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A COLLABORATIVE HISTORY OF SOCIAL INNOVATION IN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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Abstract

In this paper I outline a collaborative history of social innovation in South Australia, a state that has a striking record of social innovation. What makes this history so intriguing is that on the face of it, South Australia would seem an unlikely location for such experimentation. This paper outlines the main periods of innovation. Appended to it is the first attempt to collate all these social innovations in one document. This paper is unique in that its account of the history of social innovation has been derived after public consultation in South Australia, and is a key output from Geoff Mulgan's role as an Adelaide Thinker in Residence.¹

The paper analyses why, at times, South Australia appears to have punched above its weight as a leader in social innovation. Drawing on Giddens' 'structuration' model, the paper uses South Australian history as a case study to determine how far structure and/or agency can explain the main periods of social innovation.

Introduction

South Australia has a great and rich (albeit uneven) history of social innovation, and has at times punched above its weight. What makes this history so intriguing is that on the face of it, South Australia is quite an unlikely place for such innovation. South Australia is a relatively new entity; it has a relatively small but highly urbanised population, and is geographically isolated from other Australian urban centres and other developed nations. Economically, it has never matched the affluence of the eastern states. As is often noted, South Australia is the driest state in the driest inhabited continent. Yet it is argued here that South Australia's rich history of social innovation has been determined in part by these factors, rather than *despite* them.

South Australia makes claim to a number of world firsts and many more Australian firsts. It is noteworthy that three out of Australia's ten Nobel Laureates have links to South Australia.² The Stump Jump Plough, the 'Rib loc' pipe, and the first pedal wireless are all South Australian inventions, each with significant social consequences. South Australia was the first place in the world to allow women to stand for parliament, and one of the first places to allow women to vote. In 1976, it was the first place in the English-speaking world to ban rape in marriage. The list of Australian firsts is equally impressive. South Australia was the first state to introduce income taxes, was home to the first irrigated settlement (Renmark in 1887), and was the first place to have public archives in 1920.

Yet, while South Australia has seemingly been a leader in social innovation, the pace of innovation has been uneven and inconsistent. This uneven pace is closely entwined with notable periods of pro-active state government planning. As Hugh Stretton noted:

... there have been irregular cycles of strength and weakness—and wisdom and folly—in the city's planning and government of strong planning initiatives in 1916–1920, 1962–67, and 1970–75, none fulfilled all of their intentions, and most were weakened by or abandoned by later governments.³

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As historian Susan Marsden has noted, ‘historians have often debated the theme of social experimentation in South Australian history’.⁴ Marsden suggested that most have followed Douglas Pike’s seminal study and focused on the era of ‘systematic colonisation’, and ‘the creation of the “paradise of dissent” where religious non-conformism flourished’.⁵ Pike argued that ‘after its lusty youth Adelaide became sedate, gentle and enterprising’.⁶ There is much more dispute about whether South Australia’s history of social experimentation continued.^{7, 8}

In this paper I employ the concept of social innovation to revisit South Australian history. ‘Social innovation’ is useful for shedding new light on a familiar narrative. This approach suggests that South Australia has had notable periods of innovation, particularly during the Playford era in the 1940s, and the radicalism of the Dunstan decade of the 1970s. The key periods of innovation are outlined below. In addition, a focus on the history of South Australia also illuminates the phenomenon of social innovation itself and its causal factors.

Pre-settlement history and defining social innovation

This history of Indigenous Australians can be traced back approximately 60,000 years, and the oldest dated sites in South Australia indicate at least 40,000 years of occupation.⁹ Indigenous cultures were not static, and changes over time included landscape modification through the use of fire-stick farming and the development of extensive trade networks. Historians of Indigenous Australia have noted the tenacity and richness of cultures based on deep knowledge of the land, its flora and fauna.

