5 The observed organisation of rural space, c. 1980

The timing of this study to begin around 1980 does not imply that the early 1980s were some kind of 'golden age' to which rural people might look back with particular nostalgia. On the contrary, as outlined earlier in Chapters 2 and 3, they had quite recently been through both crises and booms. Moreover, the social organisation of space had already been subjected to extensive change brought about by sharp increases in personal mobility, farm amalgamations, and thinning out of service provision that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, together with the novel migration patterns experienced in the 'population turnaround' decade of the 1970s. However, this period of the early 1980s is still a kind of watershed, coming just before the onset of real and long-sustained crisis conditions and the radical swing of national and state government policies to economic rationalism.

Aims of this chapter: the immediate research agenda

Smith (1976, p. 3) has observed that "Anthropologists for the most part continue to take a worm's eye rather than a bird's eye view of social systems, presuming that the limits of day to day interaction bound the relevant social units." She went on to appeal for a method linking micro- with macro-perspectives, to give understanding of how local communities are linked with others to form intermediate and higher levels of social organisation. Since in-depth local "worm's eye" studies require a great time input, and generalisation from a small number of unique places is at best spatially uncertain, even a lifetime's work would not suffice to map the way the various place-bonding processes giving rise to localism operate on such a wide canvas as rural South Australia. Some attention is given to this in the present chapter, but for a broad scale geographical study we must perforce take the working of the mechanisms as outlined in the previous chapter largely for granted, and concentrate on the spatial outcomes. In what follows, I seek to contribute to such a "bird's eye" view of South Australia's regional social systems by showing how place-linked social groups occupied rural space, initially in the early 1980s.

As will be clear from the discussion of place-bonding in the previous chapter, I start from the position that place-attachment, localism, the formation of local community groups, and 'local patriotism' are indeed facts of life in rural South Australia. A very short experience in the field would be enough to convince all but the most mentally impregnable post-modernist. However, as Smyth (1975) pointed out for rural Ireland, such formations create *invisible* geographies, to which minimal attention has been paid, and their strength, inclusiveness, and nature remain to be demonstrated. To what kind of spatial expression, then, had the 'Need for the Local' given rise by the early 1980s? To tackle this question, I first divide it into more specific parts, viz.:

1. Do territorial (place-specific) social groups exist over the whole inhabited area?
2. Where such groups exist, can they (at least approximately) be bounded and mapped?
3. If such groups exist, are they separated by areas of non-belonging, or do they interlock and overlap?
4. Do such groups occur at several different scales, to form a spatial hierarchy?

5. If so, how does such a hierarchy relate (if at all) to the economically organised hierarchy of urban trade areas?
6. How are such territorial groups, once identified, differentiated across space according to relevant social criteria?
7. How do the local social structures of such groups relate to the broader society in which they are embedded - particularly the economic processes at work in that society, and its political, economic and power structures?

The present chapter deals with the first five of these questions, concentrating initially on the most local level of place-specific social groups, then moving on to the scale of those that may properly be termed "communities", and are the major concern of later chapters.

Approaches to identifying territorial social groups

The mapping of areas within which rural social groups with a shared sense of identity have formed is not as straightforward as it may seem. Some approaches which have been tried include network analysis, the use of surrogate indicators, use of selected, knowledgeable local informants, and sample surveys directly questioning a sample of rural residents. *Network analysis* (eg. Engel, 1970; Seeliger, 1976; Walker, 1977) is useful for small area studies of individual social groups with a relatively small population, but because it requires data on key interaction patterns from every individual in the group, it rapidly becomes unmanageable for the mapping of broad patterns over large areas. Of the *surrogate indicator* approaches, a large number of 'community' studies simply use available administrative or statistical units as a spatial frame (e.g. the U.S. county, English parish) and assume that these are meaningful social units. Such a technique cannot justifiably be used over large areas, though in particular cases a convenient official boundary may be available for a local social system. Another common surrogate approach is to use some more spontaneously developed interaction pattern - e.g. urban trade areas (Christenson, 1976) or activity space (Everitt, 1976). The earlier quoted work of Munch and Campbell (1963), however, should sound warning bells about the non-correspondence of areas of affective identification with functional surrogates. Interviews with *knowledgeable local informants* were used with good effect by Smailes and Kristiansen (1985) in the reconnaissance stage of mapping territorial social areas in southern Norway; by using a key set of informants well scattered residentially through a study area, at least the names and core locations of recognised social groups with a shared sense of belonging can be identified, and very approximate boundaries pencilled in as a first approach.

The most reliable, though labour intensive, approaches involve obtaining information direct from rural informants via *sample household surveys*, and this immediately poses semantic problems. The idea of a home town or district to which one belongs is clearly present in many - probably most - country people's minds, but the investigator is hard pressed to find adequate terms and concepts to discuss it with them. The words employed must a) have a common, accepted meaning for both parties; b) be used by the interviewee in everyday, familiar speech, and c) not lead the respondent to think of some officially defined limit which may not correspond to the respondent's own subjective map of his/her group allegiance. These problems are compounded by the likelihood of the individual's sense of identity and belonging

existing as a complex, nested, multi-level set of structures (Aubert, 1977), and by respondents' unequal periods of residence and local knowledge.

Among the attempts to obtain a direct measure of identification with place consulted when preparing the methodology for the South Australian studies in the early 1980s, some approaches concentrate on the individual person's affective links with place (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Buttimer, 1976). Others however concentrate on identifying the links between the individual and the localised group, in the process obtaining the spatial framework of the group (Swenson, 1978). Young and Larson (1970) use a question which illustrates both the problems of semantics and of multi-level feelings of belonging referred to earlier, and an attempt to cope with them. Working in a United States rural area where people identify at both neighbourhood and community levels, they start with a deliberately non-scale-specific question about the group with which the respondent identifies, and follow it up with a probe which allows the researchers to place the response at the appropriate level. In constructing questionnaires for use in mapping identification patterns in South Australia, account was taken of the problems and approaches just outlined.

Empirical data sources and data collection methods used

This chapter draws on three different data sets, collected and preserved over a period of years and not originally intended for this thesis. The first allows accurate mapping of place-linked social groupings in limited areas of the state based on a dense network of interviews, the second investigates social interactions in twelve specific localities, and the third gives a state-wide coverage but with a lower density of respondents. Only the most relevant parts of each data base are used here.

Field interviews of randomly selected households

The first data base results from a series of field surveys based on home interviews with rural households. A spatially stratified random sampling method was developed to ensure a representative spatial scatter of respondents, while still giving each household an equal chance of selection. Sampling fractions varied between 1 in 4 and 1 in 7 households, dependent on population density, giving a sufficiently close network of observations to allow accurate mapping. The questionnaire was modified somewhat after experience in the first survey (1979), and subsequently some questions added or the sequence changed to fit the nature of the particular study area, but a consistent data set is available from a substantial core of identical questions, for a series of seven rural and one urban studies carried out between 1979 and 1986. The largest was the Murray Mallee survey in 1982, which was funded by a research grant; apart from this, the surveys were done as the final-year field projects for rural social geography students under my supervision over a series of years, so the questionnaires also covered migration history, journey to work, selected shopping patterns, social participation patterns, basic data on rural holdings, and contact patterns between old and new residents.

In all, the seven rural studies in this database include 1285 household interviews. Apart from myself, a total of 98 students, research assistants and supervisory staff have taken part in them. Their work is gratefully acknowledged. In relation to the three major phases of landscape evolution identified in Chapter 2, the Murray Mallee

survey represents the most recent (mostly 20th Century) settlement phase, while Southern Yorke Peninsula represents the intermediate (1868-93) period, and the other survey areas are in the core (pre-1868) zone of white settlement. The purpose was to investigate the social organisation of rural space in all three settlement zones, and across a transect of the State from the high-density growth areas of the Adelaide Hills to outlying areas of low population density and population decline along the Victorian border. The areas covered and numbers in each survey appear in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1. For a copy of the relevant pages of the standard questionnaire used, and details of the sampling methodology, see Appendix I.

Fig. 5.1 Location of detailed field studies, 1979-1986
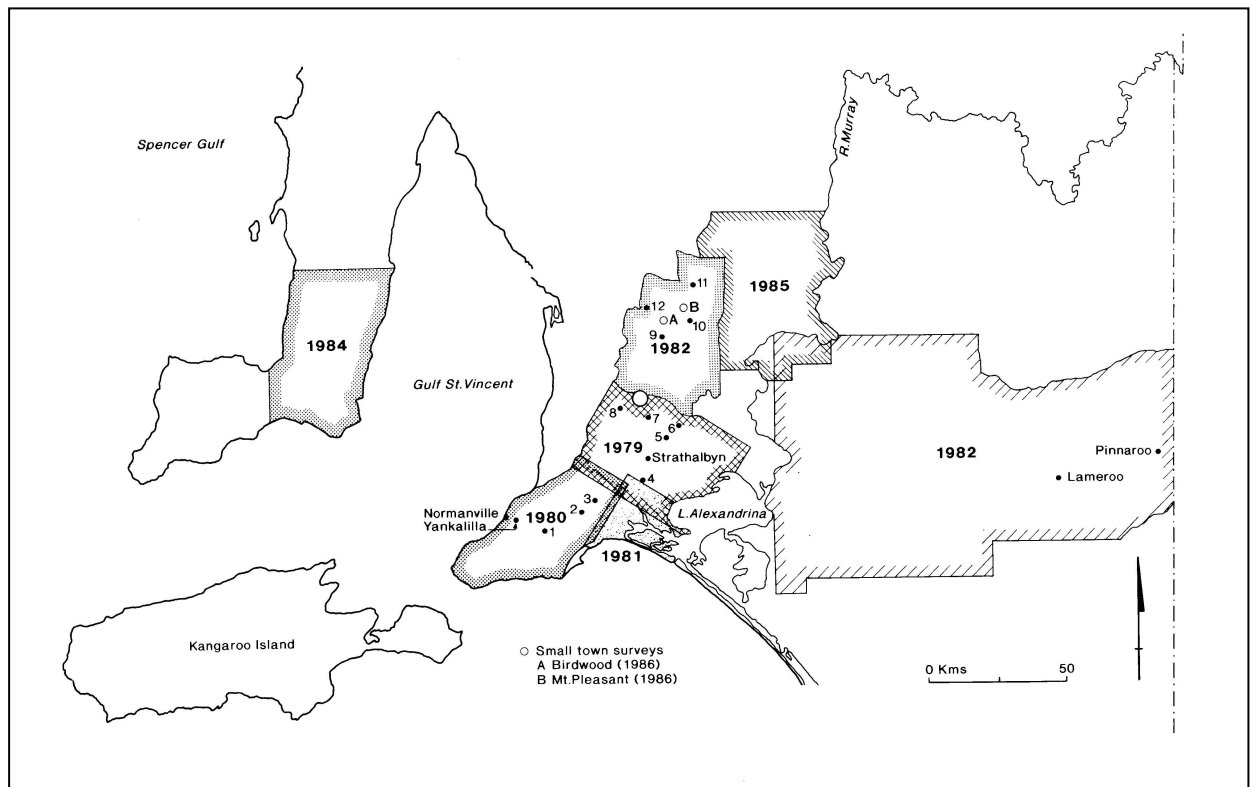
Source: Present author

