WE AREN'T GOING BEYOND THE CITY GATES

Community Agency and Inner City Affordable Housing

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INTRODUCTION

"Can urban regeneration occur without becoming gentrification?" ask Porter and Shaw (2009) p. 5. That was the task the residents of Hindmarsh, South Australia set themselves from the early 1970s. Since the mid 1980s community agency promoted a model of social mix, mixed use, and localised sustainability. In 2010 20% of housing stock in the redevelopment area is publicly owned and managed by Housing SA or housing co-ops and associations. This is in addition to the lower income owner occupiers whose displacement has been prevented. Residents are currently influencing the proposed Bowden Urban Village Transport Orientated Development (BUV TOD), advocating the affordable housing percentage be raised from the South Australian standard of 15% to up to 30%.

Brugmann (2009) argues that the most progressive cities have developed their own practices of urbanism from the grassroots up. What implications does this assertion have for Australian cities guided through State plans? It seems reasonable to argue that they struggle to capture the gains in innovation and economy available when "genuine integration were sought between the *practice city* [my emphasis] and the planned one". (Martí-Costa and Bonet-Martí 2009) p. 128)

At the SOAC 2009 conference Ian Woodcock presented the paper "Not in my republic: Resident opposition to intensification in inner-city Melbourne" (Woodcock, Dovey et al. 2009). In exploring resident resistance to multi-unit housing development he notes: "The defence of Brunswick is not primarily a NIMBY syndrome; residents are generally defending a broad sense of place and community rather than the amenity of their private property or immediate neighbourhood." (abstract)

In this paper I am taking the phrase "*not beyond the city gate'*, a quote from one of the Hindmarsh residents, as a symbolic one. It symbolises grassroots objection and resistance to displacement; physical and of community identity through place. To be forced beyond the city gates is to be excluded from what is precious in place. I want to explore a number of case studies of urban community agency, Australian and global. To these I am adding the research from Hindmarsh and I explore the themes that emerge from this research genre.

THE HINDMARSH STUDY 1972 - 2011

Hindmarsh, to the immediate north west of the Adelaide CBD, has been the site of community agency in relation to contested space over the forty year period 1972 to the present day. During this time there has been population change both through renewal upheaval and natural turnover. The particular focus of this study is on *community agency for urban place, for the long term and through population change*. Through a retrospective longitudinal study three questions have been asked: To what extent have residents achieved their goal of a future of social mixed community and integrated living (mixed use) with quality of environment? What kept residents going and what maintains agency to the present day? Do communities mirror societal change or can community agency negotiate different outcomes and if so how?

This is a qualitative study that draws on case study to answer the research questions. The study method has had to address the dilemmas of retrospectivity. Namely, the data available is not complete and can be arbitrary re what has and hasn't survived. This has been addressed by maximising triangulation in a number of ways. Empirical data has been collected from extensive archival records, and this has been circulated to interviewees prior to interview aiding memory accuracy. The interviews while focussed on collecting the experience and views of active residents enable gaps in the written record to be filled and impressions gained through the written record corrected. Group interviews have enabled rigorous discussion between those involved at the time about the veracity of the written data and how inaccuracies could have occurred. The tracing of interviewees through records and snowballing has enabled data gaps to be filled and further improvement in accuracy. A key aspect of the research ethics has been having a community reference group

involved in scoping the project and throughout the study: The study is of their history of agency and as such is their intellectual property. Data collection is now coming to an end with themes being identified.

The study has drawn on theory relating to spatial justice (Harloe, Marcuse et al. 1992; Scholar 2006; Fainstein 1999;Fainstein 2010; Soja 2010) and contested space (Harvey 1973,1996) which on the one hand considers how a more just city can arise mediated through interactional influence, and the limitations of local action for sustained change in Harvey's discussion of militant particularisms (1996, p. 437).

Community agency is defined as collective influence over place achieved by people resident in and attached to it. It occurs outside formal political representation systems. In summarising the case studies in other literature this paper incurs risk: One of the dilemmas of both 'community' and 'agency' is to be clear about what is meant *by those involved*. Their words have already been interpreted by the primary researchers and so this second interpretation can take it further from intended meaning. Preference would have been to make more extensive use of quotation to avoid this.

