



Temporary dwellings as successful informal suburban development: the case of Sydney 1945 to 1960

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Occupation of temporary dwellings during a shortage of affordable housing is a global phenomenon. Until recently, the majority of urban planning literature has tended to convey that this type of informal urbanism existed only in the global south. However, a number of scholarly publications have revealed that informal urbanism was present in the global north throughout the early twentieth century, surrounding newly-industrialising cities in France and Canada and as seasonal accommodation in the UK. Recent studies reveal that similar dwellings emerged with illegal suburbanisation in Greek and Portuguese cities during the mid-century, and persist today as US-Mexico borderland *colonia* settlements. References to temporary dwellings in Australian housing literature suggested that informal urban development existed at an appreciable scale on the fringes of most towns and cities in Australia following world war two. This paper surveys the phenomenon as it played out in the outer suburbs of metropolitan Sydney, highlights a distinctive Australian story, and compares this with the international instances. The paper then suggests that a combination of four unprecedented circumstances prevailing in post-war Sydney enabled temporary dwellings to be a successful form of informal suburban development that enabled economically-marginal households to achieve ownership of a conventional home.

Keywords: informal urbanism, temporary dwellings, Sydney housing, makeshift housing, post-war housing shortage.

Introduction

Urban informality has been described as instances when the actions of economic agents do not conform to established institutional rules or when the rules fail to protect their interests.¹ In this paper the term is applied to housing that does not reach institutionalised standards for urban habitations. Urban informality is a global phenomenon, however, much of the planning literature has assumed that this form of development is seemingly restricted to the global South. This assumption was highlighted by urban geographer, Richard Harris, who identified a large number of studies promoting the notion that it was the informality of urban settlement which distinguished the South from the strongly regulated urban locations of Europe and North America. He observed that, in the few instances which acknowledged the existence of informal urbanism in the global North, it was primarily understood to be a fairly recent phenomenon, comprising issues of regulatory infractions or limited to a small number of rapidly-growing, poorly-regulated locations.² However, a number of scholarly publications on suburban development have mentioned the occupation of sub-standard housing on undeveloped land in a number of the more-established countries in this region. Among these publications were a handful of accessible in-depth studies focussed on unregulated residential development surrounding rapidly-industrialising cities in Canada and France and holiday townships throughout the UK or enquired into 'unauthorized' housing in Greece and 'clandestine' residential building in Portugal.³ Brief references in the Australian housing literature, and other anecdotal evidence, indicates that similar urban informality existed on the fringes of most Australian towns and cities during the late-1940s and the 1950s. This paper presents aspects of this distinctive Australian story. The proposition explored is that the social, political and economic context which prevailed in Sydney during this era enabled temporary dwellings constructed on purchased land to be a successful phase in the suburban development of the metropolis.

This paper comprises two sections, commencing with a discussion of examples of informal development in the global North. The second section describes informal urbanism on the fringes of Sydney between 1945 and 1960, then identifies and explores four elements fundamental to its success as a housing route: emergency wartime legislation; an expanding national economy; the prior existence of prematurely-subdivided allotments; and government regulation of utility providers. This paper draws on primary sources such as state and local government records, oral accounts, contemporaneous photographs and maps, and histories of land subdivision and urban expansion. It has been developed from ongoing research into the role of temporary dwellings in facilitating access to home-ownership and builds on previous papers considering dwelling typologies, living conditions, financing, and institutional barriers to their existence.⁴



International examples of informal urban development

Widespread but by no means universal, informal urbanism has played an important role in the suburban development of expansive areas of the global North during the twentieth century, however this phenomenon is limited to a minority of texts on the suburbanisation of established cities and the subject of only a handful of in-depth studies. The texts mention the occupation of owner-built makeshift housing on purchased land on the developing fringe of a number of rapidly-industrialising North American towns and cities during the first half of the twentieth century, such as Los Angeles and Illinois, and settlements of 'clandestine' or unapproved housing on illegally subdivided rural land throughout the Mediterranean region following world war two, including Rome and Belgrade in Southern Europe, Barcelona and Castellon in Spain, and Istanbul in Turkey, however the topic is not pursued in any detail by the authors.⁵

