THE MAKING OF A RIOT: A STUDY ON MACQUARIE FIELDS AND SOCIAL COHESION

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The making of a riot: A study on Macquarie Fields and social cohesion

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Executive Summary

Contemporary society is becoming increasingly fragmented due to major shifts in social structure. These shifts are caused by differences in race, ethnicity, education, employment status and wealth. With so many different beliefs, morals and ways of life, post-modern multicultural cities are often characterised as fractured and segregated. Indicators of disharmony are evident in day-to-day problems and civil disturbances. Social cohesion is considered an effective way to quell conflict, to promote accord, and to counteract anti-social behaviour. Social cohesion is seen as fundamental to strong communities which cultivate common values, belonging and identity. In this thesis, social cohesion is considered an indicator of social stability and, more importantly, as a preventative measure of future unrest and conflict. The research aspires to connect weak social cohesion with the outbreak of urban riots by focusing on the Macquarie Fields riot of 2005. Three localities within the Sydney local government area of Campbelltown are analysed utilising indicators of social cohesion. The intention is to ascertain the impacts of social cohesion within a community and to determine its relevance to urban riots. It is anticipated that these findings will assist planners in developing a broader understanding of complex social problems.
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1. Introduction

Contemporary society and its communities are becoming increasingly fragmented due to complex and changing societal structures. It has been identified that these changes are the result of socio-cultural shifts that have allowed freedom in gender roles, sexual expression, identity, spiritual beliefs and ecological values (Gleeson and Low 2000). In addition to these social changes, the impact of change is further exemplified with varying differences within a single community, in regards to characteristics such as race, ethnicity, education levels, employment status and wealth.

Living within a multicultural society may have its advantages but it can also have its associated downsides. This may be reflected through civil disagreements and conflict, which may arise as a result of the heterogenous disposition of that particular society. With so many different beliefs, morals and ways of life, it is clear in today’s society that communities are segregated and often, in disagreement. Post-modern multicultural cities are often characterised as fractured and indicators of such disharmony are clearly evident through day-to-day problems. Indicators of a fractured city may include issues such as the general breakdown of family and social structure, increases in crime, poor health, defiance of authority and the demise of respect and obedience within youths.

![Multicultural difference](Eastern New Mexico University 2005; Twelve Tribes 2006)

However, it is important to recognise that the scale of civil breakdown depends on the nature of the issue. This may vary from small and trivial disagreements between neighbours to local community petitioning to great city riots. Generally speaking, society has, at times, become defined with hallmark moments of civil violence, social disturbances and rioting, with the
most notable events being the Los Angeles Riots of 1994, and more recently the 2005 Paris Riots. The Macquarie Dictionary defines riots as “any disturbance of the peace by an assembly of persons”. Masotti adds to this basic definition by stating that riots, unlike revolutions, guerrilla war and coups d’état, are not geared towards the seizing of power, nor does it aim to overthrow or withdraw from social and political control (1968). Riots are often spontaneous, unplanned and disorganised in nature and are primarily used to attack political, social, cultural and economic dominance (Masotti 1968). Riots can also be portrayed as an outlet, a release from one’s daily trials and tribulations. Riots, and more particularly rioters, can often be interpreted as a ‘cry of frustration’ and can hold deeper and more significant meanings.

Figure 1.2  French riot police patrol Clichy-sous-Bois, a large public housing estate in 2005

The abovementioned point has been documented in the media as being highly relevant to the Macquarie Fields riot. In February 2005, Macquarie Fields, located in south-western Sydney, was wracked by violence through the outbreak of a suburban riot which was prompted by the death of two young men during a police pursuit. Community unrest and conflict was undoubtedly at an all-time high amongst residents and locals but most particularly between the youths and authority figures. The media took great interest in the matter and heavily documented the event, both during and after the riot. Speculations and blame-shifting were most notable following the riot, with questions about the future of Macquarie Fields being asked.

However, little attention is given to Macquarie Fields from a social science and town planning perspective. There is a strong lack of ‘reputable’ information, particularly in the form of journals and academic literature available regarding the social, economic and physical settings of Macquarie Fields or concerning the Macquarie Fields riot. Of more interest to this thesis,
little is known about the social cohesion condition of Macquarie Fields before, and after, the outbreak of the 2005 riot.

Social cohesion, as defined by Jensen, is “the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity” (1998, p.4). Social cohesion is considered a fundamental part of strong communities which promotes and fosters common values and civic culture, social order and control, social solidarity, social networks, social capital, territorial belonging and identity (Kearns and Forrest 2000, cited in Wood 2002).

Social cohesion plays a key component in good social relations and social structures. It is seen as a resourceful tool and is continually being adopted around the world. The concept of social cohesion has been around since the 19th century although its value has only been recognised recently. In this research, social cohesion will be used as a measure to indicate the social stability of a suburb. More specifically, the lack of social cohesion will be seen as a strong measure towards riot disturbances.

This thesis aims to study and attempt to measure social cohesion within a single local government area (LGA) of Sydney, namely Campbelltown City Council. Campbelltown is located 53 kilometres southwest of Sydney and covers an area of 312 square kilometres (Campbelltown City Council website 2006). Campbelltown roughly houses 150,000 people and is continually growing. Furthermore, the Department of Planning has identified that Campbelltown will become a major regional centre within the Sydney Metropolitan Area. This declaration essentially stipulates significant growth of the region in the future.

Campbelltown was selected as a broad case study area because it meets certain prerequisite data. First of all, Campbelltown was recognised as an ideal case study due to the pure fact that a riot has occurred within that LGA namely the Macquarie Fields riot of 2005. Campbelltown was also preferred because it had a fairly consistent demographic profile throughout the LGA. Factors such as population, size, neighbourhood characteristics and the presence of public housing were considered during the selection of this case study. This distinct and logical decision-making process enables clear analysis and comparison between case studies. By using suburbs similar to Macquarie Fields for the case studies, the analysis is realistic and produces a sound and reasonable outcome.

The main purpose of the case study is to ascertain the impacts of social cohesion in a community and to determine its relevance to urban riots. In order to accomplish this, a
comparison review was undertaken between three suburbs in Campbelltown and assessed against an ‘urban riots trigger matrix’, which is further discussed in this thesis. The case studies will focus on Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds, all located in Campbelltown, while the latter communities are characterised as riot-free.

These suburbs were selected after a deliberate analysis and review on issues including demographics, population, public housing and design. The purpose of this scrutiny is to ensure that the case studies are consistent in terms of size and characteristics, and as a result, will enable clear differentiations between a riot-affected suburb and a riot-free suburb. The case studies will play a key role in determining the relationship between social cohesion and urban riots, and more importantly, determine whether the lack of social cohesion leads to the outbreak of urban riots.

1.1 Research question

The main question behind this thesis aims to distinguish the role of social cohesion in the formation of urban riots. This thesis aims to answer the following question:

*Are urban riots, particularly the Macquarie Fields riot, the result of little or non-existent social cohesion within a locality?*

In addition to this overarching research question, several sub-questions are also explored:

- Is Campbelltown Council a strong advocate for social cohesion?
- How socially cohesive is Macquarie Fields?
- Through social cohesive measures, how does Macquarie Fields compare to other surrounding suburbs, such as Claymore and Airds?
- Why did Macquarie Fields break out in a riot, whilst Claymore and Airds did not experience a riot?
- How has social cohesion in Macquarie Fields fared after the riot?

1.2 Methodology

In order to examine and measure social cohesion in Campbelltown, a number of research tools were implemented. The research was initiated by a literature review and augmented with statistical data, Council documents and the development of an ‘urban riots triggers matrix’. A
strong discourse collection, combined with systematic data analysis was implemented as the key research method for this thesis. A brief overview of the methodology adopted is provided below:

**Literature Review**

In the first phase of the project, thorough research was undertaken in regards to social cohesion and urban riots. The history and origins of social cohesion was explored, in addition to new professional literature and research papers. Social cohesion is a relatively new concept and is continually being embraced by global leaders and institutions. As each institution adopts the concept, social cohesion is constantly being challenged, scrutinised and redefined and as such can be considered an ‘evolving term’. Therefore it is envisaged that findings within new literature will always supplement the core values of the initial and basic concept of social cohesion. The second phase of the literature review focused on the history and study of urban riots. The main component of this section comprised an analysis of the various interpretations and definitions for the terms ‘civil disturbances’ and ‘urban riots’. This wide range of scope for the terms indicates that the term is highly subjective and influenced by one’s opinion. Urban riots are further explored to gain a thorough understanding of what a riot is constituted of, what their triggers are and how often they emerge. This section also provides a brief outline of key historical and monumental international and local riots that have occurred.

**Statistical review**

This section of the thesis primarily relates to providing reliable data about the case studies. In order to determine some social cohesion and urban riot triggers, an outline of statistics is required as a base figure for comparison. Statistics will also be used to provide a ‘snapshot’ of base and demographic information of a locality. The Australian Bureau of Statistics will provide the bulk of statistics and associated data.

**Evaluation of council documents**

A review of Campbelltown City’s documents and strategies will assist in shaping the setting for each of the three case studies. These documents will be used to provide basic information and local demographics relating to the suburbs selected. The documents will also be analysed for social cohesion initiatives in Campbelltown, as pursued by both the Council and the community. It is expected that the Campbelltown Social Plan will play a prime source in providing such information.
Review of media

Media, in the form of newspaper articles, editorials, internet websites and television documentaries will be sourced to provide basic information regarding the Macquarie Fields riot. The purpose of utilising such mediums lies in the fact that the Macquarie Fields riot is not documented or discussed in any journal or literary source. By using a wide array of media sources, different views and opinions will be considered and consequently assists in a greater and more in-depth understanding of the Macquarie Fields riot.

Photo documentation

A review of photo documentation provides an understanding of the community dynamics of Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds. The photos will be used as a source of information regarding community functioning and further analysed for social cohesion. Photographs will be used to highlight significant issues and complement the text. The photographs were taken at Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds during two visits to the area on 27 September and 20 October 2006.

Participant observation

To supplement the methodology aforementioned, a participant observation was undertaken. The purpose of the participant observation was to monitor community life and to gain a basic understanding of life in Campbelltown. The participant observation was recorded on 27 September and 20 October 2006 at Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds.

1.3 Anticipated contribution to the topic

Following the review of literature and information, it is anticipated that I will ascertain whether social cohesion, or lack of, contributes to the formation of an urban riot. As part of my personal thesis expectations, I aspire to contribute to the social and planning sectors by bringing new knowledge and insight into the relationship between urban riots, social cohesion and town planning. This will be achieved through the following means:

Identification of key triggers

Triggers associated with riot disturbances will be derived from the literature review. The purpose of this section is to formulate a baseline where the case studies can be compared upon. The triggers identification will also be similarly applied to social cohesion, in an
attempt to gain an understanding of how strong social cohesion is formed, developed and maintained at the local level.

**Triggers Matrix**

A matrix was prepared out of the triggers identified in the previous section. The riot and social cohesion triggers provided the base criteria and was used to compare similarities and differences between case studies. The triggers matrix attempts to decipher which key factors led to an outbreak of a riot. It is anticipated that this matrix will form the groundwork and the bulk of my research.

**Triggers Analysis and discussion**

This phase is performed subsequent to the triggers identification and general matrix comparison. The triggers analysis highlights any discrepancies or similarities between the case studies through social cohesion measures. A discussion of findings follows this basic triggers analysis and ultimately determines whether poor social cohesion is attributed to urban riots.

### 1.4 How this thesis is organised

The chapters of this thesis have been broken down into a clear and coherent manner. Chapters have been arranged according to subject matter and guides the reader through the research process logically. The thesis has been structured in a way to maximise the reader’s understanding of the content. Thus, Chapter Two introduces the theoretical aspect of the thesis and looks at the origins, history and contemporary interpretations of the term ‘social cohesion’.

Theoretical discussion is further examined in Chapter 3, although this chapter primarily relates to the historical context of urban riots. This chapter defines the meaning of urban riots and discuss characteristics often associated with a riot in the urban environment. Furthermore, an outline of key International and Australian riots, particularly those relevant to this thesis, is discussed.

In order to bring local relevance to this study, it was deemed necessary to undertake a local review and comparative study of social cohesion and urban riots. Chapter 4 provides background information on the city of Campbelltown, which will be fundamentally used for
several case studies in this thesis. This chapter is particularly concerned with providing details on the existing social cohesion conditions within this LGA and basic demographic data.

Case studies form the bulk of Chapter 5. Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Minto, all located within the LGA of Campbelltown, have been selected for the research component of this thesis. Background information, local demographics, statistics and community information are provided. In addition, a preliminary social cohesion status is provided for each suburb.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to providing details on the methodology behind this thesis, which revolves around the testing of case studies. This chapter describes the tool, namely the trigger matrix, which is applied to the suburbs identified in the previous chapter. The development, purpose and use of the trigger matrix is briefly outlined in this chapter. This section focuses on the application of the triggers matrix on the case studies and provides a brief understanding of social cohesion levels in their respective community.

Findings, arising from the case studies are discussed in Chapter 7. The trigger matrix is analysed in detail and a personal critique on the outcomes is provided. A discussion on the similarities and differences between the case studies are further reviewed in this chapter. This section determines whether poor, or lack of social cohesion results in an urban riot. This chapter will conclude with a reflective exercise on the lessons learned in light of the findings.

Planning implications are considered in Chapter 8. This chapter is written in reference to the research findings and establishes whether planning can have an impact upon improving social cohesion and thus reducing the outbreak of urban riots. Suggestions on future use of town planning resources and knowledge, as a way to curb riot disturbances, are provided as concluding comments.

