

The Post Justice City?

Spatial Targeting, Social Disadvantage and Rescaling Urban Governance in Australia

Suzanne Lawson

Urban Research Program

Griffith University

Email: suzanne.lawson@student.gu.edu.au

ABSTRACT

All public policy making and service delivery is spatial, meaning that there is an inevitable and distinctive geography that defines the activities and responsibilities of any government. Australian State governments for most of the twentieth century tended to use *functional* agencies – usually State departments/ instrumentalities – for the delivery of core policies and services. As with most governments in Western countries, the functional approach was framed at a single, whole-of-jurisdiction scale.

Since the 1980s, Australian State governments have gradually replaced certain functional administration frameworks with new spatially based approaches that emphasise whole of government service delivery to meet the needs of a geographically defined local community. These new approaches to policy making and service delivery by Australian State governments cut across portfolio, professional, and institutional barriers and are often targeted at disadvantaged areas. The most recent cases of spatially based programs to address social disadvantage are the local level 'place based' policy and service initiatives; the Brisbane Place Projects in Queensland are examples.

This shift to a spatial focus suggests a *rescaling of urban governance* in Australia. This paper considers whether the concept of rescaling applies in the Australian context as a way of understanding State Government responses to urban disadvantage. Whilst the concept of rescaling has arisen in the European context there are a number of elements that may apply in Australia. The paper is particularly concerned with two interrelated elements of the rescaling literature. The first is the restructuring of governance arrangements to achieve competitive advantage for urban regions within a global economy, which began with corporate approaches to government in the 1980s. The second aspect is the spatially based interventions by governments to 'fix' the resulting uneven geographical development arising from competition between cities and regions (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Governments are now under pressure to better match services and policies with increasingly divergent community (local) needs. This is often focussed on communities experiencing significant disadvantage. In this sense, the search for an appropriate scale of governance in Australia, seeks to address spatial inequality between communities and the alienation of citizens from the political process.

The paper outlines a means for describing and analysing the complex causes of shifting urban governance focusing particularly on Australian State governments' responses to urban disadvantage. The paper addresses the following questions:

1. Can the rescaling framework be mobilised to explain meaningfully the spatial focussing of social assistance by State Governments?
2. What other unique factors may be driving this changing focus in Australia and how can they be theorised?

The paper begins with a scan of the empirical evidence that State Governments have adopted a spatial focus to addressing social disadvantage. This is followed by an overview of the rescaling debates and the specific context in which they have arisen. The final part of the paper critically examines the rescaling propositions on the basis of an empirical assessment of spatial focussing to see if this conceptual framework is applicable in the Australian context.

INTRODUCTION – THE POST JUSTICE CITY

City downtowns, leisure zones, shopping malls, cultural precincts, gentrification and urban regeneration are the glitzy face of Western cities in the new millennium. Urban entrepreneurialism brokered by public private coalitions scrubs rundown areas clean and reclaims public spaces for those groups who possess economic value as producers or consumers to the exclusion of the less well heeled (MacLeod 2002:257-8). In his Glasgow case study, MacLeod describes the downtown renaissance and its active systems of surveillance as evidence of increasing control over, and purification of, urban space which raise important questions over the future of citizenship and social justice in the contemporary city (ibid 255). The new urban glamour zones conceal a 'brutalizing demarcation' of winners and losers, included and excluded. This exclusion is "increasingly supplemented with authoritarian legal measures and policing tactics designed to regulate the very spatial practices of the displaced urban poor" (ibid: 260). Mitchell has labeled this punitive approach as evidence of a post justice city (ibid: 261).

Homeless people are most severely affected by the erosion of spatial justice and exclusionary citizenship that has accompanied urban entrepreneurialism. Homelessness is often the outcome of multiple disadvantage experienced by individuals, it is also exacerbated by government policies that have increased polarization and eroded the social safety net in favour of economic development. The focus of this paper is the changing nature of disadvantage in Australian cities and how governments in particular state governments are addressing it. The paper begins with a discussion of the Brisbane City Council's Response to Homelessness Strategy (2002a) – as it highlights many of the complex governance issues facing governments addressing disadvantage in Australian cities.

Like Glasgow and many other cities, Brisbane has adopted policies of urban renewal, public private partnerships, local economic development and witnessed the uneven affects of economic restructuring. At the same time governments have attempted to ameliorate the negative consequences of these developments by adopting policies of social inclusion and community wellbeing. The Council cites the following issues influencing the strategy:

- Loss of public space and increasing conflict over the use of public space
- Loss of affordable housing particularly in the inner city in particular boarding house
- Impact of gentrification and urban renewal on changing demographic of city
- Complex jurisdictional issues for governments in addressing 'wicked problems'
- Emphasis on integration and collaboration across governments and sectors

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- Impact of changing welfare policy and dominance of economic issues
- The importance of a spatial approach to addressing disadvantage

The last point is particularly significant - the homelessness strategy arose from Councils place management program. This program was established as a “location based approach to identifying and redressing social and economic disadvantage, and complements other social and economic policy interventions. The characteristics of this model are:

- The involvement and cooperation of all three levels of government to address the issues of a specific geographic community, and provide integrated responses to those issues;
- Getting community, business and government working together;
- More flexible funding solutions; and
- Enhancing capacity at the community level.