The few accessible in-depth investigations into urban informality in Northern cities focussed on locations in Canada, England, France, Greece and Portugal. The first of these explored the makeshift shanties or partial houses which were constructed by low-income workers on newly-subdivided and un-serviced residential allotments scattered across vast tracts of vacant land surrounding Toronto between 1900 and 1939, where the existing provincial housing regulations did not apply to un-incorporated areas outside city boundaries, allowing rural land to be subdivided and sold for occupation without provision of amenities and public infrastructure.⁶ Designated 'shacktowns' by contemporary observers, these enclaves consisted of small shacks and shanties. Some comprised the rear ground-floor portion of a house, while others were made from the basement level of a future house roofed with tin sheets or tar-paper and surmounted by a small box-like structure serving as a porch.⁷ Comparable development occurred between 1918 and 1939 in the *lotissements*, a ring of un-serviced and sub-standard subdivisions surrounding Paris on which low-income purchasers constructed shanties and other 'mediocre' dwellings, later described as 'one of the most perfect examples of unorganised urban space'.⁸ As with the instances mentioned previously, local authorities did not have the power to halt subdivision nor to compel land entrepreneurs to install the amenities and infrastructure needed to ensure these rapidly growing areas reached acceptable standards for the urban density which eventuated.⁹



Figure 1. Tar-papered shacks in Earlscourt, York County, Toronto, 1916. Image: National Archives of Canada, a069935-v8.

Similarly examined were uncontrolled settlements which spread throughout the coastal and rural areas of England. Designated 'plot-lands' by local authorities and decried as rural slums by town and country planners of the day, they consisted of small allotments of undeveloped marginal land subdivided and sold principally between the wars and marketed as seasonal accommodation, although subsequent changes in housing circumstances meant many were later occupied on a permanent basis.¹⁰ Countless subdivisions were only partially settled, with dwellings contrived from old buses, trams and train carriages as well as more conventional shacks and huts, the majority without amenities or public infrastructure.¹¹



In each of these locations, authorities were confronted by sub-standard urbanisation on a vast scale, the bulk of which was situated in locations that would prove expensive to service.¹² In the UK, local town councils could not regulate housing beyond their immediate jurisdiction until national Town and Country planning legislation was enacted in 1947.¹³ However, before this date, a number of local councils and utility providers borrowed funds to provide the public works needed in 'plotland' sites and the increasingly-permanent owners were charged compulsory levies to refund the high cost of installation.¹⁴ At the same time, residents were obliged to upgrade their shacks to satisfy newly-amended housing ordinances.¹⁵ Although these expectations could be met by some owners, the legislation placed 'an impossible burden' on old people and very low-income owners, who either mobilised, with some success, against attempts to resume and demolish their dwellings or were forced into selling for land redevelopment.¹⁶

The dwellings in Toronto and Paris were occupied on a permanent basis from the beginning so remediation could not be postponed. In the districts surrounding Toronto, new municipal authorities were established during the 1920s which proceeded to impose minimum housing standards and borrow from the state to provide essential services, to be repaid through service and usage charges and a municipal tax levied on the affected households according to property valuations.¹⁷ Municipal taxes more than doubled within four years, yet revenue received from the low-value allotments could never cover the excessive cost of servicing such widely-scattered settlements.¹⁸ Harris revealed that many 'blue-collar' owner-builders had reached the limit of their resources after purchasing land and building materials, and the newly-imposed housing standards and municipal taxes, combined with a non-existent labour market after 1929, made it impossible for many marginal residents to cover their housing costs, resulting in more than 27% of taxes remaining unpaid in the following year and several municipal authorities facing bankruptcy.¹⁹ A significant number of owner-builders were forced into selling, leading Harris to conclude that the most-marginal households ended up worse off financially than if they had continued to rent accommodation within the city boundaries.²⁰ In Paris, a number of legislative measures were passed during the 1920s to ensure new subdivisions were provided with modern utilities, however these laws were ignored by land speculators.²¹ Conditions improved only after ratification of an urgent parliamentary bill in 1931, through which the French government granted short-term loans to resident syndicates for installation of essential infrastructure, repaid through a quarterly tax.²² The extra expense was unaffordable for a large number of low-income owners and the deepening economic crisis meant that many now-unemployed purchasers, up to 30% of the wage-earning population in some districts, found themselves in serious financial difficulties and either refused to pay the tax, or sold or abandoned their property.²³ With funding increasingly limited, public works slowed and living conditions stagnated until the late 1950s when entire districts were cleared and replaced with government-owned low-rent apartment blocks.²⁴

