the issues involved. In addition, respondents did not always appreciate the fine distinctions between questions.

These apparent "shortcomings" in either the questionnaire or in respondents' views are part of a much broader issue. This issue centres on whether responses obtained to purely hypothetical questions are an accurate reflection of how people would really think and act if that hypothetical situation became real.

Furthermore, it is conceivable that as the issue of participation was perceived to be of importance to me, respondents may have agreed with

¹ This is not to say that some individuals were not incensed at the lack of public consultation over the Guidelines.

whatever was being suggested in preference to admitting their ignorance of the issue. If my actions are viewed in their most negative perspective, it could be said that I foisted my own academic concerns on a population whose apparent "desire" for participation is purely an artefact of my own intellectual interest in the subject. An alternative way of approaching this general problem is suggested in the latter part of this chapter.

6.2.5. The Research Design

The more specific criticisms I have mentioned pertain to the problems of selecting and employing a type of methodology that complements the type of research being undertaken. Given the exploratory nature of this study, a more interpretive kind of research design may have revealed more information on the nature of the connection between attitude to government bureaucracy and the desire for participation in planning. This type of research may have been doubly revealing in view of the fact that the literature which usually provides guidance is so inadequate in this instance. In addition to reviewing the literature on this topic, information can be gained by listening to respondents talk in a free and unhampered manner about their experiences with government bureaucracy or whatever. However by employing a cross-sectional survey technique it is only possible to ascertain how respondents react to a suggestion put to them by the researcher.

Even if respondents recognise the irrelevance of questions they are asked, and tell the researcher in their terms why they desire participation such information must necessarily be regarded as inferior because:

- a) it is not expressed by all respondents
- b) it may be expressed in a unique way.

Hence, in employing this type of methodology, such information can only be regarded as supplementary to the responses obtained by a cross sectional survey.

6.2.6 Status Inconsistency

The failure of my attempts to form a scale of Socio-economic Status is highly revealing of the kind of people living in Humpty Doo and of the "retreat" type role they have accorded the Darwin Rural Area. For instance some individuals who have attained a high level of education prefer to subsist on their 5 acres, and often work only casually. Alternatively, some individuals with little formal education and training have high levels of occupational status.¹

¹ Previously, isolation and adverse climatic conditions meant that some jobs were easier to come by in the North than elsewhere.

Trying to rank such individuals on a scale of Socio-economic Status is destined to be unsuccessful largely because such measures frequently have unacknowledged assumptions built into them. One such assumption is that individuals are always striving for upward mobility. Hence they seek jobs commensurate (if not better than) their level of formal education. Another assumption is that individuals prefer money to spare time. Indeed in most areas such assumptions are valid. However, in areas like Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon they are not.

From what was said to me during interviews it appears that Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon provides a variety of lifestyles not available in Darwin. Fewer restrictions and more land per family or individual enables individuals who are looking for alternative living styles to settle there and cultivate their own interests.

Admittedly though, had I considered it earlier I could have increased the reliability of the scale of Socio-economic Status by using "subjective assessment of Socio-economic Status" or "interviewer's assessment of Socio-economic Status" as additional indices of Socio-economic Status.

Although it may appear that the model I devised has proven totally inadequate in explaining the pattern of desire for participation in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area, I consider that both conceptual and methodological factors have intervened to prevent a fair testing of the model. (Of course this is not to deny shortcomings in the model itself.) If the study was being repeated there are several suggestions that I would make on the basis of my experience with the topic.

6.3 Suggestions for Improvement

In devising a similar study, a more extensive search of the literature should be made to determine which specific aspects of government bureaucracy are thought to stimulate a desire for participation in planning. From this information, narrower, more meaningful constructs could be formulated. If more time was available, then more knowledge of the other correlates of participation should be gained so that the relative importance of government bureaucracy in stimulating a desire for participation could be gauged. In initially examining this area, the worth of newspapers, magazines and other forms of "popular literature" should not be overlooked.

In a future study the author should not waste his time in attempting to separate respondents' abstract notions of government bureaucracy from their attitudes to that level of government bureaucracy

which most affects them. (At least in my study this exercise proved fairly unproductive.)

