The 'Middle-Class' and the Inner City

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INTRODUCTION

A dramatic change is said to have occurred in the Australian inner city. These old locations which traditionally have housed working-class residents are now being dominated by the "middle-class". The working-class is dying off or moving to the suburbs and its vacated dwellings are being bought, if not by commercial concerns, then by the middle-class who take up residence and 'gentrify' them.

This , at least, is what is claimed to be happening, for such residential change has not been universally demonstrated for metropolitan Australia. The process has been identified in a general way for Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide (Kendig, 1979; Maher, 1978; Badcock and Cloher, 1981), but no empirical analyses have been made of other metropolitan centres, or undertaken comparatively with all metropolitan areas. More importantly, theoretical discussion is yet to appear which explains why this process is occurring and explains it in relation to general changes in Australian urbanisation and to wider changes in Australian capitalism.

Against a background of such empirical and theoretical limitations, this paper has two aims. The principal aim is to extend empirical analysis of the Australian inner city by providing a comparative study of residential change in inner Brisbane, inner Melbourne and inner Sydney, but with a number of comments on inner Adelaide. The second and more limited aim is to introduce a discussion on possible avenues of explanation for inner city residential change.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

While there is little theoretical work on inner city residential change, an analytical framework can be built from analyses of the corporate city, the urban system of monopoly (or corporate) capitalism. This will help explain the decline of the inner city working-class population. The framework also incorporates changes to class structure brought by the development of monopoly capitalism and these provide a necessary basis for understanding the rise of the inner city middle-class.

1. The Corporate City

The inner city has changed radically with the rise of the corporate city in recent decades. It has been transformed from a centre of manufacturing to one of administration/planning and it is this which has largely determined' the decline in the dominant inner city working-class population. Manufacturing has relocated to the suburbs, to nearby cities, and to cities of under-developed regions, and new industries have been established in these new locations rather than in the inner city (see Gordon, 1978; Mollenkopf, 1977). The retail industry has also relocated to the suburbs, where the

population is now concentrated, and this has had the effect of reducing the numerically small old middle-class inner city residents. This outmigration of population has been further increased by state activity in the form of urban renewal schemes and freeway construction. Along with other infrastructure, inner city housing has been destroyed by these urban plans to allow the construction of the new inner city and residents have been subsequently forced to relocate.

From this destruction there has emerged the new inner city, an inner city devoted to administration and planning. It is a corporate centre for monopoly capitalism, formed by the offices of corporations, by state offices and other offices. Thus where the inner city once was the location of working-class employment in factories, it is now the place of middle-class employment in skyscrapers and other office buildings. The growth of inner city middle-class residents seems partly related to the development of the inner city as a place of middle-class employment (though, as we will later see, this is only part of the explanation).

Inner city population loss was not simply the result of outmigration. Suburbanisation played the most pervasive role, because in the post 1940s the suburbs became the place where both the working-class and the middle-class were maintained and reproduced. Initially suburbia was the place for middle-class maintenance and reproduction (see Schnore, 1965; Walker, 1978), but with the mass consumption of consumer durables being central to monopoly capitalism, and since this consumption revolved around suburbanisation, the working-class also came to be maintained and reproduced in the suburbs (see Goldthorpe, et al., 1969; Saunders, 1979)[1]. With increasing concentration of population in the suburbs, the inner city became the place of residence of old, long-time residents and of some international and internal migrants who, with the poor, became the cheap labour force and the reserve army of labour.

The increase in inner city middle-class residents is attributed usually to gentrification, the process whereby old working-class housing is taken

over and refurbished for the middle-class. This reflects the migration of capital from the now relatively less profitable suburban housing to the more profitable inner city 'luxury' housing aimed at the middle-class (see Smith, 1979). While commonly thought to be undertaken by middle-class homeowners, the bulk of gentrification in fact is done by developers (see Smith, 1979; Kendig, 1979).
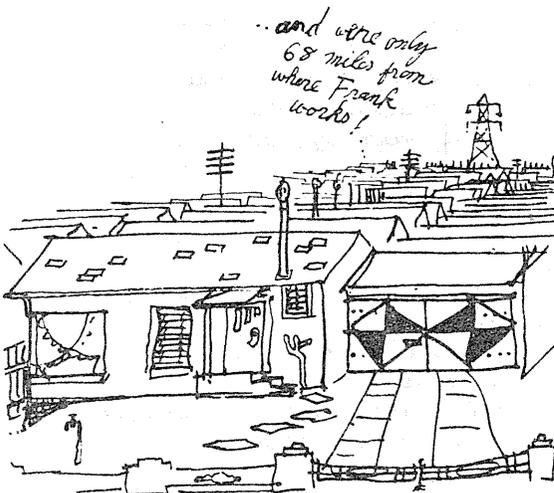
While gentrification is important in the the growth of the middle-class, it does not explain why gentrified housing and the inner city is so attractive to certain of the middle-class. Problems resulting from the energy crisis cannot provide a sufficient answer; data from the United States show people who move into gentrified housing had moved from other parts of the inner city, not from the suburbs (see Laska and Spain, 1979; LeGates and Murphy, 1981). These new inner city residents were not middle-class suburbanites who found increasing costs of commuting had encouraged them to move into the inner city. In fact, suburbs and other