Informal housing was also constructed on illegally subdivided rural land on the outskirts of Athens and in townships on the periphery of Lisbon following World War 2.²⁵ The dwellings which surrounded Athens commenced as single multi-use rooms gradually extended in three directions as the owners could afford materials, until a two-storey courtyard house was achieved.²⁶ Hampered by ineffective and outmoded regulations, the city later annexed these unauthorized and un-serviced outlying settlements on payment of a 'special contribution' from owners, which was not necessarily expended on the needed infrastructure, and many years elapsed before reticulated water, electricity, roads and schools were available, with drainage and refuse collection following much later.²⁷ The construction and occupation of makeshift housing was also common between 1958 and 1974 in villages surrounding Lisbon, where un-serviced land was subdivided through successive lot-splits without prior approval, granted separate title and sold to low-income workers. Purchasers then built minimal houses, again without approval.²⁸ These subdivisions were initially designated 'clandestine' and tolerated as a necessary model of urban transition but a change of government in 1974 and retrospective imposition of minimum building standards meant they were re-interpreted as 'illegal'.²⁹



Figure 2. First-stage dwellings in a prematurely-developed fringe area of Athens, 1969. Image: Romanos, 1969.

The instances of informal development outlined above achieved only qualified success. Although the affordability of un-serviced allotments made ownership of a residential property available to ‘the small man’, the difficulties encountered in achieving the standard of living required for habitable structures meant constant financial problems for owners and local authorities.³⁰ The high cost of retrospective installation of utilities compromised ownership for many marginal households who were also expected to comply with newly-introduced compulsory housing standards, while the advent of the 1930s economic crisis with its concomitant widespread unemployment limited many to a basic lodging or forced them to forfeit the property and lose the money they had invested. In some cases, indebted local authorities and residents’ syndicates found themselves unable to meet loan obligations so declared bankruptcy or requested outstanding loans be written off by the state.³¹ In contrast, Lisbon’s informal urban development can be perceived to have been completely unsuccessful as official policy changed from tolerance under one authoritarian regime to criminalisation under the next, with ‘clandestine’ homes ‘illegalised’ and their owners labelled ‘unequal citizens’ or criminals, forcibly relocated to geographically-distant public housing settlements, and their houses demolished to make way for financially-motivated private development.³²

However, the use of makeshift housing as a form of urban development was more successful in certain sites in the UK and in settlements surrounding Athens. In the UK, a number of local authorities responsible for enforcing enacted housing legislation accepted informal development as an interim housing step or realised the exorbitant cost of land rehabilitation, so either relaxed their policies and allowed replacement of substandard dwellings in unsuitable locations with approved housing, or accepted staged installation of amenities combined with extension and improvement of the original dwelling. In the districts surrounding Athens, incremental expansion of the dwelling as the owner could afford it meant most houses were completed as planned, with essential services and infrastructure of an appropriate standard installed as public funds gradually became available, and the residential security gained by subsequent metropolitan annexation outweighing the burden of living in difficult conditions for many years. Nevertheless, retrospective installation of utilities and drainage or their approved alternatives still proved very expensive for the home-owner and the decision to occupy or to build without authorisation frequently meant the house was at risk of demolition.³³