The thesis concludes in Chapter 9, which aims to resolve the questions posed in Chapter 1. Recommendations for the future prevention of urban riots are discussed, in addition to suggestions on how to foster and strengthen social cohesion within a local community. This chapter ultimately determines whether the research has successfully answered the initial research question.

The following chapter will examine the theoretical background and modern understanding of urban riots.
2. **Urban Riots**

First of all, it is important to acknowledge that riots are difficult and, at times problematic to define. The term ‘riot’ encompasses many different activities and is strongly based on the individual and the environment. Gilje’s definition: “depending on the context, a riot could be a parade with an effigy or brutal manslaughter by a crowd, or anything in between” (1996, 4). In addition to this wide scope of interpretation, riots are subjective and open to one’s personal opinions, with much depending upon the perspective of the individual - one person’s peaceful demonstration is another person’s riot (Bowen and Masotti 1968; Gilje 1996).

![Figure 2.1 Range of civil disturbances](Osteopatie Online 2003; Fight Authority 2005; War Times Journal 2003)

A working definition for the term ‘riot’ is required for the purposes of this thesis to prevent any confusion. The Macquarie Dictionary defines riot as “any disturbance of the peace by an assembly of persons” or more specifically “a tumultuous disturbance of the public peace by three or more people assembled together and acting with a common intent” (1995, 346). Although this colloquial definition creates a good beginning for this thesis, it clearly lacks specificity and can be interpreted widely (Gilje 1996). Further, it is obvious that there is no direction or indication of what a riot comprises of and how riots are established.

Riots are defined differently by different organisations, although some similarities are noticeable. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), defines a riot as “violent demonstrations or clashes of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force” (OECD 1997). Gilje, from his literature on American riots, defines a riot as “any group of 12 or more people attempting to assert their will immediately through the use of force outside the normal bounds of the law”, and even so admits that there are ‘grey areas’ within his own working definition, including the spontaneity of riots (1996, 4). Bowen and
Masotti state that riots occur through the breakdown of law and order and problems arise through the labelling of criminal behaviour (1968).

The Australian National Committee on Violence states that collective violence, in the form of riots, protests and demonstrations, involves a group of people with a common aim, with the goal being long-term and political (1989). In summary, riots are generally classified as a collective form of violence where assertive force is used against the normal boundaries of law to achieve a common goal. It is clear that differences in definitions exist in terms of numbers involved, definition of crime and spontaneity.

As discussed earlier, riots are often distinguished and identified from other forms of conflict, through size and magnitude. Bowen and Masotti note that although this evaluation method is valuable and realistic, it can also create complications. Bowen and Masotti identify that “events which seem to us very different phenomena may be of similar scale” (1968, 12).

For the purposes of this thesis, I have constructed a working definition of ‘urban riot’, to be defined as ‘a collective public disturbance comprising of 12 or more people within an urban social setting’. The terms ‘riot’ and ‘urban riot’ are used interchangeably within this thesis.

2.1 Theoretical background

Theoretically, urban riots belong within the general category of violence. The Macquarie Dictionary defines violence as “any unjust or unwarranted exertion of force or power as against rights, laws etc” (1995, 450). As with the definition of the term ‘riots’ a lack of clarity with the term ‘violence’ similarly prevails. The Australian National Committee on Violence states whilst they do not wish to formulate rigid definitions, the concept of violence should include non-criminal activity, threats and psychological, emotional and financial abuse and should also be considered alongside the use of physical force (1989).

Within the main framework of the term ‘violence’ several subcategories exist, with civil violence identified as one. Bowen and Masotti classify civil violence as being a special case of the more general category of the term ‘violence’. Civil violence is notably characterised through attacks on symbols of the civil order by protestors who believe they are symbolic of that order (1968). Riots, in turn, are even more specific and are defined as “a special case of the more general category of civil violence because they are not a deliberate to attempt to seize power and are more spontaneous and disorganised” (Bowen and Masotti 1968, 18).
Through this general analysis of violence, it is clear that an informal hierarchy of different forms of violence exists.

It is imperative to understand that rioting is not the only form of social violence. Civil disorder is comprised of many types of violence and varying forms of conflict and typically includes rallies, protests, petitions and demonstrations but can also be observed through issues such as homicide and crime (Bowen and Masotti 1968). Additionally, violence in society extends much further than the violent crime relayed and documented by the media. The extent and breadth of violence, involving both criminal and non-criminal activities varies widely and has an enormous scope (National Committee on Violence 1989).

Figure 2.2 Different types of social violence

Another important factor that needs to be grasped is that it is difficult to distinguish the type of violence and associated conditions which characterise a particular form of violence. This can be understood through Bowen and Masotti who question the relationship between various forms of violence and specifically declare “how does one type of violence lead to, or become another form of violence?” (1968, 12). They further question whether large-scale riots are the culmination and result of smaller public disturbances (Bowen and Masotti 1968).

Nevertheless, it is common that violence is often portrayed by “hard, observable facts such as the number of people involved, the number of people killed or injured, the amount of damage done, and the like” (Bowen and Masotti 1968, 12). Bowen and Masotti raise attention to the fact that “civil disorder is almost always associated with large numbers of people engaged, many casualties, much damage and so on” (1968, 12). Therefore, it is acceptable to say that what distinguishes civil disturbance from other forms of violence, is the magnitude or scope
of the disturbance. The National Committee on Violence further elaborates that violence in society is at times, sensationalised and negatively portrayed by the media (1989).

Reasons for rioting

There are several theories on why people riot with the main cause being attributed to violence and aggression. The National Committee for Violence identified that rioters use aggression as an inherent driver. This theory is supported by scholars such as Konrad Lorenz (1966) who argue that aggressive impulses accumulate within an individual until they are released in an expression of violent behaviour.

The frustration-aggression theory may also apply to the context of riots. This theory suggests that violent behaviour is established when a particular goal is thwarted. Frustration-aggression theorists include Dollard (1939) and Feshbach (1964). They believe that when the attainment of a goal is frustrated, the resulting anger and aggression will be directed either at a source of the frustration or at some other object (National Committee for Violence 1989).

Riots may also arise due to economic deprivation. The economic deprivation theory contends that societies with marked degrees of economic inequality will also exhibit substantial amounts of crime. Perceived economic deprivation as well as absolute economic inequality may produce criminal violence. Some studies have attempted to demonstrate a nexus between high homicide rates and income disparity (Hansmann and Quigley 1982).

Social scientists use these and other models to explain the particular causes of specific violent behaviours. Theorists taking a sociological approach might regard domestic violence as deriving from social institutions which tolerate and foster violent behaviour in men; or consider that violence is a response to socio-economic inequalities (National Committee on Violence 1989).

Difficulty in interpreting riots

One of the most important notions linked with the study of riots is to acknowledge and understand that such activities are difficult to understand and interpret. Bowen and Masotti recognise that differences between various forms of civil disorder are largely dependent upon the purposes and intention of the participants (1968).

It is important to realise that the expressed intent of participants is hard to gauge and retrieve. If such insight were presented, it is highly likely that the information may be unreliable or
flawed as respondents may, knowingly or unknowingly incorrectly report their intention and involvement with the riot (Bowen and Masotti 1968).

The social scientist, regardless of skills, subtlety, or technique must rely on overt behaviour for observation and inference as a key source of data. It is during this process of inference and interpretation which lays the possibility of error as personal judgment differs from one person to another (Bowen and Masotti 1968). This possibility of error is further exacerbated with the impossibility of the social scientist to fully comprehend the intentions of the rioters. The study of riots, no matter how rigorous, will never fully comprehend the situation and as such, analysis will most likely differ from scholar to scholar.

2.2 Historical analysis

1700 - 1800

Riots, civil disorder and collective violence are not new phenomena, having occurred in England since the 1700s. Traditionally, civilians engaged in riots to protest against the increase in the price for food and to demonstrate frustrations and anger towards widespread food shortages (Dures 1985).

Riots in the 18th century were typically characterised with the “beating of drums, blowing of horns, carrying of flags, walking under banners and the use of ribbons and decorations” and hence were portrayed as being more ceremonial (Dures 1985, 12). Eighteenth century rioting aimed at achieving natural justice and violence was typically aimed at property rather than the individual (Dures 1985). As riots became more common legislation was made and declared rioting as a felony. The term ‘riot’ was defined by the Riot Act of 1715 (England), as being the unlawful assembly of 12 or more people who will breach the Riot Act if they have not dispersed within an hour (Dures 1985).

By the late 1800s, riots had become a common practice in London and typically sparked by political and religious intolerance (Dures 1985). Riots involving religion were marked with racism and were generally less restrained and controlled compared to the earlier food riots. These riots were highly organised, with rioters being equipped with tools of destruction and protection gear. A typical rioter was neither poor, unemployed nor uneducated. Rioters came from respected areas of society and included professional men or self-employed tradesmen (Dures 1985).
Racial violence similarly emerged during this period. In England, anti-Irish sentiments caused the first racial riot. These riots were instigated by the employment of Irish labour, which contributed to fear of job loss and decreased rates of pay amongst civilians (Dures 1985). Strong anti-Catholic feeling also contributed to this riot. In the United States of America, rioting grew from democracy, the loss of equality and the rise of egalitarian thinking and partnerships. Riots reflected this social upheaval as different social groups - divided by politics, ethnicity, religion, class and race - targeted each other in violent clashes (Gilje 1996).

American rioting in the 19th century was divided into two distinct categories, with the first being disturbances that focused on rituals and customs (Gilje 1996). Americans fought to recapture a world that they had lost through communal action that often took the guise of
popular disturbance. Rebellion made up the second form of American rioting and occurred when colonists struggled to establish themselves in a new world and resorted to violence to settle disputes (Gilje 1996). The rioting generally reflected the loss of identity amongst the community and high levels of social instability.

1800 – 1900

The Industrial Revolution was a main trigger of riots between 1800 and 1900. By the early 19th century, the nature of riots had changed to reflect the impacts of industrialisation, which by nature broke down traditional communities, created a new class system and established an economy liable to violent fluctuations (Dures 1985). Conflict and struggles between classes increased and meant that ruling classes were less likely to provide tacit support and mediation to riots that they had sometimes given before (Dures 1985). Riots at the time, were an expression for the need and/or desire for political reform and the expression against industrial reforms and disputes. It was clear that the earlier ‘food riots’ had been replaced by ‘wage riots’ in England.

Figure 2.5  Chicago Race Riot of 1919

Late 19th century riots was predominantly associated with politics. Dures outlines that the period was marked with popular disturbances that occurred prior or during election times, with emphasis on labour disputes and political demonstrations (1985). As such, planning and preparation for riots became easier as riots were less likely to flare up spontaneously and suddenly and more likely to result from a political issue or industrial disputes for which prior warning would be given (Dures 1985). A national police force was developed in England to assist in maintaining a more orderly society. Before the establishment of a formal police
force, the control of riots were in the hands of local magistrates and constables, and if required, supported by troops (Dures 1985).

1900 – 2000

Public disturbances of the early 20th century marked the arrival of modern day unrest, with the intention of the event to march and protest, sometimes in defiance of a newly imposed ban. The aim of such protests was to gain maximum publicity for a cause, often by provoking a well-organised police into some form of violence, so that authorities are portrayed and viewed in the poorest light. It is clear that these forms of civil disorder are still evident today and still have the power to initiate change.

The mid-late 1900s showed a period of strong social and political change and the introduction of the impacts of a globalising economy. In particular, this period saw the rise of civil violence in the form of race riots, emergence of teenage gangs and sport related rivalry. Dures suggests that traditional forms of rioting were eradicated during this period because of the growth of the welfare state and the benefits of full employment and a rising standard of living (1985).

The rise of youth crimes was seen as an indicator of family breakdown and wider social problems. It is believed that the increase of youth violence is attributed towards the weakened authority held by families, particularly over the control of teenagers (Dures 1985). Common elements found within British youth riots include economic recession and rising unemployment amongst the young. This factor alone caused the majority of the riots (Dures 1985). Youth unemployment compounded with poor relations between the police and the community are the main overarching factors in the cause of youth disturbances (Dures 1985).

Public disturbances during the 1960s caused significant societal changes which were primarily caused by the growth and rise in radical politics and industrial violence. Rising unemployment and crime rates, in addition to racism, gave extremist political parties material to exploit (Dures 1985). In light of these social issues, political demonstrations and protests were frequent during the 1970s.

Multiculturalism was also a key instrument of change during this period. This is emphasised with the ‘melting-pot’ of people from different backgrounds and with the mixing of people from various ethnicities, religious affiliations, authority levels, classes, gender and age. When Immigration levels are high, they tend to foster social tension in certain cities. As a result, riots and disturbances of that time were typically based on discriminatory and derogatory
It was also observed during this period that the media has a significant influence on public disturbances, in both reporting the issue and influencing people’s perceptions. Dures notes that the media often distorts and exaggerates riot activity and claims that “every local reporter seemed intent on finding a riot” (1985, 63). This negative media coverage has often resulted in the establishment of ‘copycat riots’, typically carried out by youths (Dures 1985). Copycat riots generally create little impact on the main disturbance and are often quelled with the establishment of a disciplined police force to deal with disorder.
2000 – Present

Modern-day riots generally reflect pressing social issues of the time as demonstrated with public disturbances protesting against War in Iraq and rallies drawing attention to key environmental problems. Riots in the new millennium are often seen as being more advanced and complex compared to earlier riots. Modern day cities, especially globalised ones, deal with many conflicting issues and hence can be portrayed as being more prone to public conflict. In such a unique social setting, it is difficult to predict future urban conflict and to understand trends in rioting.

