

URBAN ACTION MOVEMENT: ONE PERSON'S PERSPECTIVE FOR  
ISSUES ON PLANNING WORKSHOP, MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY TOWN  
PLANNING DEPARTMENT.

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7th October, 1981  
RUTH CROW

This report is an attempt to "investigate the social beliefs and interests which have influenced the development of particular bodies of knowledge as well as the articulation of particular social ends".

RECOMMENDED READING:

The Origins of Modern Town Planning by Leonardo Benevolo, English translation Routledge, Kegan Paul 1976 . . . Read Preface:

Haven in a Heartless World by Christopher Lasch, published by Basic Books, 1977 . . . Read Introduction.

City Class and Power by Manuel Castells, published by McMillan 1978.  
Read . . . Chapter 2.

Reading Material Provided

Melbourne: The Social and Ecological Choices published in the Australian Left Review No. 49, 1977

The "Me Generation" Consumerism and Ageism published in the Australian Left Review No. 70, 1976.

Threads on a Tapestry published in Ecosse Exchange No. 116, Spring 1977.

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SECTION 1 . . . INTRODUCTION

First let me introduce myself. I was born during the first World War, and was a teenager in the depression, and a mother of young children during the second world war.

In the 1930's I witnessed poverty amidst great plenty (footnote 1). I was inspired by the heroic struggles of the Spanish Republicans (footnote 2). I was impressed by the glowing reports about the conditions of women and children in the Soviet Union (footnote 3) and appalled by the "guns before butter" slogan of the German Nazis. (footnote 4) I joined the Communist Party of Australia in 1937 and have lived most of my adult life in the suburbs of Melbourne . . . Brunswick, Coburg and North Melbourne.

My main political experience has been in local movements although I have had some experience in trade union movements.

In the 1930's joining the Communist Party opened out a rich life . . . plenty of action . . . but also a rich social and cultural life with plenty of opportunities to study . . . not just Marxist theories but all sorts of subjects through the Left Book Club (footnote 5).

Oral history needs to be taken with a grain of salt as it is inevitably tempered with hindsight. Therefore I have tried to keep to the facts in the first part of my talk when I am describing three periods of my life. I then follow these descriptions with a few theories.

The periods are . . .

1940 to mid 1950's . . . Brunswick experiences . . .

Mid fifties to mid sixties . . . Coburg experiences . . .

Mid sixties to 80's . . . North Melbourne experiences . . .

After these descriptions I will deal with three aspects of urban planning.

1. The Twofold Nature of Planning
2. The frailty of urban action movements
3. The three conditions specific to Australia.

In the concluding part of the talk I will try to outline what pitfalls are likely to be met in the future and the form action may take to change the future.

The three examples I have chosen are about planning for children and are thus very much connected with the position of women.

It will be understood from my introduction that I entered the 1940's with a very clear vision of the difference between Nazism and Communism. Perhaps the best way to contrast these two is to compare the Hitler slogan that women should be confined to the Kitchen, the Church and the Children; and Lenin's idea that the Kindergartens and school meal centres, factory dining rooms and school holiday camps were the "shoots of socialism" providing services so that women could be emancipated through work outside the home and also providing opportunities where women could collectively work together instead of in the isolation of domestic drudgery."

Now to start the descriptions so I can get to the perspectives . . .

## SECTION 2: EXPERIENCES IN THREE PERIODS OF HISTORY.

### 1940'S to mid 1950's . . . THE BRUNSWICK EXAMPLE.

I am mainly going to describe the planning of the Brunswick Children's Centre which was a wartime scheme providing care for several hundred children from babies to teenagers.

In Brunswick during the 1940's there were large textile, rope and clothing factories employing hundreds of women. Holeproof, for example, employed over 1,000 women and the main product was parachutes.

The Brunswick Centre provided all day care for young children, hot nourishing midday meals for school children and holiday and after school activities.

It was financed by the Federal Government, the State Government and the Brunswick Council, and the cost of the day to day running expenses was paid by the parents. (Exhibit 1)

How did this comprehensive scheme originate.

There were five main factors.

1. The Women's Movement. Wartime increases of women in industry developed a broad women's movement called the Council for Women in War Work, which was based on a coalition of professional women's organisations, women in the Forces (W.A.A.F, W.R.A.N's., A.W.A.C. and the Land Army) as well as the Trade Unions (Teachers' Union, Clothing Trade Unions, Munitions' Union, Food Preservers' Union and other unions with large membership of women).