Informal urban development in Sydney

Between 1945 and 1960, Australia also experienced informal urban development. In 1946, it was estimated Australia needed almost 400,000 homes, 90,000 of which were needed in Sydney, where the cumulative effects of rent control, economic instability, and wartime building restrictions had left almost a quarter of the population without adequate and affordable housing.³⁴ Public housing initiatives were unable to satisfy demand, and many households were forced to turn to an alternative solution.³⁵ However, household funds were limited, materials were strictly rationed and skilled labour was unobtainable, so the solution for thousands of families often entailed purchasing an inexpensive allotment of outer-suburban residential land and building a temporary dwelling while they worked to achieve a permanent home.³⁶ By 1952, the architect, Robin Boyd could observe that, ‘many thousands... lived in unsatisfactory accommodation: in temporary, converted army camps, in tents, in caravans, and with in-laws’ while they waited for their permanent house to be habitable.³⁷ A small number of tents and caravans were used as homes, as well as converted trams and railway cars, but a considerably larger number of



garages, shacks, huts and sheds provided accommodation, sometimes for many years. All these makeshift homes contravened recommended and legislated standards for habitable structures but continued to spread rapidly throughout the developing fringes of all towns and cities in the country and, in the vast majority of cases, were successfully replaced by, or gradually adapted and extended to become, a house that conformed to institutionalised expectations.

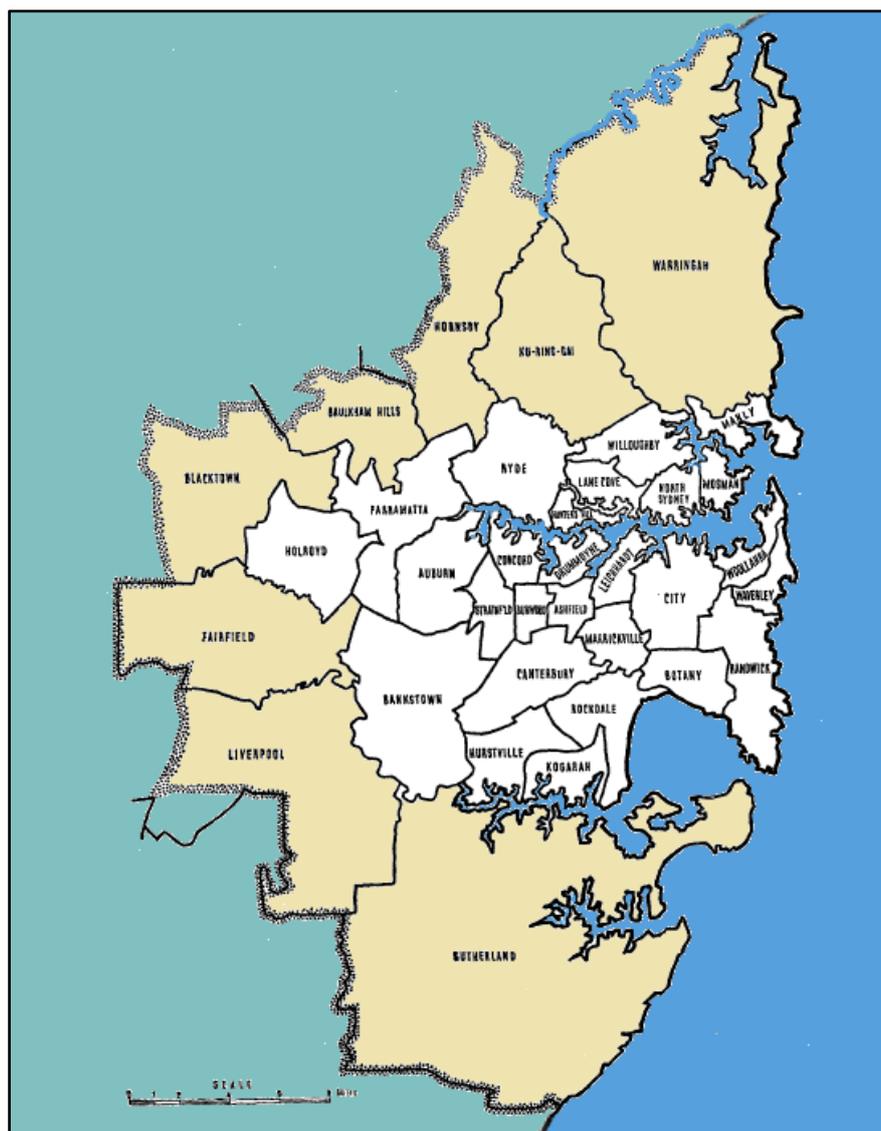


Figure 3. Local Government Areas of metropolitan Sydney, 1958, including urban areas only of the 8 fringe LGAs. Ref. Jeans and Logan, 1961, 34.