Whether employing participant observation or a cross sectional survey technique, a field area should be chosen where differences in Socio-economic Status are meaningful. When contemplating the formation of a scale of Socio-economic Status attempts should be made to use as many reputable indices of Socio-economic Status as possible.

The value of initial exploratory work in the pertinent field area cannot be over estimated. An observational technique is necessary to ascertain the state of relations between potential respondents and government bureaucracy.¹ In addition, a study of the history and activities of local bureaucracies should be mandatory in such research.

If a cross sectional survey technique is again employed, an area should be chosen to test the theory where the whole concept of survey research is not so anomalous to the local way of life. The questionnaire technique, in retrospect, appears more anomalous to the way of life in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area than in most. In the Rural Area more so than the city, only friends and neighbours visit other people's houses. Hence a stranger calling with a "questionnaire" is out of the ken of most residents. Furthermore, as a local pastime involves sitting around and talking freely with friends, a highly structured conversation with a stranger may be disquieting to rural residents.

With a cross sectional survey technique, a pretest is recommended as it would aid greatly in the design of pertinent, succinct scale items. In addition, having observed the distribution of responses to pretest questions, items could be designed in such a way that a fairly even distribution of responses is ensured. Even if some items have to be eliminated on the basis of poor distributions, a large supply of items will ensure more valid and reliable scales which will in turn ensure a more accurate representation of reality when hypotheses are tested.

In general though, it is my feeling that a more productive study of desire for participation could be attempted in an area where residents were actively campaigning for (or had achieved) participation

¹ Unfortunately although the first period of fieldwork I undertook in the Rural Area was invaluable to a broad understanding of the Rural Area and its standing vis-a-vis government bureaucracy, there was too little time to understand in clear and unambiguous terms what specifically it was about government bureaucracy that rural residents were dissatisfied with.

in planning matters. Having observed that a genuine desire for participation in planning existed, the researcher could set about determining what had produced this desire. From an analysis of specific case studies an understanding of the kinds of factors that promote a desire for participation would emerge.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis I attempted to examine the part which variables such as "attitude to government bureaucracy", "attitude to local bureaucracy", Socio-economic Status and the "perceived efficacy of participation" play in stimulating a desire for participation in planning. These variables formed the basis of a theoretical model which I hoped would aid in interpreting reality. The model though, was of little assistance in determining, in a particular field area, which factors affect individuals' desire for participation in planning.

Contributing to the inability of the model in explaining reality were factors of a theoretical and methodological nature. Such factors included the generality of the constructs employed, the attempt to develop an abstract concept of government bureaucracy and the narrowness of the method of study. In addition the theory was tested in an area where if planning issues are regarded as problematic, participation is not conceived of widely as a solution to the problem.

From the research project though, has evolved a better understanding of the directions such research must take if it is to prove insightful in the future.

The Origins of a Desire for Public Participation

In the main body of the thesis, it was observed that calls for participation are tending to replace public protest as the preferred means of redressing an apparently unacceptable power imbalance between government and the citizenry. It was also noted that a demand for citizen participation is being manifested in a wide variety of spheres. To quote Hamilton-Smith: it "is an essential part of the current rhetoric in education, social welfare and town planning". (1975: 11)

Although it is easy enough to establish that the demand for public participation exists, it is more difficult to establish what has produced this sudden upsurge in desire. Undoubtedly a combination of factors is responsible. In the first chapter I suggested that dissatisfaction with the remoteness and inaccessibility of government bureaucracies was probably one of the main causal agents in producing this desire. In this appendix, an attempt will be made to list some of the other causal factors which various authors suggest are connected to the increasing demand for participation in decision-making processes.

Closely related to dissatisfaction with large government bureaucracies is disillusionment with the existing form of representative democracy. To quote the Committee on Public Participation in Planning who have paraphrased one aspect of this concern:

"Life...is becoming more and more complex and one cannot leave all the problems to one's representatives. They need some help in reaching the right decisions." (1972: 73)

Disillusionment with representative democracy may also be the product of a recognition that "Parliament has been eclipsed as a maker of public policy". (Matthews, 1976: 339) The recognition is becoming more widespread that the directives given in Parliament may well be reinterpreted or remodelled by government bureaucracies whose immense power lies in the implementation of Parliamentary directives. As an instance of this growing recognition, Matthews has observed that the lobbying activities of many interest groups have been redirected to Cabinet ministers and public servants. (p. 339) Dissatisfaction with government bureaucracies and disillusionment with the system of representative democracy are related in that an increase in the discretionary powers of bureaucrats implies a diminution in the real decision-making powers of elected representatives.¹ Hence the feeling of

¹ Davies has provided support for this assertion by stating that:

"It is a commonplace dictum of our times that the 'real' contribution of elected members to actual decision-making is becoming less and less crucial, as government increases in both scale and complexity." (1972: 89)

some citizens that the processes of decision-making are less open to their influence than previously.