2. In the early 1940's several new-type child care centres were established by groups of young mothers and subsidised by the University Women's Patriotic Fund. We were very radical young women who drew together other women into bands of voluntary helpers. Running costs of these centres were met by women in the work force who paid to use the nursery, but the equipment and premises were under-written by the U.W.P.F. (footnote 6).

(These centres were later funded by the Federal Government)

These centres had the slogan "Nurseries for mothers who work to win" and thus directly connected the war effort with the need for day care.

3. The experiences of established children's organisations such as the Free Kindergarten Union, the Lady Gowrie Centre, the Victorian Association of Creches . . . but these organisations mainly came into the scheme to protect their own stand. Their philosophy was that the "child's needs are paramount" and thus they were strongly opposed to women going to work . . . but concerned about children.

4. The election of the Federal Labour Government and the establishment of a section on children and working mothers in the Commonwealth Dept. of Labour and National Service.

5. A fairly strong local radical movement in Brunswick where there had been very militant struggles on evictions and free speech in the 1930's.

#### FOUR UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE BRUNSWICK SCHEME:

1. A feature of the Brunswick Centre and the other wartime day nurseries was the involvement of young working class women as voluntary helpers. Traditionally children's services (kindergartens and infant welfare centres) had up to this period relied on voluntary helpers but these helpers were all recruited from the more affluent suburbs and were mainly older age group of ~~women~~ (footnote 7).
2. Another important feature was that there was a very conscious linking up of the efforts to provide children's services with the need to support the main political campaign of that period of history . . . the defeat of fascism.
3. The Trade Union Movement had some branches in the localities and there was a variety of ways of linking the trade unions to the movement around the provision of adequate services in the localities.
4. The fourth unique feature was the vision of that future that pervaded the Centres . . . In retrospect we seemed to have a very simplified picture of what the future could provide . . . mainly our picture was of very concrete services . . . buildings . . . equipment, etc. . . . but also the idea of better human relationships . . . (Exhibit 2)

#### WHAT HAPPENED IN THE LATE 1940'S?

There were a number of factors contributing to the dismantling of the wartime child care schemes.

1. The 1944 Federal Government Referendum meant that when the war ended the Federal Government no longer had powers to fund such services.
2. The 1944 Pre-school Act of the Victorian Government initiated a scheme for subsidising preschool services on a "do-it-yourself basis" . . . matching grants . . . this resulted in much more State Government funding being directed to the more affluent areas.
3. The matching grant system meant that main emphasis on children's services was on raising money and men dominated the newly formed preschool committees.
4. Although some of the wartime day nurseries were re-established in permanent buildings and did attempt to provide some all day care, this was actively discouraged by the Victorian Health Department.
5. "The Cold War " anti-communist witch hunts resulted in those who were communist or "thought to be communist" being expelled from children's services organisations and from school organisations.

There were in addition the effect of the rapid suburbanisation with increase in home ownership and the development of consumerism.

The Brunswick scheme suffered from all these factors and in addition there was a rapid deterioration in Council politics with red-baiting becoming the main political objective of some councillors.

In the early 1950's the Left throughout Australia was diverted to defensive actions around the Sharpley Commission, the Petrov Commission, the Referendum on the legality of the Communist Party and a number of political frame-ups.

#### LATE 1950's TO MID 1960's - COBURG:

I have to skip the mid fifties and leave Brunswick for Coburg where in the late 1950's and early 1960's there was a quite widespread movement about improving the provision of preschool education in that municipality.

Firstly, let us examine the conditions under which this movement was initiated:

1. In the 1950's and 1960's there was a nation-wide campaign around the need for Federal Aid for Education. In Victoria this was mainly based on a coalition of the Teachers' Union and the school organisations, and had loose links with some trade unions.
2. Young families were buying their own homes in East Coburg, West Coburg and Merlynston . . . fairly new housing development.
3. Some women who were mothers of young children had tertiary qualifications but were unable to work during the children's younger years. Their research ability was a new factor in campaigns on local issues.
4. The Coburg Council was beginning to consider social services.
5. A few people who had worked in the war-time schemes were aware of the 1944 Preschool Act and were concerned that it was being implemented in a way that favoured the more affluent areas.
6. There was considerable concern about private child minding and private (commercial) kindergartens, which were quite numerous in Coburg.