However Don Weatherburn, director of the New South Wales (NSW) Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, identifies two social conditions that are often present before street riots: a high level of community resentment and a flashpoint for that anger, like the death of Thomas ‘TJ’ Hickey in Redfern and the two boys in Macquarie Fields (Totaro 2006). Weatherburn further elaborates that modern day riots are often associated with the following factors:

- high levels of fear or anger about crime;
- chronically poor or unhelpful response from local police;
- anxiety about being arrested or detained for involvement in crime;
- widespread anger about perceived injustice or unduly oppressive policing; and
- a pervasive sense of social exclusion (Totaro 2006).

Technological advancements and improved communication means have played an important part in the organisation of riots in modern society. Devices such as the mobile phone and the Internet have the capacity to reach many people through advanced technological resources. In fact, it is believed that recent Australian riots were largely influenced by the transmission of racist and violent messages through mobile text messages (Goggin 2006). Goggin further adds that mobile phone culture, particularly text messaging, can often play a significant role in both co-ordinated and spontaneous social and political movements (2006).

2.3 International riots

Riots, as discussed earlier, have occurred in England and the United States since the 16th century. Of these riots, some have made international headlines and have caused international social and political ramifications. It is expected that worldwide implications will continue, as
a result of improved communication, technology and globalisation. An outline on riots of international significance is provided on the following page:

Table 2.1 Outline of notable international riots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>532</td>
<td>Nika riots</td>
<td>Constantinople, Greece</td>
<td>High taxes</td>
<td>The deadliest riot in history with an estimated 30,000 people killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>English Food riot</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Food prices</td>
<td>Women rioted against the increase in the price for food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Beer riots</td>
<td>Bavaria, Germany</td>
<td>Beer taxes</td>
<td>Crowds beat up police and civil order restored when a reduction in the price of beer announced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>New York Draft Riot</td>
<td>New York, USA</td>
<td>New laws</td>
<td>Discontent over new laws passed that required men to fight in the American Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Rocks Spring Massacre</td>
<td>Wyoming, USA</td>
<td>Anti-Chinese sentiment and labour</td>
<td>Chinese miners were murdered in a racially-motivated attack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Champagne riots</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>French government policy</td>
<td>Grape growers vented their anger towards the government’s inability to grant economic protection for all affected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Hong Kong riots</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Downfall of Qing Dynasty</td>
<td>Communist areas were attacked by Nationalists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Watts Riots</td>
<td>Los Angeles, USA</td>
<td>Poor police relations and police brutality</td>
<td>Large-scale riot arising from tensions between police and the local African American community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>May Day Protests</td>
<td>Washington DC, USA</td>
<td>Anti-war protests</td>
<td>Thousands of activists protested against the governments involvement in the Vietnam War. Largest mass arrest in U.S history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Whit Night gay riots</td>
<td>California, USA</td>
<td>Killing of a prominent gay supervisor</td>
<td>The gay community organised a controlled yet angry march which turned into a riot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Anti-Sikh Riots</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Assassination of Prime Minister</td>
<td>Massacre of 3000 Sikhs through systematic riots as planned by activists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Los Angeles Riot</td>
<td>Los Angeles, USA</td>
<td>Race and authority</td>
<td>Focused on discrimination and poor police relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Jakarta Riots</td>
<td>Jakarta, Indonesia</td>
<td>Major economic problems and unemployment</td>
<td>Rioters were angry with the downfall of the local currency and targeted properties and businesses owned by Chinese-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26
Chapter Two – Urban Riots

27

Indonesians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Woodstock concert rioting</td>
<td>New York, USA</td>
<td>Poor concert conditions</td>
<td>Characterised with eruptions of violence, sexual assault and flooding by angry patrons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>France urban riots</td>
<td>Clichy-sous-Bois, France</td>
<td>Poor relations between youths and police</td>
<td>Centred on a large public housing estate and were sparked following the deaths of two teenagers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Brussels Riot</td>
<td>Brussels, Belgium</td>
<td>Imitation of recent French riots and death of Chaaban</td>
<td>Youths started the riots during Ramadan, claiming they were upset by the death of Chaaban.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Australian riots

Riots in Australia, when compared to international riots, are somewhat more tame and occur less frequently. Australian riots are usually sparked by one-off events or an indicator of greater social problems. The table below provides a basic summary of key Australian riots to date.

Table 2.2 Outline of notable Australian riots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860-1861</td>
<td>Lambing Flats riots</td>
<td>Young, NSW</td>
<td>Anti-Chinese sentiments</td>
<td>Gold mine strikes showed strong opposition to Chinese labourers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Sydney Riot</td>
<td>Sydney, NSW</td>
<td>Controversial umpiring decision</td>
<td>Cricket fans caused an uproar and assaulted some players after the decision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Liverpool Riot</td>
<td>Liverpool, NSW</td>
<td>Poor conditions at soldier’s camp in Casula</td>
<td>Soldiers went on strike, refused to accept extra duties and destroyed properties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Rothbury Riot</td>
<td>Rothbury, NSW</td>
<td>New laws and wage reductions</td>
<td>A major industrial clash between police and miners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Battle of Brisbane</td>
<td>Brisbane, QLD</td>
<td>Conflict of interests</td>
<td>Riot between U.S and Australian soldiers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Star Hotel riots</td>
<td>Newcastle, NSW</td>
<td>Announcement of hotel closure</td>
<td>Fans protested against the closure of a popular live venue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Bathurst Motor Cycle riots</td>
<td>Bathurst, NSW</td>
<td>Confrontation between police and spectators</td>
<td>Riots went on for several hours and injured over a 100 people (National Committee of Violence 1989:25).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Pentridge Prison</td>
<td>Pentridge, VIC</td>
<td>Widespread publicity of other prison riots.</td>
<td>Five prisoners died in their cells after setting a barricade alight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Fremantle prison riot</td>
<td>Fremantle, WA</td>
<td>Warders were taken hostage by inmates</td>
<td>The outbreak of violence resulted in an estimated $1.2 million in damages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Redfern</td>
<td>Redfern, NSW</td>
<td>Teen killed during police pursuit</td>
<td>The police were blamed for the death, which caused a violent clash between Aboriginals and the police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Palm Island</td>
<td>Palm Island, QLD</td>
<td>Results of a death inquest</td>
<td>Government and police buildings were burnt down by the local Aboriginal community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Macquarie Fields</td>
<td>Macquarie Fields, NSW</td>
<td>Teens killed during a police car chase</td>
<td>Primarily caused by local resentment over police dealings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Racist confrontations and retaliatory violence soon spread to other areas of Sydney.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2005</th>
<th>Cronulla</th>
<th>Cronulla Beach, NSW</th>
<th>Racial discrimination and violence</th>
<th>with the community.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2.5 Relevance to society

It is clear that riots often arise through certain social, cultural and political circumstances. Urban riots and other major civil disturbances do not occur haphazardly but are more likely sparked by contentious local issues or series of smaller disturbances. To provide a solid context to the proposed research methodology, a concise summary of modern-day riot triggers is provided below:

- Political and changes in leadership;
- Religious intolerance;
- Racial hate and discrimination;
- Economic hardships and unemployment;
- Police brutality and mishandling;
- Negative media reporting, interference and sensationalised news;
- Worldwide environmental concerns (global warming, greenhouse gases);
- Sporting rivalry and outcomes;
- Youth boredom and juvenile crimes;
- Industrial relations policy;
- War or military involvement of troops; and
- Protests, if not managed or controlled properly.

The following chapter will outline the theoretical background and modern interpretations of social cohesion.
3. Social Cohesion

Major structural shifts within western societies have occurred in light of globalisation, advancements in technology and changing social attitudes. With such rapid and drastic changes to core structures, it has been evident that social cohesion has been detrimentally impacted upon. Amongst all these profound economic, political and social changes, it has been recognised that social cohesion is declining within communities due to underlying feelings of fear, division and hostility underpinning social structures (Jenson 1998).

Social cohesion is generally defined as a state in society where citizens are bound by common loyalties and beliefs, where individuals have respect for different values and share a commitment and desire to live together in harmony (Giddens 1997; Jenson 1998; Jeannotte 2000). It is commonly seen as the foundation stone of social order and as a mechanism that promotes solidarity amongst citizens (Jenson 1998; Jeannotte 2000). Social cohesion is achieved through a set of accepted social processes and norms that help instil in individuals a sense of belonging and the feeling that they are recognised as members of a community (Jenson 1998; Giddens 1997). Social cohesion is portrayed as a universal system that provides social protection and equitable access to basic needs.

However, as with the definition of urban riots, the term ‘social cohesion’ does not have a widely accepted and uniform working definition. Furthermore, there is never complete consensus on what creates social cohesion or how significant it is within communities, and hence considered a contentious topic. As such, an appropriate working definition for the term social cohesion is required for this thesis. In order to select an appropriate definition for this thesis, various sources and opinions will be briefly reviewed.

Jenson, in her seminal document, *Mapping Social Cohesion*, defines social cohesion as being a process more than a condition or end state (1998). This implies that the concept of social cohesion has certain conditions and processes that characterise a well-functioning society (Jenson 1998). Jenson describes that if these conditions are not met or when processes start to fail, citizens, organisation and governments begin to lose faith and sense that things are not going well (1998). Social cohesion is most often referred to as a loss; for example, a community may “sense an absence of some sort” (Jenson 1998, 3). In this regard, social cohesion is seen as a direction or change required to ‘improve things’ to their previous condition (Jenson 1998).
The concept of social cohesion also assumes that a good level of societal conditions already exists. In fact, many sources of literature imply that social cohesion declines or ‘deteriorates’. This is best illustrated through Maxwell’s definition: “Social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community” (1996, 13 in Jenson 1998, 3). Vinson adds to this point by describing social cohesion as the ‘resilience’ of urban communities (2004).

The OECD does not clearly state what constitutes social cohesion but appears to correlate cohesion with economic matters. This is highlighted with the OECD’s belief that social cohesion is achieved through “a world where life is characterised by stability, continuity, predictability and secure access to material well-being” (OECD 1997, 7). Although this statement implies that the OECD is primarily economically driven, the OECD has acknowledged that economic success and growth have often resulted in social problems, such as unemployment, widening disparities, inequality, poverty and social exclusion (OECD 1997). As such, the OECD is committed in finding an appropriate balance of economic wealth and social stability.

Social cohesion, as defined by the World Bank, is the “inclusiveness of a country’s communities” (Ritzen et al 2000, 1). In a political sense, social cohesion and its relevant attributes are essential for generating the trust required for implementing reforms. The lack of social cohesion is seen as a constraint towards effective policy changes and a hindrance upon the ability of institutions to seek positive change. It is noted that bad and ineffective policies in low-income countries often rise out of social constraints, which are shaped by the degree and quality of social cohesion found in that particular society (Ritzen et al 2000).

Finally, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) defines social cohesion as “the social ties and community commitments that bind people together” (ABS website 2004). Families and good family functions is seen by the ABS as crucial to the development of social cohesion within communities as it allows trust, social support and networks to be established. The ABS focuses on the positive contribution that healthy family relations and community functioning— that is the strength and quality of relationships- can have on social cohesion.

The meaning and significance of social cohesion varies greatly between major institutions and influential organisations worldwide. Certain aspects and elements of social cohesion can be
adapted to many social, cultural and political situations. In Europe, social cohesion is commonly portrayed as an important element in economic restructuring and the “secure access to material well-being” (Jeannotte 2000, 8). In Canada, social cohesion has become a concern because policy makers feel that the social fabric linking Canada is unravelling. In the United States, social cohesion is seen as a political mechanism which links politics with both the citizen and the state. In Australia, social cohesion is used to strengthen multicultural communities and to find common ground between different ethnic groups. From this short analysis, it is clear that there is no single way of understanding or using the concept social cohesion. Social cohesion varies upon the nature of the problem being addressed and on the perspectives of the individual or organisation (Jenson 1998).

For the purpose of this thesis, I will adopt Jenson’s definition of social cohesion, which is “the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of trust and reciprocity” (1998, 4). I believe that this definition best fits the social setting of Macquarie Fields and is most appropriate for the intended research methodology.

Figure 3.1 Definitions of social cohesion

(St Agnes Church 2006; J and T Records 2006; Sequin 2002)

3.1 Theoretical background

Origins and influences

Social cohesion is not a new concept having been studied since the early 19th century, particularly during times of rapid social movement. It was evident even during the early years of the concept that “blueprints for promoting social cohesion began to compete with other ideas about maintaining social order” (Jenson 1998, 8). The study of cohesion and conflict
stems from social order, which is constantly debated about within schools of sociology and philosophy.

Emile Durkheim, considered to be one of the founding fathers of sociology, used social cohesion as the centre of his studies during the 19th century (Jenson 1998). Durkheim was the first to use and populate the concept at a time where Europe was experiencing major social changes brought along by industrialisation and urbanisation (Giddens 1997; Jenson 1998). More specifically, Durkheim questioned why the social order was still functioning and intact despite massive social, cultural and political changes and wanted to know what held societies, especially diverse societies, together (Bounds 2004). After an investigation of the moral bounds that held society together, Durkheim came to the conclusion that the maintenance of a moral order and solidarity within society required a new form of collective consciousness (Bounds 2004). Reciprocity was deemed to be the key to social order, as each individual is dependent on the services of others in order to achieve mutual survival (Bounds 2004).