The growth of new cultural values extolling participation or "meaningful involvement" in many facets of life has almost certainly reinforced and legitimated calls for public participation in decision-making processes. Matthews notes that an aspect of this new set of cultural values is the "questioning of authority", for example, of "top-down" hierarchies and of the "expertise" of professionals." (p. 354) It is my personal feeling that such values are reflected in a range of new developments to which groups as diverse as the Turttable Falls Commune (Nimbin) and the Canberra Planning Forum belong.

Matthews also considers that rising levels of education have contributed to the demand for public participation in decision-making processes. He states that:

"Rising educational standards not only give people a more critical outlook on society and a greater awareness of their rights but ... are also correlated with higher levels of political participation." (p. 353)

A desire for public participation within the sphere of planning has come about largely because the effects of physical planning are increasingly felt by a wider section of the public. Large scale urban renewal programs, zoning proposals and highway schemes are making the actions of the planning profession more conspicuous. Of this effect in Britain, Damer and Hague have remarked that:

"Planning proposals throughout the 1950's and 60's were affecting a more random selection of sectors than had been the case previously, when the main effect had been felt in inner-city slum districts. Consequently large numbers of articulate social groups were being affected and they protested vigorously." (1971: 222)

Thus, as my own study has indicated, generalized attitudes to government bureaucracy may be less important than thought in determining the extent of individuals' desires for participation in planning. Hence it would seem very necessary to attempt a deeper and broader study into the effects of changing social values and levels of education as well as into specific events such as planning proposals, in order to determine the extent to which such factors affect peoples' desires for participation.

Some Problems of Public Participation

It is unavoidable that the implementation of a concept as broad and as ill defined as public participation is problematic. Listed below are several problems of an intellectual and structural nature that are inherent in the concept of participation.

The first problem lies in deciding who should be eligible to participate in planning decisions. Given the literature on Socio-economic Status and its effect on participation, differential participation rates would be in evidence in any attempt at public participation. Hence, before individual attempts at participation can proceed, a decision must be made as to whether the most "interested" or the most "representative" citizens should participate.

Any attempt to initiate public participation in planning in the Humpty Doo/McMinn's Lagoon area would have to confront this problem. As in other areas, the effects of probable over-representation in a participation exercise by the middle classes at the expense of the less articulate and of those with lower levels of personal efficacy would have to be considered. As stated, the nature of public participation schemes inherently ensures this outcome. Hornville and Jowell, observers of post Skeffington attempts at public involvement in Britain have remarked on the way that the structure of public participation exercises facilitates differential participation rates. In attempts to involve the public, these authors observed that the opportunity has increased

"for a small well-educated articulate group to have its say and make its influence felt. But for the great majority of the public, there has been no noticeable change." (cited in Sandercock, p. 22)

In the Darwin Rural Area, it could be considered that the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association constitute such a small, articulate group. Given the fact that the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association already exists as a pressure group and that one of their objectives is to seek an active role in the planning and development of the Rural Area, it is possible that this group would dominate a particular exercise.

Conversely, government authorities wishing to initiate public participation in planning might seek to involve the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association before any other group of individuals, simply because they are the most vocal and the most accessible in the area. Besides giving a biased view of rural opinions, sole consultation with the Darwin Rural Landholders' Association might alienate many non-DRLA residents who are potentially interested in taking a part in citizen participation.

Not to contradict what has been said before, initiating a participation exercise may be difficult in an area such as the Darwin Rural Area which exists in part because individuals have moved there to lead their own lives with a minimum of "interference".