In the late 50's the Coburg Education Committee was formed to campaign for Federal Aid for Education (Schools ). It consisted of teachers, parents and a few councillors. A small group of women who were members of this Committee became concerned about the needs of preschool children.

#### METHODS USED BY COBURG EDUCATION COMMITTEE:

Using the Vera Scantlebury Brown Report (which was the basis of the 1944 Preschool Act) the Coburg Group analysed the provision of preschool education in Coburg and popularised the findings (Exhibit 3)

The 1944 Report recommended that there should be five preschool centres to every Infant Welfare Centre and that no child should have to walk more than a quarter of a mile to the nearest preschool centre. In Coburg only one child in five was attending a subsidised centre in 1964. If the 1944 plan had been implemented Coburg should have had 30 centres, but it had only six kindergartens. The Coburg Education Committee Preschool campaign did have some very positive results . . .

1. Great improvement in the provision of kindergartens in the Coburg municipality.
2. Council involvement in preschool education.
3. Helped to identify the problem of the deprived North and West.
4. Helped to stimulate the movement for an enquiry into preschool education.
5. Helped to stimulate the Trade Union Movement to consider living standards an important trade union matter (footnote 8).

#### 1970's - THE NORTH MELBOURNE EXAMPLE.

From the end of the 1970's the North Melbourne Association has been involved in a number of campaigns about children's services. For example, these three reports . . . 1972 Report to the Victorian Government Consultation on Preschool Child Development.

The 1973 C.A.N. Report to the Melbourne City Council.

And the 1980 Reports to the Melbourne City Council (Exhibit 4)

The main emphasis of our campaign has been to modify the existing services rather than to create new services.

The campaigns around children's services in North and West Melbourne are an integral part of our plans for the whole area. For example, the report "Less Energy - More Enjoyment" prepared by the Association in 1980. (Exhibit 5)

A number of factors have influenced the campaigns in North and West Melbourne around children's services:

1. The movement around community control, especially as it has been developed by Community Child Care (Exhibit 6)
2. The movement around the needs to conserve our resources as developed by the Conservation Council of Victoria in the book "Seeds for Change" and by the Australian Conservation Foundation in the reports prepared by Environmentalists for Full Employment (Exhibit 7)
3. The opportunities for participation in planning as provided during the preparation of the Melbourne City Council Strategy Plan and by the Community Planning groups of the Melbourne City Council (Footnote 9).
4. The growing recognition of the need for Local Government to play a major role in the day to day administration of community services.
5. The movement of women's liberation and the understanding that children's services must meet the need of both the child and its parents (that the child's need is not paramount as strongly maintained by the established preschool movement).

6. The recognition that the diverse needs of young children and their parents cannot be met by the provision of one type of service.

The main gains in North Melbourne cannot be measured by an increase in services (as could be measured in Coburg) but in the concept of different quality of services (footnote 10).

However, North and West Melbourne is not the millenium, and even some of the gains we have made are far from consolidated. 1. For example, the sacking of the Melbourne City Council makes a farce of our ideas about the importance of Local Government having more say on social services.

2. The cut-backs in funding tends to strengthen the trends towards parochialism.

3. The "lolly bag" of State and Federal politicians results in the provision of services as an expediency which strengthen piecemeal planning over which the users have very little control (footnote 11).

4. The Federal and State Government Departments' rhetoric is often far in advance of their ability to fulfil plans. This is not only confusing but tends to assist the imposition of services which are really based on a "social control" model and weakens the movement for "community control". (footnote 12)

### SECTION 3: THREE ASPECTS OF PLANNING

#### 1. The Twofold Nature of Planning.

Benevolo in the "Origin of Town Planning" emphasises the two-fold origin of town planning . . . its technical and ideological roots, and he describes how town planning has become increasingly a "purely technical matter at the service of the established powers". He pointed out that a recurring problem faced by all who are concerned about the future is how to link the movement around planning issues with the political forces which are also working for a general transformation of society.

In my review of the three experiences, I have tried to explain how the campaign around immediate local issues was linked up with broader political campaigns of world wide significance and how these innovative organisations were linked up to organisations which had different immediate objectives but had common grounds for unity on matters of wider significance.