THE GENRE 1970-2010

While a longitudinal study offers opportunity for rigour, overcoming the limitation of analysis at a point in time, one of the methodological vulnerabilities of the Hindmarsh study is the use of case study. While robust defence has been made of this approach highlighting the gains of the in depth qualitative data that can be collected, in the end it remains singular. This is particularly so given that a characteristic of community agency about place is that it is usually specific to the local and the communities concerned are characterised by isolation and marginalisation within their host city. There is therefore an inbuilt tendency for the very local focus of the agency to be compounded which makes analysis beyond the particular difficult.

In Australia there is probably a greater familiarity with the inner city community agency of the 1970-1990 periods and especially but not exclusively the application of alliance with the Trade Union movement through Green Bans (Roddewig 1978, Mundey 1981). Hargreaves (c.1974) and Hoatson (1996) addressed the agency by Carlton, Richmond, South Melbourne, North Fitzroy and Kensington residents respectively.

From the recent literature I have drawn on the case studies of Gràcia District in Barcelona, Dharavi in Mumbai (Brugmann 2009); Green Bay in Wisconsin (Cruz 2009); Poblenou in Barcelona (Martí-Costa & Bonet-Martí 2009); Historic Central Rome (Allegretti & Cellamore 2009); Parkdale in Toronto (Lehrer 2009); Brunswick in Melbourne (Woodcock, Dovey et al 2009).

In this discussion I am interested to explore the shared themes and differences that can be drawn from comparing these case studies. Time and place are important factors at play here. The case studies range across forty years and are placed in countries across four continents. Different contextual events and different or shared influences operate on the case studies at different times and these call for caution in any interpretation of themes.

Princes Street Block, Carlton, Melbourne 1969 –1973

This and the following three case studies all relate to 'slum clearance' by the Victoria Housing Commission through a policy of block demolitions. By 1969 Princes Street Block of 69 dwellings had been declared a slum for clearance for four years. It was, like Hindmarsh, an area of comparatively high density with a community of older Australian working class people, post World War 11 migrants and some middle class professionals (Hargreaves c. 1975). The Carlton Association fought the clearance and demolitions and succeeded. Though a small number of houses were sold to the Housing Commission they were kept occupied and therefore never became blighted. Carlton pioneered establishing a Resident Action group (RAG), a strategy repeated in other Australia communities. Carlton's success was also greatly aided by the application of a union demolition ban.

The Highett Street Area, Richmond, Melbourne 1969 –1971

186 dwellings and 21 others buildings were targeted for clearance in the Highett street area of Richmond at the end of 1969. Like Carlton and some of the contemporary examples below this was a localised threat. Like Bowden Brompton in Hindmarsh, it was an area of narrow streets, narrow cottages, where half the population were migrants. Many walked or used public transport and this aided interaction with neighbours. "... along the back streets and lanes of Richmond there is a comradeship, a friendliness, a sense of living and working together that you won't often find in an outer suburb, or high rise flat..." (Sorrell, in Hargreaves c. 1975, p. 14)

The Richmond Association already existed and was quick to organise objection submissions and the campaign led to the establishment of a Greek Residents group. Their demands were for a) fair compensation and b) participation in the redevelopment rather than seeking to stop the demolitions as such. Taking direct action they held out for better compensation which was forthcoming to a limited degree at the end of 1970. Despite both direct action and a proposal for positive regeneration the houses were all lost by the end of 1971.

The Raglan Street and Dorcas –Nelson Road Areas, South Melbourne 1970 –1973

Forty– three houses were affected in Raglan Street area while more than eighty residents were party to a court action to stop the Housing Commission in Dorcas-Nelson Roads area. The most positive outcome for Reglan Street Resident's Committee was an architecturally improved development rather than the preservation of the housing. The Residents Committee pursued a compromise strategy with the Housing Commission in which it tried to fit in with the Commission's intentions. Hargreaves argues that this was a failure though the Resident Committee secretary would have disagreed concluding "[While] the most acceptable redevelopment from the residents' points on view has been rejected by the Commission, [the] principles insisted upon by the Council....have produced a foundation stone of understanding and procedure... as something tangible that should flow on to other reclamation victims." (Marshall, quoted in Hargreaves c 1975, p. 26). Hargreaves disputes this gain; that it isn't guaranteed. In contrast the Dorcas-Nelson Roads area residents took court action on the principle that the houses were not in poor condition in need of clearance and therefore the Housing Commission was acting beyond its authority. An injunction was issued protecting the housing but residents negotiated an out of court settlement fearful of excessive court costs threatened. The end result was strikingly better than Ragan Street: As many houses as possible were to be retained, people were to be able to stay or benefit from rehousing rights and this included renovation grants. No compulsory acquisition would occur before plans were finalised.

