A Living Library Project

History of Children's Services

"The Deprived West"
"The Determined West"

A Report by Ruth and Maurie Crow
first published 1972
"The Deprived West"/ "The Determined West"
An Extract from "Plan for Melbourne Part 3"
by Ruth and Maurie Crow

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Booklet 7.

Illustration by Simon Kneebone from "Do It Yourself Social Research" by Yoland Wadsworth.
"Plan for Melbourne Part 3" was written by Ruth and Maurie Crow as an objection to the 1972 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Plan for Metropolitan Region.

This facsimile from "Plan for Melbourne" gives some information on some of the issues of concern to those who were living and working in the Western Region in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The phrase "the deprived west" was useful to draw attention to inequalities in the metropolitan area, but, the phrase was changed to "the determined west" in the 1970s when community organisations began to take the initiative in establishing new types of community facilities such as neighbourhood houses.

The booklet "Creating Community in the Neighbourhood", in this Living Library series of booklets, illustrates the determined way some of the basic community problem are being tackled.

The other books in the series: "Plan for Melbourne Part 1 and 2" are in the Crow Collection, at the Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus) as well as some of the working papers for these documents and some of the official planning reports.


This series of books received some recognition when they were first published. In 1972 the Royal Australian Institute of Architect presented Ruth and Maurie with a Robin Boyd Ward for their "contribution to the literature of the built environment" and the next year, 1973, the Crows were awarded the Town and Country planning Association's Barrett Medal "for a notable contribution to planning".
THE DEPRIVED WEST

Quite apart from small voluntary ghettos of migrants in many suburbs, and apart from the more systematic and larger Government-made ghetto on Housing Commission estates, ghetto formation is, in fact, taking place in Melbourne and on a large scale at that.

Unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers, for example, are filling up the new suburbs to the west of Melbourne.

"Suburban West" sector in 1966 had 36.1% migrants as against 10.9% in 1947. The 1971 census figures will no doubt show a still higher percentage (1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies", p. 105).

Taking the composition of industry in the "west suburban sector", "manufacturing" predominates with 62.1% in 1966 (the highest percentage compared to other industries in the sector than any other
sector in Melbourne) and other "industries" and services (except "building and construction" and "defence") show the lowest in Melbourne, including "transport and stores" (1.4%), "communication" (4%), "finance and property" (7%), "commerce" (9.2%), "community and business services" (2.8%), "amusements and hotels" (2.7%) [p. 108].

The sector called "inner west" is a similar pattern but not so pronounced. The west as a whole is heavily manufacturing and therefore industrial working class, of which something like 1/3 at least are migrants.

And so the west, like a ready-made object-lesson from Stretton or Jacobs is "deprived" of all manner of social services compared to the rest of Melbourne. It is not only us who have been saying so for years.

The "west" itself, now says so. It ran a seminar in May 1972 organised by the Lion's Club and a local newspaper (the "Sunshine Advocate"), but sponsored and addressed by several prominent local Labor Party spokesmen. It called the seminar "The Deprived West". For public interest we include in an appendix a few brief points taken from the many excellent papers delivered to the seminar to give some indication of the character and extent of the deprivation (see appendix No. 7).

So, there is a whole range of "deprivation" from which "the West" suffers and, at last, the West is stirring, not before time, to demand a place in the sun and absolutely right! But why did this deprivation arise?

If you accept Jane Jacob's analysis, she would no doubt say it was because there were not enough "middle class" people with initiative to organise the community to raise its standards. Stretton might say there were not enough affluent "succeeders", i.e. people who succeed, meaning by implication that there were too many "non-affluent" workers.

But we do not see it this way. Many people loosely talk about the "middle class" when what they really mean is "middle income groups". If they stopped to think about it they would appreciate that most of the people in the middle-income groups they have in mind are actually higher paid workers of hand or brain. That is, they are part of the working class.

As we see it then, the West is deprived because it has not had the advantage of a reasonably balanced cross section of working class people.

We reject the concept that the working class, taken as a whole, has insufficient initiative and imagination to organise its community services without the help of the "middle class".

In fact young teachers, journalists, and welfare officers, the very type of working class forces that the industrial workers of the west have lacked were involved in helping to stir up the movement which resulted in "the deprived west" seminar, which has left behind it continuing activity committees to raise the standard of services in these suburbs, which goes to prove our point.

Looked at, from the point of view of class structure which is one aspect of "social mix", therefore, the west and north, compared to the east and south has been "deprived" of a reasonable quota of more highly educated sections of the white-collar and professional workers, whereas the east and south, and especially the middle suburbs have suffered their own deprivations from the imbalance in the other direction, lacking their complement of industry and industrial workers.