Table 5.1 Location, number of interviewers and sampled households for community studies, 1979-1986

Year	Survey location	Interviewers	Sampled households		
			Town	Rural	Total
1979	Meadows, Strathalbyn and districts	30			260
1980	Victor Harbor, Yankalilla & districts	16	30	213	243
1981	(06) Goolwa, Victor Harbor & districts	6	0	37	37
1982	(07) Central Adelaide Hills districts	19			193
1982	(08) Murray Mallee districts	19	66	297	363
1984	(09) Southern Yorke Peninsula	9	0	97	97
1985	(10) Ridley and Mannum districts	18			92
1986	(11) Birdwood & Mount Pleasant towns	9	98	0	98

Source: present author

Detailed studies of small localities

The second database results from detailed studies of selected small localities. The patterns of social attachment emerging from the surveys just described allowed the identification and provisional mapping of a large number of named localities, for the present referred to neutrally as 'territorial addresses', but apparently similar to the 'neighbourhood' social formation common in the United States discussed in Chapter 4. Twelve such small localities identified in the initial surveys were selected for detailed follow-up studies in a subsequent year, a) to establish the spatial patterns more precisely, and b) to establish the nature and significance of these small territorial addresses in the minds of their inhabitants. In each follow-up locality, a total of about 30 interviews was aimed at. In some cases, this included all or nearly all of the constituent households of the locality, and the follow-up studies therefore do not constitute formal random samples. Some of the questions included in the initial survey were replicated in the follow-up, but additional attitudinal questions were incorporated, along with questions to test respondent perceptions of recent social change within the locality. The questionnaire used in these detailed studies is supplied in Appendix II, along with a description of the methodology.

State-wide postal survey

Whereas the above two data sources are based on labour-intensive face to face field surveys in limited areas, the third source aims at a system overview and is based on a state-wide random postal survey of householders resident outside nucleated settlements of 200 or more people (1981 Census), with a control survey of selected towns. The sampling frame was developed from the electoral rolls, and stratified by State electorates, proportional to the targeted population in each electorate. A total of 2,000 rural and 500 urban questionnaires were sent out, with one reminder letter where needed. Interest was high, and the response rate (74% rural, 68% urban) must be considered excellent especially as the survey was conducted in the 1982/83 summer, which was a drought year and culminated in South Australia's second Ash Wednesday bushfires, which occurred as many questionnaires were still awaited.[1] A short four-page questionnaire was used. The first aim, using a map printed on p. 1 of the questionnaire, was to identify a) the exact location of the residence, and b) up to three places considered most important for social, sporting, church and visiting activities. For the local community identified as *most* important for these activities, a series of attitudinal questions were then asked, using a five-point Likert scale. A further series of questions identified the household's spatial shopping and business patterns. Finally, basic particulars of the householder and of the house or rural holding were collected; and the back page, which yielded valuable qualitative information, was given over completely to an invitation to comment on anything, not covered elsewhere, that the respondent thought important about the local community as a place to live. The geographic co-ordinates of both residences and places named as centres were read off from the map, allowing the data base to be analysed using the GIS systems ARC-Info and ARCVIEW. A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix III.

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[1]No reminders were sent to non-responding households in areas affected by these fires.

Identifying territorial addresses

Method: (data base 1)

Based on the first of the three databases described above, this section describes the method of mapping, and identifies differences in the results as between landscapes representing the three main periods of initial settlement. The analysis of social identification patterns began by identifying the smallest areas which bore a common and recognised place or locality name applying to a settled area, over and above individual farm names. No assumptions were made about whether such localities had any social or affective significance. The neutral term 'territorial addresses' (Smailes and Kristiansen, 1985) is initially used for these areas, for at a minimum they act as a kind of locational frame of reference for residents and travellers.

Field interviewers were equipped with a base map showing all roads and houses in the study area, but no place names except for those of rivers, creeks and substantial towns. Maps were mounted on a board and covered with transparent film on which data could be recorded, and erased before starting the next interview, after being transferred to and preserved on another copy of the map. Respondents first located their own house and oriented themselves on the map, and were then asked

> "Has this local area a name (official or unofficial)? By this we do not mean names of individual properties, but a rather wider area, including several properties or houses."

If the answer was yes, the place name was recorded, and to obtain the respondent's perception of the spatial boundedness of the locality s/he was asked to indicate on the map the area and houses s/he would include in this local name, and the names of the surrounding, adjacent districts. (Appendix I, questions 16-18 on the questionnaire). The objective at this stage of mapping was to uncover informal but intersubjectively recognised locality names. Names of places with 200 or more people recognised as urban centres at the most recent Census were excluded, their status as territorial addresses already being officially recognised. This process took a little time, but respondents were equal to the task, and the early surveys showed that under this procedure a pattern of clearly defined, recognised districts began to emerge on the map, with the great majority of Adelaide Hills respondents able to place their own home in a subjectively perceived district. There was naturally difference of perception among respondents about exactly which houses should be included. As the studies moved into the more outlying, sparsely settled areas in the later surveys, a smaller proportion of the respondents recognised their locality as having a specific name other than that of the main town or the broader, officially designated District Council or Hundred in which it was located.

Results: an overview

The incidence of identified localities clearly varies very considerably across space, in the first instance as a reflection of population density and the transport network. As an overview, Figure 5.2 shows the centroids of the territorial addresses, excluding places named by less than three respondents. Almost the entire area of the Adelaide Hills and Fleurieu peninsula is thickly spread with territorial addresses, particularly

along the higher, wetter and more accessible western boundary of the study area, closest to the metropolitan area. Here the substantial number of small towns interspersed among the closely spaced territorial addresses reflects population growth through exurban migration during the 1970s. To the east, population density falls off with the decreasing rainfall and rising commuting distances, and this is reflected in the spacing of the territorial addresses. Their distribution is still sparser in the cereal/sheep country of southern Yorke Peninsula; and under even lower population density in the eastern Murray Mallee the territorial addresses are almost all restricted to linear strings, strongest where a main road and a railway line run closely parallel, as on the Tailem Bend-Pinnaroo and Tailem Bend-Bordertown routes, which carry heavy road traffic on the Adelaide-Melbourne and Adelaide-Sydney runs respectively. The lack of territorial addresses in parts of the area shown on Figure 5.2 does not necessarily indicate that no locality names at all were recorded in the 'empty' areas; but any that were recorded were given by only one or two respondents, so that no clear intersubjectivity about place-identity could be demonstrated.

Fig. 5.2 Territorial addresses identified, 1979-85 field surveys (centroids).
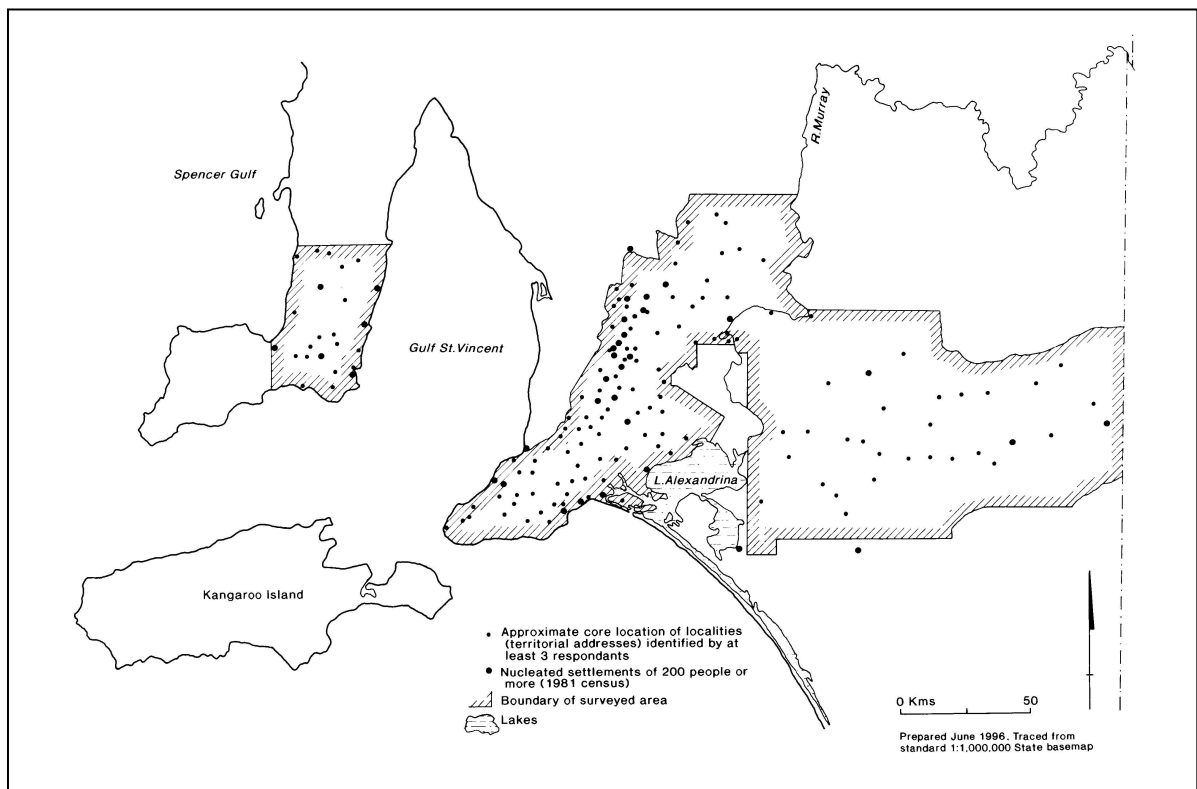