Recent research into makeshift homes in Fairfield, Hornsby and Warringah, three of the eight Local Government Areas (LGAs) on the outer fringe of Sydney, has identified more than 6,600 temporary dwellings occupied during the post-war period, the success of which as a form of urban development appears to be attributable to a number of coinciding events.³⁸ Firstly, Commonwealth legislation removed the ability of local authorities to enforce legislated minimum housing standards.³⁹ Secondly, post-war economic expansion and wartime savings provided a favourable financial climate for land purchase.⁴⁰ Thirdly, legislative changes meant many prematurely-subdivided building allotments were made available for purchase.⁴¹ Finally, the established system of public infrastructure provision reduced the financial burden of utility installation for individual households.

Commonwealth legislative actions

For the government of NSW, informal urbanism commenced with early acceptance of the Commonwealth Powers Bill 1942, a draft law proposed in December 1942 and enacted into federal law as the Commonwealth Powers Act



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on 30 June 1943.⁴² This Bill transferred many State government concerns to the Commonwealth government until five years after the Act was passed by Parliament, including control of the production, sale, distribution and prices of all building materials and internal fixtures, now allocated entirely to military purposes, and also granted control of the sale-price of vacant land which was immediately limited to 10% above the 1942 valuation.⁴³

In NSW, elected local Councils operated with powers delegated by the State Government and so were responsible for enforcing enacted state housing legislation, including compliance with Ordinances 70 and 71 of the Local Government Act 1919 (the Act), that required housing to satisfy minimum accommodation standards before occupation was permitted.⁴⁴ The NSW Government's immediate acceptance of the Commonwealth Powers Bill meant that any houses under construction and in need of further materials or fittings were unable to be completed, and planned new housing was unable to commence. Within two weeks of NSW accepting the Bill, local councillors realised that the requirement for full compliance with the ordinance could no longer be achieved and so Councils could no longer reject owners' requests to occupy incomplete or non-complying housing.⁴⁵ By July 1943, Councils were appealing to the Department of Local Government for an amendment to the Act which would allow them to approve occupation of temporary dwellings on condition they were demolished after the war, however the Department simply agreed that 'the position which confronts Councils today with regard to the erection of small war-time dwellings is difficult', noted that demolition could leave families without shelter, and stated that any decision on the ultimate fate of temporary dwellings should therefore be left for the future.⁴⁶ With this reply, the Department effectively conceded their inability to enforce institutionalised housing standards and the opportunity opened for temporary or makeshift dwellings to become widespread. Local Councils were forced to approve construction and occupation of these dwellings, albeit with rarely-met conditions, while the living standards of the residents were brought under the supervision of increasingly-tolerant Council Health and Building Inspectors.⁴⁷



Figure 4. Two-roomed garage dwelling occupied 1950-1965, Hornsby LGA, Sydney. Image: N.Pullan 2014.

The Commonwealth Powers Bill expired in 1948 but was immediately replaced with the NSW Building Operations and Building Materials Act 1948 which retained control of building materials, but relinquished control over land prices.⁴⁸ Full delegated powers were finally re-instated in September 1952 on expiration of the 1948 NSW Act, and Ordinance 71 was simultaneously amended with Clause 86, Temporary Buildings – "Special Provision", prohibiting the habitation of temporary structures.⁴⁹ However, for at least another decade, local authorities' attempts to re-impose control over sub-standard dwellings could only extend to pushing for rapid completion of the permanent house while continuing to ensure temporary dwellings provided adequate, if basic, accommodation.⁵⁰