outlying areas are growing as fast as they ever have. (For detail on the middle-class and gentrification see the special issues of two journals: Journal of the American Planning Association, 45 (Oct.) 1979; Urban Affairs Quarterly (14 (June) 1980. See also Henig, 1981; and Lipton, 1977).

2. Changes to Class Structure

It is important to consider these changes because the growth of the inner city middle-class is a consequence of one particular type of middle-class worker and this was a worker whose significance has increased dramatically with the development of monopoly capitalism.

Although the term middle-class has been used in the opening section of this paper and is commonly used in the social sciences, it can be a misleading concept because there is no such class as the middle-class. 'Middle-class' workers are essentially wage labourers, because white collar workers such as clerks, teachers and hospital doctors all sell their labour, as do blue collar workers such as labourers. A very small proportion of white collar workers are not working-class because, rather than selling their labour, they are independent commodity producers providing goods and/or services. In class terms they are petty bourgeois and include self-employed white collar workers such as lawyers as well as self-employed blue collar workers such as electricians.

It is also not accurate to say all white collar workers who are wage labourers are 'totally' working-class. Firstly a number of these workers have control over other workers (e.g. managers), and secondly a number of others have considerable work autonomy (e.g. hospital doctors). These characteristics set them apart from the working-class and they hold what Wright (1978, 1980a, 1980b) calls 'contradictory class locations'. They are fundamentally working-class but in the first case, control over other workers, there is a characteristic shared with the capitalist-class, and they therefore hold a contradictory class location between the working-class and the capitalist-class. It should also be noted that the blue collar worker, the foreman, also holds this contradictory position: in this second case there is a contradictory class location between the working-class and the petty bourgeoisie, because although essentially working-class, these workers share a characteristic (work autonomy) with the petty bourgeoisie. Thus, the "middle-class" comprises persons who: (i) are working-class, (ii) are petty bourgeoisie, (iii) hold contradictory class locations between the working-class and the capitalist-class, and (iv) hold contradictory class locations between the working-class and the petty bourgeoisie.(See also the work by Carchedi, 1977; Larson, 1977, 1980; and Burris, 1980. For Australian data suggesting this process see Encel, 1978 and the empirical data contained in Kasper, et al., 1980 and Broom and Jones, 1976).

The development of such contradictory class locations emerged from the labour needs of monopoly capitalism (see Braverman, 1974). These revolve around new technology, administration and economic planning and around the maintenance and reproduction of labour power. As a result of demands for high levels of skill, achieved through secondary and (particularly) tertiary education, these workers have come to form what may be called 'educated labour'.

The importance of this discussion is that it is these workers holding contradictory class locations (but excluding foreman) who have formed the so-called middle-class growth in the inner city. It will be argued that whereas the working-class of the earlier form of inner city lived there

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because of employment reasons centred on manufacturing industry, "educated labour" is coming to reside in the inner city because of unique consumption reasons. That is, these workers are the consumers of services which are concentrated in the inner city.

What follows is an empirical analysis. Unfortuantely it is not possible to analyse with any accuracy changes to the inner city class structure because of the inadequacies of data. The Census permits a distinction to be made between blue collar workers and white collar workers (as roughly indicative of what sociologists call the "middle class") and enables us to use the category 'professional, technical and related workers' as roughly equivalent to 'educated labour' - i.e. workers holding contradictory class locations.

INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL CHANGE: EMPIRICAL TRENDS IN BRISBANE, MELBOURNE AND SYDNEY.