(Brisbane City Council 2002b: 2)

Place management is a key example of a new emphasis in government responses to disadvantage as it is explicitly spatial, ie it seeks to address the needs of a geographically defined community as identified by that community. Place management is also small scale (ie smaller than a local government area), often applying at neighbourhood or suburb level. It is an example of spatial targeting, in this case by council and state government. For councils this spatial emphasis is not new – local governments’ jurisdiction has always been spatially based. In the case of state governments however, it represents a new emphasis on elevating spatial concerns to at least match the functional focus of state service delivery and policy making. Community renewal programs are another example of this changing emphasis. Why state governments have moved into this form of spatial targeting is a key concern of this paper. Three major causal influences are proposed to explain the increasing use of spatial targeting by state governments to address social disadvantage in Australian cities:

1. Changes in the concentration and scale of social disadvantage
2. Shifting state governance and changes in public administration
3. Changing focus in social policy and increasing citizen activism

In the international literature a number of writers have explained the process of uneven development and increasing polarization in western Europe as the outcome of neoliberal urban restructuring and the rescaling of governance (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Whether this conceptual framework applies in the Australian context is considered in this paper. The aim is to:

- Examine the empirical evidence for spatial targeting by state governments in addressing urban disadvantage;
- Analyse the relevance of international material on rescaling governance to explain why spatial targeting is occurring in Australia; and
- Propose a conceptual framework for understanding what is occurring in Australia.

It should be noted that these propositions are tentative and exploratory. As such they require further testing and analysis.

RESPONSES TO DISADVANTAGE - STATE GOVERNMENTS AND SPATIAL TARGETING

This section outlines the evidence for spatial targeting by Australian state governments to address social disadvantage. It begins with definitions of social disadvantage and spatial polarization. This is followed by the characteristics of spatial targeting and a table of the programs operating in Australia.

Defining Social Disadvantage and Spatial Polarisation

Social disadvantage is a relative term that can apply to both people (to be disadvantaged is to be unfairly treated relative to others) and places (locationally disadvantaged when opportunities or services available are less than those on offer elsewhere) (Fincher and Saunders 2001: 8). The Australian Bureau of Statistics uses the term ‘multiple disadvantage’, which it defines in relative terms as:

those experiencing poor outcomes across a range of dimensions of life including health, education, work, financial hardship, crime, family and community. Multiple disadvantage can lead to exclusion from society (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004). Indent this quote

The ABS definition is important as governments tend to rely on ABS data for policy interventions (eg Brisbane place projects were selected using ABS SEIFA data). Spatial polarization refers to: the geographic manifestation of social divisions, whereby city dwellers are spatially sorted into areas of relative privilege and disadvantage. ... Spatial privilege and disadvantage refers to both “structural sources (eg employment, income, education)” and “the qualities of places (eg environmental and social conditions, access to ‘goods’, proximity to ‘bads’)” (Gleeson and Low 2000: 37).

Both concepts also refer to the processes associated with creating and reproducing disadvantage and polarization. The concepts of disadvantage and polarization are used to signify the multiple causes and manifestations of inequality in Australia. The complexity of these concepts has also generated considerable debate about the extent of polarization in Australia (Badcock 1997: 246) and how poverty and social disadvantage is measured (Saunders and Tsumori 2002). A survey of these debates is outside the scope of this paper, but important to note that the extent of change is contested and requires further analysis.

Empirical Evidence of Spatial Targeting

The last 30 years has seen significant changes in the way state governments address social disadvantage in Australian urban regions. Specifically, the emergence of spatially targeted programs such as place management and community/neighbourhood renewal signal a shift away from traditional functional approaches. Under a functional approach strategic policy, planning and decision making is framed at a whole-of-jurisdiction scale. Spatial issues are inevitably present but are usually implicit or secondary considerations subordinate to the functional considerations that emerge from the statewide task of delivering policy and services. In contrast, spatially targeted programs emphasise policy, planning and decision making according to the needs and priorities of a defined geographical community. Spatially targeted programs are framed at a local scale and emphasise whole-of-government approaches to policy making and service delivery that cut across portfolio, professional and institutional barriers. Reddel (2002: 51-2) highlights a number of features of recent spatial targeting: increasing social polarisation, regional disparities, integration of social economic and environmental issues. Concepts of social capital, social inclusion, community engagement and capacity building, integrated ‘joined up’ whole of government approaches are some of the imperatives of the new spatial ‘agenda’ (ibid).