Figure 3.2 Influential social thinkers, Durkheim and Parsons

American Talcott Parsons brought modern relevance and a fresh outlook on social cohesion during the 1950s. Parsons, a prominent sociologist, was aware of the limitation of the role of capitalism and its role to help foster social stability. Instead, Parsons directed his efforts towards creating a more integrated social order (Jenson 1998). In general, Parsons argued for a functionalist approach which treats any particular society as a system. According to this
viewpoint, societies are comprised of interdependent systems and are held together by shared values reproduced by socialisation (Jenson 1998; Giddens 1997).

In recent years, international policy makers and their associated communities have embraced the concept of social cohesion with enthusiasm in recent years, finding it a relevant way of discussing the interconnectedness of economic restructuring, social change and political action (Jenson 1998). As such, social cohesion is now seen as an increasingly important concept and has been adopted by many governments worldwide.

The five dimensions of social cohesion

Jenson identifies five themes central to the concept and process of social cohesion. These dimensions are provided in the figure below:

**Figure 3.3 Five dimensions of social cohesion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>belonging</th>
<th>isolation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inclusion</td>
<td>exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation</td>
<td>non-involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recognition</td>
<td>rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimacy</td>
<td>illegitimacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Jenson 1998)

The first dimension, **belonging**, is widely associated to many texts, as the majority define social cohesion in terms of shared values and collective identities (Jenson 1998). For example, in a local neighbourhood committee, a cohesive society is one where participants share a common desire to improve safety within the locality; for a sporting club, social cohesion is most likely portrayed as shared norms, culture and values. The threat to social cohesion in this regard is linked with feelings of isolation and segregation from mainstream community.
Chapter Three – Social Cohesion

Figure 3.4   Elements of belonging

(Toronto Community Foundation 2003; Business Storytellers 2002)

The second dimension, **inclusion**, is related to economic institutions and markets (Jenson 1998). It is believed that widely shared market capacity, especially within labour markets, characterise cohesive situations (Jenson 1998). The threat to this dimension of social cohesion is associated with practices that result in exclusion.

Figure 3.3   Elements of social inclusion

(Community Council for Somerset 2006; Unitas 2005)

The third dimension, **participation**, is used in government practices, such as partnerships and the involvement of the third sector (Jenson 1998). The local level is recognised as being the key level for the effective and relevant production of social cohesion and Jenson identifies the need to correct perceptions so that local governance is acknowledged as a fully functioning intermediary (1998). Cohesion problems are often caused by political backlash and controversy, caused by ‘political disenchantment’. The threat to this dimension of social cohesion is non-involvement.
The fourth dimension, **recognition**, deals with pluralism and the abilities to live together in a state of peace (Berger 1998 in Jenson 1998). This dimension recognises that mediation is required to settle differences raised over power, resources and values. It is also acknowledged that “the essential task for maintaining social cohesion is nurturing those institutions which contribute to, rather than undermine, practices of recognition of difference” (Jenson 1998, 16). The threat to this particular dimension of social cohesion is rejection.

The fifth and final dimension, **legitimacy**, relates to the role of mediation. Intermediation necessary for living with the value conflicts of a plural society does not happen at the level of individuals but is in the hands of institutions (Jenson 1998). Social cohesion is portrayed as a collective construction which depends on the legitimacy of those public and private institutions that act as mediators. In this regard, social cohesion can be threatened by cynicism or negativity that questions the credibility of the intermediary. The threat to this particular dimension of social cohesion is illegitimacy.
What fosters social cohesion?

To supplement Jenson’s five dimensions of social cohesion, other mechanisms that promote social cohesion within communities are briefly touched upon. Traditionally, social cohesion could be conserved and managed through core and basic social systems. According to Durkheim, strong levels of social cohesion were clearly evident within religious groups of societies. Religion reaffirms people’s adherence to social standards and values, thereby contributing to the maintenance of social cohesion (Giddens 1997).

Social cohesion in post-modern cities often needs more than religion to foster and support social cohesion. As a result of drastic changes in economic, social and political structures, questions about how to foster tolerant, democratic societies and social cohesion have been raised in recent years (Jenson 1998; Jeannotte 2000). It also appears that there is little consensus on the determinants that promote social cohesion in modern society.
Jeannotte in her comparative study of social cohesion across the globe has identified the major factors which promote social cohesion (2000). They are listed as follows:

- Political solidarity;
- Capacity to balance competitive markets with strong social fabric;
- Dematerialisation and the ‘culturisation’ of the economy;
- Capacity for dialogue and cooperation;
- Societal flexibility to demographic change;
- Renewal of civil society;
- Culture and a sense of belonging;
- Openness and acceptance of diversity; and
- Potential of information technologies.

**Figure 3.8 Factors that promote social cohesion**

(Bracken Ridge State School 2006; Western Australia Police 2006; Disability 2005)

**What threatens social cohesion?**

Social cohesion is often lost when the existing social order is challenged by new social roles and norms. This can be illustrated through the loss of cohesion within religions. Whilst religions often contribute towards a strong source of social functionality and cohesion, it can also create conflicts when two groups support different types or factions of religions (Giddens 1997). This may result in major social conflicts and widespread disruption of the public peace as demonstrated by the conflict in Cronulla 2005.

Jenson articulates that international statistics reveal many trends performing in the ‘wrong direction’, regardless of economic growth or prosperity (1998). These include mounting rates of income inequality and homelessness, street crime and other forms of lawlessness, high
rates of youth unemployment, intergenerational dependence on social assistance and welfare, rise in child poverty and a decline in overall population health.

Figure 3.9 Cronulla riots

(Blogs UK 2005; ABC Media Watch 2005; Nicholas Cartoons 2005)

The European Union, OECD and the Council of Europe have determined several factors contributing to the demise of social cohesion. Unemployment, poverty, income inequality and polarisation, social exclusion and exclusion from information are considered major threats to social cohesion (Jeannotte 2000). The OECD is also aware that despite economic success achieved through globalisation, “there is now pressure on many governments to take stock of the longer-term societal implications that are beginning to emerge” (1997, 3). It is recognised that economic and social threats have more impact upon social cohesion, compared to political and cultural ones (Jeannotte 2000). Many modern-day scholars attribute poor social cohesion with a weak and decaying social fabric whilst the OECD adds that low support and security measures for the poor and unemployed are contributing factors to the breakdown of social cohesion (Jeannotte 2000).

Furthermore, problems are exacerbated when public institutions fail to manage and deal with urban conflict appropriately (Jenson 1998). Mitchell notes that despite calls for action, many governments have been slow to formulate and implement an appropriate social policy that responds to the economic conditions caused by globalisation (2000). Additionally, paradigm shifts in economic and social policy towards neo-liberalism has provoked serious social and political strains, with issues such as rising poverty, declining population health and income polarisation worsening.
The major threats to social cohesion are summarised by Jeannotte (2000) in the following list:

- Lack of a sense of European citizenship;
- Political disenchantment;
- The ‘rights deficit’;
- Unemployment;
- Poverty and income inequality;
- Rural deprivation and regional disparities;
- Urban distress;
- Deterioration of the environment and quality of life;
- Social exclusion;
- Retreat from intervention by state;
- Exclusion from the information society;
- Divide between the ‘information rich’ and the ‘information poor’;
- Cultural diversity and demographic change;
- Influence of American culture; and
- Shift from ‘culture of collective society’ to ‘culture of individual opportunity’.

3.2 Relevance to society

The concept of social cohesion only emerged when people began to recognise the effects of social change. This said, it is not surprising that in this era of globalisation, economic change and social turbulence, renewed attention is being made towards social order, stability and cohesion (Jenson 1998; Bounds 2000).

The social costs of relying predominantly on the economic market for so many decisions has resulted in a widespread hunt for innovative and practical solutions to growing and intensifying social and political problems (Jenson 1997). In recent years, many global institutions and governments are making deliberate interventions and implementing policies to help promote and/or strengthen social cohesion. Statutory and strategic action, as undertaken by various governments, are described as being either ‘soft’ measures which is
typically carried out through research and consultation form, although many interventions are ‘hard’ and realistic measures in the form of legislation, policy and programs (Jeannotte 2000).

It is crucial to note that in the 21st century, value differences are inevitable within a pluralist, modern and multicultural society. The relevance and significance of this is to appropriately manage and cater for different interests and allow them to co-exist in harmony. Social cohesion clearly plays an important part of functional and healthy communities. The breakdown and demise of cohesion within societies can lead to social disorder and dysfunction amongst members of the community.

To provide a solid context to the proposed research methodology, indicators of poor and/or declining social cohesion has been identified for the Triggers Matrix found in Chapter 5. These indicators, in addition with riot triggers, will provide a ‘checklist’ and a basic measure for the case studies to be compared against. Communities with poor social cohesion are typically characterised by the following factors:

- High rates of unemployment;
- Intergenerational dependence on social welfare;
- Poverty and income inequality;
- Alienation and isolation;
- Social exclusion and low levels of community involvement;
- Poor family relations;
- Poor living standards and quality of life;
- Rise in child poverty;
- Decline in population health;
- Homelessness; and
- Increase in street crimes.

This chapter will be followed by an overview of Campbelltown City Council and the relevant case studies.
4. **Campbelltown City Council**

Campbelltown is located in south-west Sydney at the northern end of the Macarthur region. The City is bounded by Liverpool City to the north, Sutherland Shire and the City of Wollongong to the east, Wollondilly Shire to the south and the Camden Council area to the west.

![Map of Campbelltown LGA](Campbelltown City Council 2002)

Campbelltown is a significant regional centre offering opportunity and lifestyle whilst providing major residential and employment prospects (Campbelltown City Council 2006). The area was reported to have a population of almost 150,000 in 2001 (Campbelltown City Council 2002). In terms of metropolitan planning, Campbelltown is recognised for its potential to become a major growth centre. The NSW Department of Planning has prepared policies, including the NSW Metropolitan Strategy and the endorsement of the Southwest sector, in hopes of generating economic and residential development within the region.

Campbelltown is less than an hour by road or rail from Sydney CBD and airport. The region is accessed by the Macarthur railway line and has strong linkages to the city via the M5.
Motorway. A local bus network provides access throughout the suburbs of Campbelltown. Campbelltown boasts a number of recreational and lifestyle amenities including several retail centres, a major hospital, educational institutions including the University of Western Sydney campus, a TAFE college and sporting facilities including a golf club, stadium, athletics centre and a paceway.

4.1 Campbelltown City Social Plan 2004-2009

What is social planning?

Social planning involves the research and response to issues that impact upon quality of life and seeks to ensure that communities and cities are welcoming for all people. Social planning is an inclusive exercise, allowing and catering for difference and diversity. To better manage multicultural and post-modern environments, the NSW Local Government Act requires all councils to develop a Social Plan every five years. The purpose of a social plan is to influence the underlying factors that determine the quality of life within communities.

Figure 4.2 Types of people the Social Plan covers

(City of Barnaby 2004; International Fellowship of Bible Churches Inc 2005; Healthy South Dakota 2006)

Campbelltown City Council, in collaboration with the Campbelltown Coordination Group, developed the Campbelltown City Social Plan 2004-2009 (Campbelltown Social Plan) to be implemented between December 2004 and November 2009. The plan sets out the actions that Council and its partners will take to improve the quality of life in Campbelltown. The Campbelltown Social Plan relies heavily on demographic data and community input and feedback. Actions were formulated in consultation with the community with over 1,400 residents contributing to the plan. This ensures that planning is responsive to demographic trends and to the views and experiences of the local community (Campbelltown City Council 2004).
The Campbelltown Social Plan understands that the local community is dynamic and multifaceted in that social, cultural, economic and environmental facets of community life are inextricably linked (Campbelltown City Council 2004). The Social Plan aims to improve these dimensions in the hope of creating a healthy city. Hence, the Social Plan is based on an understanding of key dynamics – the pressures, challenges and opportunities – that are facing Campbelltown both now and into the future (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

**Figure 4.3 Campbelltown Social Plan**

(Campbelltown City Council 2004; Houw 2006)

The Campbelltown Social Plan focuses on nine distinct issues which are seen as significant to the future success of the region. These focus areas cover strategic issues such as traffic and transport, crime and safety, health, recreation, culture, urban development, employment and education, city image, leadership and local communities. Aspects of the Campbelltown Social Plan, which have relevance to this thesis, are briefly outlined below.

*Crime and safety*

Crime and safety is one of the issues which most concerns residents and as such, forms a key focus area. This may be attributed to statistics which reveal that Campbelltown ranks higher than the Sydney and NSW average in a number of crimes such as assault, domestic violence, sexual assault and motor vehicle theft (Campbelltown City Council 2004). It is noted that
perception of crime is a broader concern which encompasses local issues including the presence of drug use, drug dealing and gangs (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

Health

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has identified that there is a correlation between social disadvantage and poor health (Campbelltown City Council 4004). Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge the serious pockets of social disadvantage in Campbelltown, particularly within public housing estates. Negative media coverage has significantly affected the community’s perception of the public health system as concerns coincided with bad publicity of local hospitals (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

Recreation and culture

There is an apparent lack of affordable recreational activities especially for young people, families with young children and older people (Campbelltown City Council 2004). The cost of formal sport may therefore be too high for some residents. Campbelltown is generally limited in terms of cultural activities and opportunities despite cultural development being recognised as an effective way to improve the urban and social settings of the region (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

Urban development

In terms of urban development issues, residents have showed the need to maintain and revitalise existing public housing. The majority of public housing dwellings in the locality are run-down, dilapidated and neglected. As such, outsiders and the media generally associate public housing estates with negative connotations.