The 1970's action around children and urban planning is now beginning to be related to the movements concerned with the conservation of our natural resources and thus is helping to forge links between the conservation organisations and urban action groups. The emergence of such coalitions as Environmentalists for Full Employment and Conservation of Urban Energy Group are examples of how those primarily concerned about urban planning are making contact with other political forces which are working towards a general transformation of society.

## 2. THE FRAILTY OF THE URBAN ACTION MOVEMENT:

The chart entitled "Linking Unions with Urban Action" is one way of emphasising the frailty of the urban action movement, and indicates how it can be strengthened.

The urban action movements are mainly composed of "white collar workers". People who in their daily task of earning their living are increasingly affected by anomie as well as alienation. This means that they tend to bring into the urban movement expectations that are impossible to be realised by the forces available.

This, in turn, leads to attempts to popularise the movement by basing it on very parochial issues. Parochial campaigns will result in immediate gains in particular areas but will in the long run destroy the movement; it will make it impossible to develop broadbased coalitions and the end result will be exclusiveness and elitism.

In comparison to trade unions the urban action movement is very weak. It has not the "muscle" to ensure that its demands are met as it has no power over the basic means of production. For example, there is no action by urban movement which can compare to the strike weapon of the unions.

Manuel Castells describes urban struggles as "of second level importance". This fact has a number of consequences; for example, urban activists are often easily disheartened; action is often sporadic; organisations are easily co-opted into the conservative apparatus of capitalist society.

Another aspect of the frailty of the urban action movement is that many of the issues in the localities are ill defined and rely on elusive judgement in particular circumstances. This is in contrast to the way the trade unions have been able to have programs based on standards (of wages and conditions and so on) which are definable and separable and have measurable solutions, which are usually expressed in economic terms.

During the past ten years all sorts of dynamic concepts have been coined by the urban action movement: for example, the concept so constantly popularised by community child care of "the process of creating community"; or, for example, the words "community control" and of course there are all the new types of services.. such as "neighbourhood house" and perhaps the best example of all . . . the idea of the "collective" or "doing it together".

As Castells has emphasised . . . "The role of organisation is decisive in the orientation and development of an urban social movement."



3. THREE CONDITIONS SPECIFIC TO AUSTRALIA:

These are . . . suburbanisation, strong trade unions and the domination of national politics.

1. Australia is one of the most suburbanised countries in the world.

The urban . . . suburban development functions effectively for the accumulation of capital; the organisation of centralised management, the stimulation of commodity production; the differential reproduction of labour power and the maintenance of the social order. However, it produces problems such as loneliness, isolation, lack of stimulation and insufficient services such as child care and health services.

The increases in baby bashing, drug abuse, suicide and such "crimes" are symptoms of the breakdown in human relationships in Australian society where consumerism is the inseparable twin of sexist oppression.

Consider these two features of the crisis in our suburbs . . .

(a) The family turns in on itself in our car dependent suburbs. The aged, the children and women are trapped in suburbs where community life is declining and women bear the brunt of the "invisible work" needed to provide the compensatory private life centred on home and car.

(b) The new type social problems are inseparably linked with the squandering of the world's natural resources.

The sprawling suburbs which depend on cars, roads and petrol are using an ecologically extravagant form of transport and added to this the suburban life style demands a proliferation of consumer articles, many of which are also ecologically extravagant.

11. AUSTRALIA IS A COUNTRY WHERE THERE IS A VERY STRONG TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

To date the link between the trade unions and local groups has been mainly at the level of protest, but the stage is now being reached where it is imperative that ways are found of presenting a more human type of urban environment as a positive alternative to the problem ridden environment of our urban areas.

It is necessary to become quite precise in presenting alternative ideas so that the future will not produce the anachronisms of the present which are expressed in the prevailing ideas, for example, that all dwellings are for nuclear families; that cars are the most prized form of transport; that the bigger the school, university, hospital or super-market the better; that community and neighbourhood are no longer significant; and that there is no suburban isolation but only "unhappy and inactive people."

Already alternatives are beginning to take shape; such as the Australian Railways Union campaigns and in particular the study made by several unions "Hold the Line" (footnote 13)

These efforts show how the trade unions are taking steps towards enabling workers to have more control over their own lives, not only over the conditions under which they work, but about the products they make, the way these products are used and the life they and their families can lead when work hours are over.

These steps cannot be taken by the Trade Unions without linking up the movement in the work place to the movement in the localities . . . To refer back to Benevolo . . . the new-style trade union campaigns are helping those who are active on planning issues to "make contact once more with those political forces which tend towards a similar general transformation of society".