This is being corrected now somewhat from the Nunawading – Oakleigh – Moorabbin axis outward. For example, factory statistics show that for "industrial metals, machine and conveyances", that is "heavy industry", the southern sector from 1961 to 1966 shows a percentage employment change of an increase of 8.6% in those five years which is the highest change for any industrial group in any sector (1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies, p. 110).

The fact is that of the 80% of the working people, it is not only the white collar workers and professional workers, it is also industrial workers who prefer to live east and south.
Why should industrial workers be forced to live in the west just because this is cheap land for industry? The rich choose to live in what all authorities acknowledge is by far the most desirable residential areas to the south-east. Why should not the poor? Why not encourage industry of all types to develop towards the south-east where people want to live?

This argument, which is our argument, and which is one of the reasons we propose that the linear growth corridor be towards Gippsland rather than north or west, was precisely the argument of the M.M.B.W. in the 1954 report!

Having made a special survey it said... "The strong preference for the southern suburbs, the increasing popularity of the eastern suburbs and the small proportions who chose to live in the western suburbs are noteworthy." (M.M.B.W. Planning Scheme, "Surveys and Analysis", p. 49), and they set out the reasons, already quoted by us. The M.M.B.W. Planning Scheme "Report", 1954, in explaining that 86% of all industrial employment was then located in the central western and northern districts coupled this fact with increasing popularity of eastern and south-eastern suburbs and drew the conclusion that this has "resulted in the worker being compelled to do much unnecessary travelling to and from work" and went on: "The Planning scheme endeavours to rectify, as far as is practical, this adverse feature of metropolitan development by distributing new industrial areas throughout the outer suburbs" (p. 47), and proceeded to make provision for industrial zones in Moorabbin, Oakleigh, Noble Park, Dandenong, Nunawading and Ringwood.

The 1967 Town and Country Planning Board's "Strategic Planning" report supports the same basic analysis... "The early establishment of the port and adjacent major railway yards encouraged industrial development to concentrate in the central and western areas of Melbourne. Some residential growth, having mainly industrial workers accompanied industry to the west of the City, but the bulk of it was attracted to the more climatically equable, undulating areas to the east, and bayside areas to the south of the city..." ("Strategic Planning", p. 7) and went on to report that industrial growth in the south-eastern and southern areas, including that outside the Board of Works planning area, "absorbed over 75% of the metropolitan increase in the 1961-1966 period" (p. 8).

This concept, in fact, of the more pleasant country-side and, manufacturing following "labour, services and other linked industries to the eastern and south-eastern areas" lies at the basis of the Fraser concept of the Gippsland corridor.

Stretton, in his own inimitable, stylist penetration which pulls no punches goes a long way further than the 1954 M.M.B.W. report and the 1967 T.C.P.B. report, but in the same direction. "The price of an exclusive suburb is a slum somewhere else, and all planners know it," he says.

Throwing scorn on Melbourne's so called "tough sophisticated realists" who defend the inevitability of segregation he writes: "Their old city was centred where forty miles of basalt and delta plain met forty miles of valleyed hills and sandy beaches. As the poor spread thickly over the plain and the rich thinly over the hills and coast, neither love nor justice had much chance. Realism won without trying. To its topography Melbourne may owe a good deal of its past and present unkindness to its poor..." (pp. 123-124).

Nor is this all: support for the same line of thinking comes from a most unexpected source, and in two ways. It comes from the M.M.B.W. itself!

We mentioned earlier that the 1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies" report displayed a curious misgiving about the Evans "go west" philosophy despite the fact that this is the main substance of the planning scheme amendments now recommended! In Plan 9 on p. 69 the report depicts two alternatives. Alternative 1 which the Board of course dutifully "favours" shows schematically possible growth concentrations within the seven corridors with equal "concentration" whether to north, south, east or west. Alternative 2 which "involves the encouragement of selective growth" speaks of "concentrating public resources" and it says "the south east corridor would be an obvious choice for this". But it hastens to add, mindful as usual of Evans and the Government that this would only involve a "larger allocation of public funds for a period of time". The West apparently would wait its turn in the queue! (See diagram on next page for "Plan 9".)
3. Possible Long Term Urban Pattern

The Long Term Future — Plan 10

*Figure 4 — Plans taken from 1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies".*
As Prof. F. Ledgar remarked to the M.M.B.W. February seminar: "I get the impression throughout that in every case where alternatives are proposed, alternative one is the course that it is feared will be taken and that Alternative Two is that which is desirable but which may not be capable of achievement. It is as if those technically responsible for the proposals have said to themselves 'this is what our masters will expect and accept but this is what in our hearts we believe should be. therefore let us put it in so that we, too, keep our options open and hope for the future alive!'" (Seminar Proceedings, p. 18.)