The Brooks Crescent Area, North Fitzroy, Melbourne 1969 –1974

This was the longest struggle between residents and the Victorian Housing Commission. Not a Slum Reclamation area "The story of the Brooks Crescent campaign shows how far the housing Commission was prepared to go in destroying both the physical and the social cohesion of a community..." (Hargreaves c. 1975, p. 28). In this contest residents came together and formed the North Fitzroy Residents Action Committee. A united front by residents, Council and local manufacturers was established with the demands for open and participatory planning, and preservation of the social and physical character of the area. The area was later declared for slum clearance and properties were both bought up and demolished. After a protracted campaign including court action, "Their campaign and the support it has received from the Fitzroy City Council, the Fitzroy Residents' Association and other organisations such as the Institute of Architects, has brought about an end of block clearance." (ibid p. 88). They also achieved the very important goal that people had a right to be rehoused in the same area, as well as improved compensation. "Organised activity at the grass roots neighbourhood level has been shown to be effective despite the partial social disintegration of the neighbourhood." (ibid p. 89)

The Rocks, Sydney 1971- 1975/6

The Rocks Resident Action Group (RAG) was formed in response to a plan released in 1971 to demolish the area for redevelopment. In this case the land was almost entirely in public ownership with the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority established for this purpose and acting as the landlord to the people who lived there. "The authority thought the residents of the area had no rights in the matter anyway, since they were only tenants of the state." (Roddewig 1978, p. 20) The Rocks was a very close knit community where intergenerational families had lived and inter-married. For local residents the issue was one of not being dislocated physically or socially " "the uniqueness of The Rocks area is the *people* who live in the historic buildings with all their past generations of ancestors who lived and died here. Sure, we favour preserving the historic buildings of the area! But we can't differentiate the buildings from the people who live in them!" " (ibid p. 27) The Rocks RAG built three alliances, firstly with the Trade Union movement so a Green Ban was applied to prevent the demolitions, secondly with the Coalition of Resident Action Groups and thirdly with a group of professionals called the Rocks Peoples' Plan Committee. There was direct confrontation with attempts to commence demolition with a resultant blockade by residents and supporting trade unionists. The events led to mass support when "thousands of demonstrators marched through downtown Sydney to the State Government offices" (ibid p.23). There were several outcomes, the most immediate being exposure of a poor level of maintenance by the landlord which was improved. Communication and negotiation with residents commenced. Finally The Rocks RAG and the Rocks Peoples' Plan Committee produced their own plan for the area to be maintained as an integrated residential and historic area, separate from the CBD functions, as a basis for lifting the bans. In 1975 bans were lifted on three sites given the proposal to build 70

housing units in a medium rise for low and middle-income persons, while dispute to prevent high rise continued. In the meantime the number of tourists dramatically increased and local traders had to move out due to increasing costs taking with them affordable shopping.

Kensington 1975-1995

"Kensington's capacity to gather people together to fight threats has been an important part of its life across the last 25 years." (Hoatson 1996, p. 39) As this account was published in 1996 it does not preclude community agency since that time. Social action campaigns involved local small groups, broad community involvement, sub regional and broader coalitions. Issues ranged from stopping industrial pollution /danger (effluent dumping; truck route through the area; garbage transfer station; toxic fumes; through arterial road; service defence and advocacy (heating in older person's flats; upgrading of housing standards; threat to Community Health Centre and Community Youth Support Scheme funding; Dentist service advocacy; defence of local train service and swimming pool), defending civil liberties (challenging social security intrusion; Campaigning for full inquiry into Police shootings), advocating for the adoption of community knowledge (child care centre design; locally run gardening service), ensuring political representation at the community level and defending community as place (changes to local government – twice). Out of these eighteen campaigns 13 achieved their goal in full, 2 partially achieved their goal, 2 failed and 2 were ongoing at the time of writing.