111. AUSTRALIA IS A COUNTRY WHERE PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL EFFORT IS CONCENTRATED AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL:

There are many reasons why movements which are mainly based on State and Municipal politics are secondary to the movements directed to the sphere of federal politics.

For example, many progressive campaigns have national or international importance (the campaign for peace, and campaign against uranium mining, are two obvious examples.)

An over concentration by progressive forces at the national level can mean that other significant campaigns are neglected.

In the past those who were challenging capitalism spearheaded the move towards national organisations. For example, the national unions and the national pensioners' organisation; however, today, the move to nationalise the conservation and child care organisations is coming from the reactionary Federal Government. This enticement is recognised by some as attempts to decapitate virile state organisations and to dissipate their strength.

Naturally, many issues in Australian society affect all Australians, and many issues can best be tackled at the federal level. But, rather than divert from local grass root efforts in the localities it may be best to consider how to use the strength that already exists in national organisations rather than proliferate effort and run the risk of these frail, emerging movements being bureaucratised.

The strong national organisations that some trade unions have inherited could have the significant role of relieving the conservation and urban groups from maintaining highly centralised organisations once the links between the various movements are strengthened.

An immediate campaign which has the potential for such unity is the campaign against public sector cuts.

By emphasising the need to consider campaigns at the state and local level does not mean the rejection of the need for some efforts around national politics.

In practice, one of the most significant effects of campaigns on local issues is that urban daily life is transformed so that more and more people, especially women, can have a meaningful connection with politics, starting with local politics

but also embracing state and federal politics.

#### SECTION 4 - THE FUTURE:

Firstly, I would like to warn about a few pitfalls that face us now which could be even bigger in the future.

1. The creation of a new class "the poor" tends to divert from the main issues of the class struggle.
2. The concept of neighbourhood or community which assumes that at local level politics is about a class-less society.
3. The diversion of urban action around parochial issues.
4. The assumption that there are no lonely people in suburbia but only unhappy and poorly adjusted people.
5. The denigration of "white collar workers" as "trendy middle class".

#### SECONDLY - how it avoid the pitfalls:

The political challenge is to show people, from their own experience, the class nature of society and that the lives of all working people are affected by the ruthless exploitation of our natural resources in the interest of a few multinational companies.

Urban action groups need to be continually encouraged to firmly state the value judgment which has brought the organisation together (footnote 14).

The main purpose of participating in political efforts around urban issues is not to gain political power in the context only of the parliamentary democratic structure; but to take every advantage of opportunities to present a vision of a practical alternative which would enable a more human life style.

It is my belief that the movement to implement such an alternative is a necessary prerequisite for the inevitable expansion of such struggles to form part of the experience necessary for the Australian people to carve out their own path to socialism . . . creating their own organisations in the process.

If we seriously tackle the problem of finding ways for planning "to make contact with those political forces which tend towards a similar general transformation of society" we must begin now to place the key issue of our era as the key issue in planning. That issue is - - - how can we live better while using less energy.

## F O O T N O T E S :

### FOOTNOTE 1:

The effect of the depression on children can be gauged from statistics on nutrition and housing. For example, as late as 1939 the Royal Children's Hospital reported that 54% of the children attending the hospital were from families that were living below subsistence level and suffered from deficient diets. (Age 3. 8. 1939) Between 1932 and 1937 over 20,000 evictions took place in Melbourne - an average of 4,000 a year. Landlords were receiving a return of up to 130% per annum on house valuations. (From "We Must Go On" by F.O. Barnett et al, 1944)

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FOOTNOTE 2. La Passionara the Spanish women's leader said "I would rather die fighting than live on my knees". The Spanish Republican Government established a system of child care providing holiday camps and day nursery care.

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FOOTNOTE 3. Beatrice Webb wrote in 1930 "In making the Russian people, Lenin and his followers began not with Adam but with Eve."

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FOOTNOTE 5. The Left Book Club books were published by Gollancz. Throughout the 1930's there were hundreds of Left Book discussion groups and in addition numerous research reports from Australian Left Book Club Groups.

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FOOTNOTE 6. The first war time day nurseries were established in South Yarra and Kew. They were subsidised by the Women of the University Patriotic Fund and staffed mainly by volunteers. Later, similar day nurseries were established in Hawthorn, Caulfield and Elsternwick; and in addition to the Brunswick scheme the Federal Government subsidised these five centres and about ten half-day kindergartens (extended to full day care).