A more general problem with participation lies in the fact that it can very easily be employed by government to manipulate public opinion and thus to legitimate unpopular schemes. There are a variety of ways in which members of the public can be manipulated by government authorities in participation schemes. For instance, citizens can be co-opted "informally" into a scheme because their resources or influence are crucial to the continuance of that scheme, or they can be co-opted formally. Formal co-option occurs when an organisation invites an individual or group to join it, in order to gain the legitimacy that their membership lends to the organisation. (Burke, 1968: 291)

A further problem that the notion of "bringing citizens into the planning process" engenders is that it is usually the citizens who must adapt to the planning organisations and not vice versa. Under these conditions it is often assumed by planners, that the public will use planning definitions of their problems and from that perspective accept the logic of the proposed planning solutions. Serious problems often arise because residents take their own perceptions of problems and desired solutions into the participation process with them.

However, according to Arnstein, no-one is overtly against public participation in decision-making processes, because in theory at least it is the "corner stone of democracy". (1971: 176) In practice though, public participation has numerous adversaries; for instance vested interests, planners with an emotional investment in their work, elected representatives who perceive a threat to their positions, elites who fear that participation might result in a redistribution of their power and therefore of their resources, and those who suspect it of being a ploy to get residents on the side of the planning authorities for instance. (Howard, 1976)

Needless to say the list of problems confronting public participation is formidable. In regard to the Darwin Rural Area though, the most serious problems confronting those interested in initiating public participation in planning, are the absence of trust between rural residents and government authorities, apathy and a lack of awareness about the possibilities of such a scheme, the problem of achieving true representation, and lastly disapproval by some of bureaucracy as a useful operational mode.

10-YEAR BLACKOUT!

by DAVID TROUNCE

Hans Knodel laughed when Darwin people complained of hardship during the blackouts which plagued the city earlier this year.

Hans has been living in a 10-year blackout on his five-acre block at the 17-Mile.

But the blackouts which prompted the overdue inquiry into the electricity supply may yet turn the lights on at the 17-mile.

The inquiry report, due at the end of this month, is sure to recommend changes to the Electricity Supply Division's method of rural connections.

When inquiry chairman, Mr. Fred McKay, heard of the power problems of the 17-Mile, he said it would not happen anywhere else in Australia.

Hans and Nonette Knodel settled on the new McNab subdivision in 1967. They built a bungalow to live in then sought for power in February, 1968, along with three neighbors.

"We got no reply at all so I kept working at the dock and expecting power eventually," Hans says.

By 1971, all of the neighboring Robertson subdivision was wired up and the nearby Leist subdivision, created in 1970, was also being connected.

In the meantime and without power tools, Hans and Nonette finished their bungalow, dug a 20-foot well, put up a steel-post fence, built a

concrete slab garage and work top and sold the foundations for a new home.

"We went every year to the ESU two or three times, but each time we were told different excuses."

"First they told us the older subdivisions had to have power, then when I saw new subdivisions being connected, I was told there was no money left."

In 1973 Hans saw two MLCs, Goff Lettis and Tom Bell, who checked and found \$13,000 still available for rural connections.

NO MONEY

"When I went to apply again, a clerk told me there was no point because there was no money."

"It was near closing time on the day before Anzac Day and he said come back after the holiday."

"When I returned he said he never claimed there was a shortage of funds."

"I demanded to see some leading officer and I was introduced to the director, Mr. David Langford, an engineer and another man."

"I asked them outright was going on and what their priorities were for allocating power."

"They looked at each other and grinned," says Hans.

The ESU had prior-

ities based on funds available, potential return, possible consumers, density of settlement, proximity to existing lines — Hans knows them all.

"I told them the different excuses I had been given amounted to dishonesty but they brushed me off saying there were internal problems with the McNab subdivision."

And indeed there were. The McNab subdivision had been improperly subdivided and Hans spent his first five years on the block waiting for politicians, collectors, the German Consul and the Immigration Minister, Mr. Al. Grassby, gaining a legal title.

The title came in 1973 and Hans again applied for electricity, citing in person on July 22.

The reply came from Mr. Laneord in a letter later that month: "The easement problems have now been resolved and your application for supply will be reviewed as funds become available."

Hans was once more disappointed with the non-committal attitude and, after waiting months with no developments, wrote again in May, 1974.