Notwithstanding the range of spatial programs operating around Australia, the policy framework remains problematic. Randolph and McPherson note that Australia has a relatively underdeveloped policy framework for spatial targeting (2002:16-17). They conclude that: “place management is about as close as we get in Australia to an explicit policy response to the fact that locality and geography matter in issues concerning social disadvantage” (2002: 16). Within the current round of spatial

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targeting, place programs can be seen as an explicit response to the complex issues of area based disadvantage. A number of researchers have noted the difficulty in defining ‘place’ which has been used to describe a range of different programs (Randolph and McPherson 2002; Reddel 2002; Stewart-Weeks 2003). However, the common features identified by these researchers, provide a working definition for place programs as follows.

Table 1 Identifying spatial targeting through place based programs

Characteristics	Associated terms
Addressing disadvantage in a defined locality/community – social economic or physical environment	Social inclusion, exclusion, renewal social polarization
Coordination and integration across a range of government and community agencies	Whole of government, joined up, whole of community integration, partnerships
Community involvement in identifying issues and determining appropriate responses	Community capacity building, community development, community engagement
Focus on outcomes with designated accountability	Outcomes focus

These characteristics provide a means of identifying spatial targeting by state governments in addressing social disadvantage. Using these characteristics there is considerable evidence of recent spatial targeting by Australian state and local governments in urban regions (table 2).

Table 2 Spatial programs addressing disadvantage in Australian Urban Regions

	Program	Type	Government	Year
New South Wales	<i>Families First</i>	Place / Whole of government / Disadvantage / Multi agency partnerships	State Cabinet Office. Transferred to Dept of Communities 2004	2002
	<i>Strengthening Local Communities</i> Strategy place management initiatives & community solutions program	Place / Targeted intervention / disadvantage / Outcome/solution focused	State Premiers Department Transferred to Dept of Communities 2004	1997
	Camden City Council Fairfield City Council Newcastle City Council Liverpool City Council Parramatta City Council	Place Management in strategic plans / Location based place management – 3 areas <i>Community 2168</i> Better Neighbourhood Program	Local Governments	1998 1995 2000
	Kempsey Community Economic Renewal Project Hunter Community Renewal Scheme	Place Locally/community based Multi agency partnerships / Outcome focus	State/Federal/Local Steering C'ttee . State Health Department	1998
	Moree Place Management Project	Place	Local Moree Shire Council State and Federal agencies	
Queensland	Brisbane Place Projects	Place/area based / Disadvantage / Whole of government / Community development	Local Government Brisbane City Council State Dept of Communities	1999
	Community Renewal Program	Place/area based partnerships / Social exclusion/ disadvantage / Coordinated/integrated programs Community participation	State Department of Housing and other departments Local Governments	1998
South Australia	Northern Partnership	Regional development / Whole of government/ Integration/Disadvantage/Inclusion/sustainability	State Cabinet Local Governments	2002
Tasmania	Affordable Housing Strategy – area regeneration and renewal	Community capacity building / Whole of government / Disadvantage	State Dept of Housing and Human Services	2004
Victoria	Community Building initiative	Community capacity building / Disadvantage Whole of government / Social capital/Partnerships	State Dept for Victorian Communities	2001
	Growing Victoria Together strategy	Whole of government / Integrating economic, social and environmental / Community capacity building / Social Cohesion	State Dept of Premier and Cabinet	2001
	<i>Creating a Fairer Victoria</i> – neighbourhood renewal strategy	Disadvantage / Social cohesion / Community empowerment / Whole of government / Partnerships governments business and community	State Dept of Human Services	2004
Western Australia	Sustainability Strategy	Whole of government /Partnerships / Integrated social economic environmental issues / Place management / Community development	State Government Dept of Premier and Cabinet	2003
	City of Swan Local Area 'Place' Planning	Place / Community capacity building Integrated social economic and environmental issues / Government and community partnerships	Local Government	2000

Sources: (Randolph 2004) (Commonwealth Government 2005a; 2005b) (Government of South Australia 2004; 2005) (Government of Tasmania 2005) (Government of Victoria 2001; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c) (Government of Western Australia 2003; 2005) (NSW Government 2002; 2004) (Queensland Government 2003)

The reasons for spatial targeting and the implications for social disadvantage and polarization in urban regions require further analysis. In the introduction I noted that urban restructuring under the influence of neoliberal ideology had contributed to increasing polarization and exclusion in cities in Western Europe. The response in Western Europe has been to adopt area based initiatives (ABIs) to address social exclusion. There are similarities between ABIs and the spatial targeting in Australia as follows:

- Community/small scale focus and bottom up approach
- Partnerships between government, community and business
- Aimed at addressing multiple disadvantage
- Arisen in a context of economic restructuring and windback of welfare state

These developments in Western Europe have been incorporated into a framework of neoliberal rescaling.