The other strange misgiving comes from the M.M.B.W.'s prognostication of Melbourne's possible "long term future" in Plan 10 p. 73 of the 1971 "Regional Policies" showing, in addition to a corridor all the way to Geelong, a great elongated corridor into the Latrobe Valley. One is immediately tempted to ask: if this is the right direction for the abiding long-term pattern, how can there be any profit in going short-term in other directions at higher costs even by the traditional critiques let alone the ecological-sociological critiques? (See diagram for "Plan 10".)

With all this weight of evidence and planning sense, some of which still seems to emanate, albeit in muted tones, from within the M.M.B.W. planning section itself, the question is not so much how the 1967-1971 M.M.B.W.-Evans radial corridor plan to west and north came to overthrow the whole direction of the 1954 M.M.B.W. planning (we have suggested it is a compromise bowing to the pressure of speculators), but what should be done? What is the right sociological solution for "the deprived west"?

From the point of view of "social mix" in the sense of class structure and basically, for us, from the point of view of mixing the 80% of workers in reasonable proportions, it is hopeless to suggest further development to the west or north. Doing so would not even result in an equitable distribution within the industrial working class, still less the working class as a whole.

The reasons might seem to have been established clearly enough already by our argument, but as there were some undertones in the "Deprived West" Seminar suggesting this should be done, especially as they came from some who are earnestly and courageously doing their best to rectify the wrongs done to the west, some further analysis is called for.

What sections stand to gain, for example, by an intensive subsidised drive to develop an urban corridor due west to Melton or satellites at Melton or Sunbury?

Firstly, and obviously, developers and would-be developers who own land in this direction and who expect to profit from the plan.

We do not regard the capitalist profit-making system as a whole a defensible one, but as profit-making ventures, this practice ranks as quite obnoxious from a planning point of view because it inflates the price of land, which in the conditions of Melbourne, also means the price of workers homes.

Secondly, there is a specialised need by established manufacturers or would-be manufacturers in the west to attract top executives and technical staff to work in their plants.

Ever-increasing commuting distance and deteriorating transport, however, have meant a relative drying up of the flow of this migratory executive and higher-skilled work force to the west. Remedies advanced by the school of Stretton's "tough sophisticated realists", as can be expected, do not contemplate such elite actually coming to live amongst the low-paid migrant industrial workers on a flat barren windy plain with poor soil and even worse educational institutions.

Relief is seen by the industrialists as coming from two directions... from the Westgate bridge, or possibly from some little separated "Tooraks" or "Red Hills" at Hoppers Crossing, Werribee, Melton or Sunbury.

As Mr. C.A. Wilson, General Manager of the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority explained to the "Deprived West" seminar: "Industry in the west will be far more accessible from the south-east. This can be expected to provide a much greater potential labour force pool, with a wider range of skills. This will encourage a more diverse range of industry in the west, and accelerate industrial development which, despite cheaper land prices, has been deterred by the unattractive labour force situation (Paper "Industry Employment and Transport" at p. 3)."
So too, in the 1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies" statement already quoted "the establishment of satellite cities would seem to offer one means of achieving" the "greater diversity of population" which they say is desirable for the north and west (p. 70). As no other means are even hinted at, it would seem the M.M.B.W. is really concerned not so much with desegregation as with supplying the needs of industry in the west to make the Evans plan a feasibility.

In an otherwise "soft, sympathetic" though sophisticated analysis the design team on the "Sunbury Study", prepared for the 1972 Australian Architectural Convention struggle with the problem of attracting higher socio-economic groups even to a satellite and come down with a "hard realistic" solution.

"... whereas a blue-collar family may move into an area of middle income residents, the reverse is almost never true ... therefore considered essential that initially, Sunbury develop an image based around development for higher and middle income groups ... in the expanding industrial area around Broadmeadows and Tullamarine, where there is a concentration of highly skilled technical, professional and managerial work, which includes the airport, Fords, Ericsons and Nabisco ... there are few suitable residential suburbs in this area to cater for the executive labour pool."

"Sunbury could provide just such an area. However it has been shown that amongst the middle classes, there is a cultural prejudice against the flat dull areas of 'industrial' north and for many people Sunbury is vaguely included in this area. Therefore it would be necessary to conceive and project Sunbury as a development, completely separated physically and psychologically, from these northern industrial areas."