The expanding post-war economy

From 1945 until 1949, the Commonwealth government also retained full control of the country's domestic and international finances, facilitating a successful transition of the Australian economy from wartime production to consumer-oriented manufacturing.⁵¹ As a result, despite inflation briefly reaching 20% in 1951-52 due to high consumer demand and increased labour costs, the period from 1945 to 1961 was generally characterised by strong economic growth and full employment.⁵² From 1947, wages reverted to an earlier industrial award scheme, leading to a 150% increase in wages over the period, while at the same time unemployment ranged between 2 and 3.5%



with thousands of unfilled job vacancies.⁵³ Between February 1946 and June 1956, the value of primary production rose 77% and manufacturing increased by 167%, led by increased manufacture of industrial metals, machines, and conveyances, comprising 42% of the total production value and employing 28% of the workforce by 1949.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, payment of deferred military pay amounted to £30 mill. by 1948, with an additional £6 mill. in war gratuities paid in 1951, each contributing to a 70% increase in deposits to the government-owned Commonwealth Savings Bank between 1946 and 1955.⁵⁵ These economic changes resulted in an unprecedented number of low-income households finding themselves in a more secure financial position than they had ever experienced, with stable employment prospects, consistently high wages, and small sums on deposit.⁵⁶ Although more families were in a position of relative financial security, the majority were from occupations where their income was so low or variable they were unable to satisfy the exacting borrowing conditions for a loan to purchase a completed home, even if houses were available, and their limited savings were only enough to purchase inexpensive vacant land and materials for a shed or garage.⁵⁷ However, by taking advantage of this opportunity, aspiring but marginal homeowners could retain the money which would otherwise have been paid in rent and put it towards buying materials to construct their permanent house as they could afford to do so.

Availability of prematurely-developed land

Premature development of land has been defined as “the subdivision of land for residential purposes without relation to actual housing needs”.⁵⁸ In 1948, it was estimated that approximately 250,000 prematurely-developed and still un-serviced vacant residential allotments existed in the immediate environs of Sydney, having been subdivided for their investment potential during seventy years of unregulated and haphazard suburban expansion.⁵⁹ Of these, just over half were situated in or close to areas which already had amenities installed and so were regarded as viable building sites.⁶⁰ The remainder, comprising almost 120,000 lots, were so remote that newly-installed county planners considered it impossible to provide utilities within a reasonable period, if at all.⁶¹ Consequently, a few allotments were usually taken up on subdivision but vast tracts remained vacant, still without basic amenities and held mainly as consolidated holdings until demand for building land caught up with this long-standing over-supply during the early post-war years.

A limited amount of vacant land was put on the market from 1945, however, the majority was withheld from sale until Commonwealth control of land prices was allowed to lapse in September 1948, after which the number of lots available for purchase more than doubled within six months.⁶² Much of the land was in outer suburbs and remained without amenities or public infrastructure with little prospect of provision in the foreseeable future, however it was both readily available and affordable to the marginal purchaser, being already subdivided into residential allotments with individual title and offered at prices considerably lower than developed land closer to local amenities and places of employment.

Government control of utilities and public infrastructure

In post-war Australia, the provision of utilities and related public infrastructure was the responsibility of government-owned or government-regulated entities, therefore, in NSW all utilities except gas supply were under the direct control of the State. The Metropolitan Water, Sewerage & Drainage Board installed, maintained and operated water and waste water infrastructure; Sydney County Council generated electricity which was distributed through its own network or, until 1958, sold in bulk to local Councils who then distributed it using council-owned infrastructure; while local Councils managed garbage and night-soil services, street lighting, and construction of local roads. Gas was provided by AGL, a public company that owned and operated all gas infrastructure, and had accepted government control of prices and dividends in return for a market monopoly.⁶³ During this period, with much of the still un-serviced land being settled, and materials and labour in very short supply, connection of all utilities and amenities was only considered once a subdivision had reached 25% occupancy.⁶⁴ However, installation costs were not borne entirely by the new homeowners as each utility provider charged a uniform rate across the metropolitan area, relying on high demand in more-developed areas to subsidise installation of essential services for localities which could not otherwise be served due to high costs per property or insufficient population to cover expenditure.⁶⁵ Local Councils also utilised provisions in the LG Act 1919 permitting them either to guarantee providers against income deficiencies arising from utility extensions, or to pay the full cost out of the General Fund which would then be recouped incrementally via a general rate levied for a number of years on all improved land throughout the municipality.⁶⁶