This powerful history of community agency applied a not unusual set of strategies from media coverage to lobbying, preparation of detailed reports and legal challenges. They had good communication networks and the strategy identified in Kensington as most important was to stay focussed and refuse to be distracted from the campaign.

Dharavi, The Migrant Settlement of Mumbai 1960-2000

Brugmann's main interest is in what he refers to as city systems: Integration of living, working, recreation with the resultant economies of costs in resources including people's time. He notes it is a model that takes out commuting, transport costs of suppliers to producers and makes twenty-four hour use of buildings where people often have warehousing, employment and living quarters together. He is not entirely uncritical of such a model, making no argument against the removal of tanneries out from Dharavi to a designated area, but rather is concerned to draw attention to community led achievement and innovation that will be lost through the planned standard slum clearance approach, separation of activity and mass provision of high rise housing. He emphasises that Dharavi "densely packed...slum" in the 1960s which by 2000 "had transformed itself" from a mega slum into a globalized industrial economy. Despite this"...in India, few consider Dharavi to be a city. Tradition, entrenched attitudes, and colonial-era ideas about cities consign Dharavi in the minds of the country's middle classes and elites, to the status of an urban blemish, a slum. For this reason its success...and brilliant contribution to the theory and practice of city building is rarely appreciated." (ibid p.95). The innovation of the people of Dharavi has occurred without help, providing their own shelter and income and a path out of dire poverty but this is now being ignored by reforming policy makers. The fixed attitudes held by the external city-ruling decision makers and urban professions of Mumbai drive a current policy of income generation displacement through slum clearance, which also reduces living space:

" "All our workers live nearby" he says. "Dharavi people will not agree to a two-hundred-and –twenty-five-square-foot-home like they are proposing. We live now in five hundred-to-one-thousand-square-foot –homes." " (ibid, p. 97)

The issue is the inability to understand and hear the 'practice' expertise of the local people of Dharavi, and so lose the gains of their innovation and creativity:

"The physical layout, the culture of residential-industrial life, and the diversified markets all work together *as a system* to deliver value to residents and their communities,.....- and to the country as a whole, *if only it were to notice.[my emphasis]."* (ibid p.102)

Barcelona: Local Cultural Values and Planning From Below 1992 – 2009

Brugmann and Martí-Costa & Bonet Martí (2009) discuss case studies from Barcelona, Spain, that acknowledged star of urban regeneration. Both stress the importance of "planning from below", (Martí-Costa & Bonet Martí ibid p.118). While Brugmann explores "reclaiming the streets of Gràcia District" (2009 p. 229) and the central role of local culture, Martí-Costa & Bonet Martí look at social mobilization to defend the historical industrial site of Can Ricart in the neighbourhood of Poblenou, Sant Martí.

Sant Martí is situated just beyond the walls of the ancient city. During the early 19th century the area was developed for textile industry with workers housing... Industrialisation isolated it from the rest of the city and "led to a strong sense of belonging and identity among the inhabitants which crystallized in a dense network of largely anarcho-syndicalist associations and protest groups." (Martí-Costa & Bonet Martí op cit p.118)

With the 1960s exodus of industrial activity from the inner city, Poblenou experienced urban degradation and municipal neglect. Empty space and low rents attracted in amongst others, artists and artisans which led to creative clusters within Can Ricart. Then in 1992 the Barcelona Olympic Games impacted on Poblenou making it central and attractive to property capital. Contest for the land use and the preservation of Can Ricart and the residents' housing began: 1n 2002 a redevelopment plan for the area was approved to allow for new production, public housing and green spaces. The plan required demolitions and displacement of the local population.

"Groups of residents wanted to be able to stay in their homes or at least be better compensated and contested the changes. The local neighbourhood association took an intermediate position. While agreeing with the need for regeneration to improve local quality of life and maintain the productive character of the area, the association argues for respect for the architectural and historical heritage, and for the local population." (ibid p. 121)

An association was formed by workers and employers of Can Ricart which was joined by a broad alliance of heritage groups, neighbourhood associations, architects, historians, youth and anti-capitalist groups. The collective resistance prevented evictions and importantly Can Ricart became a symbol of creative neighbourhood resistance to speculative pressure and non-participatory planning with the formation of the Salvem Can Ricart (SCR). While this did not prevent demolition of existing housing they were replaced by new build the majority being social housing. Work places demolished displaced the original workers' activities and the space for creative arts was curtailed. On the other hand the grass roots action spread from a specific site to a more democratic planning process.