SPATIAL TARGETING AND RESCALING

What is Rescaling?

The concept of rescaling has been developed by Neil Brenner to describe the ongoing process of reterritorialisation and restructuring in Western Europe as a result of neoliberalism and globalization (Brenner 1999; Brenner 2000; Brenner and Theodore 2002; 2004). He defines state rescaling as:

A strategy of neoliberal deregulation to dismantle nationally configured redistributive operations by undermining the social welfare functions of municipal institutions and reregulation to construct new institutional capacities for promoting capital investment within major urban growth poles, often through locally or regionally organized workfare policies, non-elected quangos and other entrepreneurial initiatives such as public-private partnerships” (Brenner 1999: 440).

Brenner argues that neoliberalism has resulted in a process of rescaling, over the last 30 years that has profoundly influenced the way urban governance is understood. Table 3 summarises the key features of neoliberal rescaling as proposed by Brenner. The table includes some preliminary propositions about the extent to which these features may be present in Australia; although the Australian evidence requires further analysis.

Table 3 Neoliberal Rescaling process in Western Europe (based on Brenner)

Western Europe	Australia
Deindustrialization and technological development results in decline of some regions and rise of new areas as favoured sites for capital	✓ Nationwide eg northern Adelaide (Genoff 2005), La trobe valley (Gibson and Cameron 2005)
Deregulation dismantles redistributive operations by undermining municipal welfare functions	✓ De regulation not municipal, but affecting state and community based organisations ✓ Significant impact of deregulation on regions and government services
Reregulation constructs new institutional capacities for promoting capital investment within major urban growth poles eg public private partnerships	✓ Special regulations by states for megaprojects (Gleeson and Low 2000) ✓ New institutional capacities for growth eg Urban Renewal Taskforce in Brisbane
Cities become embedded in transnational flows of capital with competition between localities on a global scale	✗ Sydney only, but interstate competition flourishes to attract corporate dollars
Regulatory frameworks are scaled upwards to the	✗ Comparatively limited influence of

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supra national level eg the influence of international treaties and trade agreements and global competition and downwards to the subnational level under new localism and new regionalism.	supranational frameworks on national regulatory framework, ie national scale not undermined ✓ Experiments with New Regionalism at federal level
The rise of new territory and place specific institutions, regulations and policies	✓ Examples of new regional approaches, metropolitan and regional planning
Policy transfer and exchange occurs across national boundaries	✓ Examples of policy transfer include concepts of social exclusion, social capital, entrepreneurialism, new regionalism, local economic development, 'creative class'
Local and regional governments are redefined as entrepreneurial agencies of state financed capital to enhance locational advantage	✓ Examples of local economic development, entrepreneurialism at state and local level, new regionalism
Mobilization of space as a productive force and competition intensifies uneven development, high levels of conflict over public space and creates winning and losing regions	✓ Evidence of uneven development and public space conflicts, development conflicts in high growth areas, competition between region for new industries and investment
Strategies to alleviate uneven development and polarisation are subordinate to urban entrepreneurialism	✓ Subordination of social policy to economic policy and windback of welfare state
Area based initiatives to alleviate severe disadvantage and enable people and places to compete in new economic order	✓ Examples of area based approaches in place and community renewal programs

A preliminary survey of the elements of neoliberal rescaling suggests that there are parallels between developments in Australia and western Europe. However, there are important contextual differences that affect the degree to which rescaling applies in Australia including:

1. The absence of explicit spatial policy at federal and state levels of government in contrast to Europe. A key component of Brenner's later work is the premise that states have adopted policies of spatial selectivity to enhance global competitiveness of regions (Brenner 2004). Whilst government policies have spatial consequences in Australia the lack of a spatial policy framework means these are ad hoc and often unrecognized (Gleeson 2004: 8-10)
2. The influence of supranational bodies in particular the European Union is clearly driving the restructuring and territorial changes in western Europe to a much greater extent than supranational agreements in Australia. In Australia the national government retains control of economic development and regional initiatives are subordinate to the national policy framework. State government regional development initiatives tend to focus on competition between states and regions.
3. Deregulation and reregulation processes. Australia has embraced deregulation of financial markets, trade liberalization and privatization and corporatisation of utilities. However, reregulation as in western Europe is less apparent. This could be related to the fact that different regulatory frameworks operate within each state in Australia. Thus changes in state regulations are a long standing feature of Australia's system of government.
4. In addition to the absence of explicit spatial policy and spatial impacts of government actions, the fact that Australia has three levels of government operating across multiple scales (McGuirk 2003) may obscure processes of rescaling. The supremacy of economic policy and competition for economic development is also tempered by the politics of negotiating between levels of government and the electoral volatility of various constituencies.