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FOOTNOTE 7: Today we would use the words "community development approach" to describe the new relationship that developed between the users and the helpers at the Brunswick Centre; and the words "social control" to describe the relationship between users and helpers at the established Infant Welfare Centres and Kindergartens.

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## FOOTNOTES (2)

FOOTNOTE 8: In 1967 the A.C.T.U. and A.C.S.P.A. held a Living Standards Convention at which town planning, social services and education, etc. were discussed. Between 1968 and 1972 an organisation called "Action for Adequate Child Care" was sponsored from a seminar called by a group of Trade Unions. During the 70's the Working Women's Centre has been established and recently the Trade Union Child Care Centre has opened in Moorabbin.

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FOOTNOTE 9: During 1973 the preparation of the Melbourne City Council Strategy Plan was an opportunity for widespread participation in planning. The M.C.C. Strategy Plan was one of the first plans to clearly state the Goals and Objectives of a Plan and to call for public discussion on these.

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FOOTNOTE 10: The main finding of the 1980 report was that the involvement of the community in services was a vital necessity if the services were to meet the needs of the families.

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FOOTNOTE 11:

"Lolly Bag" handouts are mainly small fundings by both State and Federal Governments for specific short term projects, on some occasions these are given without any adequate notice being taken of the broad community movement. For example, in Melbourne municipality during the past six months the Dept. of Youth, Sport and Recreation and the Dept. of Housing have both appointed short-term consultants to look at some of the community problems (particularly in relation to the H.C.V. estates). These appointments were made without any consultation with the groups that had carried out the Melbourne City Council Consultation Reports.

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FOOTNOTE 12: A matter of current concern is the role of the Children's Protection Society which is currently receiving considerable funding.

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FOOTNOTE 13: "Hold The Line" (Costing Melbourne Transport Options) is a report published by the combined public transport unions with assistance from Environmentalists for Full Employment. This report was published in 1981.

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FOOTNOTE 14: In 1973 during the preparation of the C.A.N. Report (Citizens Action Plan for North and West Melbourne) the Nth. Melbourne Asscn. held a number of public meetings to work out the value judgement on which the report should be based. The preface of the C.A.N. states : "What really matters are human values, not material wealth, nor status, nor freedom at the expense of others; but a life that sees social values as distinct from economic ones as the prime objective."

E X H I B I T S:

EXHIBIT 1: Documents from the Brunswick Children's Centre

EXHIBIT 2: Newsletter from Brunswick Children's Centre

EXHIBIT 3: Part of the Reports from the Coburg Education Committee, and an article from the Australian Left Review on this campaign.

EXHIBIT 4: Reports from the North Melbourne Asscn. on Children's services.

EXHIBIT 5: Report from the North Melbourne Asscn. "Less Energy, More Enjoyment".

EXHIBIT 6: Community Child Care documents.

EXHIBIT 7: "Seeds For Change" and publications from the Conservation of Urban Energy Group and Environmentalists for Full Employment.