When Brugmann discusses the examples of Gràcia and El Raval, he does so having acknowledged Barcelona's high standing for regeneration and renewal. The city has a culture of active citizen engagement in its future exampled through the controversy created by the colour and size of pebbles in the pedestrian lanes: The level of engagement is so high that this fine detail is discussed and if not approved can cause action by the citizens. In Gràcia the project was to pedestrianise the narrow streets. To achieve this there were sixty meetings among affected households, neighbourhood associations, businesses and schools. Even so there were demonstrations for and against and the negotiation took a year. Brugmann notes that despite this culture of active citizen participation which lends itself to the practice of micro-level negotiations, Barcelona has also been influenced by planning thinking to apply what one of his interviewees refers to as increased planning substituting urbanism. In low income Barceloneta, an interviewee is very critical of the approach in another low income area, El Ravel. There, " "...the city did the easy part," she argues. "They did planning but not urbanism. They didn't identify the strategic issues that were only known to the neighbours," she says. Lack of attention to the values of the long-isolated tenant and immigrant residents created flaws and incoherence in the urbanism practiced....people wanted a stable community life and an affordable, accessible local economy, both of which have been compromised by the more transient, higher-cost cultural district created there." (ibid p. 243).

Rome: The Historical Centre as a Symbol of Urban Struggle 2002 ongoing

Residents were to be excluded from the historic centre of Rome to make room for the needs of the 23 million annual tourists. Several neighbourhoods on the edge of the city centre face gentrification as they are attractive to the more affluent because of "their relatively intact social fabric, human scale of built form, visible local identity, and proximity to the historical centre". (Allegretti & Cellamore 2009, p. 131) The public debates that arose in response to a centrally driven redevelopment plan connected a number of citizen groups which created a network of resistance. Along with the support of concerned others, the Casa della Città was created becoming the pivotal centre for dialogue and mediation between the local people and policies. Again we see the strategy of the positive alternative plan this time called the 'plan for maximum occupation' (PMO).

"...more than a year later, the PMO was approved and the city regulations were amended (adopting almost all the recommendations...)." (ibid p133)

Direct action relied heavily on the effectiveness of a network: The Monti Network. Faced with being excluded from their own squares due to increasing numbers of restaurants and al fresco eating, the Monti Network invited all residents to occupy the square with their own tables and chairs, serving drinks to everyone. The effectiveness of this direct and visible action was the direct engagement of the Mayor. The Monti network also blocked off streets to prevent the ever encroaching traffic that was making it dangerous for children living there or even for people to be able to access their homes. The result was traffic controls with even the most innovative proposals approved.

"Today, the Casa Della Città has no formal legitimacy, nor are its projects enforceable or obligatory, though it derives some authority from the rules of participation to which many of its participants contributed. ....their strength lies in their creativity and co-ordination of different grass-roots actors." (ibid p. 136)

Finally the example from Rome stresses the endlessness of the struggle. Implementation required continuous debate, action and struggle, while the consortium of grass-roots organizations which runs the City of Alternative Economy is under constant pressure by city government to be mainstreamed and run for profit.

Fort Howard and Seymour, Inner City Green Bay, Wisconsin: Contested Community 1995 – 2007

Like Hindmarsh in the 1970s Fort Howard and Seymour in 1994 were neighbourhoods with household incomes well below the city average with high child and elderly populations. From the 1960s the area had experienced loss of population and services and "was considered 'blighted'." (Cruz 2009, p. 110) Similar to Hindmarsh, action for change came from the community:

"In October 1995 a coalition of residents and local merchants began to organize and seek alternatives to the unresponsive local government that had so let their neighbourhood decay and decline..." (ibid p. 111)

The coalition called On Broadway Inc (the name of the major street) demonstrated an initial solidarity with an agreed vision for renewal without gentrification. Over time what had always been an inherent tension between merchant and resident need emerged. Merchants and local officials had a vision of 'cleaning up' the area and favoured gentrification, whereas the local residents "viewed with alarm this trend that would impact negatively on its social integrity....vocal in their arguments that the vision... should address the importance of the maintaining the working class nature and links..." (ibid p112).