5. Australian cities have always been geographically crucial because of the large number of people living in them. Although rural and regional concerns have dominated our language and ideas of what it is to be Australian, fast growing metropolitan regions are crucial to the health of the Australian economy (Gleeson 2004; Genoff 2005). The importance of cities has grown with the shift from manufacturing to service industries arising associated with deindustrialization and technological development.
6. The lack of a municipal level of government (with the exception of Brisbane City Council) results in state or territory governments being defacto municipal governments. This means the welfare functions are largely carried out at the state level in contrast to Western Europe where local or regional governments have a range of welfare functions. In Australia, federal funding for health, education and housing sets the policy framework for welfare. For both levels of government functional considerations are emphasized over spatial considerations with regional or local community based programs occurring in a much more limited way than in the European Union (Gleeson and Carmichael 2001).

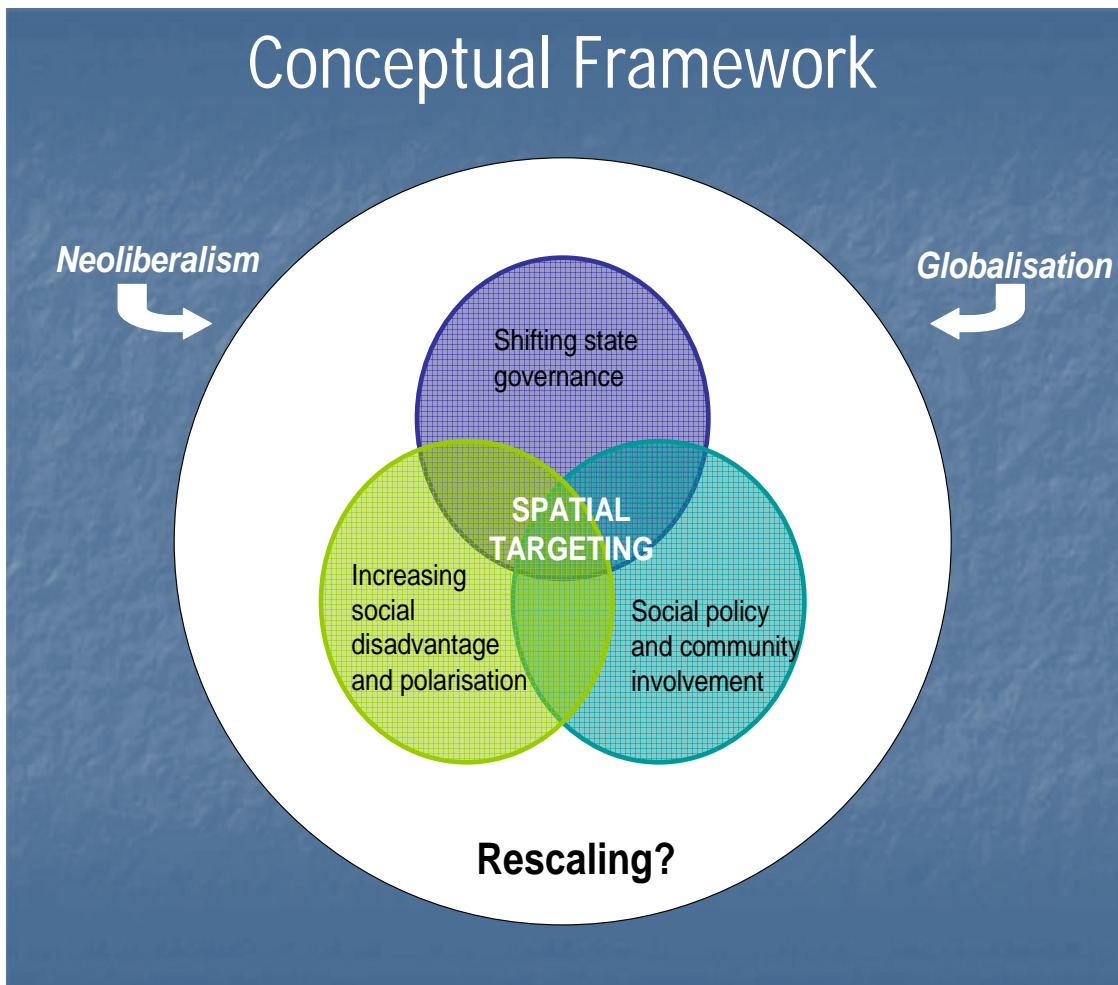
For these reasons the degree to which rescaling may apply in Australia requires further testing and analysis. The explanatory potential of the rescaling governance framework is that: the spatial and scalar nature of governance and in particular the uneven development arising from neoliberalism is made explicit; the social impacts of changing governance arrangements are identified; as is the profound influence of rescaling on urban restructuring in Europe and the UK – most notably the emphasis on urban entrepreneurialism. Although there are differences in the way in which neoliberalism applies in western Europe and Australia, the Australian examples noted in Table 3 suggest that spatial targeting by state governments is an example of selective rescaling of urban governance