While innovation has been a feature of all human societies, social innovation has a more precise modern meaning and is closely bound up with the emergence of highly urbanised communities. In collating this history of social innovation, we focus primarily on the new programs, institutions, and activities that seek to improve quality of life and meet unmet social needs.^{10, 11}

Before proceeding, it is worth elaborating the types of social innovation that I am chiefly interested in. Firstly, this history focuses on genuine innovations; social experiments which may have made either their global or Australian debut in Australia. Secondly, there are adaptations—new social innovations to South Australia which may have been adapted from a model or idea elsewhere, but there is something distinctive about the South Australian version. Thirdly, some social innovations are copies. In these instances, these South Australian programs or initiatives are reproductions of existing models from interstate or elsewhere. There is, of course, some overlap within this broad typology. It is also worth noting that many social innovations are not new in themselves, but were developed and inspired by a composite range of ideas and influences. I am primarily interested in the first two types of innovations.

European settlement, systematic colonisation and innovation from 1830

The idea of South Australia was itself a social innovation based on the principles of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (arguably one of our first thinkers *not* in residence!) and Robert Gouger in the 1830s. Wakefield and Gouger advocated for systematic colonisation, which envisaged a planned colony—free from convicts—that maintained a balance between the sexes and between labour and capital. Religious pluralism was a hallmark of the early settlement. A key feature of the Wakefield scheme was that land was sold (rather than granted) and the monies raised by land sales were used to fund immigration.¹² The ideas of Wakefield and Gouger were an attempt to set up South Australia on a different footing from the other emerging colonies.

Following the passage of the *South Australia Act 1834* in the British parliament, the cultural life of the colony saw one of its first social innovations with the formation of South Australian Literary and Scientific Association in London, whose members collected books to assist the development of the new colony.

Compared with the other colonies, a very high number of religious dissenters arrived in South Australia, particularly with the first wave of Lutherans in 1838. The Lutherans established the first non-English language newspaper in Australia in 1848. This early life in the history of South Australia was characterised by a high degree of innovation in institution building. The first Chamber of Commerce was set up in Adelaide in 1839—the first such in Australasia. The first census in South Australia took place in 1844 (although Indigenous people were not counted). Following the opening of the Adelaide Mechanics' Institute in 1838, the first public lectures took place in Adelaide.

As the colony developed, so the detrimental impact of colonisation on Indigenous people was becoming apparent, and the first ration depots were established at Moorundie on the River Murray in 1841 and near Port Lincoln on the Eyre Peninsula; perhaps the beginning of social innovations in the state to address Aboriginal social needs.

Systematic colonisation and consolidation (1850–1900s)

After the initial period of settlement, there was a new surge in social innovation in the lead up to the new century as the colony grew. A useful marker for this period is the establishment of South Australia's constitution and self-government from 1857. Hugh Stretton has characterised this period as one of 'legislative audacity'.¹³ Notably, the 1856 constitution had a number of very innovative and radical features such as universal manhood suffrage, the secret ballot, no plural voting, an elected upper house, and equal electoral districts based on population.

In 1858, the ground-breaking *Real Property Act 1858* was passed to provide a simple and inexpensive method of registering and checking property titles.¹⁴ The *Associations Incorporations Act 1858* was also passed in 1858. In 1876, trade unions were legalised in South Australia, the first territory in the British Empire to do so outside Britain. The seminal *Patent Act 1877* was passed. South Australia was the first state to introduce income taxes in 1885. In 1890 the first children's criminal court was established.¹⁵

The social development of Adelaide continued in this era and, in 1878, Adelaide was the first Australian city to begin to establish a system of horse-drawn trams. Interestingly, the Port Adelaide to Adelaide Railway, opened in 1856, was the first government-owned railway in the British Empire.¹⁶ Key agricultural innovations included the pioneering survey work of George Goyder. In 1883, following experimental agricultural work at Roseworthy, the first agricultural college in Australia was formed.¹⁷