After some fractious times over twelve years, and for the residents some exclusion, a final plan was struck for mixed use that would ensure affordable housing for existing local residents and businesses that catered for both the upwardly mobile and the working class families. Nevertheless ongoing vulnerabilities continue and the question remains as to whether the inclusive plan will succeed or external market forces over rule it.

Parkdale, Toronto 2005-2009

In Parkdale residents galvanised claiming the interesting label of YIMBY: 'Yes in my back yard', arguing not against building but for good planning, in a situation of proposed high density high rise apartment development. Like Hindmarsh it was incorporated as a village, and had experienced decline when following freeway construction there was housing demolition for high-rise development. Speculative investment led to absentee landlords and larger houses were converted to rooming houses. Home to many low income households Parkville became known as " 'a little ghetto of misery'....This stigmatization helped to keep property values low..." (Lehrer 2009, p. 148). The creative arts community moved in, utilising affordable space, but more recently this very reputation is generating exclusion. "In any big city, art districts will come and go, charged into being by the fresh infusions of energy and inspiration that only artists bring, only to be overrun with the thundering hoof-beets of yuppies in mass migration" (Milroy 2005 p. 28 quoted in Lehrer 2009 p. 149).

In 2005 Active 18 formed from residents, largely artists, opposing the proposed high density high rise private apartment blocks as they threatened the very social and physical spaces that made the neighbourhood liveable. Like other campaigns Active 18 held well attended public meetings. As artists they had good connections with people in the media and connected with an NGO which worked on culture led regeneration. They were more fortunate than some community activists groups as the Planning Department also opposed the development in terms of height, lack of green space and incompatibility with the neighbourhood. This led to the Community Design. The resultant demands are by now familiar: Need to keep the historic; live-work places; respect nature of the key street; redevelop with mixed- use/ mixed income levels; pedestrian/bike friendly; green spaces; bold sustainability and high quality urban design. Active 18 advocated an inclusive

planning process and called a media conference to call on a moratorium of any new developments until the City had approved the new plan. In 2006 working groups met with the goal of achieving some compromised agreement. Here the developers, the City, Active 18, neighbourhood associations and public agencies participated. In the end no agreement was reached, the developers won their case at formal hearing and an agreement between the City and the developers that excluded Active 18 thwarted an appeal.

Defending Community: Brunswick, Melbourne 2009

The focus of the Brunswick study is solely seeking to identify *what* is being defended by resident resistance to the proposed dense development and *why*. It is not concerned with strategy and outcome in the way the other accounts are. It locates contemporary resistance in the history of Brunswick "as a place of left-wing politics and community activism, giving rise to its nickname 'The People's Republic'."

Brunswick has some similarities with Hindmarsh being settled in 1830, an inner city area with a history of industrial activity, strong working class political culture and post WWII Southern European settlement. The opposition in more recent years relates to developments of between 7 and 16 storeys. Interviews with those involved in the resistance identified the following as precious to them: The experience of connection as people talk to each other and keep an eye out for each other; a valuing of mix: mixed use and diverse mixed peoples. This includes the mix of sounds and smells; walkability and the experience of that:

" "we walk a lot, to the shops, to school, to kinder, we walk to the parks...seeing familiar faces, on nodding recognition, you feel like you're part of it, when you're on the street....you're really part of Brunswick." " (Woodcock et al 2009, p.9)

Which for some links to their own sense of identity: "I am Brunswick. Can you get that?...You feel like you have the right to call yourself Brunswick. And it's because you're familiar with the environment and you have a connection with it and you understand it." " (ibid p.10)

The threat perceived from apartment blocks is to the social character of Brunswick. People don't know who live in the apartment blocks and the mono culture built form does not lend itself to interactions. So this becomes a threat to the valued experience of Brunswick described as a sense of connection with place of which mix is a highly valued ingredient and interconnection between diverse peoples facilitated by walkability. It would appear to be a city system where residents live, work (sometimes), shop and access services within walking distance and most importantly therefore interact and have a sense of belonging.