Employment and education

Campbelltown has higher unemployment than most other areas of Sydney and there are areas with extremely high unemployment, particularly within public housing estates and amongst the youth and Indigenous populations (Campbelltown City Council 2004). Young people in Campbelltown are most affected, as they face serious employment and education challenges, with high unemployment and low numbers of university students.

City image

Many residents have disclosed that they feel there is a lack of community pride, tourism and positive media in Campbelltown (Campbelltown City Council 2004). It is evident that a distinctive sense of place needs to be established for Campbelltown and the community
reinforces and supports this concept. Maintaining and beautifying the local area is seen as an important way to improve the city image. Additionally, it has been recognised that events, such as street fairs and markets help build community pride and make people feel connected to their local community.

**Local leadership**

The community views local government leadership positively. In an increasingly complex social and economic environment councils are being called on to provide local leadership and coordination through social planning, crime prevention planning, cultural planning and urban master planning. Indeed, local government is recognised as the level of government that has the closest connection with the community (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

**Role of communities**

Community information and engagement is seen as an important element of successful social planning. Active citizenship, that is the participation of the community in local issues and decisions – is a key foundation of quality of life. To help facilitate active citizenship within communities, residents need to be informed about opportunities to participate (Campbelltown City Council 2004).

**Strengthening local communities**

In Campbelltown, there is a correlation between participation in events, groups and activities and feeling connected to the local community (Campbelltown City Council 2004). Participating in community life relies on awareness about opportunities and involvement in Council planning and decision-making. On the downside, the Social Plan has indicated that there is a ‘digital divide’ in Campbelltown, as many residents do not have the resources to access information technology (Campbelltown City Council 2004). There is significant potential for the community sector in Campbelltown to be strengthened and to further empower both the individual and the community.

### 4.2 Case studies

The proposed methodology intends to compare and contrast social cohesion levels within three suburbs of Campbelltown with the purpose of this comparison to determine whether the lack of social cohesion played a role in the 2005 Macquarie Fields riot. I have deliberately selected Claymore and Airds, to be compared with Macquarie Fields, as they are of similar demographic composition and fulfil desired criteria. These criteria specifically include
demographic makeup, layout and design of the built environment and the presence of public housing. These similarities will enable sound research and render the methodology realistic. A basic overview of each locality is provided as follows.

4.3 Macquarie Fields

Macquarie Fields is located 15 kilometres north of the Campbelltown central business district (CBD), as shown in the figure below. It is one of the older areas of the LGA, with the first subdivisions taking place in the 1880s (Campbelltown City Council 2002). The locality has a population of 14,138 people, with children and young people (15-24 years) forming approximately 50 percent of the population and 6 percent of the population being aged 65 and over (Census 2001). At 2001, Macquarie Fields had a population density of 16.64 persons per hectare (Campbelltown City Council 2002a).

Figure 4.4 Map of Macquarie Fields

Lone parent families make up 30 percent of all family households in Macquarie Fields, which is significantly higher than the Sydney average (17 percent), with 85 percent of these households headed by women (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006). The majority of
households (66 percent) have a weekly income of less than $1000, 20 percent have a weekly income of $200-$399, and 6 percent have a weekly income of less than $200. Macquarie Fields falls within the top 20 percent of disadvantaged areas in NSW (Vinson 2006 in Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006).

Macquarie Fields is fairly diverse in terms of population. According to the 2001 Census, the top 10 countries of birth included New Zealand, Fiji, Philippines, India, Lebanon, China, Vietnam and Egypt (Campbelltown City Council 2002). This generally corresponds with the languages spoken in Macquarie Fields, which includes Arabic, Hindi, Samoan, Spanish, Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese, Greek, Croatian and Polish (Campbelltown City Council 2002a). Religions are similarly diverse, with populations of Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus noted in the 2001 Census (ABS 2001).

The unemployment rate of Macquarie Fields is 11.3 percent almost double the rate for Sydney as a whole. The percentage of unemployed young people is 42 percent, which is also significantly higher than that of the population for Sydney as a whole (26.5 percent). Approximately 21 percent of Macquarie Fields residents did not complete schooling to year ten or equivalent, and the proportion of people obtaining a year 12 qualification (28.2 percent) is again lower than Sydney as a whole (44.4 percent). It is also noted that the proportion of males aged 15 and over in Macquarie Fields with limited educational qualifications has remained virtually static for he past decade, despite general improvements in education attainment across Sydney during that time (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006).

The area is largely characterised by public dwellings – approximately 67 percent of dwellings in Macquarie Fields are occupied under public housing tenure, compared to 5 percent for Sydney as a whole (ABS 2001; Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006). According to the 2001 Census, Macquarie Fields has a total of 4,695 dwellings (2001). The public housing estate comprises 1,337 individual dwellings spread over an area of approximately 2.2 square kilometres (Campbelltown City Council 2002a). The majority of the public housing is centred on Eucalyptus Drive, which was the scene of the riot in February 2005. The Standing Committee on Social Issues has stated that many of the problems in Macquarie Fields centre on the public housing estate (2006).
In terms of design and layout, Macquarie Fields is designed on Radburn principles. The key characteristic of Radburn is to segregate cars and pedestrians through a housing layout where vehicular access is restricted to the rear of a house and the front only accessible by foot (The University of Arizona 2002). This type of design was originally thought to enhance positive social interaction and improve pedestrian safety, but is now seen as unsafe as it can potentially cater for crime and vandalism in its many cul-de-sacs. The area is also characterised with houses facing inwards and is now seen as a hindrance on passive surveillance on street activities. Hence, Radburn is generally seen as problematic in public housing design and has proven to be an issue in Macquarie Fields.
The Macquarie Fields riot of February 2005 was sparked by the deaths of two young men during a police chase. Macquarie Fields erupted following the deaths as 150 young residents rioted and attacked police. The rioting lasted for four days and nights and resulted in 30 people being arrested, charged and brought to court (Dempster 2005; Perkins, 2006). The riot has led to various debates within political, media, authority and social spheres. Questions primarily focussed on whether the lawless behaviour was linked to widespread local grief and whether alienation and anger produced by the area’s poverty and unemployment played a role in the rioting (Dempster 2005).
It is largely believed that the riots were triggered by the underlying social problems of the area including widespread unemployment, high levels of high school dropout and juvenile delinquents, inadequate social services and government neglect. The mishandling and use of physical force by the police, in addition with the sensationalist attitude of the media, is believed to have exacerbated the problem.

### 4.4 Claymore

Claymore was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the NSW Housing Commission. The area includes features such as the Claymore Shopping Centre and Public School. The suburb also features a large number of parks and reserves. The 2001 Census revealed a population of 3,387 people with a large share of this proportion being persons in the young family age groups. The most significant age groups included persons in their late twenties and thirties, as well as their pre-teen children. At 2001, Claymore had a population density of 24.91 persons per hectare (Campbelltown City Council 2002b).
The household structure of Claymore in 2001 is overwhelmingly comprised of traditional family household types with 79.3 percent of all households including a parent (or parents) and either dependent or non-dependent children. Around 50 percent of households in Claymore are characterised as being one-parent households. The majority of households (40%) have a weekly household income of less than $400, with almost 20 percent of this figure having a weekly income of $300-$399 (Campbelltown City Council 2002b). Low incomes in Claymore may be related to high levels of unemployment, the large share of persons employed in lower skill jobs and a smaller percentage of professional and skilled workers. Claymore also demonstrated a greater share of households below the income average for the Sydney Statistical Division (more than 50 percent of households in the lowest or medium low groups).

The overseas-born population in Claymore includes many persons born in traditional source countries of migrants to Australia, such as from European nations, as well as from more recent Asian countries. The top five countries of origin in Claymore include New Zealand,
United Kingdom, Lebanon, Fiji and the Philippines (Campbelltown City Council 2002b). This generally corresponds with the top five languages spoken in Claymore which are Samoan, Arabic, Spanish, Vietnamese and Tagalog (Campbelltown City Council 2002b). Religion in Claymore is predominantly comprised of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism.

The unemployment rate of Claymore stood at 36 percent in 2001. This is attributed to a comparatively larger share of the population aged 18-24, who often have higher unemployment rates than older workers (25-59) and a smaller proportion with educational qualifications. Roughly 25 percent of residents did not complete Year 10 schooling or equivalent, however 9 percent of the population noted some form of educational qualification, with the most common being those people with vocational qualifications.

The area is largely characterised by public housing – approximately 827 of Claymore’s 902 dwellings are Department of Housing properties (Census 2001). This represents 92 percent of the locality. Like Macquarie Fields, the design and layout of Claymore is also based on Radburn principles.

Figure 4.9 Photographs of Claymore

(Houw 2006)
4.5 Airds

Airds was developed by the NSW Housing Commission (now the NSW Department of Housing) during the 1970s. The area features a local shopping centre, nature reserves, schools and a juvenile justice centre (Campbelltown City Council 2002c). The 2001 Census revealed that Airds had a total population of 4,116 people. Children, aged between 0 to 18 years comprise roughly half of this figure. 1,075 of the 1,281 dwellings in Airds were rented out and are most likely Department of Housing properties during 2001. In 2001, Airds had a population density of 17.1 persons per hectare.

The household structure of Airds in 2001 comprise 74.6 percent of family household types including one parent (or parents) and either dependent or non-dependent children. According to the 2001 Census, the average weekly household income in Airds is $300 to $399, representing 20.3 percent of the local population. A large proportion of residents (17.9 percent) did not state their weekly household income. This is followed by a weekly income of $200 to $299 (11.8 percent), $99 to $199 (9.9 percent) and $400 to $499 (9.5 percent). It was determined that overall Airds featured a greater share of households with below average
incomes for the Sydney Statistical Division, with more than 50 percent of households in the lowest or medium-low income groups (Campbelltown City Council 2002c). Household income is one of the most important indicators of socio-economic status as it helps to evaluate the economic opportunities and socio-economic status of an area. The amount of income a household generates is linked to a number of factors, including the number of workers in a household, the percentage of people unemployed and the type of employment engaged.

There is a relatively small amount of diversity in the range of countries of origin of the population in Airds which indicates a more homogenous population. Airds featured a notably higher percentage of the population born in non-English speaking countries, such as Lebanon, Vietnam, Poland, Germany, Fiji, Greece, Philippines and Croatia. Migrants from traditional European nations, like New Zealand and the United Kingdom make up a large proportion of people living in Airds. Languages spoken in Airds include Samoan, Arabic, Spanish, Vietnamese, Greek, Khmer, Croatian, Polish, Italian and Turkish (Campbelltown City Council 2002c). Various denominations of Christianity, Buddhism and Islam are represented in Airds.

Figure 4.11 Photographs of Airds

(Houw 2006)
The proportion of the population in the resident labour force decreased between 1996 and 2001. Downfalls in the labour force are attributed to the smaller population aged 15 and over, growing up and migrating to other places. In 2001, the unemployment rate of Airds stood at almost 30 percent. This is related to the small proportion of the population with educational qualifications.

Around 30 percent of residents living in Airds did not complete schooling up to Year 10 or equivalent (Campbelltown City Council 2002c). In addition, about 11 percent of the population in Airds noted some form of educational qualification, with the most significant being those people with vocational qualifications.

The majority of housing within Airds is owned by the Department of Housing. Airds was also constructed and designed upon Radburn with clusters of cul-de-sacs in the area. There are approximately 1,235 dwellings in Airds, of which 1,044 are in public housing tenure (Census 2001). Public housing in Airds represents 97 percent of the locality.

The next chapter will apply the theory discussed in previous sections in an effort to answer the research question.
5. Application of theory

This chapter aims to link the theory discussed in the previous chapters with the Macquarie Fields riot and associated case studies. Relevant triggers have been derived from the literature reviews and transferred into a matrix where comparisons and assumptions can be made.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has indicated that successful social indicators need to reflect important social issues such as the success or failure of the society (ABS 2001). The ABS uses social indicators to measure the well-being of a particular area, for instance, unemployment rates reflects the level of jobs available. In terms of this thesis, social indicators for urban riots are referred to as triggers. These triggers will be used to measure Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds against riot indicators and to determine whether the lack of social cohesion results in urban riots.

5.1 Development of triggers matrix

The purpose of the triggers matrix is to understand the relationship between demographics, social cohesion and urban riots. The triggers matrix aims to correlate Macquarie Fields with the most riot indicators, hence explaining the Macquarie Fields riot. Additionally, the triggers matrix hopes to associate Claymore and Airds with sufficient levels of social cohesion. An overview of how the triggers matrix was formulated and its progression is briefly outlined below to provide context and justification to this research methodology:

Identification of triggers

Triggers were principally determined whilst undertaking the literature reviews and by reading a wide range of sources. It became obvious that riots do not occur haphazardly and are most often sparked by a controversial event or decision made by authority figures. It also became clear that social cohesion is not just an end state or a condition - it is more accurately seen as a process of working together to achieve harmony and agreements within a community.

As such, the bulk of the triggers matrix was developed both during, and upon, completion of the literature reviews for urban riots and social cohesion. The main indicators for the outbreak of urban riots and for poor social cohesion are summed up separately in both Chapters 2 and 3. As such, those identified triggers have been transferred smoothly into this section and will be used to investigate the levels of social cohesion in Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds.
To further complement the triggers outline, various media articles and reports have identified that the demographic make-up of certain communities can affect social cohesion levels. Factors such as the proportion of young people, especially males, home ownership, family characteristics and public housing presence can influence the state of social cohesion and ultimately lead to urban riots.