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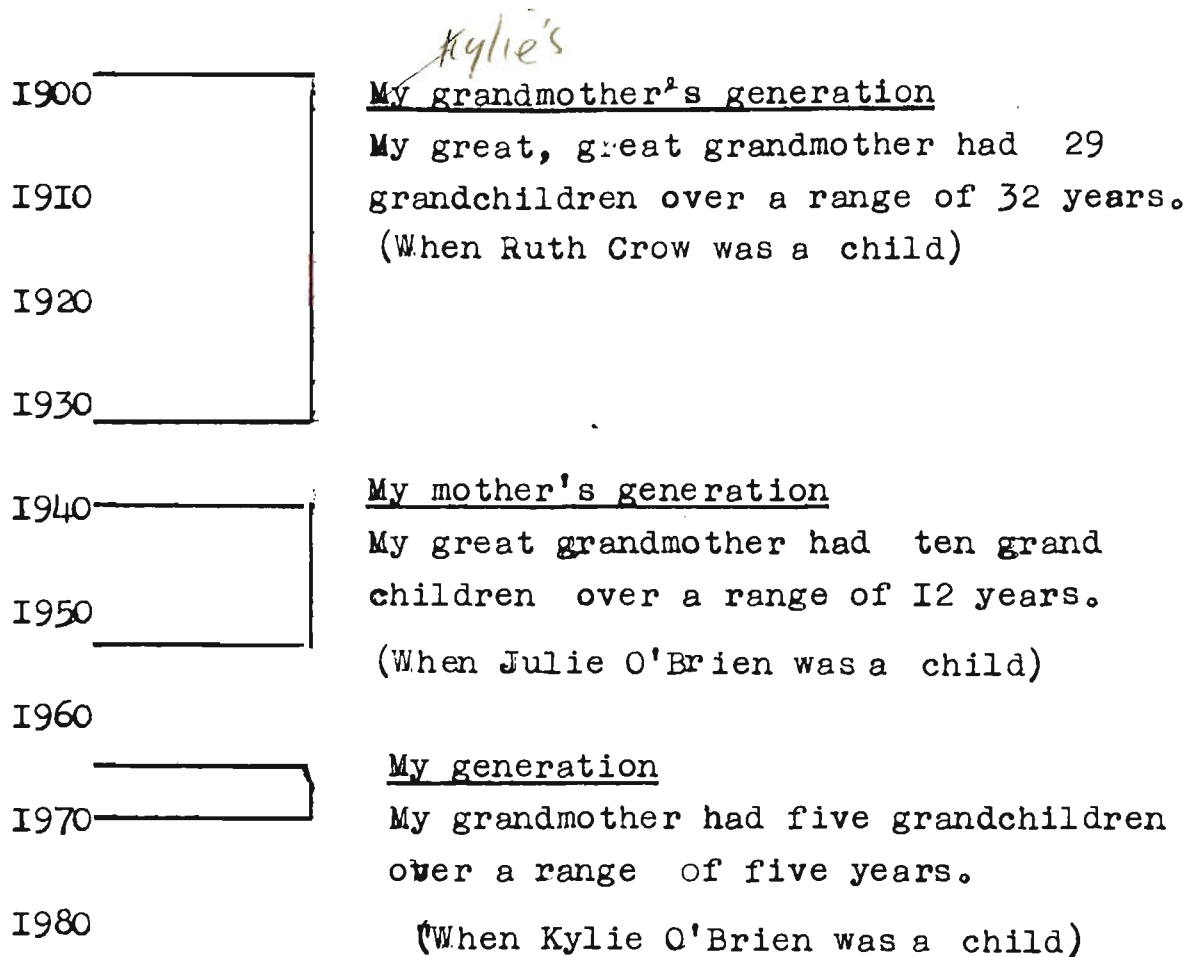
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Time Span Showing Number of Cousins and Age Range of Cousins



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 The above diagram shows the relations on the maternal side. The generations that can be traced on the paternal side show a similar pattern; but the interviews showed that paternal relations were not involved in supportive networks.

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Great, Great Grand Parents Alison / George Coutts  
 Eight Children one of whom was Winifred Coutts  
Great Grandparents Winifred Coutts / Doug Miller  
 Five Children one of whom was Ruth Miller  
Grandparents Ruth Miller / Maurie Crow  
 Two children one of whom was Julie Crow  
Parents Julie Crow / Lindsay O'Brien  
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Appendix 2 and 3 have been prepared by Ruth Crow for Kylie O'Brien in response to her questionnaire on extended families and supportive networks.  
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Appendix 3

Nearness of Relations and Friends to Family Home

Code.... R = Relation.....I = Intimate Friend, (like a relation to family)  
F = Friend of one parent ..... (H) = Home..... K = Kilometers  
Distance from home to circumferences = 5 kilometers.

Diagram 1. In 1920's When My Granmother was a Child  
 (Friends not included)