Source: present author

Results: three regional examples

To demonstrate the actual delimitation of territorial addresses, Figures 5.3 to 5.5 show their spatial patterns at a larger scale, in three sample areas chosen to represent the earliest, intermediate and most recent periods of settlement: Fleurieu Peninsula, Southern Yorke Peninsula, and the central Murray Mallee respectively.[2] The maps

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[2] Note: the map scale for the former two study areas is twice that for the Murray Mallee area.

were constructed by a combination of a) neighbourhood names given by sampled householders for their own homes, b) a median estimate (see Figure 5.6 for method) of the neighbourhood boundaries they provided on the field maps in response to the request "Please indicate on the map the area and houses you would include in this local area name", and c) the regular communication pattern as shown by the road/track network. The mapped districts are of varying shapes and sizes, and do not include all houses or settled areas. Characteristically, they consist of well-defined core areas, sometimes with indeterminate areas around the edges, but very rarely overlapping. Although there is inescapable subjectivity in placing an exact boundary around them, at a general level they are very distinctive and easy to map. In many cases, particularly in the hilly country of the Fleurieu Peninsula, accidents of physical geography have placed considerable uninhabited areas between the territorial addresses, many of which bear topographic names such as Hindmarsh Valley, Bald Hills or Willow Creek (Figure 5.3).

Fig.   5.3 Territorial addresses in the Fleurieu Peninsula (1980 survey)
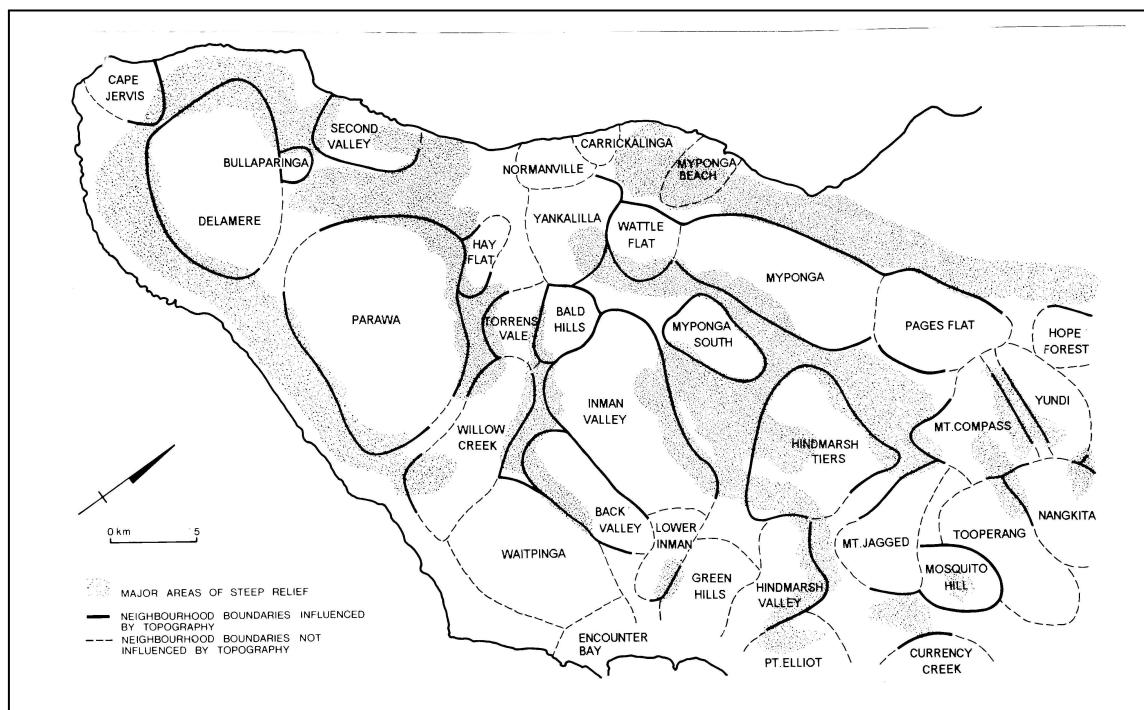
Source: Smailes and O'Dowd 1981, 15

In the Yorke Peninsula (Figure 5.4) with its much lower relief, some few of the localities still bear the names of natural features (eg. Stansbury Scrub, Mickey Flat, or Mount Rat), but they have dominantly been shaped by the layout of the communication network as originally surveyed, and occupy a much smaller proportion of the total settled area. The earliest settled part of this study area, around Edithburgh and Yorketown, has a substantial number of small territorial addresses, while the more recently cleared scrub further north has fewer but larger cases.

Fig. 5.4 Territorial addresses in southern Yorke Peninsula (1984 survey)
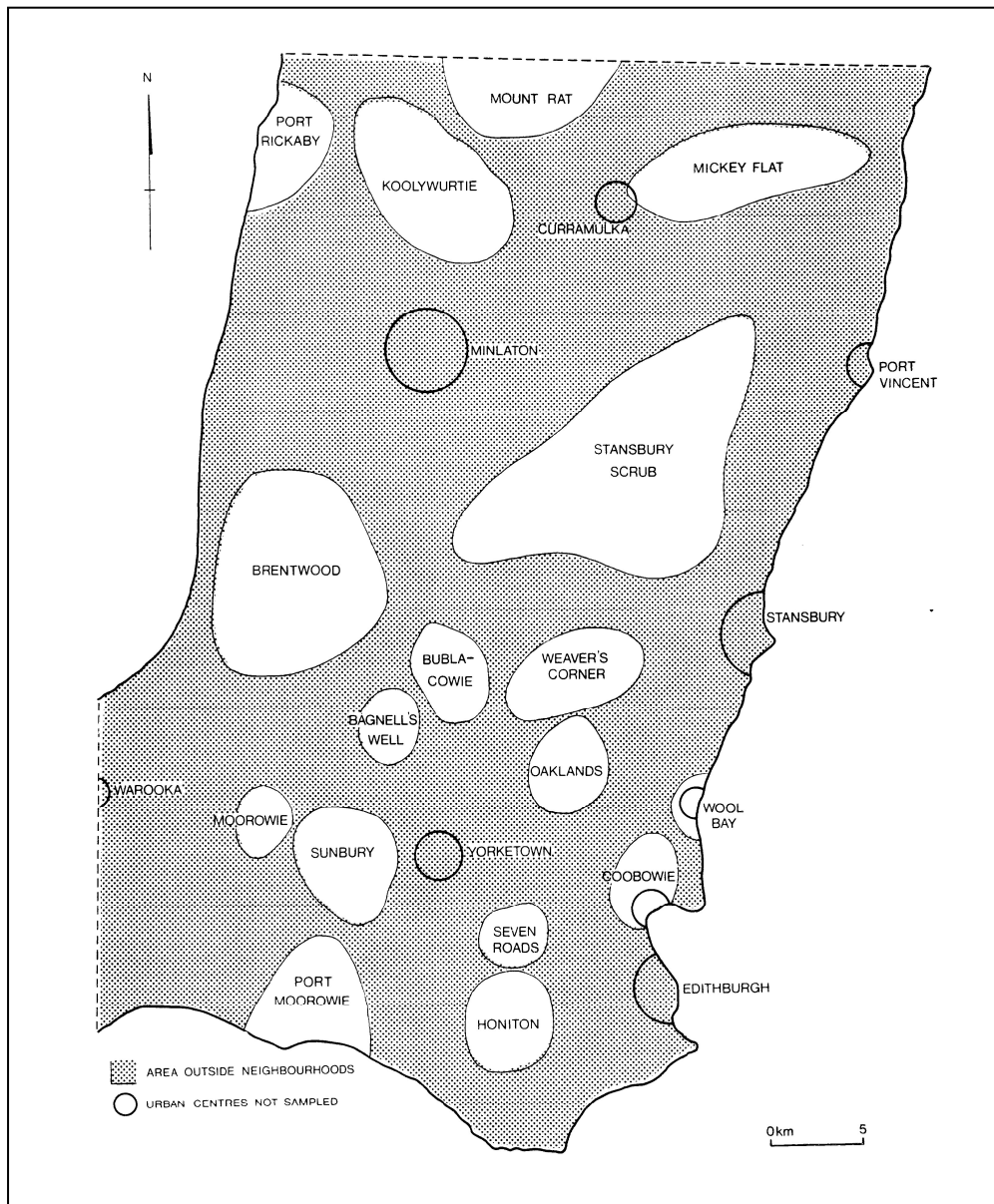
Source: Smailes and Typuszak, 1984, 8.