"Maintaining an undeveloped green belt between Bulla and Tullamarine would probable make this possible. Sunbury could then be projected as a dormitory suburb for the higher and middle income groups commuting to work in the northern suburbs" ("A Study Case for An Australian New Town", pp. 73-77).

In the light of this line of reasoning, it is instructive to note that the 1971 M.M.B.W. "Regional Policies" in Plan 6 at p. 54 advance "development alternatives" for the Melton Corridor. In the Second Alternative there is a Melton satellite cut off by a Green Belt from the rest of the corridors which is no doubt contemplated to separate it "physically and psychologically" from the deprived west and make it the "executive labour pool" as at Sunbury.

Interesting and all as it may be to big industry in the west and north to build the Westgate Bridge and create a "swinging set" in Hoppers Creek, Melton or Sunbury to attract an executive pool, this has no bearing, as can be seen, on the existing segregation in the western and northern suburbs.

Sociologically, as we see it, it is only compounding the deprivation to "develop" corridors to the west and north. The "social mix" taken all over Melbourne as a whole will grow more pronounced, the east and south becoming more exclusive and the west and north more deprived.

We ask our friends in the west and north a few of whom talk enviously about getting "their" share of "development" how on earth can industrial and commercial development, that is, development of capital benefit the working people? A development of "social mix" of the working class can, but a development of capital simply does not achieve that. Rather it accentuates the "social un-mix".

Capital and population development will not desegregate their suburbs which will not only continue to be lop-sided but will become a bigger conglomeration still of lop-sidedness making it still more difficult to overcome the deprivations. What benefits will satellites, lower Yarra bridges and freeways bestow on them by connecting the factories of west and north with pools of executives and highly skilled workers from dormitory satellites or the south-eastern suburbs?

The deprived workers of Fitzroy and Collingwood were no better off when Melbourne developed eastwards to Ringwood, nor did the deprived workers of Richmond benefit because Melbourne sprouted beyond them to Dandenong or Frankston. The workers of Sunshine and Altona will not benefit by a dormitory satellite at Melton for a pool of executives, any more than Richmond benefitted from Toorak.
To demand a Melton corridor, or dormitory satellites will do actual damage to the cause of overcoming the deprivation of the west and north, it will make the efforts to attain "social mix" more and more illusory.

**HOW TO SOCIAL MIX THE WEST AND EAST**

If it is not possible to overcome the segregation of the north and west by simply adding corridors to them, it is fair that we should answer the question. Then what should be done to overcome the deprivation?

Further, if it is true that the sociologists and planners of the Sunbury "design team" study found such subtleties associated with forming a "social mix" even for a brand new and geographically separated town, how can we expect to achieve such results within the continuity which would be the Gippsland corridor proposed by us?

We shall deal with each of these questions in order.

1. **Desegregation of the West**

Taking the three components of the working class (i) industrial workers, (ii) white-collar workers and (iii) professional workers (as defined above), the basic problem of "social mix" for us is this.

How to attract a greater proportion of higher skilled industrial workers, and white-collar and professional workers to reside in the west, not in suburban "enclaves", but integrated with the community that now tends more and more to consist of lower-paid non-English speaking migrant industrial workers?

It should be understood, before we start the answer, that when we say there should be no corridor growth to the north or west, we are not saying that absolutely no more homes should be built as from now on. Subdivided serviced land ready now for the builders, whether residential or industrial or land for which the preparation for sub-division and servicing is so far advanced that it would be wasted effort to contemplate cancellation of planned growth, would still be available.

But, the zoning of land, even in the present planning scheme for which there has been, as yet, no such preparations, and unlikely to be required for the purposes outlined below, should be reviewed with a view to re-zoning for some non-urban purpose.

There would be therefore, according to our proposals, room for some limited further growth to the west and north to "round off" present developed areas, and room therefore, for a certain amount of flexibility; which is an entirely different concept to adding 300,000 people in the north and west to the 300,000 or so already residing there within the next generation.

Now the question is: is the Jane Jacobs recipe for evolving from within a neighbourhood a home-spun "middle-class" who then "make good" and drag the neighbourhood up with them, or the Stretton recipe for judicious mix of all income groups within each primary school catchment area, the only methods of overcoming deprivation?

We suggest not. Our recipe is as follows:

1. Innovative community-controlled health welfare cultural and educational services.
2. Innovative community-controlled "open university" with special training in service industries.

1. **Innovative Services**

What is to be done?