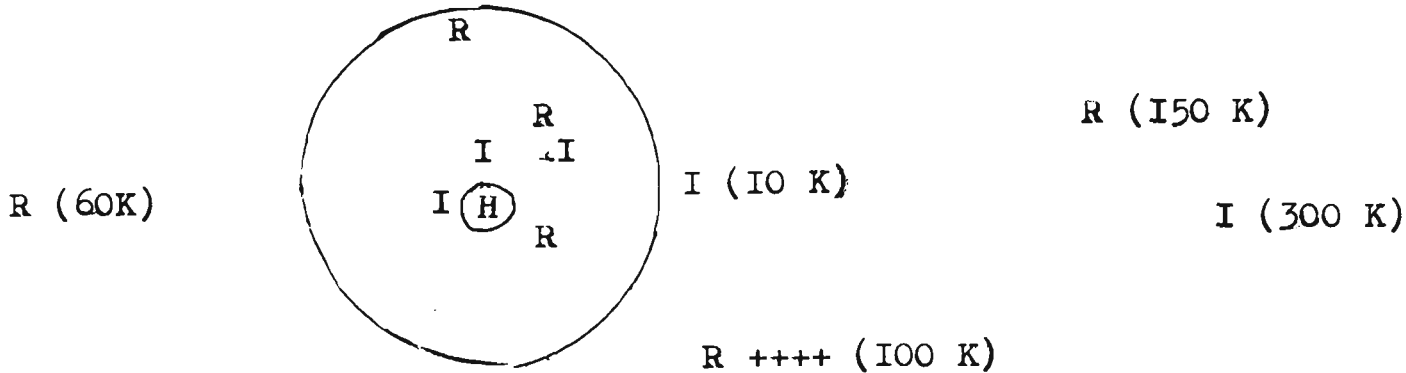


Diagram 2. In 1940s When My Mother was Child

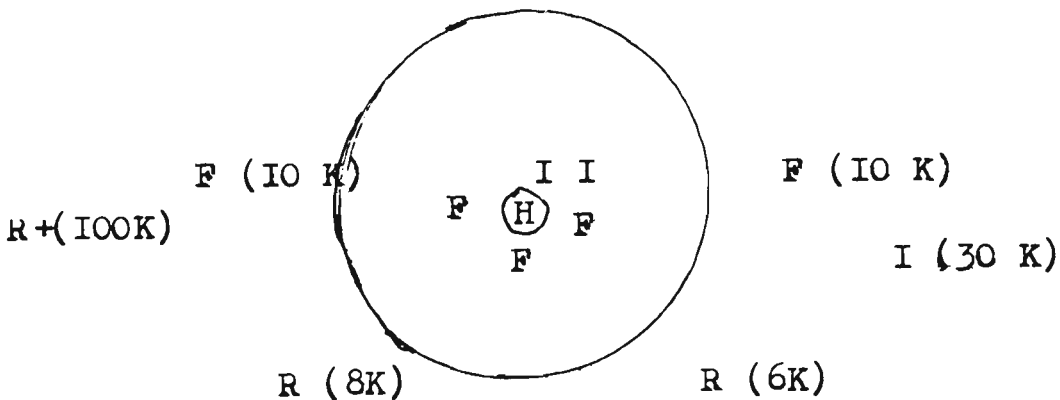
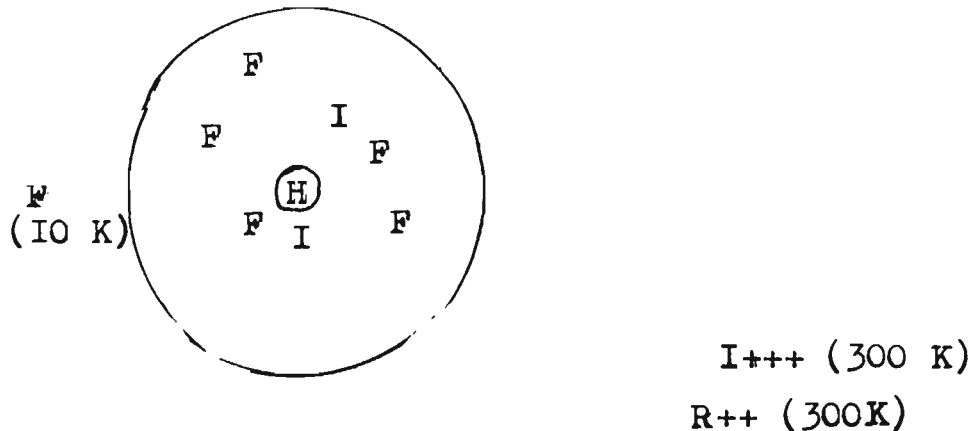


Diagram 3. In the 1970s When I was a Child



Comment : For three years the nearest relations were thousands of kilometers away as the family lived in Canada.

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Note 1920s mixture of relations and intimate friends within walking distance and some relations and friends in various parts of Victoria  
1940s ...friends and intimate friends within walking distance, relations within half hour public transport.  
1970s... Relations 300 K. many friends, few intimate friends near home.