The low and featureless Murray Mallee (Figure 5.5) has almost no topographic names, but is particularly influenced by the original, closely spaced pattern of surveyed townships along the railway lines. The eastern half of the Murray Mallee study area consists of a narrow east-west band of better country bounded by a belt of uninhabited scrub to the north, and the remains of the Ninety-mile Desert to the south. The great majority of the territorial addresses have clearly taken shape around embryo townships, surveyed more in hope than confidence at short intervals along the rail lines. This close spacing, together with the generally rectangular surveyed road pattern and paucity of diagonals, has produced a striking pattern of clearly recognised localities, elongated north-south to five or six times their east-west dimension. In general, the absolute size (spatial extent) of the areas increases as population density falls.

Fig. 5.5 Territorial addresses in the Murray Mallee (1982 survey)
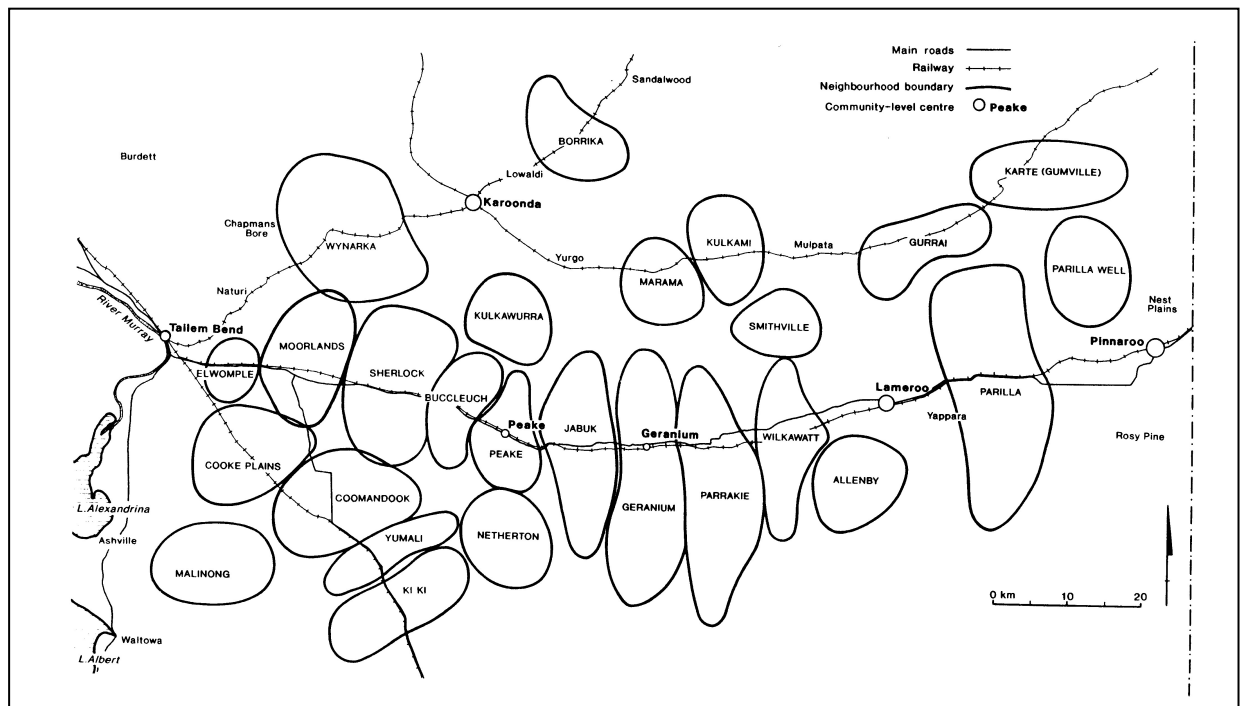
at this level the territorial addresses themselves can be considered as objective and socially featureless, with relative location their only significant attribute.

At the second level, to add to their strictly *space* attributes, the localities may also have a subjective *place* identity, adding meanings, associations and images that go beyond the function of mere convenient locality descriptor. This implies, of course, that some of the place-making mechanisms described earlier have been at work. Indeed, in a rural landscape inhabited for over a century involving daily practices essential in the pursuit of everyday life, this is practically inevitable. These territorial addresses have not been recently or arbitrarily imposed from without, like for example census collection districts or the new suburban names designated by developers in new subdivisions. Rather, the very way they have been identified and mapped shows that they have evolved spontaneously over time, and must necessarily have subjective meaning (positive or negative) for at least a large proportion of residents.

Thirdly, as well as qualifying as places with distinctive qualities and meanings, the territorial addresses may also have been subjected to place-bonding as well as place-making forces, such that their residents (individually) have personally identified with them and endowed them with the qualities of 'home'. At this level, an affective sense of belonging has developed between individual and physical environment (link 1-3 on Figure 4.3). The extent to which this has occurred in the sample survey areas was investigated through question 21, parts a-c on the questionnaire (Appendix I)

At the fourth level, the territorial addresses mapped above may not only be objects of affective identification between individual and environment, but also form the territorial base of social groups with a collective sense of belonging (links 1-2 and 2-3 on Figure 4.3). The extent to which this occurs in the study areas is also examined (questions 20, and 21a, Appendix I). At this level, the territorial addresses warrant the

status of neighbourhood, as used in the rural sociological literature referred to above, though Kolb (1921, 1933) would regard them as "passive" unless they reached one level higher. Neighbourhoods are defined as informal, locality based social groups intermediate in scale between family and community, involving primary or face-to-face contact between a fairly small group of families sometimes with mutual assistance, borrowing, gossip, etc.

Finally, at the fifth level, the territorial addresses may not only form socially defined groups with a shared sense of belonging, but may also possess formal social or economic functions such as clubs, churches, sporting teams, branches of institutions such as the Country Women's Association, Agricultural Bureau, Country Fire Service which would elevate them to the status of "active" neighbourhoods (Kolb 1921, 1933), or "local social system"(Stacey 1969), as outlined in the previous chapter. Using the terminology of Freilich (1963), the social group has one or more *centres* (understood as regular meeting places at which group members know they can meet other members outside their own homes, for interaction and the exchange of news). Freilich's 'centres' may be for example a post office at mail delivery time, outside the primary school at 'home time', the tennis court on a Saturday etc. This is investigated in question 19, parts a-c (Appendix I).

The first (locational) of the above functions is self-evident for all the territorial addresses, including those mentioned by too few to be mapped. The second, place-making, function is assumed in respect of all those mapped, for all are permanently inhabited by numbers of families who collectively could not live in a place without it taking on some meaning for them over and above neutral, empty space. The interest lies in the extent to which the other three functions are present.

Place-bonding to territorial addresses

Table 5.2   Degree of place-bonding to defined locality (territorial address) by respondents resident in the defined localities (percentages and weighted mean scores)

Area and date	Non-identifiers	Degree of identification						Weighted mean score
	Score (0)	v. little (1)	weak (2)	moderate (3)	strong (4)	v. strong (5)		score
Fleurieu Pen. (n=205)	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Husband personally	12.2	3.9	6.3	22.3	30.1	25.2		3.30
Wife personally	17.3	5.1	6.6	24.4	22.3	24.4		3.03
S. Yorke Pen. (n=41)								
Husband personally	11.3	9.4	7.5	15.1	22.6	34.0		3.30
Wife personally	17.0	17.0	1.9	24.5	22.6	17.0		2.70
Murray Mallee (n=232)								
Husband personally	15.4	2.7	4.1	18.1	31.7	28.1		3.32
Wife personally	16.1	1.8	5.0	20.2	32.1	24.8		3.25

Source: present author

Having identified the name of the territorial address, if any, in which the respondent household lay, respondents who did place themselves in a named area were asked "Do you and your husband/wife personally feel you belong here - if so, how strongly? A five-point Likert scale was used, separately for the male and female householders (Table 5.2).

Results for the three sampled regions show a strong, but not overwhelming, sense of personal attachment to the defined localities. The proportion of respondents expressing at least a moderate degree of identification with their territorial address falls below 70% in only one case (wives/female partners in Southern Yorke Peninsula). Giving each respondent an attachment score from zero (non-identifier) to five (very strong identification) allows calculation of a weighted mean score of attachment to the immediate locality. Noticeably, in every case this is slightly greater for males than for females. The hypothesised reason (examined below) is that husbands are more frequently born and raised in the locality, while wives more often entered it at marriage. The incidence of considerable numbers of non-identifiers and people with only a weak or very weak attachment to the territorial addresses, however, strongly suggests that not all of the defined localities have developed (or retained) place-bonding on the part of their residents.

The group home-base function of territorial addresses

The above Table refers to respondents' own level of attachment to the defined locations. To test their view on how their neighbours and other co-residents felt about the defined locality an indirect question was also included: "Do people in (name of locality) have a distinct sense of identity or belonging to the local area (repeat locality name)?" Although the question is indirect, results (Table 5.3) demonstrate a very clear perception, on the part of respondents in the defined territorial addresses, that the people of these localities felt a sense of belonging to or identity with them (382 out of 489 cases, or 78%).[3] The higher proportion of 'No' and 'Don't know' answers in the scenically attractive Fleurieu Peninsula reflects the much larger incidence of recent non-local immigrants in the sample, due to the counterurbanisation trends of the 1970s, but even here the 'Yes' proportion was 70%.

Table 5.3 Respondents located in defined territorial addresses: views on whether people in the defined locality have a distinct sense of identity or belonging to it.