In conclusion, the criterions for the triggers matrix are made out of demographics, urban riots and social cohesion indicators. These indicators are amalgamated in hopes of establishing a link between social cohesion and urban riots.

*Site-specific information*

To answer the criterion in the triggers matrix, information relating to Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds was collected through various research methods. Information in the matrix was primarily obtained from undertaking site inspections and through field research. In this instance, observation and photo taking was used as a tool to understand the dynamics of that particular locality. Local community handouts and information brochures were also collected for the means of this thesis.

However, it must be acknowledged that primary data within this triggers matrix is also supplemented by information gleaned from extensive Internet research. Community profiles, as documented by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and Campbelltown City Council are used as an important source of local information. Statistics related to household type, household incomes, education, employment and access to computers and the Internet are seen as fundamental to the forthcoming analysis.

*Ranking tool*

It is apparent that Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds differ significantly in terms of population size. In order to obtain sound research and assumptions, a scaling system is required to measure social services amongst these three suburbs fairly. Hypothetically speaking, Macquarie Fields has a population of 14,000 and 10 sources of social support and if Airds has a population of 4,000 people and the same number of social support sources, it is clear that people residing in Airds has greater access to support networks (i.e. social services in Airds is calculated at 400 persons per facility whereas Macquarie Fields residents have 1,400 persons per facility). Thus saying, the amount of services is calculated in this thesis on a per person basis.
5.2 Application of triggers matrix

Information in the triggers matrix is predominantly derived from the 2001 Census of Population and Housing, published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Data is similarly sourced from the Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds Community Profiles, which were prepared by Campbelltown City Council in 2002. Minor sources were also included in the triggers matrix and consisted of journals, major newspaper articles, local newspapers, editorials and websites.

The triggers matrix has various yet distinct elements. The left hand side of the matrix lists triggers that have been identified through the literature review. These indicators are organised on the basis of whether they have demographic, social cohesion and urban riots significance. However, some of the triggers identified through the literature have no clear relevance to the Macquarie Fields riot or the case studies and hence marked as not applicable. For each of the suburbs listed horizontally, two columns lie there under, with the first meaning the total number of residents falling within that particular trigger. The second column is simply the first number in percentage form and represents the affected in comparison to the whole population for that suburb.

Additionally, to allow for ease in the subsequent analysis, the suburb with the highest figure in each trigger will be highlighted green. A tally of the suburbs will follow and the suburb with the most coloured-in squares will be considered the most riot-prone. The triggers matrix and associated commentary can be found on the following pages:
Key demographic findings

The triggers matrix above clearly shows that demographics are not related to the Macquarie Fields riot. It is widely believed that the aforementioned demographic components are key indicators for riots, particularly if they are compounded within a single community. Numerous studies and newspaper articles have raised attention to the volatile mix of high unemployment, poor education standards, burgeoning crime rates and poverty as the prime concerns across public housing estates across Sydney (Perrin 2005; Totaro 2005; Dodson 2005). In terms of social services in the matrix above, the calculation is based on services per person.
Youth population

Following the application of the demographics triggers matrix, it can be assumed that the demographic make-up of a community does not play a heavy role in urban riots. During the literature review and overall research for riots, it was emphasised in various texts that the percentage of male youths can play a key role in facilitating, organising and participating in riots. From the comparison matrix, Macquarie Fields, Claymore and Airds have shown to have the same proportion of young males (8 percent). If rioting is strongly based on the percentage of young men, questions are now being raised over why Claymore and Airds have not experienced rioting and why Macquarie Fields did in 2005. Therefore it can be assumed that the high presence of male youths, particularly between the ages of 15 and 24 do not contribute to the outbreak of urban riots.

Single-parent households

The number of one-parent families is considered to be a general indicator for the breakdown of families and the demise of traditional household structures. Statistics from the ABS have also revealed that the majority of single-parent families in low socio-economic areas, like the case studies, are usually headed and led by females (2001). In an area where young males are susceptible to peer pressure and juvenile crimes, it is evident that the lack of male companionship and mentoring has had a detrimental impact upon teens living in Campbelltown. The demographics triggers matrix revealed that the number of single-parent families was lowest in Macquarie Fields (23 percent) in comparison with Claymore, the highest at 48 percent and followed by Airds (42 percent). In this scenario, it is clear that the significance of one-parent families in rioting is slight and irrelevant.

Public housing presence

The relationship between riots and public housing estates has proved to be a controversial topic amongst politicians, sociologists and within the media. It is well documented that public housing has become more and more targeted to the assistance of low-income groups and as a consequence, created pockets of socio-economic disadvantage within Sydney (Whitford 1995 in Burbidge and Winter 1996). It is best stated that “public housing has become the housing of the last resort, rather than choice in the past” (Arthurson 2004, 103). This rings a bell for many of the public housing estates in Campbelltown, and within the case studies Airds (85 percent) has the highest proportion of dwellings under public housing tenure. This is followed by Claymore (81 percent) and Macquarie Fields (29 percent). These figures are particularly stark when compared with Sydney as a whole, having only 5 percent of dwellings under public ownership. With Macquarie Fields ranking lowest in terms of percentage of public
h housing, it is apparent that public housing did not play a role in facilitating the Macquarie Fields riot.

*Home ownership levels*

Home ownership is believed to instil a sense of pride, acceptance and community commitment amongst residents within a community. Having a community comprising of only public housing is now seen as unsustainable and unhealthy, as learnt through the mistakes of the NSW government during the 1970’s. In modern times, communities with a diverse social mix, that is, a community comprising of people with varying affluence, education levels and skills base is seen as being an ideal and realistic and way to successfully balance public and private dwellings. Within the case studies, Macquarie Fields (49 percent) proved to have the greatest share of privately owned dwellings compared to Airds (5 percent) and Claymore (2 percent), although it is important to clarify that most of the private dwellings in Macquarie Fields is distinctly segregated from the public housing estate. Despite this, the role of private ownership and social mix clearly does not play a significant role in facilitating urban riots.

*Educational attainment*

Level of schooling is a key indicator of socio-economic status of an area. With other types of data, planners are able to assess the skills base of that population and determine whether additional services are required within that community. Differences in educational attainment levels are primarily linked with the working and social aspirations of people within that community, the lack of access, support and financial means to access further vocational or tertiary education and the age of the population – over time there has been greater emphasis on completing higher education (Campbelltown City Council 2002). In terms of the case studies, both Macquarie Fields and Claymore (52 percent) shared the same proportion of people obtaining Year 10, or equivalent qualifications. Over half of the population in Airds (57 percent) did not complete schooling up to Year 10 and indicates that education does not play a key factor in rioting.

*Computer ownership*

Residents who own a personal computer reveal the availability of disposable income within a household (to purchase and maintain the computer), the age of the population as younger people have higher usage pattern and the lifestyle of the population (Campbelltown City Council 2002). The data in the triggers matrix show that Claymore is the worst suburb in terms of computer ownership with 76 percent of people being non-computer owners. This is followed by Airds (73 percent) and with Macquarie Fields being the most computer-savvy (62
percent). From this analysis, it is clear that access to computers does not influence people who participate in riots.

**Access to the Internet**

To further add to this analysis of computer ownership, access to the Internet is now considered. Internet access grasps an understanding of the extent to which the population have embraced new communication technology and the ability of communities to gain access to service and information delivery via electronic means (Campbelltown City Council 2002). Internet usage is dependant upon the age of the population and the ability of people to gain access to the World Wide Web. Approximately 79 percent of Claymore residents have the least amount of people accessing the Internet, either through home, work or other service. Macquarie Fields (68 percent) residents have the most share of people accessing the Internet and this is followed by Airds (76 percent). Hence, Internet access is clearly not related to the outbreak of the Macquarie Fields riot.

**Community organisations**

Social support services are provided from the three tiers of government and from a numerous amount of non-government organisations (NGOs). Voluntary and non-profit community organisations have increasingly become services that alleviate and support social problems, particularly during times of government neglect and failure to acknowledge and rectify these issues. As such, NGOs are frequently seen as institutes that improve the welfare and well-being of the disadvantaged. In the context of the three case studies, Macquarie Fields clearly demonstrates that there is a lack of social services provided to residents between all three providers. Based on a per person calculation, Macquarie Fields residents each hold only 0.04 percent of a local government service, thus meaning the quality of social support in Macquarie Fields is significantly weaker than that of Airds residents (0.17 percent) and Claymore residents (0.18 percent). This trend remains the same with state government services and NGOs – Macquarie Fields has a considerable deficit of social services within all realms.

For more information on the range of social services found in Campbelltown, please refer to Appendix A of this thesis.
Table 5.2  Riots trigger matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBAN RIOTS</th>
<th>MACQUARIE FIELDS</th>
<th>CLAYMORE</th>
<th>AIRDS</th>
<th>%</th>
<th></th>
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<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
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<td>Number of unemployed people</td>
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<td>269</td>
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<td>36%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of people not in labour force</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of environmental concerns</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sporting related conflict</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of youths unemployed (boredom)</td>
<td>220/2059</td>
<td>98/628</td>
<td>114/685</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of industrial relations disputes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of war or military issues</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of protests, rallies or demonstrations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001; Campbelltown City Council 2002)

Key urban riots findings
The urban riots triggers matrix reveals that there is no distinct suburb characterised as being the most riot-prone. The indicators have proved that the Macquarie Fields riot is not susceptible to, or influenced by many of the indicators listed in the matrix. It is important to acknowledge that almost half of the riot indicators were not applicable to the three case studies and indicates that riot triggers vary according to the situation and context of the riot. Consequently many of the riot indicators, including environmental, sporting and political concerns have not been addressed as they bear no significance to the study.

Religion
Riots often arise out of differences and intolerance to different religions, as shown throughout history. In some aspects, religions reflect cultural identity and ethnicity of an individual or a
community. It has been observed that a community with a diverse mix of religions represents tolerance and harmony within that particular society. In terms of religion, Macquarie Fields has the highest amount of religions, with seven different religions coexisting within society. Airds has six religions whereas Claymore has four. This outcome suggests that religion may have been involved with the Macquarie Fields riot.

Languages spoken at home

The proportion of the population that speaks a language at home other than English is indicative of the cultural diversity of a population and reflects the degree to which different ethnic groups and nationalities retain and continue to practice their language (Campbelltown City Council 2002). The 2001 Census revealed that Macquarie Fields had the most languages spoken at home, with the most common being either Arabic, Hindi or Samoan (2001). Claymore has the next highest amount with 23 different languages being spoken within that community and then followed by Airds with 20 different languages. Like religion, the use of different languages may also be applicable to Macquarie Fields.

Number of unemployed people

Areas with high levels of unemployment generally indicate that education levels of residents are slight and that the socio-economic status is most likely lower than average. Employment is based on various factors such as educational qualification, skills base of the population and the economic base and employment opportunities available in the area. In regards to the matrix, Claymore had the highest percentage of unemployed people with 36 percent of the population having no jobs. Macquarie Field and Airds has an unemployment figure of 11 percent and 7 percent respectively. Additionally, more than half of Claymore’s population has the highest amount of people not in the labour force at 52 percent. Macquarie Fields and Airds pale in comparison standing at 30 percent and 35 percent respectively. These findings generally indicate that urban riots are not always associated with widespread unemployment and this is especially true for Macquarie Fields.

Negative media portrayal

The impact of media, particularly negative stories, grabs interests from afar and instills a distorted and often, inaccurate and sensationalized sense of reporting. Through newspaper research and analysis, it was identified that all three case studies have had poor publicity over the last ten years. A brief outline is provided on the following pages:
Macquarie Fields

The aftermath of what is considered as Australia’s most notorious street riot attracted unprecedented media scrutiny to the ordinary residents of Macquarie Fields (Totaro 2006). In fact, the Standing Committee on Social Issues formal inquiry into the matter revealed that many reporters blatantly carried out unethical behaviour. Allegations against the media included “providing underage children with money to buy alcohol and filming the transaction, offering minors money, alcohol and cigarettes in exchange for information or photo opportunities, and encouraging young people to participate in violent acts for the benefit of the cameras” (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006, 17). Many residents have expressed their anger and disgust towards the media, stating that they inflamed an already volatile situation, portrayed the community in poor light and engaged in selective and biased reporting (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006).

First of all, media coverage of the Macquarie Fields riot is clearly erroneous and biased. The media were reported to have behaved inappropriately by invading the privacy of a family with very complex needs and depicting that family as the norm for all Macquarie Fields residents, pretending to be students to gain access to the neighbourhood centre, harassing residents as they tried to access support services and targeting groups of very young people (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006). The negative media coverage has been on-going since the disturbances, which residents and community workers feel is ‘warping the perspective of outsiders about what the real people of Macquarie Fields are like’ and has thus increased the stigma and lack of self-worth that already exists amongst many on the public housing estate.

Claymore

Claymore earned much notoriety in the mid 1990’s when crime was at its peak within the public housing estate. Burnt and vandalised houses were a common sight and Claymore became famed for its reputation as a rough area and rate of crime. Public housing tenants were divided over the issue as some continued to cause trouble where other residents refused to participate. The residents further elaborated the issue by stating that it was as embarrassing to publicly declare residency in the Claymore and they were particularly annoyed at being labeled as ‘criminals’, despite having no input in any of the crimes.