A continual loss of inner city population has been a distinctive feature of post-1940s capitalism (see for example, Jones, 1979). In Australia, between 1947 - when the Census recorded the largest number of inner city residents - and 1976, there was a 30 per cent decline of population from inner Adelaide, a 35 per cent loss from inner Melbourne and a 28 per cent loss from inner Sydney (Kendig, 1979: 72). Inner Brisbane, in marked contrast, experienced a much greater decline, for there was an estimated 65 per cent loss of residents.[2]

This difference can be explained by the different historical location of these cities within Australian capitalism. (See Mullins, 1979a, 1980, 1981; Stilwell, 1980). More particularly, it was the presence of manufacturing industry - or lack of it - which seems to have determined the degree of inner city population decline. The lower and almost equal losses from inner areas of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney seems related to the greater manufacturing bases of these cities. In contrast, Brisbane has never been a significant manufacturing centre.

The decline of manufacturing in the inner city cannot be seen simply as a cause of population decline. In some respects, manufacturing industry limited population loss because significant numbers of old inner city factories were retained in the inner city during the manufacturing boom of the 1950s and 1960s, when most inner city factories were being relocated to the suburbs (see Kendig, 1979). It was the employment opportunities offered by these remaining inner city factories, plus the availability of relatively cheap housing, which actually helped check population loss. However, it was not so much that these factories and houses kept existing residents in the inner city, but that they attracted new residents. These were migrants brought to Australia - particularly from Italy and Greece - as labour for the country's post-1940s industrialisation. Since Melbourne and Sydney and, to a lesser extent, Adelaide, have always been Australia's manufacturing centres and, since these were also the locations for the country's post-1940s industrialisation, migrants went to these metropolitan areas and moved disproportionately into their inner cities. It was this in-migration of migrants, then, which helped lower the rate of population loss from inner Adelaide, inner Melbourne and inner Sydney.

Since Brisbane has never been a manufacturing centre, few factories could possibly have been retained in the inner city - because there were just so few to begin with. There was little, therefore, to keep existing residents in inner Brisbane or to attract new ones, (specifically migrants) over this post-1940s period. Moreover, because Australia's post-1940s industrialisation had little impact upon Brisbane, Brisbane had no great need for new cheap
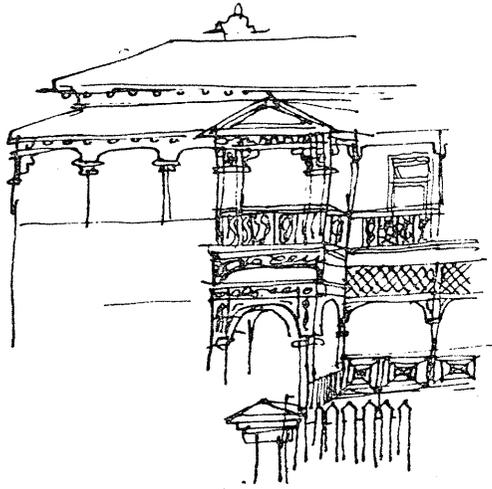
labour and this meant it received insignificant numbers of international migrants. Without such migrants, the rate of loss from Brisbane's inner city came to be much greater than Adelaide's, Melbourne's and Sydney's. The suburbanisation process, then, ultimately had a free rein in pulling large numbers out of inner Brisbane and then in preventing others from settling there.

Such variations in population loss between inner Brisbane and the inner areas of Adelaide/Melbourne/Sydney are illustrated by Table 1. Comparison is made here between inner Brisbane and inner Melbourne and then between these two inner cities and their metropolitan populations. Inner Melbourne is used in this table as representative of the inner cities of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney. Apart from the greater loss of population from inner Brisbane, the most important feature to note about Table 1 is the very small loss from inner Melbourne during the 1960s. There was a 0.1 per cent decline between 1961 and 1966 and a 2 per cent loss between 1966 and 1971. This compares with the 6 per cent and 10 per cent losses from inner Brisbane between these censuses.

TABLE 1:   Percentage Change in Population in the Inner City Areas and the Metropolitan Areas of Brisbane and Melbourne, 1933-1976

	Brisbane		Melbourne	
	Inner Area	Metropolitan Area	Inner Area	Metropolitan Area
1933 - 47	+ 11	+ 34	+ 9	+ 23
1947 - 54	- 12	+ 26	- 9	+ 19
1954 - 61	- 10	+ 20	- 9	+ 25
1961 - 66	- 6	+ 12	-0.1	+ 12
1966 - 71	- 10	+ 12	- 2	+ 12
1971 - 76	- 15	+ 14	-16	+ 4

Source: For Brisbane - unpublished ABS data.
        For Melbourne - Maher (1978, 1980).