This time the Knodels and several neighbors wrote a strongly worded letter to the director.

The Knodels, on block 11, Mr and Mrs Jack McGregor on block 9, Mr James Brander, block 4, and Mr J. Pan Quee, blocks 7 and 8 were all angered that power was being connected to other blocks on the McNab subdivision.

The letter pointed out that since 1972 the ESU had made three visits to convert blocks 2, 3, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 and 21.

IGNORED

The resident on block 4, the first to settle on the subdivision, was ignored even though he had an application outstanding since 1967.

The letter said: "We the undersigned feel that the whole handling of power in this subdivision is unfair, and your excuse for not supplying us with power smells of favoritism if not worse."

It was partly Hans' stirring and the liberality of the McNab subdivision led to the Nimmo inquiry into freehold land in 1974.

It was not until the inquiry was in the air that the ESU replied to the letter in October, naturally denying "favoritism" but giving no indication of when power might be available.

The outstanding applicants were disappointed because many of the blocks could not be developed even here apparently in for power.

But while the report of the inquiry was being studied, along came Cyclone Tracy and disruptions to the ESU rose.

Also, the DRC became another party involved in approving funds for rural connections.

"The fact handling electricity, while several people, in the DRC but concerned no more."

Then a rumor doing the rounds, that the ESU had to supply the electricity supply, however, was not a rumor.

Electricity supply, however, was a division of the Department of the DRC.

...and Hans is left still in the dark

During the clamor for priorities after the cyclone, Hans suppressed his envy that public servants were being paid disability allowances for loss of power, and took faith in the DRC policy of naming electricity as a top priority.

When small generators were being handed out, Hans was refused one because "he never had power and was not missing anything."

However, Hans jumped the queue and still has the generator to power his television one or two nights a week — the only electric appliance in his home.

It was not the first time Hans bucked the system when he saw inequalities, and he concedes that his income as a stiver might have something to do with his lack of service.

Once when the Bureau of Agricultural Economics sent out a farm survey, form he listed his power source on his farm as "solar energy."

The water Hans fills his bath with late in the afternoon is warm because it sits in the sun in 44-gallon drums.

GUARANTEE

In November, 1975, the Knodels and other outstanding applicants received a letter from the ESD: "The director of Housing and Construction has advised that the estimated cost to provide electricity supply to lots 4-14, the balance of the McNab subdivision, is \$16,000."

"Before the Australian Government will outlay expenditure of this nature, it will be necessary for all applicants to enter into an agreement guaranteeing to pay in total 15 per cent of the completed cost of the extension for each of the first five years after the energization of the line."

"In this case, you will be required to pay in advance from the completion date an amount not less than \$480 per annum."

"If some applicants do not accept our terms, your share of the annual guarantee payment will be of course, increased."

Of course not all the applicants could afford to pay the guarantee and it left Hans and one other willing to go ahead.

But when this meant his share rose to \$1440 and he knew other consumers had never paid a guarantee, he decided.

He replied in January, 1976: "Your guarantee I understand — it would be a very good thing for me to pay the bill as the others would not for the time to be activated and then look up for loss."

He pointed out that the guarantee amounted to more than double the price of the block and "with that sort of money I could buy a new four-door car."

He is the anomaly in circumstances that annoy Hans.

He took me on a drive around the McNab and surrounding subdivisions

and pointed to unsettled streets lined with power lines, poles leading to vacant building sites, half a mile of line on the new Lees Creek subdivision leading to an empty block and dead end roads with power going nowhere.

We spoke to several residents who had settled on the McNab subdivision after the Knodels and who openly admitted getting power after only one application and not having to pay a guarantee.

We spoke to a white mate of Hans, Jimmy Brander, the first resident on the subdivision in 1960.

He built his house by hand and is now 100 metres from a pole put in to supply the adjacent block in 1972 and 500 metres from the Stuart Highway.

Jim uses a kero fridge, washes in a bucket, and pumps water from a well to a tank near his house with an old cement mixer motor.

"I think the taxes I've paid since living here would pay for a complete line 10 miles down the road," says Jim.

"If I knew this was to go on, I would have moved to New Guinea and you could be sure I would have electricity."

Further down the road on block 9, pensioners Mr and Mrs Jack McGregor have been alive without power since 1972.