	Yes		No		Don't know		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Fleurieu Peninsula (1980)	143	69.8	42	20.5	20	9.8	205	100.0
Murray Mallee (1982)	198	85.3	27	11.6	7	3.0	232	100.0
S. Yorke Peninsula (1984)	41	78.8	10	19.2	1	1.9	52	100.0
Total, all survey areas	382	78.1	79	16.2	28	5.7	489	100.0

Source: present author

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[3]The 'other' respondents include those located in substantial country towns and the surrounding areas which identified directly with them, as well as dispersed households not recognising a territorial address.

The extent to which the territorial addresses act as the locales for informal social interaction were assessed by responses to the question "do people in (named locality) tend to have contact with one another (eg. chatting, visits, helping each other, borrowing/lending tools)?" Again the results are tabulated only for those who identified their home as lying within a defined territorial address. (Table 5.4). As this question was first introduced in the 1982 survey, 1980 data for the Fleurieu Peninsula are not available. However, the follow-up studies of selected localities in this region carried out in 1981 (reported on below) reveal much informal social interaction, and give no reason to suspect that the Fleurieu peninsula differs much from the other two study areas. Such informal interaction appears particularly strong in the Murray Mallee, paradoxically the most sparsely peopled area.

Table 5.4   Respondents within defined localities (territorial addresses): extent to which informal social interaction occurs within the locality

Survey area and date	Respondents located in defined localities					Other respondents (not in defined loc.)	Total respondents
	Yes, a lot.	Yes, a little	No	Don't know	Total		
Fleurieu Peninsula (1980)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	205	38	243
Murray Mallee (1982)	141	81	8	2	232	131	363
S. Yorke Peninsula (1984)	27	21	3	1	52	45	97
Total, all survey areas	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	489	214	703

In a further question asking respondents to sum up their views on their immediate locality (territorial address) only 16% of Murray Mallee respondents described their territorial address as "Just a locality name that doesn't mean much to residents", while almost 60% viewed it as "a small local community in its own right". The equivalent figures in southern Yorke Peninsula were 37% and 19% respectively. Obviously, in the Mallee of the 1980s many of the territorial addresses still merited the status of 'neighbourhood' with group identity and belonging. The situation is different in Yorke Peninsula, where distances to a range of (relatively) larger community centres are much shorter, the defined localities are smaller in size and population, the road network better, denser and with more direct, diagonal links, and alternative recreation is available on the coast within a very short distance.

Territorial addresses as local social systems

The fifth and highest potential function of the territorial addresses is that of a local social system involving the presence of at least a few organisations or social facilities over and above the informal neighbouring behaviour and group identification described above. The presence of such facilities lifts the locality from 'passive' to 'active' neighbourhood status in Kolb's terms. Data on this are available for all three sample areas, allowing a functional classification of all the recognised territorial addresses according to the five criteria (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Functional classification of the territorial addresses

Functions	Description	Fleurieu Peninsula (1980)	Murray Mallee (1982)	S. Yorke Peninsula (1984)	Total
1,2 only	Locational and place identity only	2 (8%)	12 (24%)	3 (20%)	17 (19%)
1,2,3	Place bonding: personal attachment	2 (8%)	8 (16%)	4 (27%)	14 (16%)
1,2,3,4	Group home-base: group attachment	5 (20%)	4 (8%)	6 (40%)	15 (17%)
1,2,3,4,5	Local social system: active n.hood	16 (64%)	25 (51%)	2 (13%)	43 (48%)
Total*		25(100%)	49(100%)	15(100%)	89(100%)

Source: present author

Territorial addresses with at least four of these functions have a social group with attachment to place (line 3 in Table 5.5) and hence qualify as neighbourhoods, though 'inactive' in Kolb's terminology. Those with formal social organisations or economic functions specific to the locality (line 4 in the Table) rank as 'active' neighbourhoods. Examining the results, overall about two thirds of the territorial addresses merited the status of rural neighbourhoods, while about half are 'active', having all five of the functions listed. The presence of neighbourhoods is strongest at over 80% in the Fleurieu Peninsula, and weakest (53%) in southern Yorke Peninsula, which also had only two clearly 'active' neighbourhoods, compared with 16 in the Fleurieu and 25 in the Murray Mallee. The question of how these neighbourhoods originated and their surprisingly sharp boundaries took shape is dealt with in detail by Smailes and O'Dowd (1981)for the Fleurieu Peninsula. The most significant social factor by far was found to be the catchment areas of primary schools, not as they existed in 1980 but prior to rationalisation, during the childhood of the farmers and other well established residents at the time of survey: no less than 23 of the neighbourhoods and towns shown on Figure 5.3 had their own primary school in 1930, of which only six remained in 1980. Clearly the formation of friendships among both children at a formative age, and their parents involvement in supporting the school, plus the universality of schooling, created a lasting social geography into which later arrivals have been absorbed. In a completely different area of the state and for a different purpose Engel (1970,5) observed:

Two or three farmers from a neighbourhood are asked if they can identify on a detailed map the properties of farmers in their locality who frequently meet one another, who belong to local service, sporting and other groups, and who might attend relevant agricultural field days. We have been surprised by the precision and decisiveness with which the geographical boundaries of these groups have been drawn in every instance. When neighbouring groups were asked separately or together to draw their boundaries on a map, inevitably those boundaries have coincided.

In summary, 'the need for the local' has called forth territorial group identities with a very substantial sense of belonging at a very local level over large parts of the State. Equally, however, there area also substantial areas where such entities are weak or absent. This applies particularly in areas of low population density and/or close proximity to substantially larger towns, such as Yorketown, Edithburgh or Minlaton

in southern Yorke Peninsula, or Murray Bridge, Tailem Bend and Mannum in the western Murray Mallee. Henceforth, the main interest focuses on those territorial addresses which are strong enough to have a social group identity and function to merit the term 'neighbourhood', which will be used from now on.

Confirming the social role of neighbourhoods

The discussion thus far has drawn only on the first of the three databases referred to earlier (broad regional surveys of one in four or one in five households). Thus, the findings reported above are of necessity based on responses from relatively few respondents in each locality. Before proceeding to the higher levels of spatial attachment, we now make brief use of the second database built on selected results from detailed follow-up studies of individual neighbourhoods. The primary purpose is a) to check on the accuracy of mapping the neighbourhood boundaries, and b) on the results relating to strength of belonging, from the broader general surveys. These follow up studies also allow the demonstration of three further phenomena inherent in the social interaction model put forward earlier (Figures. 4.1, 4.2), namely the balance between local and remote social interaction, and the extent to which patterns differ as between new and long-term residents. The methodology used in the follow-up studies is explained in Appendix II

Confirming the spatial patterns

To first examine the accuracy or otherwise which the mapping of territorial addresses in Figures 5.3 to 5.5 achieved, the examples of Inman Valley, Tooperang and Mount Jagged in the Fleurieu Peninsula are available. The three were chosen as neighbourhoods with, respectively, strong, intermediate and weak degrees of attachment expressed by their residents. Taking the 1980 delimitation of the neighbourhood as a base, and adding a margin around it, a large-scale map was prepared for each locality, showing all houses whether occupied or not, with the names of the owner or occupier entered beside each house to ensure maximum possible accuracy of delimitation of membership.

To illustrate, *Tooperang* is an active neighbourhood, of moderate strength of attachment, whose only surviving formal social functions in 1980 were a Hall, with a management committee, an Agricultural Bureau branch and a Seventh Day Adventist church. Within its base map area, in 1981 there lived 55 households, of which 26 were interviewed; 23 identified themselves as belonging to Tooperang. For these 23, their perceptions of the boundaries of Tooperang appear on Figure 5.6A. Most of the elongated neighbourhood occupies an east-west valley, opening out at its eastern end, and with relatively few farms in the hills on either side. Everyone included the core area of the neighbourhood, but residents from the western end tended to cut it short in the east, and *vice versa*. By superimposing a 12-pointed star over the neighbourhood, median distances of the subjective boundaries from the centre were determined on each leg of the star to give an approximate delimitation (Figure 5.6B). Although this does not produce an entirely satisfactory measure, the median boundary includes all but two of the 23 Tooperang-identifying respondents, and excludes two of the three non-identifiers. Comparison of this 1981 boundary with the 1980 mapping based on a much smaller sample shows that the preliminary map slightly overbounds the neighbourhood in the southwest, but fits better to the east. The same comparison for

the other two neighbourhoods appears in Figs. 5.6 C and D. Overall, given that a spatial boundary around any social grouping can only be an approximation, the comparisons suggest that the earlier mapping of territorial areas shown on Figs. 5.3 to 5.5 should be a reasonable representation of the spatial patterns of 'belonging'.