Problems quickly escalated within the suburb and led to 300 people declining the Department of Housings offer of affordable and low-cost housing, despite being on waiting lists for more than 2 years (Perrin 2005). Proctor Way in Claymore was rated the worst street in Sydney with a record of 60 police incidents per month, or two incidents per day. Crimes included
break and enters, assaults, malicious damage and lots of petty crime. A house fire erupted and saw the death of five adults and children increased the tension in the street. Needless to say, the media covered the issue in its usual demeanour, with great spite and controversy. This triggered a crisis for the Department of Housing who were keen and desperate to adopt a range of fresh ideas and new strategies to resolve Claymore from its riddled history. It is strongly believed that widespread unemployment, social and physical isolation, petty crime and a poor physical environment created immense pressures on the Claymore Community.

Airds

Airds has the least negative media coverage, as crimes in this suburb are not as extreme compared to the events in Macquarie Fields and Claymore. Airds rarely make headline news but often appears in documentaries and studies relating to the privatisation of public housing estates.

Airds is discussed in terms of its high public housing makeup and more recently, the governments decision to dispose some of the housing stock to the private housing market. It is widely believed that the privatisation of public housing will bring much needed social reform to estates and will encourage a greater social mix of people living within a community. With some allotments being under $200,000 the great Australian dream of owning your own home was within reach of many, including families that are desperate to buy into Airds as well as existing public housing tenants who are equally desperate to get out (Storyline Australia 2006).

Negative police relations

Good relations in neighbourhoods between residents and authority figures reinforce trust, foster coherent communication and encourage good behaviour. Strong and positive police relations are seen as contributory factors towards personal and collective feelings of safety and wellbeing. High levels of negativity and discord clearly exists between the Macquarie Fields local police and the community. Through constant demeaning attacks and insults, the local police were alienated from the people they served and hence used inappropriate policing tactics (Totaro 2006). However, police relations with the community have notably improved following the riot with various community initiatives and services serving the area. Interaction with the community was initiated by the police through free local barbecues, visiting school fairs, involvement with community celebrations, children’s programs and camps for kids. As a result, crime rates dropped to two to three, a record low for the area (Totaro 2006).

In Claymore, local police officers are confident that strong community links can be achieved by working in collaboration with the community in a joint effort to minimise the incidence of
local crime. It is recognised that authority figures prepared crime management plans with the community, rather than for it. This is also demonstrated with the Claymore Community Policing Centre, which is an organisation that promotes liaison between police officers and residents. As a result of this technique, Claymore residents have enjoyed success, for example, local crime rates have significantly dropped from 60 incidents a month to one or two per month.

There are few publications of what policing is like in Airds. The media tends to concentrate their efforts on controversial topics covered in Macquarie Fields and Claymore. Policing in Airds predominantly focuses on controlling local crime, interventions and education. In relation to the matrix, figures are generally not used and can not be found as police authorities rarely publish these statistics and are not site specific. As such answering these questions were left unattempted following the initial research but are dealt with through the general analysis provided above.

Youth boredom/unemployment

Youth unemployment is considered to be a social issue of concern in Australia with almost 40 per cent of young people aged between 15 and 19 being unemployed. Mission Australia has described youth unemployment as a wasted resource, not only in human terms, but also economic as they rely heavily on justice, health and income support systems as provided by the government (Mission Australia 2006). The report determined that young people who are unable to make an initial transition to the labour market smoothly is highly likely to have these problems for the rest of their lives (Mission Australia 2006).

Youth boredom is factored with youth unemployment and for this thesis, rates of youth unemployment was derived from the ABS. As such, it was concluded that Airds had the highest amount of youths unemployed, followed by Claymore (16 percent) and Macquarie Fields (11 percent). It is clear that the number of youths unemployed is not relative to the outbreak of urban riots.
Table 5.3  Social cohesion triggers matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POOR SOCIAL COHESION</th>
<th>MACQUARIE FIELDS</th>
<th>CLAYMORE</th>
<th>AIRDSD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and income inequality</td>
<td>232 2%</td>
<td>103 3%</td>
<td>120 2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienation and isolation</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of people engaged in community involvement</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of young people living in poverty</td>
<td>594 29%</td>
<td>153 24%</td>
<td>212 31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to health services</td>
<td>5 0.04</td>
<td>3 0.08</td>
<td>3 0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of homeless people</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street and juvenile crime rates</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
<td>N/A -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of neighbourhood programs</td>
<td>31 0.02</td>
<td>29 0.09</td>
<td>26 0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population divorced</td>
<td>875 6%</td>
<td>199 6%</td>
<td>278 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population separated</td>
<td>552 4%</td>
<td>178 5%</td>
<td>217 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Key social cohesion findings

It is clear from the social cohesion matrix above that social cohesion does not play a role in the Macquarie Fields riot, having not triggered a single indicator. This matrix shows that Macquarie Fields is substantially more socially cohesive when compared with Claymore and Airds. Despite this, it is crucial to recognise that a significant amount of indicators were not utilised in the matrix, due to lack of available information and because of this fact, the results may be slightly flawed.

Poverty and income inequality

Poverty is commonly measured through income or consumption levels. A person is considered to be living in poverty if his or her consumption falls below some minimum necessary to meet basic needs and to sustain life (World Bank 2006). This minimum line is often referred to as the ‘poverty line’. In terms of this thesis, poverty will include those households with a weekly combined income of $199 or under.
Following this application, it was determined that Claymore had the most amount of household living under the $199 threshold. Approximately 3 percent of the population fell in this category, although Airds (2.7 percent) and Macquarie Fields (2 percent) were closely behind. It is therefore considered that poverty and financial hardship does not play a role in facilitating the Macquarie Fields riot.

**Number of young people living in poverty**

Young people aged between 15 and 24 who are living in poverty often face neglect and under-funding of adolescents' health and educational needs. The proportion of young Australians living in poverty is almost one in four (Australian Youth and Fact Stats 2006). Statistics for youth poverty on a suburb-specific basis could not be sourced during this research project. As such, for the purposes of this thesis, poverty in young people will be derived from the Census 2001 and will specifically equate to a weekly individual income of under $79.

The triggers matrix shows that Airds has the highest amount of youths living in poverty on 31 percent. This is followed by Macquarie Fields on 29 percent and Claymore on 24 percent. It is clear that adolescents living with economic hardships are not a factor in the outbreak of a riot.

**Access to health services**

The ability and ease to access health services and professionals is considered a basic human right. Equality of access to medical services and health care is a fundamental right under international human rights law (NSW Department of Health 2006). Most Australia are pretty much being looked after by social services including Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS), but it is important to note the availability and range of services available to a community many differ significantly across Australia. For example, a rural town may only have one general practitioner whereas an inner-city suburb may have a plethora of medical services. In this matrix, medical services, excluding pharmacies, were observed through the site visits and through general research. This list can be found in Appendix B. Following this, each suburb was calculated on a per person basis.

It was determined that Claymore has the least amount of health services per person, standing at only 0.09 services per person. This is followed by Airds on 0.06 services per person and Macquarie Fields on 0.04 per person. This analysis indicates that access to health services is not a determinant of urban riots.
Number of neighbourhood programs

The number of local neighbourhood programs reveals that residents have adequate access to support, advice and information. Neighbourhood services aims to satisfactory provide specialist social services that meet the needs of the community. Neighbourhood programs are often NGO’s and deliver about seven percent of aid to Australians (Australian Government AusAid 2006). Australian NGO’s are recognised for their ability to mobilise public support and voluntary contributions for aid (Australian Government AusAid 2006). These organisations have strong links with local communities and often work in areas where government-to-government aid is not possible.

It was determined that Claymore residents have the most services based on a per person calculation. Airds had the second highest amount of services per person at 0.06 and this is followed by Macquarie Fields on 0.02 services per person.

Total population divorced and separated

Communities with a large proportion of divorce and separation in households are usually an indicator of family breakdown and have implications on the local community. Australian divorce statistics show that divorce is at historically high levels, as seen in other English speaking countries. Of the 55,100 divorces granted in 2001, over half involved children less than 18 years of age and usually more than one child (Australian National University 2005).

Mental health is closely linked to family separation for both children and parents. In children, those who experience parental separation have an increased risk of both short and long-term consequences related to mental health problems, including acute distress, behaviour problems, poor academic outcomes, substance abuse, delinquency and risky sexual activity (Australian National University 2005). Problems in childhood are often carried on into adulthood. Acute distress, financial hardship, increased rates of depression, anxiety, substance abuse and suicidal behaviour is common amongst adults experiencing divorce or separation (Australian National University 2005).

The social cohesion triggers determined that Airds has the highest amount of divorce, comprising 7 percent of the population. Both Macquarie Fields and Claymore equally followed at 6 percent of the total population having gone through a divorce. In terms of separation statistics, both Claymore and Airds are equal with 5 percent of the population
separated. This is followed by Macquarie Fields on 4 percent. From this analysis, it is clear that the breakdown of families, either by way of divorce or separation, did not have wider implications on the Macquarie Fields riot.

5.3 Tally of triggers

The triggers matrix and following discussion have highlighted the discrepancies and similarities between the case studies. A final tally is provided below and indicated which suburb has triggered the most indicators in the demographics, urban riots and social cohesion matrixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MACQUARIE FIELDS</th>
<th>CLAYMORE</th>
<th>AIRDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEMOGRAPHICS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN RIOTS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL COHESION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this tally, it is clear that the Macquarie Fields riot was not influenced by demographic, urban riot or social cohesion indicators. In fact as a total, Macquarie Fields ranks last compared to Claymore and Airds.

Claymore triggered the most indicators throughout the individual matrixes and shows that urban riots are spontaneous and cannot be predicted or planned for. This is followed by Airds with a tally of seven indicators and Macquarie Fields on seven indicators.

Macquarie Fields did not trigger a single social cohesion indicator, proving that social cohesion levels in Macquarie Fields are substantially higher to that of Claymore and Airds. However it is important to note that social services in Macquarie Fields may have increased following the riot and as such may have influenced the outcome of this research.

In terms of riot triggers, Macquarie Fields was equal first with Claymore, both triggering three indicators. This finding dispels assumptions made in various newspaper articles and enforces the Standing Committee on Social Issues notion, that the issues found in Macquarie
Fields is not exclusive and that there are many disadvantaged suburbs within Sydney affected with the same issues (2006). It is recognised that the disturbance in Macquarie Fields could have occurred elsewhere if given a significant trigger (Standing Committee on Social Issues 2006). This therefore explains the results of the tally – should this statement be true, Claymore and Airds could experience a riot in the future if given an emotive trigger that affects the majority of its residents.

Although the differences in the final tally are rather minor, the matrixes have determined that neither demographic nor social cohesion triggers have played a role in the Macquarie Fields riot. Riots, and more specifically, the Macquarie Fields riot does not solely occur on social and economic hardships, but rather results from a significant trigger which in this case was the police pursuit and the death of two local young men. This led to the outpouring of collective anger and frustration, otherwise known as the ‘riot’.
6. Conclusions

In reference to the research questions posed in Chapter One, they are also used here to sum up the outcomes of this thesis. The research has generally revealed that riots are not the result of demographic, economic and social outcomes but rather on a contentious trigger. This is not to say that the social and economic setting does not play a role in facilitating the riots. These social and economic factors typically build up ongoing tension and anger within the community but it is important to realise that these factors alone do not provide a mechanism to release these emotions. For this, a significant trigger is required.

The main research question asked in Chapter One is whether the Macquarie Fields riot is the culmination of little or non-existent social cohesion within a locality. Following the various triggers matrix, the answer to this question is no. The social cohesion matrix has determined that the amount of social organisations in Macquarie Fields is highest compared to Claymore and Airds on a per person basis. In this thesis, it is believed that high numbers of social organisations results in stronger social cohesion. Despite Macquarie Fields being highest in terms of social organisations and more importantly, cohesion, the riot still occurred. This shows that the links between social cohesion in the role of urban riots is minute and was insignificant in terms of the Macquarie Fields riot.

From the various research and methodology undertaken for this thesis, it was determined that Campbelltown Council is fairly competent and consistent in their provision of social services in the LGA. Each of the case studies is reported to have either six or seven local services available to residents and vary from long-day child care centres, leisure centres, libraries and youth centres. In terms of the per person rationale used in various sections of the matrix, it is clear that more local services is required in each locality. Each existing facility only sustains around 0.04 to 0.18 individuals and it is clear that there is capacity for the introduction of new services or the expansion of existing ones. In terms of the Campbelltown Social Plan, both Council and residents recognise the need for increased social cohesion and the need to promote community pride and belonging. It is also distinguished that crime and safety needs attention and that urban development, particularly within the housing estates need maintenance as it is to the detriment of the entire LGA.

It is obvious that Macquarie Fields has an adequate supply of social cohesion, which is predominantly fostered and supported by numerous NGOs. The breadth of social services provided by these organisations is extensive and includes childcare, sporting, employment,
educational, recreation and legal assistance, to name a few. Despite this, it is crucial to acknowledge that the tally of community organisations was counted after the riot and it is unknown whether these services existed prior to the riot. If a significant amount of services did not exist prior to the riot, it can be assumed that the local social cohesion levels were considerably lower.

Through social cohesive measures, Macquarie Fields compares well against Claymore and Airds. In the social cohesion triggers matrix, Macquarie Fields did not trigger a single indicator of poor cohesion levels. Furthermore, Macquarie Fields was measured to have the lowest rates of poverty, divorce, separation and had the best provisions of health care services and other community services. These findings show that Macquarie Fields residents are better provided for and have a higher quality of life. It also implies that Macquarie Fields as a community is functioning more effectively than Claymore and Airds.

The main trigger for riots is usually a local controversial topic. In the case of Macquarie Fields, this was attributed to the attitudes and enforcement tactics used by the local police. It is well documented (although this opinions on this matter is also divided) that the Macquarie Fields police were discriminatory and targeted residents with no legitimate reason. As such, the death of two well-known residents during a police pursuit sparked the riot.