Hindmarsh 1972-2011

The Town of Hindmarsh, the first subdivision beyond the original city of Adelaide was, in its early years, a place of tanneries, brick-making, migrant artisans, and the gas works. Referred to in reports from the 1920s to 1970s as 'a slum', 'blighted' (Duigan 1975), residents report being on the receiving end of external attitudes of being looked down upon; of shock from friends when they moved into the area; of it being a place that needed help from well meaning outsiders to be improved; of attitudes that it should be cleared and replaced. From their perspective they share much in common with the people active in the other case studies. They experienced it as a good area to which they had been drawn because of the opportunity for low cost housing be it in the 1800s or 1900s. During interviews they have given voice to a sense of community – of connection between people and mutual helping.

Residents consistently speak over a forty year period of enjoying being close to the city of Adelaide well connected by public transport. They know what is good about living in Hindmarsh and what it gives them and are not there by accident.

The decline of Hindmarsh occurred through state and local government neglect, imposition and lack of advocacy. The end result was a collapse of the town's population by 41% between 1961 and 1981 (ABS census). The proposed Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS) put the central freeway interchange over the top of Hindmarsh and in so doing made a clear policy statement that it and its residents were dispensable. This was compounded by industrial zoning of its heartland suburbs in 1972 which led to the demolition of housing and industrial expansion until the residents led a campaign for the scrapping of the MATS plan in their town combined with the rezoning of the area to residential.

The 1970s joint action of residents with social action students led to the Bowden Brompton Community Group (BBCG) which remains a resource today. During this decade direct action was taken through the reclamation of Highways Department owned vacant houses and then squatted by those in urgent need of

housing. Local women were strong in establishing children and youth activities and created an annual community carnival. Community newspapers are identified by interviewees as central tools of activism from the early 1970s to mid 1990s, with social media sites now playing the same role. From the 1980s to today there have been several organised residents groups, both neighbourhood and Hindmarsh wide that took direct action. The earlier groups made use of Union support and bans, running pickets to prevent housing and heritage demolitions, undertook intense lobbying and made good use of media through visual events. As a result the contest for land for residential rather than freeway/industrial use got state-wide coverage. Resident groups have endorsed a platform of candidates for local government elections across the time span which have succeeded in gaining some positions and created a constant pressure on other councillors. Two strategies stand out in the influencing of the future vision for the town. Firstly through intense networking residents recorded their views, which community workers turned into reports. Such reports from 1970s onwards powerfully disputed the official world view of the area. A blanket attitude that the majority of the housing was substandard and so only worthy of demolition was challenged not just by the photos of bluestone frontage but accounts by elderly residents of having built their own houses as tradespeople and living in them ever since.

In the 1980s at the height of the contest for land use, like several of the other communities cited, the Hindmarsh Residents' Association (HRA) joined, in this case, with Urban Permaculture consultants to create a Community Plan for Hindmarsh that presented in its vision twelve key recommendations for positive renewal. This made the argument for the town being considered as a whole and not in fragmented parts, that the housing be protected, the land rezoned as residential and noxious large scale industry relocated, but that the future should be one where residents could live, work, shop, and interact through in character development that allowed for mixed use. Promoting mixed use was also a strategy to prevent gentrification and the resulting exclusion of the lower income residents. There was a focus on walkability, bicycle paths and sustainability. The main platform to prevent gentrification was the campaign goal for 50/50 public private housing mix.

The HRA and other resident groups built close alliances with the South Australian Housing Trust, the Housing Ministry and those housing groups promoting housing cooperatives. The community went on to establish the largest housing co-op in South Australia with the development of numerous other co-ops across the town. A characteristic of the community agency has been a 'do it ourselves' approach with the direct provision of green space, a city farm, a youth circus, community arts, community newspaper as well as community housing and a community centre.

While the majority of Hindmarsh did become residentially zoned it was not without loss, with south Bowden allocated to industry for the long term and the rest of the old industrial zones protected by a weaker neighbourhood zoning which allowed for limited industrial expansion of existing operators. Many houses in south Bowden have been demolished and the residents displaced, but this was taken up by newer residents through a residents group for Bowden from the early 1990s that campaigned and took practical action to preserve heritage and aid the relocation of polluting industries. A second Hindmarsh wide community group took on the issues of amenity, actively greening the area and providing community art and local artist art in public places. Their goal was to refute negative attitude by making it **the** best place to live. Housing mix is 80 private /20 public, not the sought 50/50, but to which must be added lower income owner occupiers who have not been displaced.