Fig.   5.6 A-D Examples of the method used to map territorial addresses
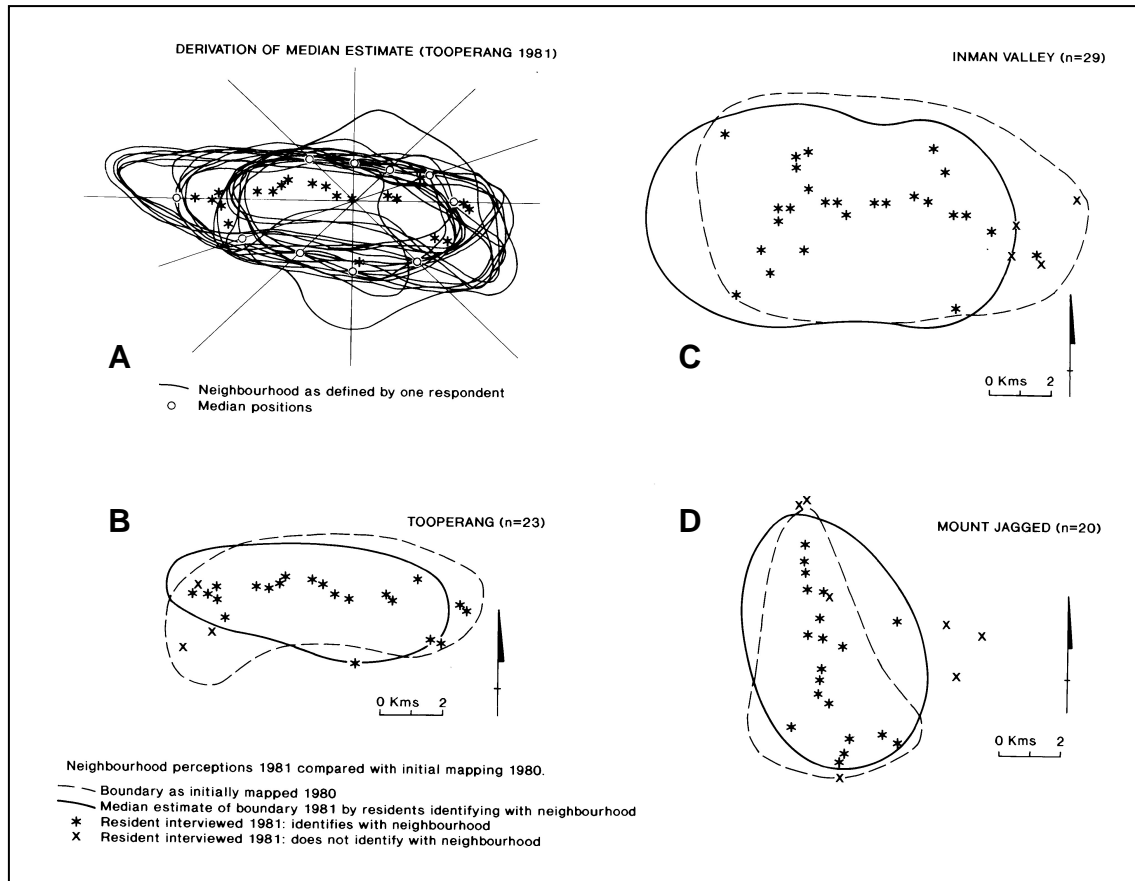
Source: present author

Confirming the sense of belonging to neighbourhoods

The results for the twelve Adelaide Hills neighbourhoods that were surveyed in detail over the period from 1981 to 1985 are given below.   It should be noted that at the time of these surveys, the Adelaide Hills had been the destination of a rather heavy counter-urbanisation outflow of people, mainly from the metropolitan area, during the population turnaround decade - particularly in the late 1970s. Consequently the populations of many of the twelve neighbourhoods were highly bimodal in respect of period of residence, (and also occupation structure). Very few households fell into the 10-14 years of residence bracket. Even this small group was mostly found in the four neighbourhoods which were surveyed somewhat later (1985) than the others (1981-2), so that they still reflect the influx of people starting in the late 1970s. It may thus be expected that there might be differences in the feeling of belonging between these two polarised groups, of 'old' and 'new' residents. The mix of old and new residents varied considerably between neighbourhoods, with some of the more attractive landscapes (eg. Tooperang) being subjected to heavier influxes than the flatter or less accessible areas (eg. Hartley, Sandergrove).

Table 5.6   Sampled households in defined neighbourhoods, by age of male householder, period of residence, sense of belonging and extent of local visiting

Year	Neighbour-hood	Avge. age of male house-holder (years)	House-holds resident under 5 yrs (percent)	Indices of:				N
				1. Perceived local identity	2. Own sense of belonging	3. Neighbour-hood quality	4. Proportion of local visiting	
1982	Echunga	49.39	10.5	0.92	0.84	0.78	0.54	19
1981	Inman Valley	48.88	29.6	0.90	0.89	0.82	0.56	27
1982	Hartley	43.64	12.5	0.85	0.82	0.76	0.54	24
1981	Mt. Jagged	49.65	31.6	0.83	0.92	0.85	0.50	20
1985	Mt. Torrens	51.26	15.7	0.82	0.85	0.76	0.57	24
1982	Sandergrove	41.84	20.0	0.81	0.91	0.87	0.43	20
1982	Woodchester	46.71	41.2	0.78	0.88	0.80	0.55	17
1982	Wistow	45.89	41.7	0.76	0.86	0.76	0.51	12
1985	Tungkillo	48.20	38.1	0.74	0.73	0.72	0.58	22
1985	Springton	43.93	33.3	0.73	0.79	0.78	0.64	15
1985	Forreston	52.00	23.1	0.73	0.82	0.80	0.56	13
1981	Tooperang	42.29	34.8	0.68	0.79	0.74	0.55	23

1. Based on strength of agreement with statement "In .... (name of neighbourhood) , people generally have a strong sense of belonging".
2. Based on strength of agreement with statement " I personally feel very much that I belong here"
3. Based on responses by all interviewees in neighbourhood to ten statements (Appendix II, Question. 7).
Source: present author.

The extent of the residents' reported feelings of belonging in the neighbourhoods is shown in Table 5.6. This table includes only those respondents who identified their own neighbourhood by name, and were included in its defined area as described above. Because of the bimodal distribution, the proportion of very recent residents is given as an indicator of infiltration by newcomers, rather than the average period of residence. The four indices are scaled to a range between zero and unity, with 1.00 representing the maximum, and the neighbourhoods are arranged in descending order of Index 1 (perceived local identity).

Results show relatively little difference between the neighbourhoods in respect of average age (using the age of male partners as the indicator), but the proportion of new arrivals (resident less than five years) ranged widely, from 11 to 42 per cent. There was a general tendency for the neighbourhoods with the smallest influx of newcomers to be seen as possessing the strongest local sense of belonging (index of local identity) but statistically, the relationship is only moderate ($r = -.59$). A striking feature is the shared opinion by the residents of all neighbourhoods that the people of their locality have a strong sense of belonging. An index of 1.00 would indicate that all respondents 'agree strongly' with this proposition; 0.00 would indicate that all of

them 'disagree strongly'. This index falls below 0.70 in only one neighbourhood, and rises to 0.90 or more in Echunga and Inman Valley.

While index 1 on Table 5.6 expresses the views of respondents about how *other* resident households feel about their local neighbourhood, the second index column shows the extent of their *own* feelings of belonging there. The most striking result here is that, except for the very strongest neighbourhoods (top three on the table), the index of personal feelings of belonging are generally higher than the values of index 1. This means that irrespective of whether they think there is a particularly strong community spirit in the neighbourhood, people interviewed are almost unanimous in expressing their own feeling of belonging. This appears almost irrespective of period of residence - indeed from reading the responses one gets the feeling that newcomers appear to be getting immense satisfaction from their new home location, while long-term residents are often more dispassionate. On the other hand, in situations where there are many newcomers in a neighbourhood, the long-term residents - perhaps resenting rapid change - tend to assess their own household's sense of belonging to the neighbourhood as stronger than that of the local population in general. The overall strength of index 2 may well reflect the general satisfaction of these peri-urban households as much with their home and lifestyle situation, as with the particular small social group in which they have chosen to reside; but contact with immediate neighbours is clearly an important part of that lifestyle, and it has been shown previously (Smailes and O'Dowd, 1981) that attachment to neighbourhood develops much more quickly among new residents to these areas than does attachment to the larger-scale community level social groups.

Index 3 on Table 5.6 shows the overall level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood of residence, based on responses by interviewees to ten different statements about the neighbourhood as given in Appendix II, including perceived openness to incoming residents, as well as the feelings of belonging like the two statements on which indices 1 and 2 are based. Again all the neighbourhoods rate highly; perhaps due to averaging to produce a composite index from ten statements, the range between the twelve neighbourhoods is quite small, from 0.72 to 0.87, with nine cases between 0.75 and 0.85. Overall these results confirm the 'need for the local' as expressed in the widespread feelings of belonging to and satisfaction with small-scale local social groups.

Neighbourhoods in the pattern of informal social interaction

Neighbourhoods are by definition informal groups, and the surveys investigated their relative importance in their residents' total interaction pattern. Those in the Adelaide Hills clearly have an important role in people's affective and cognitive relationships and self-image, but do not in any way dominate informal interaction patterns. These have been shown to spread over wide areas, and to have a very large component of Adelaide-based linkages. In the surveys of the twelve Hills neighbourhoods, respondents were asked to indicate (on a map of the neighbourhood) up to five local households where they exchanged social visits, and then to rate the importance of these visits in relation to those outside the local area. Index 4 on Table 5.6 was constructed for the individual neighbourhoods, showing values ranging from 0.43 to 0.64. An index of 0.50 would mean that both partners in the surveyed households regarded local contacts and external contacts as equally important; the fact that the

index falls below this level in only two neighbourhoods suggests that local social contact is at least an important though not a dominant element in the overall pattern of social interaction.

Enough has now been demonstrated to show the reality of rural neighbourhoods as small-scale social formations in the South Australia of the early to mid 1980s. They are however by definition small-scale social groups dominated by primary, face-to-face contact between members, often lacking a nucleated settlement, and in no sense providing adequately for a family's daily social or economic interaction needs. The next question is how these units are linked in to the broader scale local interaction pattern, and to society at large.

The shaping of communities: affective and centred territorial areas

In the terminology introduced earlier (Smailes and Kristiansen, 1985) territorial addresses are small, relatively stable spatial units whose extent is generally intersubjective among residents, and easy to map. The next level is the 'affective territorial area', operationalised by asking respondents to identify the area surrounding their residence within which they could move house and still be accepted as a local without the need to forge new links. The concept is thus akin to the idea of 'home ground' used by some researchers. In the traditional, locality-bound cultural conditions of rural Norway, it was found that adjacent residents generally shared common, intersubjective conceptions of such affective areas, allowing them to be mapped approximately. They tended to overlap several territorial addresses, and to link the respondent's home residence with the most frequented country town. The complex of many of these, each overlapping the central town from various directions, was termed a 'centred territorial area', in practice defining a 'community'.