‘Selective rescaling’ is used because of the complicating affects of the multi level, multi scaled, federal structure of Australia’s system of government. The arrangements across federal state and local governments in economic and social policy are complex, fragmented, programs may be historically and geographically specific and politically expedient. For example, McGuirk (2003) in her case study of Sydney’s urban governance argues that an understanding of scale politics – the political interaction between levels of government, non government and private sector in the decision making process – is important to understanding Australia’s ‘multi scalar’ system of governance. O’Neill and Argent note that the pathways of restructuring in Australia and New Zealand differ both in timing and substance from the UK and USA (2005). In the 1980s and 90s it was social democratic governments in Australia and New Zealand implementing a range of reform processes. Thus in Australia “while there were reform elements that UK and USA observers could easily identify as neoliberalist (deregulation of financial markets and the banking sector; privatization or corporatisation of utilities), there were others that fell outside the neoliberal box (eg the incorporation of social wage adjustments into macro-economic management via a series of government-trade union Accords in the 1980s) (ibid).

Therefore whilst there is potential for rescaling to shed some light on spatial targeting by state governments, other theoretical frameworks are required to fully understand the Australian case. Three broad areas of research need to be considered to uncover the complex causal factors for spatial targeting in urban disadvantage. These are drawn from the political economy/geography literature, the governance literature and the community development/social policy literature. Diagram 1 proposes a conceptual framework for this analysis.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Diagram 1: Causal factors in spatial targeting by state governments to address social disadvantage in Australian urban regions.



CHANGING SCALE OF SOCIAL DISADVANTAGE

Over the last 30 years there has been increasing evidence of deepening levels of social disadvantage and spatial polarization in Australian cities (Fincher and Saunders 2001; Randolph and Holloway 2005). Badcock argues that the consistent picture of growing social and spatial polarization in Australia tends to increase at the local level of analysis (ibid). This deepening sociospatial division has been caused by:

1. Industrial and employment market restructuring triggered by economic globalization and economic rationalism in the policy sphere
2. Income polarization between rich and poor and growing income disadvantage of the working poor
3. Demographic changes such as smaller households, older retired households, immigration and gateway localities
4. Cultural and gender divisions interpenetrating economic and demographic change
5. Government policy interventions and funding shifts exacerbating market generated inequalities (2005: 174-5)

In his book *Postcode*, Wayne Swan Federal Labor MP concludes that the rising concentrations of poverty occurring in many postcodes highlight the winners and losers from economic prosperity, and means that where you live determines your life chances (2005: 4). According to Swan this new social map is predominantly a political outcome and can be reversed with sufficient political will (ibid). The same point is made by Fincher and Saunders: while government policies can and have contributed to this growing disadvantage, public investment in people and places and government redistributive mechanisms can reduce inequality (2001: 11). The shift in governance arrangements at the state level is another causal factor in changing urban disadvantage..

SHIFTING STATE GOVERNANCE

There are two major areas to be considered here: the influence of federal arrangements and policies on state governance of urban regions; and the impact of the integrated governance agenda on public administration.

State Governance and Urban Regions

Under Australia's federal system the policies of the national government have a significant impact on state and local governments. Over the last 30 years the progressive roll out of a range of neoliberal initiatives and governance reforms are evident in the policies and program developments at the state level. These include:

- a shift towards integrated governance and centralization of administrative structures;
- emphasis on greater efficiency and effectiveness or 'value for money' in public administration (O'Neill and Moore 2005).
- privatization and commercialization of public services and a shift to user pays;
- renewed interest in regional planning and metropolitan strategies (Gleeson, Darbas et al. 2004);
- spatial targeting evident in place management, community capacity building, community renewal.