Where the local Council was responsible for electricity infrastructure i.e. poles and wires, electricity installation commenced once “loan money and materials [were] available”, and was also postponed if the particular area had



too few customers for revenue to cover expenditure.⁶⁷ Roads and footpaths were constructed and maintained by Councils from their General Fund supplemented by grants from the Lands Department and Department of Main Roads, with narrow central strips of bitumen and pre-formed concrete slab footpaths laid when resources were available, while locally-quarried sandstone was provided for residents to construct their own kerbing and guttering along frontages.⁶⁸ Thus, the financial load of installing utilities and public infrastructure was reduced for the individual home-owner as prices and levies were tightly-regulated and underwritten by the state government, while communal repayment strategies and community effort shared the cost of servicing undeveloped suburbs across the entire customer base.

Conclusion

Contrary to experiences of informal urbanism in the majority of international contexts, post-war temporary dwellings in the outer suburbs of Sydney can be seen as a primarily successful model of suburban development. This success was underpinned by four exceptional events. Firstly, removal of State support for enforcement of enacted housing ordinances meant Councils had to accept the existence of sub-standard dwellings and the responsibility for ensuring the dwellings provided a tolerable standard of living. Secondly, the stable and expanding national economy brought guaranteed employment and high wages to all workers, supplemented in many cases by extraordinary lump sum payments, and so providing historically-marginal households sufficient financial resources to own land and construct basic accommodation while saving to achieve a complying house.⁶⁹ Thirdly, a large number of residential allotments became available at prices affordable even to these low-income wage earners. Finally, public ownership or regulation of essential utilities and infrastructure ensured timely and affordable installation of basic amenities, while communal funding for their provision reduced the financial burden on households in newly-developing areas.

Thus, the unprecedented social, political and economic environment outlined above enabled low-income wage-earners in Sydney to purchase an allotment of inexpensive residential land, acquire the building materials necessary for construction of a temporary dwelling, and have affordable access to basic amenities while they saved to complete a conventional home. During this time, local authorities also modified their expectations and acted to support the occupation of non-complying dwellings until a complying house was achieved. In this way, the vast majority of families who experienced informal suburban development on the outer fringes of Sydney successfully transitioned to a formal and complying urban mode.

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Notes on Contributor

Nicola Pullan is an historian, doctoral candidate and research assistant in the Faculty of Built Environment at the University of New South Wales. She is currently researching the construction and occupation of temporary dwellings between 1945 and 1960 on the suburban fringe of Sydney and the social, political and economic contexts in which they existed.

Notes

¹ Harris, "Modes of Informal Urban Development", 1.

² *Ibid.*, 6.

³ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*; Bastie, *La Croissance De La Banlieue Parisienne*; Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*; Romanos, "Illegal Settlements in Athens"; Castela, "A Liberal Space".

⁴ Pullan, "A Roof over Their Heads"; Pullan, "A Lot of Hardship"; Pullan, "Tram Cars, Tents, 'Igloos' and Garages"; Pullan, "An Alternative Solution", forthcoming.

⁵ Leontidou, *The Mediterranean City in Transition*; Benevolo, *O Ultimo Capitolo*; Busquets, *La Urbanizacion Marginal*; Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*; Vineta, *La Urbanizacion Marginal*; Nicolaides, "'Where the Working Man Is Welcomed'"; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; Gowans, *The Comfortable House*; Harris, "The Imprint of the Owner-Builder".

⁶ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 270.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 3, 158.