Turning from the general question of population change to the specific question of the (supposed) middle-class takeover of the inner city, occupational change provides the most useful empirical measure of this process. Table 2 shows that although the 'blue collar' workforce still dominated the

inner city during the 1960s and 1970s, the 'white collar' workforce increased its share in all three inner city areas and these increases were particularly noticeable in inner Melbourne and inner Sydney. Although the data are not wholly comparable, Badcock and Cloher (1981) seem to suggest an even more marked increase in the middle-class share of inner Adelaide. Table 2 also shows that it was a proportional increase in one type of middle class worker (professional, technical and related workers) which largely accounted for the increasing white collar share.

Paralleling this proportional increase in white collar workers, blue collar workers have come to hold a declining share of the inner city resident workforce. This loss was primarily tied to the large proportional decline of the biggest blue collar group; craftsmen, process workers and labourers.

Table 2 also suggests , rather surprisingly at first sight, that inner Brisbane had a larger white collar population during the 1960s and 1970s than either inner Melbourne and inner Sydney, while inner Melbourne and inner Sydney had largely blue collar populations. This is surprising because we have been led to believe that inner Melbourne and inner Sydney were far more influenced by the 'middle-class' (via gentrification) over these decades than were any of the other Australian inner cities. This difference between inner Brisbane and inner Melbourne/inner Sydney in the 1960s/70s suggests that inner Brisbane had an even stronger 'middle-class' component before 1966, relative to inner Melbourne and inner Sydney. Unfortunately it is not possible to empirically confirm or reject this hypothesis because occupational data on the Australian inner city are unavailable for the period before 1966. The argument, however, is of some theoretical interest because Brisbane's traditional economic base of mercantilism and administration appears to have had the effect of dispersing both the working-class and the 'middle-class' fairly evenly around the city. In contrast, in the relatively industrial cities of Melbourne and Sydney - as in all industrial cities - the working-class and the 'middle-class' came to be segregated in a quite marked fashion. Working-class segregation arose from the concentration of workers around factories and since the inner city was the principal factory site, this is where they were concentrated. This proposition is generally consistent with the analysis of Australia's six major centres by Logan, et al. (1975) which found that residential segregation in 1971 was greater in Melbourne and Sydney (and Adelaide) than in Brisbane.

In comprehending Table 2, it is important to realise that all it shows is how white collar workers increased their share of the total inner city population. This is quite different from saying that they grew in absolute numbers, for as Table 3 shows, both white collar and blue collar workers declined absolutely in all three inner city areas between 1966 and 1976. White collar losses were far greater in inner Brisbane (-37 per cent) than in inner Melbourne (-6 per cent) and inner Sydney (-4 per cent) but there was relatively little difference between the three in the more striking losses of blue collar workers. Inner Brisbane had a 59 per cent loss, inner Melbourne a 47 per cent loss and inner Sydney a 57 per cent loss.

The large blue collar loss appears tied to the dramatic decline of manufacturing employment in the inner city. In Sydney, there was a 48 per cent decline of such inner city employment between 1945 and 1971, compared with a 251 per cent increase in such employment in the rest of Sydney (computed from data contained in Kendig, 1979:85). A similar pattern occurred in inner Melbourne between 1965 and 1971 and this trend continued after 1971 in both inner cities (Kendig, 1979). Although Brisbane, relative to Melbourne

TABLE 2:   Occupations of Workers Living in the Inner City:
Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, 1966-76
(percentage distribution)

Occupations	Brisbane			Melbourne			Sydney		
	1966	1971	1976	1966	1971	1976	1966	1971	1976
Professional, technical & related	12	12	13	11	13	16	9	10	13
Administrative & managerial	5	5	5	5	5	6	4	5	5
Clerical	18	18	16	15	17	17	15	17	17
Sales	8	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6
Transport & Communication	7	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	5
Craftsmen, Process Worker & Labourers	37	33	29	44	34	30	45	37	32
Service, Sport, recreation	11	12	12	11	9	10	11	10	11
Other*	2	8	12	4	12	11	3	10	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
'White collar'**	43	46	47	37	41	45	35	41	45
'Blue collar'***	57	54	53	63	49	55	65	39	55

*   Little significance can be placed on the growing share of the inner-city
     populations classified as being in "other occupations". According to
     personal communication with the ABS the category comprises those who, while
     employed, refused to give details of their occupation. Such refusals have
     increased over past censuses with both occupational and other questions.
     Hence for present purposes this "other" category must be excluded from
     the analysis.

**   Professional & Technical; administrative; clerical; & sales workers
     (as a percentage of the total excluding the category of "other" occupations).