The federal government's policies of deregulation and fiscal restraint have had a significant influence on state and local governments. The resulting domino effect on governance of deregulation, privatisation and centralisation applying at all levels of government, ultimately consolidated the

primacy of market forces over public sector activity (Lawson and Gleeson 2005). Gleeson and Low argue that the process of urban restructuring under neoliberalism, in particular the emphasis on entrepreneurialism, has resulted in increasing competition between urban regions and a shift away from city regulation to promotion; and from managing cities to selling them (2000: 100). Gentrification and urban renewal programs are part of a quest to attract mobile capital at a global level. The uneven development and polarizing effects of this quest for capital are now increasingly apparent. “A combination of economic shifts, public sector cutbacks and changes to household composition have produced a new geography of segregation in Australian cities” (ibid 52-3). In this new environment individuals may experience increasing disadvantage as a result of: nature of employment, single households, ageing, unemployment, sole parent, migration, mobility, gender, disability and cultural differences (Fincher & Saunders 2001: 15-27).

The extent to which neoliberalism has influenced these arrangements and the drive for greater integration is contested. O’Neill and Moore (2005) argue that many of the reforms over the last 30 years were part of an ongoing process of reform to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public administration. Clearly then the practice of public administration is another significant factor in urban restructuring and state governance. The emergence of the concept of governance, particularly the focus on more integrated and collaborative approaches, is significant to an understanding of state spatial targeting.

Integrated Governance and Public Administration

The integrated governance agenda has influenced the way governments work and promoted new approaches to public administration. Spatial programs are part of the drive for more integration in public administration. This agenda includes an emphasis on greater collaboration with government and non government players. In Australia integration is complicated by federal arrangements and the multi level and multi scale system of government. Government reform and negotiations between levels of government is a feature of the Australian system.

The following factors can be identified in the governance literature as significant to the changing practice of government:

1. Policy making has become more difficult for governments. The complexity of responding to economic and social changes combined with shifting values and expectations, requires Australian governments to find the policy coherence and institutional capacity to take a long term approach to political problems (Davis 2000).
2. The fragmented service delivery and diminished accountability resulting from corporatist public administration (Keating and Weller 2001; Edwards 2002), has led to a new wave of reforms centred on integration or ‘breaking down silos and stronger partnerships, greater information sharing and skills exchange.
3. Citizens have become increasingly active and highly mistrustful of government (McAllister and Wanna 2001; Marsh 2002a; 2002b). This is forcing governments to find new ways of engaging with citizens based on decentralised and collaborative decision-making and participatory governance (Reddel 2002; Edwards 2002 51-2).
4. A shift in institutional arrangements away from formal constitutional arrangements, towards the negotiated, non hierarchical exchanges between institutions and governance processes that are characteristic of the concept of multi level governance (Painter 2001; Peters and Pierre 2001).

The emergence of 'integrated' governance recognises that governments alone cannot solve the challenges confronting urban regions and requires governments to adopt new approaches to policymaking and service delivery. The governance challenges for all three levels of government are to: achieve policy coherence, enhance local democracy, deliver public services in an environment of fiscal constraint and contracting out; develop partnerships across government, community and business to address complex issues and improve the accountability of these arrangements. The new wave of spatial approaches to urban policy must be understood in the context of these challenges.

SOCIAL POLICY AND CITIZEN ACTIVISM

As indicated in the previous section there has been increasing political pressure on governments to engage more effectively with citizens and communities. Over the last 20 years there have been a range of programs attempted by governments to address citizen activism and electoral voluntary. These changes in the ways communities, citizens and governments interact have impacted on policy responses to disadvantage with many programs emphasising (at least rhetorically) bottom up, community based approaches. At the same time – although more noticeably over the last 10 years – there has been a shift in social policy that emphasises community and individual responsibility, a reduced role for government and a windback of the welfare state. Concepts such as social capital, social inclusion and exclusion and community capacity building are all evident in the way governments approach social policy. These changes represent the third group of causal factors in state spatial targeting to address social disadvantage.

Social Policy – Residualisation and Individualism

Over the last 30 years there has been a shift in approach to Australian social policy. At a national level this shift is evident in the welfare reforms of the 1990s, and is characterised by: a move away from universal service provision to individual targeting, user pays and 'consumer' choice, contracting out of services, emphasis on mutual obligation. The shift has been described as a move from universalism whereby services are available to all, to residualisation, whereby services are limited to those who cannot afford to buy them for themselves (Jamrozik 2005: 94-5). Like many western democracies these welfare reforms have been heralded as a necessary response to the 'crisis in the welfare state' (Robbins 2002: 460-2). Accompanying this move away from government responsibility for social policy is the rhetoric of communities and individuals being responsible for identifying and meeting their own needs. In 2000, the Prime Minister outlined his approach to social policy and disadvantage as based on the fundamental principles of 'mutual obligation' and 'social coalition' (ibid: 471):

[Social coalition is] a partnership of individuals, families, business, government, welfare and charitable organisations, each contributing their unique resource and expertise to tackle disadvantage at its source. ... I have remained true to a modern conservative approach to social policy that supports the bedrock social institutions such as the family and promotes enduring values such as personal responsibility, a fair go and the promotion of individual potential (ibid 471).