Jack retired in 1971, the Government wanted to acquire his Nightcliff home and real estate agents promised him power on his bush block by Christmas that year.

"The ESU told me to make an application straight away, but every time I have asked since they have told me a different story," he says.

An electric shaver, washing machine, refrigerator and other appliances the McGregors brought from Nightcliff are still idle at the 17-mile.

Jack does not like reading by a "flame lamp" and would like an electric pump to water his beautiful garden.

The cyclone destroyed his old petrol generator and he cannot afford another.

Mrs McGregor would like electricity to help her make her Breada Jam and turn the fans fitted in their demountable home.

GENERATORS

Nearby, the Griffin family overcame the lack of electricity with a noisy petrol generator.

Mr and Mrs Alf Griffin and their two boys took up with the pole all day but the generator off at night and leave the house and freezer closed.

Alf says he has written without success to the ESD, DRC and CLP Senator Brian Kilgour.

A contribution sale foreman with electrical experience, the man offered to build the three poles needed to ESD.

He is looking for a local ally but has no contacts in rural connections

The things he has done on his small block without power and on a moderate income would amaze people who are led when blackouts last for more than minutes.

He talks of times when the weather was so unbearable that Nonette collapsed in the heat and he almost signed the guarantee account "under duress."

Other times it was so hot they slept on the concrete.

Once he screwed 300 cyclone bolts into his new home by hand and hand-drilled holes in his steel fence posts.

When his 18-square slab house is finished, Hans estimates improvements on his land will be worth \$80,000.

The new home is fitted with taps for power points ready to be wired the moment the lights are turned on.

In between power applications, Hans keeps up a steady correspondence with anyone interested in his case.

He reckons he is wearing the carpet out in the office of Senator Kilgour.

The Senator's office made several attempts to get information from the ESD and eventually succeeded in having the Knodel file "reactivated"

from the basement back into circulation.

After several proddings from the Senator's office, a reply came on May 13, this year, that: "This department will give serious consideration to your application in the coming financial year."

Then, last week, another letter came to the Senator's office, this time from the Department of NT's permanent secretary, Mr R S Livingston.

"The points raised by Mr Knodel in his discussions with you have been brought to the attention of the inquiry..." and it is expected that some comment on the extension of electricity in rural areas will be made in the final report.

"In these circumstances, comment on Mr Knodel's situation may be premature, and a complete reply to your letter will be made when the final report has been studied."

To Hans, who has waited 10 years, it is just another uncommuted delay.

The letter Hans got from the inquiry chairman, Mr McKay, was little consolation also.

It read: "I would like to formally recognise the contribution which you have made to the inquiry into public electricity in the NT."

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The NT News, Thursday, June 2, 1977, 6

HANS KNODEL

Spot On!

With TERRY DAILENBURG

WHAT could be more Australian than the famous "Spot On!" In this series, Terry Dailemburg, a well-known radio personality, interviews a variety of people from all walks of life. In this episode, he interviews Hans Knodel, a man who has been living in a 10-year blackout on his five-acre block at the 17-Mile. Hans is a man of many talents, and he has managed to make the most of his situation. He has built a bungalow, dug a 20-foot well, put up a steel-post fence, built a concrete slab garage and work top, and sold the foundations for a new home. He has also been successful in getting the attention of the NT's permanent secretary, Mr R S Livingston, and the Senator's office. Hans is a man who has not given up, and he is a true Australian.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:

1. Sex:
2. Marital status at present:
3. Age: (approximate will do)
4. Highest level of schooling achieved?
5. What is your occupation?
- 5a. *Spouse's Occupation?*
6. Do you work for the Government?
7. Do you work in Darwin?
8. Are there any children living with you at present?
- 8a. If yes, how many children are living with you?
- 8b. Of Preschool Age
..... Primary "
..... Secondary "
..... Over Secondary Age
9. How many people reside in this house at present? 1
..... 2-3
..... 4-5
..... 6-7
..... 8 or more
10. How long have you lived in the rural area? (in years and months)
.....
.....