*** Transport & communication, craftsmen, process workers & labourers, and
     services, sport & creative work (as a percentage of the total excluding
     the category of "other" occupations).

and Sydney, has never been a manufacturing centre, inner Brisbane experienced
a large loss of manufacturing employment: it declined in the central business
district by 87 per cent between 1961 and 1974 (Brisbane City Council).

In contrast, the decline in white collar workers appears related to the decline in retail employment in the inner city. These jobs declined in inner Sydney by 7 per cent between 1961 and 1971, while within Sydney's central business district they fell by 50 per cent between 1945 and 1971 (Kendig, 1979). Similarly, retail employment dropped by 43 per cent in Brisbane's central business district between 1961 and 1974 (Brisbane City Council, n.d.). Recent figures have also shown Brisbane's CBD retail sales dropping from 28 per cent of total Brisbane sales in 1969 to 17 per cent in 1981 (Courier Mail, 28 April, 1981).

Thus, while popular opinion is correct about significant working-class losses from the inner city it is wrong in its judgement about the "middle-class". Sure the white collar workers increased their share, but this had only been achieved because their rate of population loss was far lower than the rate of loss for the blue collar workers.

While there has been an absolute decline of white collar workers, Table 3 does show one segment of this group, 'professional, technical and related workers', having increased in number between 1966 and 1976 in inner Melbourne (by 17 per cent) and inner Sydney (by 22 per cent). Data provided by Badcock and Cloher (1981) suggest an even more dramatic increase in these workers in inner Adelaide. In Brisbane, in marked contrast, they declined sharply - by 23 per cent.

It is the growth of 'professional, technical and related workers' in inner Melbourne and inner Sydney (and inner Adelaide) which is responsible for the impression of a "middle class" takeover of the inner city. Yet some care needs to be taken in evaluating the importance of these workers in inner Melbourne and inner Sydney and for Australian cities generally. Firstly, we must note that they comprise only a small proportion - about a tenth in 1976 - of the total metropolitan population of 'professional, technical and related workers'. Secondly, between 1966 and 1976 they grew at a much faster rate in the metropolitan area as a whole than in the inner city - by 47 per cent in metropolitan Melbourne, by 46 per cent in metropolitan Sydney and by 53 per cent in metropolitan Brisbane. Finally, 'professional, technical and related workers' formed only a minority of total inner city white collar residents in 1976 - 32 per cent of inner Brisbane, 36 per cent of inner Melbourne and 32 per cent of inner Sydney - and therefore they were a long way from numerically dominating the inner city white collar population.

The preceding analysis only covers the period until 1976. Comparable data for the post 1976 period are unavailable: only when data from the 1981 census are published will such an analysis be possible. There is, however, a scattering of data for the post-1976 period which allows some extension to the analysis, and generally confirms the processes described. The inner city is continuing to lose population, but 'educated labour' is increasing in number and this growth is reflected in the continued gentrification of housing, in the construction of inner city home units and in the recycling of old office blocks for apartments. Even in Brisbane where, as we have noted, there has actually been a loss of professional, technical and related workers from the inner city, there are some indications that educated labour is now increasing. There are signs of increasing gentrification and construction of home units, and the state, through the Brisbane City Council, is beginning to plan the residential development of inner Brisbane.

TABLE 3: Percentage Change in the Occupations of Inner City
Residents: Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney 1966-1976

Occupations	Brisbane			Melbourne			Sydney		
	1966-1971	1971-1976	1966-1976	1966-1971	1971-1976	1966-1976	1966-1971	1971-1976	1966-1976
Professional Technical, other related	-6	-16	-23	+7	+9	+17	+9	+12	+22
Administrative & Managerial	-9	-28	-40	-5	-11	-17	-17	+ 6	-11
Clerical	-3	-37	-41	+6	-18	-11	-3	- 7	-10
Sales	-6	-44	-53	-9	-26	-38	-9	-23	-34
Transport & Communication	-21	-45	-76	-22	-26	-53	-34	-11	-48
Craftsmen, Process Workers & Labourers	-19	-45	-73	-51	-36	-92	-32	-30	-71
Service, Sport & Recreation	- 2	-23	-26	-25	-10	-38	-22	- 5	-28
'White Collar'*	- 5	-31	-37	+ 2	- 9	- 6	- 9	- 2	- 4
'Blue Collar'**	-14	-39	-59	-15	-28	-47	-28	-21	-47

*   Professional & technical; administrative; clerical and sales workers.