The results of the matrix reveal that Macquarie Fields resulted in riots despite being the least riot-prone as indicated by the tally of triggers, compared with Claymore and Airds being the most riot prone. As stated earlier, the Standing Committee on Social Issues notes that the problems faced in Macquarie Fields are not unique and appear in many disadvantaged areas in NSW. Additionally, it is understood that disturbances could have occurred in any other disadvantaged areas, given a significant trigger (2006). Riots are also the cause of spontaneous activity and usually followed up with rushed and inept responses from authority figures. The lack of a spontaneous trigger in Claymore and Airds may be the reason why these suburbs did not experience a riot whereas Macquarie Field did. Furthermore, in modern society where technology is frequently used, the organisation of a riot is much easier as news can be quickly and efficiently transmitted through devices such as the mobile phones. The ease of communicating has proved to be a hindrance in preventing urban riots.

Social cohesion in Macquarie Fields has fared remarkably well following the 2005 riot. Macquarie Fields in this research is rated the best in social cohesion terms with a number of community support groups and a number of residents actively involved with the community.
However little comparison can be made in regards to this question as information on Macquarie Fields prior to the riot was infrequent. It is clear that media organisations, other than the local newspaper, did not have any interest in Macquarie Fields until the 2005 riot as little was published or documented in major newspaper sources.

### 6.1 Planning implications

The disturbances in Macquarie Fields are often considered the result of poor planning decisions made by the State Government in the 1970s. Macquarie Fields, like Claymore and Airds, are seen as failed public housing experiments and it is now known that agglomerations of the poor and welfare-dependent are not sustainable in terms of public housing policy. It was, and still is, being noted that if no corrective action is taken by state government on these large housing estates, it is clear that further disasters, like the Macquarie Fields riot, are waiting to happen (Perrin 2005).

Planning for these existing public housing estates should be an important agenda for Campbelltown City Council. It is obvious that these unsuccessful estates are the focus point for the media who continually degrade the entire LGA based on these site-specific issues. Although it is not the responsibility of local government to physically improve these estates, Council should continually lobby the state government to fund, rebuild and redesign these dilapidated housing estates. The state government has clearly acknowledged their mistakes of the past and have set out on new agendas which concern the regeneration of public housing estates in the south-west, including the nearby Minto estate. Community renewal is seen as an integral part in achieving success in the area and in removing the stigma attached to living in Macquarie Fields.

Additionally, the social needs of individuals living in these housing estates needs to be adequately addressed. It is recognised that people with a low socio-economic background suffer from more development and lifestyle problems compared with people with a moderate socio-economic status. As such, a tailored or site-specific Social Plan should be developed for people living in housing estates. This is particularly relevant for Campbelltown as almost half of the dwelling stock in the LGA are characterised as public housing (Campbelltown City Council 2002).

Furthermore, Campbelltown is forecast to become a centre for economic and residential development as stated in the NSW Metropolitan Strategy. To attract such development, the area needs to remove negative connotations associated with the public housing estates and
with Campbelltown in general. To improve the image and reputation of Campbelltown and the greater south-western region, the local community and council needs to undertake and engage in practical activities which will change people’s perceptions of Campbelltown.

6.2 The way forward

This thesis realises the limitations in successfully regenerating housing estates in Campbelltown. Not only are there funding issues, it is difficult to gain consensus with all parties involved, particularly on large and controversial developments. Despite this, a list of hands-on and relevant suggestions has been formulated during the course of this thesis. It is anticipated that these recommendations will help pave the way forward for successful and cohesive communities.

- Simple redesigning of the Radburn layout – Perrin supports this notion with enthusiasm and states that in some areas of Airds and Macquarie Fields, houses were turned around and refurbished, promoting a greater sense of community pride, safety and urban renewal (2005). This method is considered to be simple yet effective;

- Ongoing maintenance of public housing estates – Issues such as landscaping, public space, public art, lighting, signage and open space can be improved through realistic measures which can be undertaken by local government. Incorporating community ownership of a garden or hall can also be an effective way to instil local pride;

- Provide a greater social mix within communities – In established areas where public housing is mixed with private homes, it is often difficult to distinguish tenure from tenure. To ensure a good mix of dwelling types, some houses in housing estates should be transferred into the private market;

- Proactive policing – The local police should tailor their enforcement practices according to community issues. Local police should engage with the community and learn to work hand-in-hand with residents and create healthy relationships with community leaders and residents; and

- Strengthen the role of Campbelltown Council - In the Social Plan, residents acknowledge the role of Council as the most important local leader. It is clear that there is capacity for Council to strengthen their role as a leader for social cohesion.
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## Appendix A – Community Organisations Inventory

### MACQUARIE FIELDS LOCAL SERVICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SERVICE</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown City Council Library Service – Glenquarie Branch</td>
<td>Library books, information, computer and internet resources for the local community</td>
<td>Local government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown City Women’s Hockey Association Inc</td>
<td>Co-ordinates junior and senior hockey competitions both formally and informally.</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown and Districts Lapidary Club Inc</td>
<td>Fossicking trips, social nights, education programs</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland Amateur Swimming Association Inc</td>
<td>Organises competitive swimming activities throughout various LGA's</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families First</td>
<td>Volunteers help in Macquarie Fields homes</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenquarie Neighbourhood Centre and Information Centre Inc</td>
<td>Information centre, photocopying, English support, tax help, special needs playground</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenquarie Senior Centres Club Inc</td>
<td>Social activities and meetings for seniors</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenquarie Cricket Club</td>
<td>Sporting competition with other clubs</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Service Macquarie Fields</td>
<td>Provides support and services to the local Indigenous community</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Meehan Physical Culture Club</td>
<td>Provision of physical culture classes</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidzland Pre School Kindergarten</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Smarties Child Care Centre</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields AFL Club</td>
<td>Informal and formal competition</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Co-ordinator</td>
<td>Co-ordinates and manages issues in Macquarie Fields and reports back to the State.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Indoor Sports Centre</td>
<td>Fitness classes and child minding</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Leisure Centre</td>
<td>Gym, swimming pool, child care services</td>
<td>Local govt service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Womens Hockey Club</td>
<td>Competitive sport between other clubs</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Hawks Junior Rugby League Club</td>
<td>Competitive sport between other clubs</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Health Centre</td>
<td>Access to doctors and health information.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Little Athletics Club</td>
<td>Competitive sport between other clubs</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Netball Club</td>
<td>Competitive sport between other clubs</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Preschool</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields School Community Centre</td>
<td>A family centre offering support and advice for parents with young children</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Senior Citizens centre</td>
<td>Activities and social nights for local senior citizens</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Women’s Action Group</td>
<td>Social nights and meetings for local women</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macquarie Fields Youth Centre</td>
<td>Place for youths to congregate and participate in social and sporting activities</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Australia</td>
<td>Involved in raising funds for the area</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulberry Cottage ABC Development Learning Centre</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Advisory Committee</td>
<td>Place for concerned residents to actively participate in the future of Macquarie Fields</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Beginnings Breakfast Club</td>
<td>Assistance to job seekers.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Campbelltown Community Action Group</td>
<td>Through community projects, residents reconnect and strengthens relationships</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army Child Care Centre</td>
<td>Provides child care</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School holiday program</td>
<td>Provides activities for school kids during school holidays</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashas Learning Centre</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vantage Community Services</td>
<td>Support for unemployed people in terms of job seeking – free breakfast and internet access</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wattle Preschool Long Day Care Centre</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wombat Willows Child Care Centre</td>
<td>Long day child care service</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Connect</td>
<td>Assists residents in finding employment</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Ventures Connect @ Macquarie Fields</td>
<td>Provides access to information technology and encourages digital, social and economic participation</td>
<td>NGO, Corporate citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth liaison with Police</td>
<td>Dedicated youth officer working between youths and Macquarie Fields police</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth off the Streets</td>
<td>Teen outreach and recreational activities</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## AIRDSD LOCAL SERVICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SERVICE</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Community Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Community Crime Prevention Program</td>
<td>Project to strengthen community cohesion, health and well-being through community educational courses.</td>
<td>Federal govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Employment Task Force</td>
<td>Service made up of local government and and state government departments.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Family Centre</td>
<td>Provides advise and support to local families</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Bradbury Neighbourhood Centre</td>
<td>Promotes community development through various community and senior citizens activities</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Physical Culture Club</td>
<td>Provision of physical culture classes</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds/Bradbury Youth Centre</td>
<td>Youth outreach program involving free barbecues and recreation activities.</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Aid Brigade</td>
<td>Support on everyday issues like budgeting, household maintenance and legal help from Mount Annan Church Community services.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Animation Project</td>
<td>Innovative community development and education project</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Community Drug Action Team</td>
<td>Educating and preventing drug activities in Airds</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Community Writing Project</td>
<td>Creative writing project which aims to create leaders.</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Employment task force</td>
<td>Encouraging employment through social, educational and volunteer projects.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds High School – Boys’ own programme</td>
<td>Provides support and encouragement to pupils and has improved the educational outcomes of students.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Landscape Traineeship</td>
<td>Mission Australia</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Local Enterprise centre</td>
<td>Job placement, small business development and information technology training</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airds Support Services and Education Team</td>
<td>Learning centre, personal development and study assistance for youths</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarina Child Care Centre</td>
<td>Long day care for children</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown Airds Indoor Sports Centre</td>
<td>Gym, swimming pools, sauna, squash courts and child care</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown City Gymnastics and Trampoline Sports Club</td>
<td>Gymnastic centre for recreation and formal training purposes.</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbelltown Indoor Soccer Arena</td>
<td>Formal and informal soccer games.</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Education Lighthouse School Projects</td>
<td>A careers initiative undertaking at Airds High School. Involves mentoring with trained community members.</td>
<td>Federal govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusion</td>
<td>Social program and activities targeted at children aged 6 to 9</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KU Briar Cottage Preschool</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KU Macarthur Learning Together Preschool</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Initiatives Enterprise Scheme</td>
<td>Provides advice to new business owners in Airds through the Community Builders scheme</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ooranga Wandarrah Multifunctional Aboriginal Childrens Service</td>
<td>Provision of child care to Indigenous families</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby in the park</td>
<td>Rugby activities for children and meet and greet with rugby players.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening Airds</td>
<td>Integrated response for residents in the public housing estate</td>
<td>Local, State and Fed govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Ventures</td>
<td>Services include job placement, business development, job readiness, IT training and child minding for single parents</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Off The Streets Educational Program</td>
<td>Helps socially disadvantaged young people living in Airds to complete formal schooling.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyle Community Housing Association</td>
<td>Established relationships of trust and cooperation between residents.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books for Claymore</td>
<td>Program to encourage reading amongst preschool children, prior to entering school</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Animation Project</td>
<td>Innovative community development and education project</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Builder</td>
<td>Co-ordinated the ‘Claymore project’ which transformed the suburb.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Garden</td>
<td>Forms part of resident-led rehabilitation of social and economic problems</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Dream Park</td>
<td>Community project and to develop and maintain a children’s playground.</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Family Centre</td>
<td>Provides services and training for families.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Integration Project</td>
<td>Integrated health, education and employment services</td>
<td>Local gov, Federal govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore TAFE Outreach Program</td>
<td>Targeted towards young people with low levels of literacy</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Neighbourhood Centre</td>
<td>Provides education, self-esteem and relationship programs</td>
<td>State govt, NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Youth Centre</td>
<td>Provides young people with formal and informal programs, access to information and activities</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Consultative Committee</td>
<td>Addresses issues concerning development of Claymore.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Development Cooperative</td>
<td>Creates sustainable employment and develop community leadership skills amongst residents</td>
<td>State and Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Employment Co-operative</td>
<td>Fosters community leadership and create jobs through the development of a co-operative business owned by Claymore residents.</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Engagement Program</td>
<td>Aims to foster community leadership and create employment.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Health Service</td>
<td>Specialist healthcare for children from disadvantaged communities</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claymore Community Policing Centre</td>
<td>Liaison between local police and community to break down barriers.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian Angel Preschool Kindergarten</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>Private business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalon House of Welcome</td>
<td>A drop-in place which provides support, friendship and community development and action.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kids Study Time Program</td>
<td>An after-school program providing homework support.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Watch Scheme</td>
<td>Developed by the Argyle Community Housing and creates relationships between residents</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby in the Park</td>
<td>Rugby activities for children and meet and greet with rugby players.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social Entrepreneurs Network</td>
<td>Provided training and information on how to run a successful business</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traxside Youth Health Service</td>
<td>Provided general counselling, drug and alcohol counselling, health education and support groups for young people</td>
<td>State govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waratah Cottage Child Care Centre</td>
<td>Long day care for children</td>
<td>Local govt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westside Baptist Church Claymore</td>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Ventures Connect @ Claymore</td>
<td>Provides access to information technology and encourages digital, social and economic participation</td>
<td>NGO, Corporate citizenship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B - List of health services

Macquarie Fields
- Department of Health Childcare Centre;
- Macarthur Health Service;
- Macquarie Fields Midwives Outreach Clinic;
- Macquarie Fields Baby Health Centre; and
- Macquarie Fields Medical Centre.

Airds
- Airds Medical Centre;
- Airds Family Centre; and
- Airds Tharawal Aboriginal Corporation.

Claymore
- Claymore Medical Centre;
- Claymore Community Health Centre; and
- Claymore Integrated Services Project.