The focus on the individual is reflected in the small number of programs at the federal level that directly support communities. This emphasis at the federal level on individuals and families meeting their own needs has meant that social policies and programs supporting communities have largely been left to the states and local governments. State and local governments have adopted a range of approaches to supporting communities as suggested in the table of spatially focused programs. Many include concepts of community development, social inclusion and capacity building. This suggests a

tension between a federal government emphasizing individuals (and allocating funding on this basis) and state programs emphasizing community based programs to address social policy issues. This tension may be a key factor in the spatial targeting adopted by state governments – federal emphasis on individualism, contraction of government responsibility and restriction of welfare expenditure has led states to target the most disadvantaged communities. The states approach involves responding to communities in crisis, rather than universal policies of access and equity. This tension also highlights the political volatility created by different emphases in state and federal policies. Shifts in social policy, the cutback in government services and uneven development have required governments to find new ways to inform and involve communities.

Citizen Activism and Community Involvement

Community involvement has been incorporated into the language of state public administration. The new spatially targeted programs emphasis community involvement in decisionmaking, characterized as more ‘bottomup’ approaches than traditional top down approaches by government. For example, Kruk and Bastaja (2002) highlight the importance of community involvement in government decision making in NSW evident in a number of processes such as the strengthening communities program and place management programs. Reddel outlines a range of programs under the banner of community engagement, which he sees as evidence of a reemergence of community in government policy of the 1990s (2002 54). Although patchy and sporadic the range of programs targeting communities suggests that politically, local areas can be important to governments in an electorally volatile environment (Reddel 2002). The extent to which spatial targeting is a response to community activism and electoral volatility requires further analysis, as does the role of citizens.

Marsh for example has argued that over the last 20 years citizen activism in the form of pressure groups has become increasingly important in the policy process of governments (2002a, 2002b). The range of consultation processes adopted by all governments over the last 20 years may also have contributed to the demands by citizens for governments to be more accountable and transparent in their decision making. The failure of these processes has increased the levels of citizen cynicism. Disputes over planning decisions surface regularly and in the case of the Queensland Goss government (in the 1990s the south east freeway dispute) can contribute to the downfall of governments. Citizen activism is therefore another potential causal factor in the spatial targeting by state governments.

In addition to the political imperatives for engaging with citizens and communities affected by government decisions, some researchers and policy professionals argue that community based approaches are critical to the success of social policies. (See for example, Gibson and Cameron (2005) on community economies as pathways for economic development and Stewart Weeks (2003) on social capital as the means of developing resilient communities). The concepts of social capital, capacity building and community involvement are all incorporated to varying degrees within state government spatial programs. The concepts warrant further investigation as potential causal factors in the nature of state responses to social disadvantage.

CONCLUSION

Australian state governments today are plagued by the seemingly intractable problem of how to address social disadvantage in urban regions. This problem is particularly vexing: in spite of a long period of economic prosperity there is evidence that poverty is becoming more entrenched. This has caused a number of researchers to argue that social polarisation in Australian cities is increasing. Over the last 30 years State governments have adopted spatially focused programs that target disadvantage. These programs are evidence of the roll out of a neoliberal agenda, a philosophy of smaller government, a changing focus of public administration, a devolution of social policy towards individual and

community responsibility, and an increasingly active citizenry and electoral volatility. The broader context influencing spatial targeting includes neoliberalism, globalization and rescaling.

The preliminary evidence outlined in this paper suggests that the spatial targeting by state governments to address social disadvantage may reflect a selective process of rescaling governance. Of equal significance are the changes in the practice of public administration – including integrated governance and public sector reform. The political dynamic of electoral volatility, citizen activism and community involvement are evident in the emphasis on ‘bottom up’ solutions in spatial programs addressing social disadvantage. These tentative findings require further rigorous testing.

The international picture of a post justice city sounds a warning for Australian cities. As in the international case, increasing polarization and changing social disadvantage is occurring in Australian cities. In particular this is a shifting picture of disadvantage and polarisation evident in the collocation of the included ‘gentrifiers’ and excluded ‘homeless’ within our inner cities. Australian governments are seeking to address social disadvantage with spatial targeting of programs, similar to the area based approaches in the UK. The influence of neoliberal ideology and globalization on urban restructuring and the rescaling governance evident in the UK and Europe, is arguably part of the complex causal picture for spatial targeting in Australia. Australia’s adherence to neoliberal ideology is mixed, with evidence of some attempts to alleviate the worst impacts of uneven development with spatially targeted programs. The extent to which governments can devise new governance arrangements to address these ‘wicked problems’ will determine whether Australia’s urban regions become the revanchist post justice cities of the future.

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