** Transport & communication, craftsman, process workers & labourers,
    and services, sport and creative work.

Sources: For Brisbane - unpublished ABS data
          For Melbourne - Maher (1978) (1980)
   For Sydney - Kendig (1979) (1980)

DISCUSSION

The relative growth of 'professional, technical and related workers'
('educated labour') has had and is having important economic and political
implications for the inner city. Initially it seems that their growth was related
to the development of the corporate inner city - the centre of office employment.
In Sydney there was an 80 per cent increase in office workers between the late
1940's and 1971: workers employed in "finance, community and business services"
alone increased by 37 per cent between 1945 and 1971 (Kendig, 1979). In

Brisbane's central business district these financial workers
increased by 27 per cent between 1961 and 1974, while professional services
workers increased by 25 per cent (Brisbane City Council, n.d.). By 1974, the
largest concentration of Brisbane's CBD workers were in government employment
(31 per cent) and commerce/finance (16 per cent). This growth in office
employment occurred far earlier in Melbourne and Sydney, as Australia's
major centres, and this was seen symbolically in the earlier construction
of skyscrapers. This earlier development can partly explain the earlier
in-migration of educated labour into inner Melbourne and inner Sydney.

Yet the development of office employment cannot wholly explain the
residential increase of inner city educated labour simply because the bulk
of these workers and other white collar workers reside in the suburbs and
commute to the inner city. Other processes must have been involved in this
residential development. One aspect is the production and consumption of
particular leisure oriented services within the inner city, services which
are produced by a limited number of educated workers and services which are
overwhelmingly consumed by these workers. These services revolve particularly
around the arts. They are produced by different types of theatres, by cinemas,
by private and public art galleries, by private and public museums, by concert
and music halls, by opera houses, by libraries, etc. Also, apart from these
major artistic services, there are numerous other smaller and irregularly
provided artistic and non-artistic services offered in the inner city.
These include free concerts, food and wine festivals and a great range of
other festivals and fetes. Taking artistic services as a whole, what is
apparent about their provision is the central involvement of the state. The
state provides annual funding and a range of grants and, more particularly,
it provides the infrastructure - e.g. the Sydney Opera House and Brisbane's
and Perth's Cultural Centres which are currently under construction.

Of all Australian cities, Sydney and Melbourne and, to a more limited
extent, Adelaide, are the most important producers of the arts. They are
the centres which provide the greatest range and the principal forms of the
arts and they have the most important and most extensive provisions of
infrastructure. Moreover, they receive a disproportionate share of funding
by the State (See Field, 1981). It is the concentration of the arts in Sydney
and Melbourne (and Adelaide), specifically their inner cities, which helps
explain why increasing numbers of educated workers are living in the inner
areas of these cities. It also explains why these workers have made little
inroad into inner Brisbane - because Brisbane is a 'cultural wasteland'.
(See The Bulletin (21 April 1981) item on the Tavistock Research Centre
report, Australian Attitudes to the Arts.)

Where the suburbanisation process revolved around the mass consumption
of goods, the contemporary residential development of the inner city appears to
be resulting from the development of this site as the location for the
consumption of unique leisure-oriented services. The growth of these devices
must be seen as part of the wider post-1940s growth in services. (See Bell,
1973; Wilson & Wilson, 1980). While most of these have been directed at
productive activities (e.g. business consultancy) and at the maintenance of the
population (e.g. health care), recent large-scale increases have emerged around
the production and consumption of leisure. This leisure industry has been
tied particularly to tourism, the fastest growing industry in the world which
could, by the year 2000, be the world's largest industry (Kahn et al., 1979).
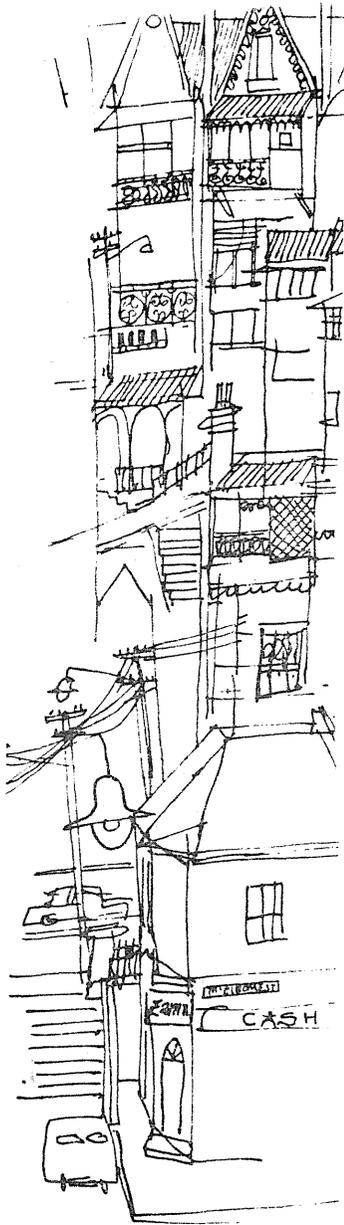
While these services help explain the residential growth of educated labour, the consumption of housing represents the economic roots of its presence in the inner city. There have been distinctive changes to inner city housing, with 'gentrification', the construction of home units and, more recently, the recycling of old CBD commercial buildings for apartments. Such changes are clearly reflected in massive increases in the price of inner city housing.[3]