As a result of the "Deprived West" seminar a number of new vital organisations are taking action to improve the situation. Action groups have been formed for Health and Welfare; Education; Water and
Sewerage; Environment; Industry Employment and Transport. If we could pin point a possible weakness in
scope here (a weakness, incidentally, which sometimes creeps into our own formulations), there is no
specific group for “art” or “culture”, using these words in their widest and best meanings, although there
could no doubt be an overlap both with “education” and with “employment”.

Councillors, teachers, social workers and leaders of service clubs are sharing the responsibilities of
leadership in these action groups. This is a welcome new feature in the politics of the west.

In addition to this, another welcome new feature has appeared in the Sunshine area in the shape of
new types of social welfare organisation which are now being co-ordinated in the Community Service Board
which is a representative organisation of Councillors and citizens.

The Sunshine Council made a submission, thanks to the work of this Board, to the Consultative
Council on Preschool Child Development (appointed late in 1971 by the Victorian Health Department to
enquire into the health, welfare and education of preschool children). The document states: “The Sister-
in-Charge of the Baby Health Centre recommends that she have seven more sisters so that each Centre could
be open more often: also, so that it could provide the following services—toddlers group (where mothers
and toddlers can meet with trained staff), marriage guidance, lectures on preparation for parent-hood, ante-
natal course, family planning and a referral scheme where Sisters may refer cases to the appropriate
department.” “The Committee recommends that Infant Welfare Centre be changed to Family Guidance
Centre (they do not like the connotations associated with ‘welfare’).”

In another section of the same report it is stated “That day care facilities be available in centres
providing full-day care, occasional care, kindergarten care, before and after school care and holiday care
close to the Family Guidance Centre, with child development principles incorporated in all aspects of
planning.” And a very significant statement, indeed, from the same submission: “That voluntary and
other organisations be encouraged and co-ordinated in working to meet the needs of the community and
that these organisations be NON-FUND-RAISING as this detracts from the real interest in a project”.
(pp. 2–7).

It can be seen from such a report, prepared by a group of local citizens in the west that the actively
interested people are not thinking only of “more-of-the-same” type of facility. Rather they want facilities
dovetailed into the real needs of the people in the 1970s. On the other hand, a very positive feature of this
type of report is that professional workers and local committee members are emphasising the need to use
existing services, but extending the hours they are open and adding new types of services.

Thus a spark is beginning to kindle in the west. It has been lit partly by the white-collar and
professional workers, some of whom such as teachers and social workers have deliberately chosen not only
to work in the west but also to set up their own home in that area. Such people play a vital part in kindling
the spark. But only by the creative efforts of the local people will the spark burst into a flame which can
make any significant improvement.

No doubt some gains will be won to improve the worst anomalies. “More-of-the same” is needed
and can be won. But, as shown by the example of the Preschool submission, an improvement of the
existing services, even positive discrimination to ensure that the west has health, education and welfare
services as adequate as the east, will not provide for the west the facilities which are wanted not only to
overcome the obvious deprivation, but to make a qualitatively more appropriate contribution to life of the
citizen. For example, the Sunshine Child Care Committee want not only more Infant Welfare Sisters, who
work in the traditional way of the past, but a different type of service so that the Infant Welfare Centre is
much better integrated into the community.

The attention that has recently been focussed on the west should also result in increased support
for improvements from people and organisations in south, south east and other parts of Melbourne. Over
the past years organisations such as the Victorian Council of School Organisations, the Victorian Federation
of Mothers Clubs, teachers organisations and students organisations have campaigned for more equality for
educational opportunity. Also notable for pioneering specifically in the West have been the efforts by the
Butchers Union to establish a health clinic and to run art festivals. All such support is indeed helpful and
may serve to fan the spark, but, as stated above, the problem is to keep the flame burning, not only through
achieving some amelioration, but through the active participation by the people who live in the west in the planning and provision of their own services.

Even “more-of-the-same” improvements cannot be sustained by “external caretakers” (See appendix No. 8), nor by a general Victorian-wide altruistic campaign shouldered by state or national organisations. Still less can innovations be so sustained!

The point is that if there is “positive discrimination” in the treatment afforded the West, that involves genuinely innovative services of a character that are custom-built to engage the active support and involvement in their control by the people for whom they are intended, it will attract to the West many of the finest “service” and “professional” workers who understand that further advances in their own field lie precisely in this direction.

This could begin the process of correcting the deprivation caused by too big and unrelieved a concentration of lower-paid industrial workers, by giving an accelerated impetus to creating a more typical cross-section of workers.

However, such an amalgam within the working class can only happen successfully if the “new” workers from “foreign” southern and eastern parts “mix it” in the crucible of common purpose, which can only be done if emphasis is always laid, and practised, on community activity to support and control their own services.