The decision in 2009 for two major industries to relocate has now opened up a residential future for south Bowden through the proposed Bowden Urban Village TOD. Resident groups have been active in their influence to modify the original design of high density apartment blocks first through scaling down, especially where the development meets the established housing, secondly through increased open space both private and public, and thirdly through integration with surviving buildings and the community. Combined with the area being promoted as desirable for its inner city location and vibrant arts and community culture by the real estate marketing the Bowden Urban village is promoted as a place for property investment. Given this one wonders for how long there will be security for the lower income groups including the Arts community and the Housing Co-ops. However residents continue to press for 30% affordable housing.

COMPARISON AND CONTRIBUTION

The case studies show a remarkable consistency of goal by residents to prevent displacement and loss of housing and community irrespective of whether the action takes place in the 1970s or 2000s or where it occurs. These two goals are so important to defend that the majority of communities take direct action beyond lobbying and negotiation often in ways that can involve personal threat to themselves. The capacity to be housed either through affordable/social build, right to rehousing or financial compensation to enable housing replacement is central to all the case studies. These are campaigns against the threat of

homelessness. The more recent case studies have greater emphasis on integrated living, socially, economically and environmentally, and while their designs emphasise contemporary environmental standards, they reflect how the older inner city areas used to operate with work/living/recreation integration.

The purpose of this paper was to set the Hindmarsh study within a genre and consider what that genre is. In Kensington, Hindmarsh, Dharavi and Barcelona community agency operates for the long term through different periods or issues. The Brunswick study, though focussed on a current issue, sets the responses in a particular history of community agency. Community agency appears to be shorter lived and more event/process specific lasting around five years in the other case studies with the exception of Fort Howard and Seymour where occurs over twelve. It isn't, on the data available, possible to do more than note this distinction, not least because the context of these communities varies so much, but it does indicate the capacity for long term community agency meriting greater exploration.

All the communities that succeeded had built wider alliances, with the use of networks of support and development of alternative plans. This is the point Brugmann advocates: That local people are often innovative and combine this, as Martí-Costa and Bonet-Martí say, with the practice knowledge of living in that area of the city over time. Often there is a resource they are able to draw on, be it a community centre, a collective of professionals, or a legal service, each of which lend power to the articulation or advocacy of the world view of the local people. Certainly there appears a theme that there is always struggle, which begs the question of what ideas, creativity and knowledge is lost to city building when the practice city is not eagerly sought out? Perhaps attitudes of external expertise to the practice city have not changed as much as we would like when we say with confidence of old ills "That couldn't happen today; we know better now."

This paper opened considering two questions. Can urban regeneration occur without becoming gentrification? If progressive cities have developed their own practices of urbanism from the grassroots up, what implications does this have for Australian cities? Brugmann, Porter & Shaw and Woodcock et al contribute respective conclusions namely that the success of future cities is dependent on the creation of city systems that have creative and open process for engagement of all stakeholders that " " keep sucking up water from your own roots" " (Brugmann 2009 p.282) and discourse a shared value base; that a "radical approach to reinvestment [that] emphasizes use over exchange" (Shaw 2009 p. 258) is possible when participatory and cautious regeneration values low income people and orientates regeneration to their needs and adopts mechanisms to prevent displacement. For this to occur the evidence of case studies is that there is always struggle: That the defence of place will occur, even in modern cities where areas have a history of change, migration and fluidity, as in the case of Brunswick, because that very dynamic is central to identity and attachment to place and how social relationships operate. City building that does not understand the concept of place identity unique to the specific community and social dynamic will, despite the best of built form understanding of neighbourhood, risk destroying what is valued: the holistic and unique experience.

The Hindmarsh study contributes further evidence to this genre of the capacity of community agency to influence city rebuilding outcomes for lower income people at least in the medium term. Here there is emphasis on both the practice experience and creative direct action by local people. It is the antithesis to the top down model that made possible displacement prevention and innovative rebuilding here. Whether what was thrown up and won through struggle, and has been enhanced through community creativity and participation can be consolidated and sustained in the context of capital reinvestment would appear to be dependent on three things: A shared valuing through discourse of the achievements, State commitment to direct investment to meet the needs of low income people and the use of regulation to prevent displacement, and embracing of community to contribute their practice wisdom and creativity in sustaining and regenerating social and physical place.

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