The gentrification of housing and the recycling of old commercial buildings is important not only for the accommodation provided, but because it has come to symbolise the new inner city. It is central to the development of a new inner city ambience - i.e. a distinctive new inner city 'feeling'. It is the National Trust which is providing the co-ordinating role in this development, through its central involvement in the preservation of old buildings and historically significant precincts. The inner city is perceived as a unique physical environment of old, gentrified, historically significant and attractive buildings, and it is this new 'ambience' which is being consumed. Such esoteric consumption is seen, for example, in National Trust walks through old parts of the inner city.

Yet inner city living for educated labour comprises not just these services, the buildings , and the various forms of housing. It also includes new speciality shops which provide varied and exotic goods. These range from specialty food shops and specialist furniture shops to wine bars and boutiques. Moreover, the massive increase in inner city restaurants epitomises this new inner city consumption pattern. The consumption of food and drugs and related services plays an important part in the social life of 'educated labour'. Considerable time and money is spent in these restaurants and they provide an important focus for social life. Whether the restaurant will ever take on the role played by the nineteenth century working-class pub - particularly of industrial nations like Britain - is yet to be seen. The pub was a centre for working-class life and contributed significantly to working-class social solidarity. In this way it came to play an important political role for the working-class and it was from here that the first strikes were directed. Because of the ideological characteristics associated with educated labour (seen in the lack of consciousness of its place

in class structure), it is unlikely that restaurants will become a catalyst for social solidarity and political action. Food and drugs are ends in themselves rather than a means for heightening sociability and therefore strengthening social solidarity.

Apart from such consumption issues, the growth of the educated labour in the inner city has important political implications and these have been most apparent in inner Melbourne and inner Sydney. The most significant of these appeared in the early 1970s following the threatened destruction of the inner city by urban renewal schemes, by freeway programmes, and by urban development generally. Educated labour came to lead these urban struggles or, more specifically, they led the organisations directing struggles (See Jakubowicz, 1973; Nittim, 1980; Roddewig, 1978 and the considerable discussion in the October 1973 issues of The Australian).

This involvement of educated labour in these inner city struggles was a consequence of its increasing presence in the inner city. It was becoming an important component of inner city residential life in Melbourne and Sydney by the early 1970's and its involvement in urban struggle was an involvement to protect its inner city housing and the housing it would take over sometime in the future. This does not deny its concern for the old working-class, but the traditional working-class residents were moving out, and educated labour was acting to protect from destruction the housing of these departing residents for this was housing it was to take over.

Educated labour in association with students organised its opposition in a distinctive way. While there were many individual struggles directed at a wide range of issues, these workers managed to pull together such individual actions into a federation of urban struggles. In Sydney this appeared as the Coalition of Resident Action Groups (CRAG), (see Nittim, 1980), while in Melbourne there were a number of these coalitions - the Carlton Association, the Committee of Urban Action and the United Melbourne Freeway Action Group. A second important development was the alliance between educated labour - fighting to save its current and future housing - and the trade union movement, directed by the Builders Labourers' Federation, who were fighting to save the inner city for the old working-class. Therefore, while this alliance was directed at the same threats, it existed for different reasons: one for the new residents and one for the old residents. Finally, educated labour attempted to counter these threats by getting elected to local councils. Such a move must be seen as part of the wider political action to stop the destruction of the inner city.

These political responses were most characteristic of Sydney and Melbourne. Brisbane did not have such a political development, not only because educated labour was not so present in the inner city, but because Brisbane had no comparable urban renewal schemes and large-scale inner city redevelopment. Urban renewal has been the process whereby the old inner city is destroyed to aid construction of the new inner city. Since Melbourne and Sydney had been old industrial cities, such renewal and redevelopment schemes had been instituted there. Brisbane, by contrast, was not an industrial city: the most significant urban struggle in Brisbane was the anti-freeway movement, a movement which also involved educated labour (see Mullins, 1979b).