To clinch this process of correction so that it begins to derive its source from the West itself, and does not rely on imported “labor” from outside, we propose a second measure, namely:

2. Innovative Service Training

To match the innovative-type services organised as outlined above, we propose an innovative community-controlled “open university” with special training in service industries.

At the outset it should be stated that the West is deprived in that there are no tertiary educational institutions except the technical schools. For many years there have been requests for a teachers college, a kindergarten college and a university; also there has been a continual campaign for another hospital, (which is in effect also a tertiary educational institution). Mr. Keith Kosky, a member of Sunshine Lions and one of the active sponsors of the “Deprived West” seminar says that there is a 500 acre site in South Sunshine “where there is a natural lake that can be enlarged and made into a beautiful setting for a modern university”. (Footscray Mail, May 24th 1972) and Mr. Col Thorpe (Convener of the West Education Action Group) pointed out in the same article “that land has been set aside for a teachers college near St. Albans, but so far all that existed was bare land”.

Dr. Jenkins said in his paper to the seminar: “Historically land has been held in Sunshine for a new hospital since 1961”. So here at least are three sites which may be suitable for tertiary training institutions . . .

The fact that to date, the west has been deprived of tertiary educational facilities can be turned to an advantage. Completely new types of educational centres can be provided. There is need for innovation, not only in the training of school teachers, and kindergarten teachers, but also in the training provided for the maintenance of the health of the community.

There is need not only for changes in the curriculum, but changes in the type of student to be attracted. We are entering a period when there will be many more people who regard education as a continuing process all through life: the provision for the education of mature age men and women is now on the agenda.

In addition new fields of employment are opening up. There is the shift to the service industries. To date the main emphasis of the shift has been to provide individualised services for the most affluent; tourism, for example. What is needed is all sorts of services for ordinary people, and to provide the basic facilities trained and educated people are needed.
Thus the new teachers college, university, kindergarten teachers college, or hospital would need to provide for these new skills.

For example in the booklet “Centres for Young Children” published by the Victorian Branch of the Australian Communist Party in June 1972 (the C.P.A. submission to the State Government Consultative Council on Preschool Child Development) recommendations are made such as: “More facilities for training a variety of staff for preschool centres. The first of these centres to be established in the north-west, west or north of Melbourne”. . . “Migrants, both youthful and mature age should be trained to work in the preschool centres and must be paid reasonable salaries during training and when in employment”. “The provision of preschool educational opportunities in the changing circumstances of today require much more flexibility and therefore much more diversity in the courses of training staff. Such training should be available to men and women, both youthful and mature age. Training should be a continuous process and qualifications for training at a lower level should give entrance qualification for training at more advanced level”.

Such thinking turns the direction right away from education for “bright young people only” idea and of course when we consider school education today, we not only want classroom teachers, but also librarians, library assistants, laboratory technicians, camp organisers, musicians, dramatists, projectionists and film makers and many others. In the western suburbs there are many mature age people, both Australian born and migrants who could undertake such courses and in the process the west would begin to grow its own “home spun” better educated, more highly skilled section of the population right in its very heart.

Similarly with the hospital that is already proposed. Professor Hetzel, Professor of social and preventative medicine, Monash University, has often drawn attention to the lack of proper facilities to train doctors and nurses. At the first World Congress on Domiciliary Care which was held in Melbourne early in 1970, he advocated that “Nursing education needs to be lifted into the community”.

At the same Congress Miss Pat Slater (Director of Australian College of Nursing) said “We need to establish truly family-centred community health centres so that patients are treated as part of the family and as part of the community.” And a final quote from Dr. J. Christie (Prince Henry’s Hospital, Melbourne) “For good health we need urban planning on a human scale.”

These few quotations indicate a whole new concept on health and the need not only for community involvement but for a much greater variety of skills to be learnt in caring for the health of the people. Thus any plans for using the hospital site in Sunshine should be concerned not only with constructing a building, but in the provision of the varied services, linked very closely to the homes of the people. Such a “Health-centre-hospital” could become a very different type of training centre from the traditional training hospitals.

In addition to completely new types of tertiary training centres, there is also an opportunity to update the education provided in the primary and secondary schools and to help integrate the schools more closely to the community. This is not a straightforward matter of opening up school facilities after school hours (although this is already done in some areas and could be extended where appropriate). It is also the reverse process of the schools using community facilities to a much greater extent than at present.