A distinctive feature of this early part of South Australia's history is the crucial role played by influential women in setting up new social innovations and institutions in the state. As a direct result of the efforts of these women, the Adelaide Children's Hospital and Maternity Relief Association was formed in 1876. In 1880 the first crèche in the state was set up—largely due to the efforts of Laura Corbin. Caroline Clark was instrumental in establishing the children's court, and Augusta Zadow was integral to establishment of the Working Women's Trade Union in 1890. The District Trained Nursing Society was formed in 1893 to provide free or low-cost nursing to the poorest groups. From 1881, women could be admitted to degrees when the letters patent accepting the *Adelaide University Act 1880* were granted. This made it the first university in Australia to do so (women had been attending the university since it began in 1876).¹⁸

Systematic industrialisation of the state (1930–1960s)

While there were key innovations in the early 1900s—for example, there are some South Australian links with the development of the Royal Flying Doctor Service, the next key phase of social innovation in South Australia was associated with Thomas Playford from the early 1930s. Stewart Sweeney, in his ongoing doctoral research, referred to this period—linking this period with the ideas of Wakefield and Gouger—as one of 'systematic industrialisation'. The roots of the drive for systematic industrialisation lay in the Great

Depression of 1930. Sweeney suggested that Auditor-General John William Wainwright conceived the notion of the ‘South Australia Settlement’ which aimed to build a consensus to keep costs of production in South Australia lower than in Victoria and New South Wales by offering economic incentives to business such as the South Australian Housing Trust in 1936¹⁹ and the Industries Assistance Corporation in 1937.

To date, The South Australian Housing Trust (the brainchild of Horace Hogben) is arguably the most significant social innovation developed in the state. The achievements of the Trust—including after the Playford era are immense. As Susan Marsden noted,

It became the first Australian housing agency to bank land, build a new town, Elizabeth, supply factories to private enterprises, sell houses in the open market, buy and conserve old houses as public housing, convert warehouses into flats, buy public housing from private developed and design special housing for young married couples, pensioners and the disabled.²⁰

In addition, the Playford government was instrumental in the provision of infrastructure to support industrialisation—including the River Murray pipelines.

Innovation in the Dunstan decade (late 1960s–1970s)

A new wave of innovation in took place under the, at times, extraordinary leadership of Premier Don Dunstan. However, it is probably more correct to note that the period of innovation probably began with the earlier Walsh government (1965–1968) in which Dunstan was Attorney General and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs from 1965–67 before succeeding Walsh as leader. The list of social innovations during these two periods is expansive, and reflected Dunstan’s ambitions for the state:

I’m trying to create in Adelaide the best known urban conditions in the world.²¹

Two of the most innovative Acts of legislation took place in the earlier period of Dunstan’s influence. In 1966, the *Prohibition of Discrimination Act* was passed which prohibited discrimination in access to goods and services on the basis of race, country of origin, or skin colour. This was the first such legislation in Australia. In the same year, the *Aboriginal Lands Trust Act* enabled the transfer of Aboriginal Reserves to an all-Aboriginal Trust.

Dunstan’s legislative reforms include the *Sex Discrimination Act 1975*, the decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1975, legislation to make rape in marriage a criminal offence (1976), and set the ball rolling for the *Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act 1981*. Dunstan also appointed the first Indigenous Australian governor, Sir Douglas Nicholls. Dunstan’s promotion of the arts led to acts such as establishing the SA Film Corporation in 1972. The notion of social equality underpinned much of Dunstan’s key reforms and South Australia was a trailblazer in this respect.²²

Whitelock commented that ‘Adelaide was an ideal vehicle for Dunstanism. The city’s tradition of difference or even eccentricity was propitious’.²³ Adelaide in his view was the perfect city-state for Dunstan to begin his social reforms. A key factor Whitelock suggested is that Dunstan would possibly have not flourished as well in Canberra because there was less intense political competition at a state level rather than at the national level. Of course, this can never be proven, but it does reinforce the notion that South Australia has a number of key characteristics which make it an ideal social laboratory.