In the early stages of the South Australian surveys, the same question was asked to find whether under Australian conditions the same shared spatial units could be observed. It was rapidly discovered, however, that in the Adelaide Hills and environs there was no common, intersubjective agreement on affective territorial area, or 'home area' as we termed it in the interviews. The much greater mobility of the population and the widespread penetration of the whole area by ex-urban migrants meant that there were great variations between individuals in the extent to which they could identify such an area. If they could do so, in comparison with Norway such areas were much larger, more variable, and not necessarily centred over the current place of residence. This question was therefore abandoned in later surveys. The mapped results of the experiment nevertheless illustrate an important aspect of the place-bonding process, and one example is given below for the Strathalbyn district (Figure 5.7).

The results for Strathalbyn allow a number of generalisations, as follows.

- There is very little specific intersubjectivity in the shape and extent of home areas.
- The depicted home areas are generally much larger than the respondents' neighbourhoods.
- Home areas have a tendency to elongation.
- The elongated areas have a very marked tendency to partially overlap about important settlement nodes.

- Home areas frequently occupy a strip of territory that links a small township with a larger one.
- The shape of this 'centred territorial area' of Strathalbyn corresponds well with the other methods (discussed below) of defining community.

Fig. 5.7 Perceived home areas (affective territorial areas), Strathalbyn 1979.
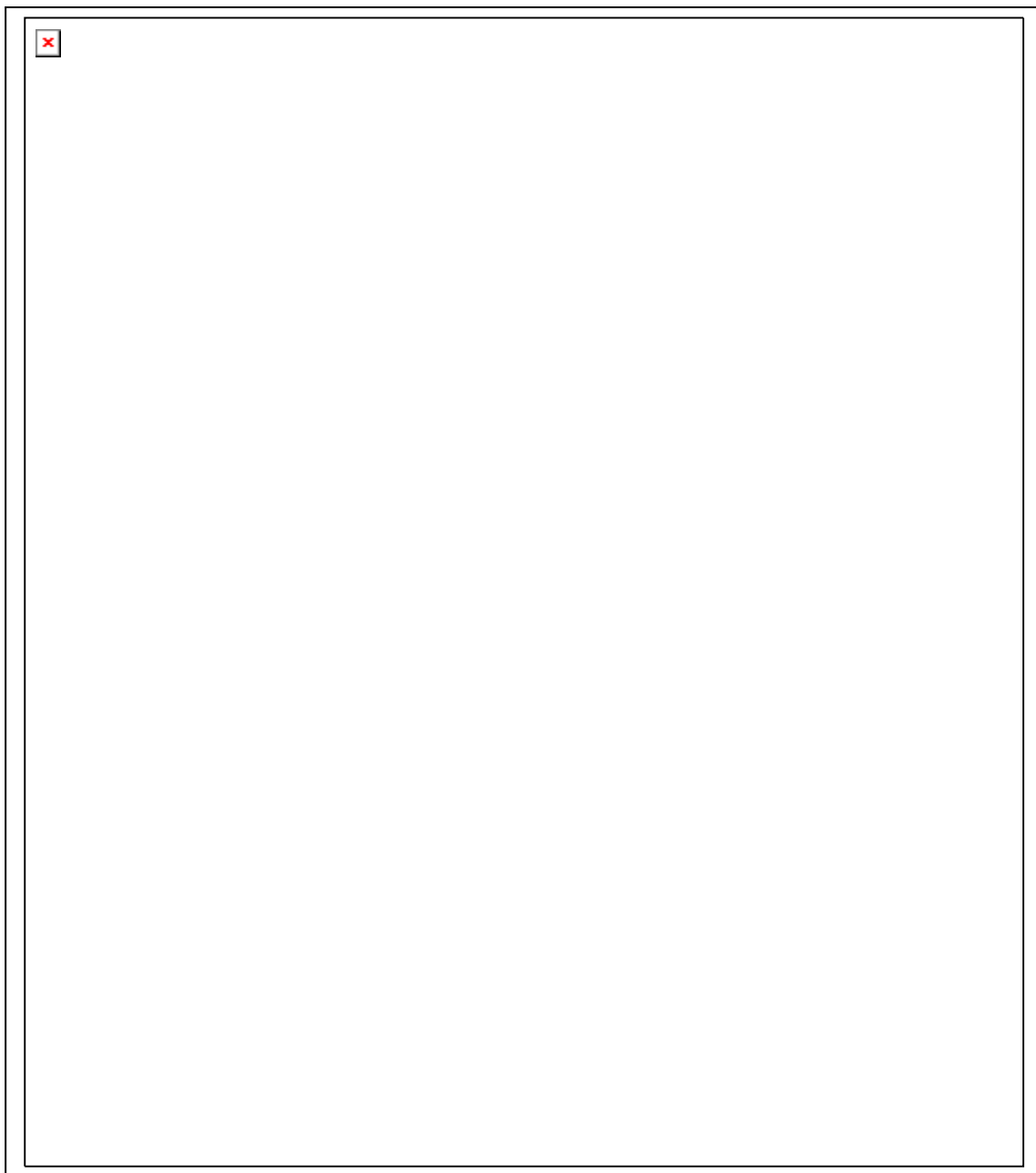
(Based on respondent answers to the question "Could you show on the map the area which you feel you could call your home area? Where if you moved to another house, you still would feel at home, and not be considered an outsider?")
Source: present author

In this way, then, community-level social formations ('centred territorial areas') emerge from the fusing function that repeated journeys to a common social node

appear to have on people entering a town along a familiar linear routeway or sector of routeways. The term *community* is used from now on to describe such spatial units. The shape of the Strathalbyn community emerges clearly, and smaller formations intermediate between community and neighbourhood status appear around Milang and Langhorne Creek (in the east centre of the map). Thus although people who live on say the eastern side of the community centre may not have a common 'home area' or set of acquaintances with people on the western side, all include the common core and will almost certainly have social connections with residents of the town. The community is made up of affective territorial areas spatially akin to the slices of an orange, except that they overlap around the central core; the community normally incorporates a number of neighbourhoods, and sometimes completely replaces them.

The spatial pattern of community identification

In order to map the spatial extent of community identification, the series of field surveys detailed earlier in Figure 5.1 relied on the combined results of two questions asked of householders. Respondents first listed the towns (up to six) that their household regularly used for shopping and business purposes, in order of importance. Then they were asked "Which do you really consider to be 'your' own town?". The second question (after ascertaining whether the household belonged to an identifiable neighbourhood) was worded "Apart from ... (name of immediate neighbourhood), do you consider that , for some of their social activities, people in this area also belong to a wider community that covers a bit bigger area?". Those answering 'yes' were then asked "What community is that?" and "What place would it centre on?" For convenience, these variables are referred to as 'own town' and 'community centre'. These variables were found to correspond well spatially with each other, but did not necessarily correspond to the first-named shopping and business town. This point is expanded later. In the case of Strathalbyn, though, Figure 5.7 shows that the 'own town' and 'first shopping town' variables do show close spatial correspondence in defining the community area.

A combination of the results of the 'own town' and 'community centre' variables, then, was used to map the pattern of communities of identity across the entire area covered in the 1979-1985 surveys. An overview appears in Figure 5.8, which shows a number of important differences in spatial pattern from the earlier presented maps of neighbourhood identification.

 First, although a feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood, and the general significance of the neighbourhood, was spatially very variable and large areas of inhabited territory lacked neighbourhoods or recognised them only as localities without social significance, the same is not true of communities. Neighbourhood cohesion is a kind of 'optional extra', but the perceived communities cover almost the entire continuously settled area. There are, however, a few interstitial areas where no particular community dominates - some of these are very sparsely occupied, eg. along the eastern scarp of the Adelaide Hills.

Second, there are numerous areas of overlap, where respondents may feel a belonging to more than one community, or where some people identify with one place, and their neighbours with another. These overlaps often involve small communities - eg. Mount Compass on Fleurieu Peninsula, Eden Valley in the northern Adelaide Hills, or

Curramulka on Yorke Peninsula. Such places are likely to be moving upward or downward between neighbourhood and community status. In some very densely peopled areas of population increase close to Adelaide the presence of small, almost entirely overlapped communities like Meadows and Macclesfield may indicate a true extra layer in the pattern of spatial allegiance, but in the sparsely peopled areas such as the eastern Murray Mallee, communities tend to be mutually exclusive spatially.