The experimental community schools at Moreland Annex and Swinburne Annex are demonstrating how this can be done. Such programs need much better staffing ratios if they are to be at all successful. All we can point out here is that in providing these new types of tertiary centres, whether they are huge buildings or several smaller, scattered centres, that some of the amenities should be planned to be used not only by the official students of such centres but also by groups of school children and adults (not necessarily enrolled students). For example theatres, laboratories, libraries, and the landscape surroundings.

The integration of the school and tertiary learning centre with the community can be assisted if some of the school staff live in the area. Maybe, it will take some period of time to overcome the present trend for most teachers to spend only a short time teaching at schools in the west, but the attractiveness of the innovations will make this more possible in the future if the plans suggested become a reality.

In the meantime however, there is a more readily available way of connecting the local families with the schools. In “Plan for Melbourne, Part 2” we advocated that “School Aides, recruited from local
housewives, could be a new force which could generate a new enthusiasm for the participation of local people in school activities... special courses to train school aides and leisure-time leaders could well open up a field of work for mature age women, although of course not exclusively for them. (Note: by "field of work" we meant employment – part-time or full-time).

These ideas are not utopian. They are now advocated by a very wide cross-section of people. (See appendix No. 9). They are quite practical, and in fact in embryo they are all being put into practice. What we advocate is that in providing services so that the west can "catch up" with the rest of Melbourne, the type of new facilities provided should shape the changes for the future, rather than proliferate services which are already outmoded.

Thus, to gather together, re-state and round-off our social objectives and recipes for desegregation of the West:

The social objectives

(i) To set out to attract, not the "middle class", not an "executive labor pool", not "developers" and the manufacturers for whom they would develop, but a range of higher-skilled workers, white-collar workers and professional workers, not merely to work in the area, but also to reside in it, to use its shops, kindergartens, schools, health centres, playing fields, cultural facilities, hotels, halis, swimming pools, and to meet formally and informally with others in the area, both on the job and in leisure hours.

(ii) Complementing this, to create educational and social opportunities for families already living in the West by providing a greater range of employment including "tertiary industry", especially that branch of it which supplies community services, and a complete range of voluntary effort and control in such services.

The recipe

(iii) To initiate on a scale so decisive that it favours the West by "positive discrimination", pioneering forms of service tailored to fit the people for whom they are intended, both in the sense that it supplies to them a need formerly deprived, and in the sense that it is capable of involving them in running such services in order to attract to employment and residence in the West all those who teach, train, lecture, demonstrate, explain, tutor, coach, conduct, promote, compere, host or in some other way help all to learn or perform.

(iv) To establish innovating tertiary educational institutions with a form of community-control to provide a range of training for such purposes with special emphasis on mature-age and migrant enrolments.

Thus, just as the deprivation of the west is a cycle that seems to have no beginning and no end and no solution, so the desegregation of the west can also be cyclical if sufficient finance, properly coupled with creative initiative both from the West and the state generally, are simultaneously released to take hold of the enthusiasm which has recently been generated. This could overcome the dead-centre of inertia of entrenched, finance-starved administrative practices and the narrowing requirements of local vested interests and hopeful developers and speculators.

Less decisive but helpful measures, which, in conjunction with the above items all assist in the general direction outlined, we, of course support. Without trying to enumerate all of them, we add a fifth item to deal with some:

(v) To the extent that there may be a need in the West for classes of "light" industry or commerce specifically catering for women employment to make up a more balanced range of industries, in addition to the new "tertiary" industries, we are not opposed to such relatively limited land development as may be required for this purpose.

To the extent also, that further residential land development may be required to cater for those special classes of "service-industry" white-collar and professional workers we have
12.

mentioned, or for the relatives and friends of migrants and other workers whose deliberate choice it is to reside in the West, we are not opposed, either, to such limited growth that this may entail.

In this regard housewives who take employment do not require more residential land, and there is already a trend towards higher residential densities. We would suspect that there would be sufficient already existing urban-zoned land, if not land actually subdivided and serviced (or readily serviceable) to supply such extra "raw land" necessary for such purposes.

It is quite a different matter to deliberately plan Melbourne as a whole to force several hundred thousand people to settle on the western plains by subsidising heavy industry manufacturers to use the cheaper land there and therefore forcing industrial workers (and in the main, the lower paid migrant industrial workers) to live in the west in order to get their jobs.

To do so is to deliberately plan a consolidation and accentuation of the deprived section of Melbourne's working class who live in the west. If we can borrow from Stretton and formulate a converse to one of his shrewd observations already quoted, localising it for Melbourne at the same time:

"The price of creating a lower-income suburb in the west, is an exclusive suburb somewhere else in the east, or an exclusive satellite, and all planners know it" (with apologies to Stretton).