2)

11. How long have you owned the land for?
.....

12. About how long do you expect to stay on this block?

- Less than 5 years
- 5 to 10 years
- More than 10 years
- Don't Know

13. Do you like living out here? Yes

- No
- Unsure

13a. If yes, then why? Very cheap to live out here

- (Can tick more than one reason)
- Like to feel I own my own land
 - Like the privacy out here
 - Like the freedom from restrictions
 - Can build my own home more cheaply
 - Other

Comments
.....

13b. If not, why not? Too far to travel to work

- Too many Government restrictions
- Getting too crowded out here
- Don't like the other kind of people out here.
- Other

Comments
.....
.....

14. In which country were you born? Australia

- Other

14a. If 'Other', which one?
.....

3)

15. About how many places have you lived in for more than one year?

.....
.....

16. Did you live in Darwin at all before moving out here?

.....

16a. If yes, for how long?

.....

17. Are you a member of the Darwin Rural Landowners' Association?

.....

17a. If yes, then why? to make sure the rural people get a say on
planning matters

..... for social reasons eg. many of my friends
belong

..... to represent our views to Government and
Statutory Authorities

..... no other way to have my complaints heard

..... other

Comments

.....

17b. If not, then why? they get nothing done

(Can tick more there is no need for a group like that

than one they are too bureaucratic

answer.) they are too self-interested

..... don't like the kind of people that are
members

..... other

Comments

.....

18. Did you hear or see anything about the Darwin Rural Area Interim
Development Guidelines?

.....

18a. Where did you hear or see something about them?
.....
.....

18b. Can you remember when you first heard something about them?
.....

18c. What was it that you heard about them?
.....
.....

19. Was there something you really disliked about the DRAIDG?

..... yes

..... no

..... unsure

19a. What was it exactly?
.....
.....

19b. Did you make a complaint to the DRC about the thing/s you disliked?

.....
.....

20. Getting a few rural residents together with a planning group to
discuss planning matters is certainly worth a try.

..... strongly disagree (sd)

..... disagree (d)

..... undecided (u)

..... agree (a)

..... strongly agree (sa)

21. I would like to meet with planners for early (preliminary) discussions on the
ways in which planners and rural residents could work together, that
would suit the residents of the rural area.

..... sd, d, u, a,sa.

5)

22. All decisions which are presently made by the planners, on matters that affect the rural area, should be made by the rural residents themselves.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

23. I would like to be involved in a situation where a group of residents, (whose function was accepted by the planners), would discuss planning matters and then advise the planners on what they thought best for the rural area.

..... sd, d,u, a,sa.

24. Unless we work with the planners on their terms, (ie. within a bureaucratic framework), we will achieve nothing for the rural area.

..... sd, d, u, a,sa.

25. I wouldn't mind giving up quite a bit of my free time so that I could take an active part in discussing rural planning matters with a group made up of residents and planners.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

26. Before you mentioned it, I had thought a bit about the advantages of giving rural residents more say in the making of plans that affect us.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

27. I'd be willing to lobby pretty hard to make sure that my views were known to planners.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa

28. The only situation worth being in is one in which residents have as much power as planners to make decisions on matters that concern the rural area.

..... sd, d, u, a,sa.

29. After the Cyclone, there was a real need for an organisation like the DRC to be set up.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

30. The DRC is serving that need very well.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

7)

42. I came out here to get away from too many Government-imposed restrictions in the city.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

43. No Government Department should be able to tell me what to do — on-my own land.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

44. The Government is trying to regulate individuals' lives too minutely.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

45. I would be willing to accept more Government controls out here in exchange for more Government services.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

46. The Government should have no say in this area about anything.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

47. Without planning this area will just get worse and worse.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

48. I myself think that there is no need at all for any planning in the rural area.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

49. I think that, by and large, the people out here are in favour of planning for the rural area.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

50. With the kind of society we have today, we just can't do without large (complex) organisations.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

51. Government Departments will make few allowances for the needs of individuals.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

52. If you do battle with a Government Department, it will always win out in the end.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

8)

53. Government Departments are always top heavy - too many managers and too few workers.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

54. I'm sure if people thought hard about it, there would be some way to get around having to have large Government Departments.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

55. When you have to deal with a Government Department, you really have to prepare yourself for a long wait.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

56. The Darwin Rural Area Interim Development Guidelines(DRAIDG) didn't take into account what rural residents really wanted.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