- ⁸ Bastié quoted in Etienne, "Jean Bastie", 942-943.
- ⁹ Bastie, *La Croissance De La Banlieue Parisienne*, 264.
- ¹⁰ Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*, vii, 7; Knapton, "Basildon's Special Problems", 509
- ¹¹ Hardy and Ward, "Makeshift Landscapes", 13.
- ¹² Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*, 47.
- ¹³ Hardy and Ward, "Makeshift Landscapes", 12.
- ¹⁴ Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*, 47.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 128-129.
- ¹⁷ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 236.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 237.
- ¹⁹ Harris, "The Impact of Building Controls", 19; Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 288.
- ²⁰ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 19.
- ²¹ Bastie, *La Croissance De La Banlieue Parisienne.*, 264.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 308; Faure, "Annie Fourcaut", 237.
- ²³ Bastie, *La Croissance De La Banlieue Parisienne*, 311.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 340.
- ²⁵ Romanos, "Illegal Settlements in Athens", 137.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 138-39.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.
- ²⁸ Castela, "A Liberal Space", 1.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.
- ³⁰ Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*, 11, 33; Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 268.
- ³¹ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs*, 254; Hardy and Ward, *Arcadia for All*, 277- 280; Bastie, *La Croissance De La Banlieue Parisienne*, 322.
- ³² Castela, "A Liberal Space", 152.
- ³³ Romanos, "Illegal Settlements in Athens", 138
- ³⁴ "Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia for 1962-63", 22; Australian Labor Party, *Five Critical Years*, 100; Hogan, *Almost Like Home*, 3; *Commonwealth Housing Commission Final Report, 25th August, 1944*, 185; Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 117-119.
- ³⁵ Allport, "The Unrealised Promise", 57.
- ³⁶ Patryn, "Recording 16".
- ³⁷ Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 115.
- ³⁸ Abercrombie, "Metropolitan Planning for Sydney 1948-1988: Looking to the Past to Learn for the Future", 33.
- ³⁹ Warringah Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, File No. 2531", 4.
- ⁴⁰ Wagstaff, "Interview 1"; Kociuba, "Recording 1".
- ⁴¹ Twomey, *The Constitution of New South Wales*, 229.
- ⁴² Commonwealth Powers Act. Act No. 18, 1943.
- ⁴³ Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment*, 125-126.
- ⁴⁴ Local Government Act 1919 (NSW), "Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919 Embodying Amendments and Alterations to 31st August, 1945". Part XL, r. Building, ss.310, 316, 318.
- ⁴⁵ Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, No. 1/43, File No. 144", 3.
- ⁴⁶ Warringah Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, File No. 2531", 4.
- ⁴⁷ Kirby, "Interview 1".
- ⁴⁸ Twomey, *The Constitution of New South Wales*, 807.
- ⁴⁹ "Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, Embodying Amendments and Alterations to 3rd August, 1951", 63.
- ⁵⁰ Warringah Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting", 2; Champion and Champion, *Forest History*, 72; Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, No. 9/51, File No. 1406", 6.
- ⁵¹ Brett, "The Menzies Era", 122.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 124; CAU, *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities*, 13.
- ⁵³ "Official Yearbook for New South Wales for 1957, No. 55", 227, 231.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 241, 247; Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment*, 340.
- ⁵⁵ "The Official Yearbook of New South Wales, No. 53, 1950-51", 594; "Official Yearbook for New South Wales for 1957, No. 55", 485.
- ⁵⁶ Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment*, 340.
- ⁵⁷ McDonnell, "Interview 1"; Pullan, "An Alternative Solution", forthcoming.
- ⁵⁸ Cumberland County Council, "Planning Scheme", 72.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² Houses, Land, Businesses for sale, SMH, Sat 14 Aug 1948 p10; SMH, Sat 18 Mar 1950, 11; SMH, "Big 1950 Turnover in Real Estate.", 4.
- ⁶³ Broomham, *First Light*, 72.
- ⁶⁴ Cumberland County Council, "Planning Scheme", 187; Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting No. 46/53, File Number. 2044".
- ⁶⁵ Aird, *The Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage of Sydney*, 238.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 247; Wilkenfeld and Spearritt, *Electrifying Sydney*, 36.
- ⁶⁷ Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting No. 46/53, File Number. 2044".
- ⁶⁸ Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, No. 22/53, File No. 2005"; Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, No. 23/53,"; Hornsby Shire Council, "Minutes of Ordinary Meeting, No. 22/50".
- ⁶⁹ Wagstaff, "Interview 1"; Kociuba, "Recording 1".

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