Fig. 5.8 The pattern of community identification in the 1979-1985 field surveys
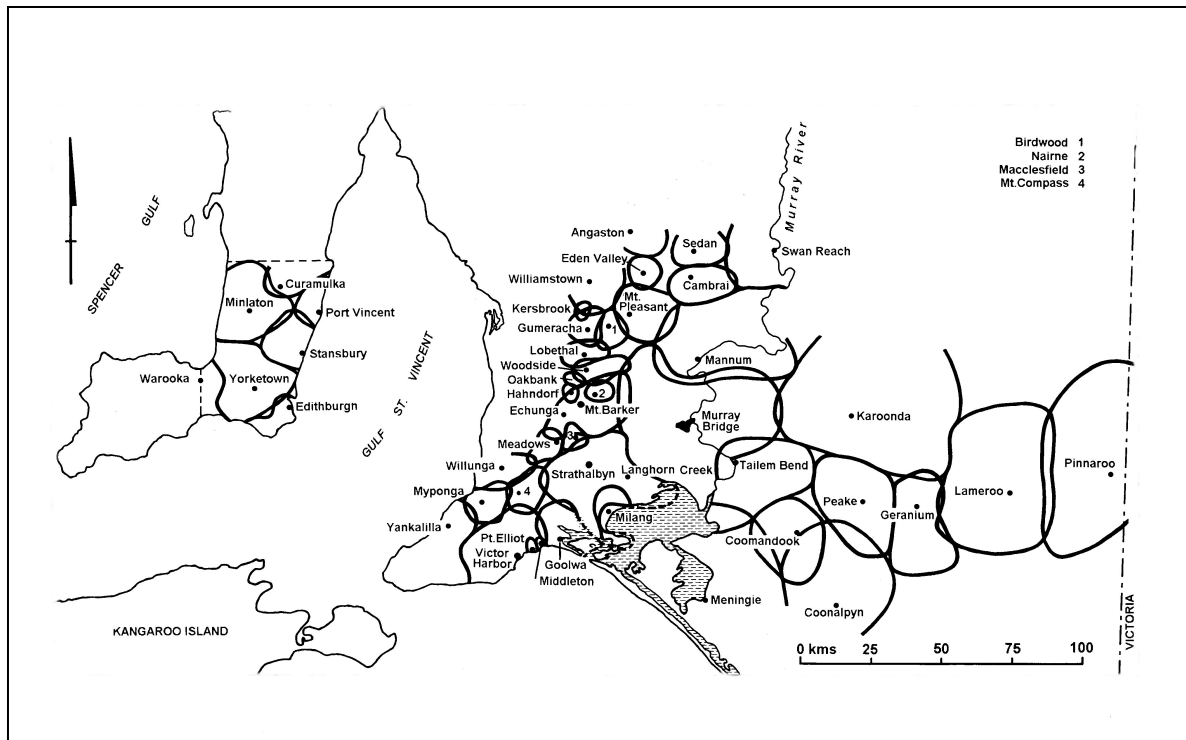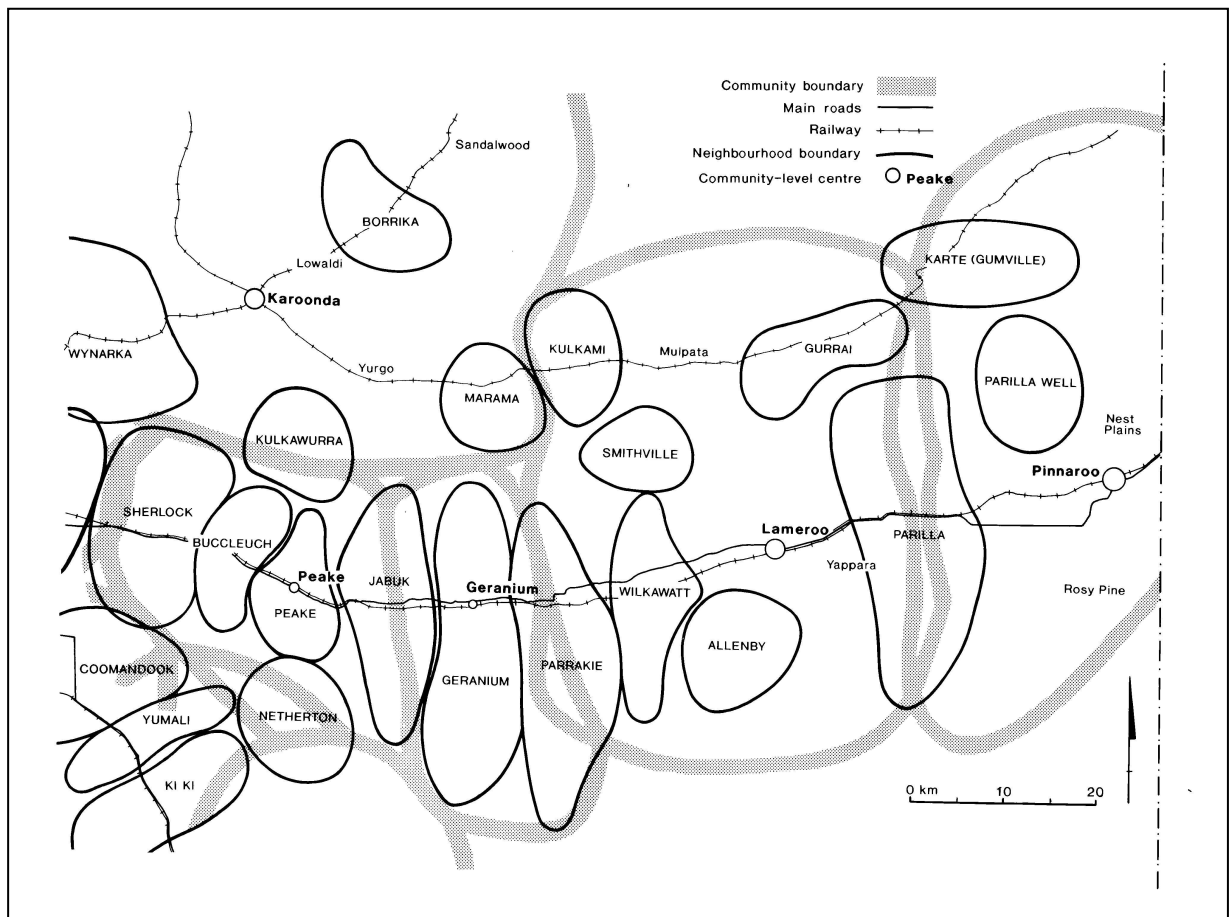

Source: present author

Third, the social formations mapped at this level centre on places of a wide range in population size, including some very small places such as Eden Valley, Oakbank and Coomandook - the latter two the sites of Area Schools serving a surrounding area. The spatial extent of the mapped community areas reflects town spacing, and mostly expands as population density drops and town spacing increases - though the relationship is not invariable. 'Community' in classical rural sociology was often regarded as the smallest social group having a degree of social self sufficiency - in the sense that (unlike a neighbourhood) it could support a reasonable range of the most essential organisations, functions and services used in daily life, implying an urban centre and an adequate population base. The central towns of the communities shown on Figure 5.8 had a 1981 median population of 401, equating to a median total population of 750 to 800 persons.

Spatial relation between community and neighbourhood

The pattern of spatial relationships between neighbourhoods and communities is best seen at a larger scale. Investigation of the spatial patterns in the three main areas of detailed survey show that neighbourhoods do not cover the entire area of each community, and are often totally absent in the immediate vicinity of the larger

community centres. Figure 5.9 shows this clearly, around the 'larger' towns of Pinnaroo, Lameroo, and Karoonda[4], and the same applies around the larger community centres in Yorke Peninsula. Neighbourhoods had survived best (up to the early 1980s) where community centres were smaller and less dominant, eg. in the western Murray Mallee (Figure 5.9).

Fig. 5.9 An example of the spatial relationship between community and neighbourhood allegiance: the Murray Mallee, 1982

Source: present author

Neighbourhoods do not necessarily nest neatly within individual communities. In many cases, a neighbourhood midway between two strong community centres has its allegiance split between the two for social functions at the community level - eg. Parilla between Lameroo and Pinnaroo (Figure 5.9), or Brentwood between Minlaton and Yorketown (Figure 5.10). The spatial pattern of the two layers of identification appears to be responding to two different sets of causation, hypothetically place identification at the most local level, and the need for social interaction and wider group belonging at the community level. Undoubtedly, for many social purposes, interaction with regional centres at a higher level is also essential.

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[4] 1981 populations of 731, 599 and 415 respectively.

The relative importance of the two levels in the perceptions of the interviewed householders is also of some interest, and differs considerably between the different survey areas. In the Fleurieu Peninsula, where the population density is much greater, and the influx of new residents constantly changing the social composition of the population, attachment to neighbourhood has been shown to develop more rapidly among newcomers, and to be perceived as stronger than that to community (Smailes and O'Dowd, 1980, 8-12). In the southern Yorke Peninsula survey, however, where neighbourhoods are much less the prominent features of the social landscape, exactly the opposite was the case (Smailes and Typuszak, 1984, 11-13).

Spatial links between community and the broader social setting

To avoid any impression of rural society in the 1980s as being a patchwork quilt of more or less socially self-sufficient small cells, an example of some of the mechanisms which tie the local to the regional and national levels of society is needed. Figures 5.10 and 5.11 show how the local communities in southern Yorke Peninsula are cemented together through both informal and 'formal' social contacts - the latter defined by contacts relating to membership of an organisation, such as a sports club, church, youth club or Country Fire Service. The question asked for the name and base location of the three organisations most important to the male and female household heads (Figure 5.10). Although there is some long-distance interaction, and a few of the neighbourhoods still have some formal social activities, the pattern of contacts for the three most important formal organisations very closely reflects the pattern of felt community belonging as independently defined using the procedures outlined above.

Informal social contacts (Figure 5.11) are defined as visits to and meetings with family members, friends and acquaintances outside of organised activities without any particular official reason. The operative question asked for the location of the four most significant households with which each interviewed household exchanged visits. The majority of the informal interactions are again within the community boundaries - but the spatial pattern of informal visiting and contact with friends also extends much more widely. It reflects both the present mobility of rural people, and the past migrations of family, friends and marriage partners, and contacts forged at a less local level of social interaction. It clearly acts to bind the small local communities together into a much broader matrix at both regional and State levels. There is some evidence of very localised visit-exchange clusters based on neighbourhoods, but the overall pattern reflects the general weakness of neighbourhood development in this particular study area.[5] The need for the local in no way supplants or removes the need for extensive external contacts.

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[5]This does not imply total lack of social significance of the neighbourhoods. When respondents were asked whether people in the neighbourhood tended to have contact with one another (eg. chatting, helping one another, borrowing tools etc) only three of the 53 interviewees said 'no', and one 'don't know'.