There has been a second, more recent political upheaval involving inner city educated labour. This has been the series of fights centred within Sydney's inner city branches of the Australian Labor Party. In effect, this upheaval

reflects the decline of the old working-class who dominated these ALP branches, and the rise of an increasingly militant section of inner city educated labour. This ALP-oriented educated labour is attempting to remove the influence of the old working-class in the inner city.

CONCLUSION

This paper has drawn attention to the rapid decline of inner city populations, particularly of the traditional working-class residents, and has shown how, concomitantly, there has been the growth of one small group of workers: professional, technical and related workers ('educated labour'). The decline of the old working-class (and the smaller old middle-class) was the result of the relocation of manufacturing industry and the retail trade, of urban renewal and freeway construction and of suburbanisation. The growth of educated labour, in contrast, appears to have resulted partly from the inner city becoming a place of employment for these workers, but more particularly because it is now a place producing a wide range of leisure-oriented services, of which educated labour is both the producer and consumer.

Normanton

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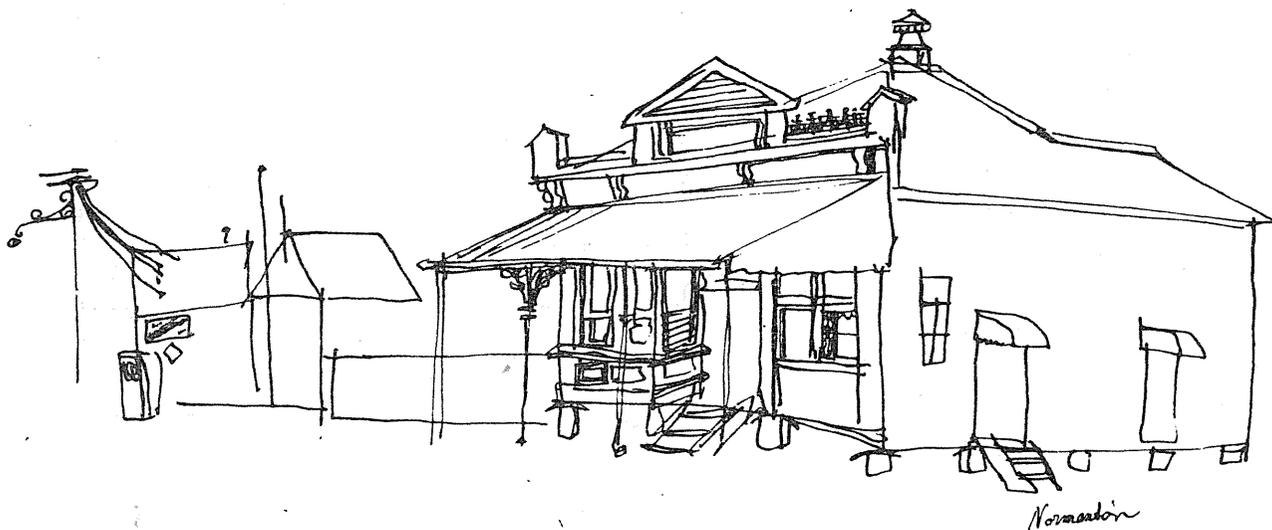
FOOTNOTES
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1. In old industrial nations like Britain, public housing has also been important in the post-1940s housing of the working-class. However, in countries such as Australia and New Zealand, public housing has played a very small role.

2. Inner Brisbane is defined as the following suburbs (1976 census): Bowen Hills, Fortitude Valley, Herston, Kelvin Grove, Milton, Newstead, New Farm, Paddington, Red Hill, Spring Hill, City, Dutton Park, Highgate Hill, West End, South Brisbane, Woolloongabba, East Brisbane, Kangaroo Point. Inner Melbourne and inner Sydney are defined as Kendig (1979) and Maher (1978) define them: Inner Melbourne is based on

the following local government areas: Melbourne, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, Prahan, St. Kilda, South Melbourne, Port Melbourne. Inner Sydney is based on the following local government areas: Sydney, South Sydney, Botany, Marrickville, Leichhardt, North Sydney.

3. Although there was a decline in the number of inner city residents, there was (perhaps surprisingly), a post-1940s growth in the number of dwellings in inner Brisbane, inner Melbourne and inner Sydney. In inner Brisbane, a 24 per cent increase occurred between 1961 and 1976, while in inner Sydney there was a 47 per cent increase between 1947 and 1971 (Kendig, 1979). This increase resulted from old dwellings being subdivided into self-contained flats and home units being constructed.

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