57. The DRAIDG was the best solution to the problem of keeping out unwanted development in the area.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

58. The DRAIDG was far too restrictive in terms of land use.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

59. The DRAIDG would have done much to maintain the way of life I enjoy out here,

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

60. It was more the way that the DRAIDG were presented than its actual content, that I objected to.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

61. Allowing rural residents to have a greater say in rural planning matters would only be successful if we could make our preferences known to planners before any actual planning took place.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

62. It would be no use, even if residents advised planners on the needs and wants of rural residents, because no account would be taken of our views.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

9)

63. The only way that allowing residents to have a say in rural planning matters would work, is if rural residents had 50% of the voting strength on important decisions.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

64. Allowing rural residents to advise planners on our needs and wants would prove hopeless, because the only people that would get involved would be those who would try to make something for themselves out of it.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

65. Letter writing to the Government and to the paper, and other forms of protest will always get you a lot further than making delegations to talk to planners and forming committees with planners to discuss both sides of the case.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

66. There is nothing wrong with the present system, where you can see what is planned for the area and you have one month to make objections.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

67. All it would take to get our point across would be to have a planner come to our homes to talk with us.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

68. It is important that we rural residents make our views on rural planning matters known to the planners as soon as possible.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

69. Rather than forming a residents' group to discuss rural planning matters with the planners, I would prefer just to make my complaint heard. (when there is something to complain about.)

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

70. If we get our own local member, we won't need to set up a group of rural residents to advise and talk to planners on rural planning matters.

..... sd, d, u, a, sa.

Please tick the answer that you think describes you best. Here is an example:

My friends find me: (a) amusing

(b) in between (a) and (c)

(c) serious

.....

1. I have found life harder and had more suffering than others in my family and circle of friends.

(a) yes

(b) in between (a) and (c)

(c) no

2. It is more important to me:

(a) to be admired and respected for what I have done

(b) in between (a) and (c)

(c) to enjoy life quietly in my own way

3. I would never try to ask help of people I know only slightly.

(a) true

(b) in between (a) and (c)

(c) false

4. If I had a gun in my house that I knew was loaded, I would feel nervous until I unloaded it

(a) yes

(b) in between (a) and (c)

(c) no

5. If a domineering person tries to tell me what to do I:

(a) turn around and put him in his place

(b) in between (a) and (c)

5. (Cont.) (c) just leave him

6. It is more important to:

- (a) get along smoothly with others
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) get your own ideas put into practice

7. I dislike proud, conceited people who act as if they are superior to the general run of humanity.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

8. When I immediately need the use of something belonging to a friend but he is out, I think it is all right to borrow it without his permission.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

9. I have on occasion torn down a public notice forbidding me what I feel I had a perfect right to do.

- (a) yes
- (b) uncertain
- (c) no

10. People have sometimes called me a proud, stuck-up, egotistical individual.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

11. In my spare time I would rather join:

- (a) a hiking and exploring club
- (b) uncertain
- (c) a community service organisation

12. If I think a person is wrong in a discussion, I would tell him so.

- (a) generally
- (b) sometimes
- (c) only if it can be done politely

.....

3)

13. I am critical of people's thinking:

- (a) only occasionally
- (b) sometimes
- (c) a good deal of the time

14. I think most people behave like sheep and do not even know what is good for their own interests.

- (a) true
- (b) uncertain
- (c) false

15. My friends probably think it is hard to get to know me really well.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

16. I solve a problem better by:

- (a) studying it alone
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) discussing it with others

17. In travelling overseas I would rather:

- (a) go on a conducted tour
- (b) uncertain
- (c) choose myself the places I wish to visit

18. Many people talk over their problems and ask advice of me when they need someone to talk to:

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

19. I get a lot of bright ideas about all sorts of things - too many to put into practice.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c) ...
- (c) no

4)

20. When looking for a strange place in a city I would:

- (a) just ask people where places are
- (b) uncertain
- (c) take a map with me

21. The saying "Heaven helps those who help themselves" is:

- (a) absolutely sound
- (b) uncertain
- (c) questionable

22. I get as many ideas from reading a book myself as from discussing its topic with others.

- (a) yes
- (b) in between (a) and (c)
- (c) no

.....

THAT'S ALL. AND THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

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