One would have thought that all sociologists would have known it too. Apparently not so. The Victorian Council of Social Service (VCOSS) has also submitted an "objection" to the regional plan. We subscribe wholeheartedly to most of the positive recommendations in this report. But there is a strange preface that supports "balanced growth" in the Evans-MMBW meaning of corridors to west and north, and which is said to be one of the "guidelines upon which VCOSS based its submissions to the MMBW".

It is baldly stated that this would "lead to a more balanced metropolitan structure in socio-economic terms". How this is to come about is nowhere argued in the text, nowhere explained just how this connects with the excellent line of recommendations which follow and which could be carried out so much more effectively in a Gippsland corridor, and nowhere is it explained how this concept became a "guiding principle" for the organisation and where one should turn to find why expenditure of capital in manufacturing industry can alter the situation, or alternatively how expenditure of capital in tertiary industry is going to attract its labor force, in such quantities as to justify a Melton corridor, or a Werribbee corridor.

To be charitable, maybe this errant and patently wrong concept sprang from the hasty necessity by VCOSS to connect long-researched and excellent sociological aims with the current "terms of reference" presented to it in the shape of the MMBW regional plan as a basis for its "objections". We have added an appendix to show that what VCOSS really aims at is quite consistent with anti-deprivation and anti-segregationist proposals which we have just outlined, although it is inconsistent with forced massive heavy industrial growth which is an inevitable concomitant of the MMBW's northern and western corridors, that is, if they are to function at all to provide the territorial balancing act intended by them (See appendix No. 10).
Crow Collection Association
Victoria University of Technology

Living Library Project on History of Children's Services
Funded by the Lance Reichstein Charitable Foundation
Sept. 1991 to May 1992

Booklets Published as Background Material.

1. The History of the Carlton Refuge from 1850s to 1920
   First published 1920

2. Two Articles about Health of Women and Children:
   "The Neglected Children's Aid Society"
   First published 1911
   and
   "The After Care Home and the District Nurses"
   First published 1925

3. Two Documents about Attitudes to Slums
   "Slum Babies and Slum Mothers"
   First published about 1914
   and
   "You can't lift every baby out of the slums
   The Slum Abolition Movement in the 1930s

4. History of Children's Services in Melbourne Municipality
   1910 to 1980

5. "Bread and Treacle Diet"
   Extracts from documents of the 1930s

6. "Mothers must Work To Win"
   Photos and leaflets from the Brunswick Children's Centre, 1943.

7. "The Deprived West/ The Determined West" an extract from a
   report by Ruth and Maurie Crow, first published 1972.

8. Creating Community in the Neighbourhood - Neighbourhood
   Houses in the Western Region", transcript of a tape by
   Meredith Sussex, 1978.

9. History of the Tweddle Baby Hospital, by Kathleen
   Codogonotto
   First published 1992

10. The past, present and future - Community Development in
    the Western Region, a report by Louise Glanville, 1992

11. "Magic in the Lives of Children, Participation in the
    Lives of their Parents" report prepared by Christine

12. Kit on Federal Funding of Children's Services.
About the Project

The Lance Reichstein Charitable Foundation funded the Crow Collection for a Living Library Project on children's services in the Western Region.

A Project Steering Committee has assisted the project worker (Christine Carolan) who has worked with providers of children's services teachers and students in the Region.

The project resulted in the production of a video which includes information on the history of child care, a kit about the way children's services are funded, a series of booklets describing community movements which resulted in initiating some of the present children's services and a display of photos of some of the people who have helped to establish these services in Melbourne's Western Region.

A seminar on May 22nd 1992 marked the end of this project but the video and publications can be used well into the future.

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About the Collection

Ruth Crow and her late husband, Maurie were involved in movements on urban issues from the mid 1930s. Over the years they built up an extensive collection of documents: books, pamphlets, posters, photos and working papers.

In 1990 the Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus) invited Ruth to donate the collection to the VUT Library.

The Crow Collection includes documents written and/or used by groups and individuals committed to social change. This store of information from the past is being used to generate ideas about the future.

A Crow Collection Association has been formed and incorporated. One of its aims is to enhance the comprehensiveness and accessibility of the Collection through Living Library Projects.

For more information, contact
Crow Collection Association
Urban Studies Unit
Victoria University of Technology (Footscray)
PO Box 14428 MMC,
Melbourne 3000
Phone: (03) 688 4754, Fax: (03) 688 4805

The Crow Collection

This kit has been funded by the Lance Reichstein Charitable Foundation.