Social innovation to the present day (1980s–present)

Social innovation continues to remain an enduring feature of South Australian society. Many of these innovations focused on closing the social and health inequities between Indigenous South Australians and the wider population. In the 1980s, Professor Paul Hughes in the Department of Education developed new

ways of seeking to improve educational outcomes for Indigenous South Australians. In the health field, the *Social Health Atlas* was a new approach to link research with policy making.

In the mid 1980s South Australia was a leader in identifying community hazards using public hospital records. This work led to innovative legislative and policy responses, including safety testing of soft-fall surfaces at playgrounds, new standards for bunk beds, and safe transport guidelines for infants.

The challenge of climate change and environmentally sustainable living has also provided a well-spring of innovation, particularly outside government. The phenomenal growth of the organisation ‘Trees for Life’ is a fabulous innovation. Likewise, the development at Christie’s Walk is an interesting experiment in sustainable living, with the first strawbale houses in an Australian capital city, and the first inner city project to have its own on-site sewerage treatment.

More recently the Rann government has shown a willingness to experiment with the development of the State Strategic Plan; the Innovative Community Action Networks (ICAN) program; and to bring key external stakeholders into government. Finally, recent innovations such as the Festival of Ideas and the Adelaide Thinkers in Residence office are new innovations about innovation.

South Australia—the backwater state?

A history of the social innovation of South Australia also has to reflect the periods of stagnation and social lag. At times South Australia has had a reputation of being rather sleepy, and recent comments made by Victorian Premier John Brumby touched a nerve about Adelaide being a backwater.²⁴ Historian Douglas Pike’s verdict was that after the heady days of the 1830 to early 1850 period Adelaide became ‘sedate’. However, the history of innovation in South Australia is uneven, with periods of experimentation. Some of these reasons are perhaps related to the characteristics of social innovation itself. Hitherto it is unlikely that any society would see a continuous and linear growth in social innovation. Societies go through periods of consolidation. For example, it is likely that after the energy and experimentation associated with the government of Charles Cameron Smith, much activity for ordinary South Australians was the mundane business of everyday life; as it has been ever since. Stability is as much a feature as social change.

Social innovation can also be actively constrained or neglected as a political priority. While Playford was driven by his quest to industrialise the state and was prepared to use innovative tools to assist realise his dream, he neglected other areas of social life, and at times pandered to a certain strand of conservatism which meant that innovation in other areas of social life was ignored at best, and discouraged at worst. Notably, in 1915 South Australia was the first state to introduce a six o’clock closing time for public houses following active lobbying by groups such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. Yet, South Australia was also the last state to abolish the ‘six o’clock swill’ in 1967 (Victoria had abolished it the year before).

What is striking about many of the cases of social innovation in South Australia is the notion of ‘catch up’. While many of the examples are innovative and ground-breaking, they often only happened after the social need that they aimed to address had been neglected for quite a time. Playford acknowledged this:

... the city was badly provided with social services and the country even worse ... So that, when you’re behind scratch, it is easier to make a spectacular advance.²⁵

Likewise, the innovation under Dunstan has been characterised as a long overdue catch-up from the Playford era.

Another key factor is that while there have been significant differences in the history of the Australian states and territories, there is much greater commonality. Innovations quickly spread across the nation. South Australian ‘exceptionalism’ can be overstated. In his survey of the history of policy transfer in Australia,

Carroll noted some of the main trends.²⁶ Not surprisingly, Carroll argued that Britain as a colonial master was the initial main source of ideas and innovation adopted by the states. In subsequent times, the states have eagerly copied innovations from each other (and elsewhere).

For example, while the recent South Australian Strategic Plan (SASP) has its unique features, other states, including Tasmania and Victoria, had adopted state plans before South Australia. The innovation of a whole-of-state plan is really a US invention, and the Oregon plan which is the model for the South Australian version is over 10 years old. That said, the SASP has a number of distinctive features, and social innovations often build and refine on earlier versions.

Social innovation can stall for other reasons. Policy priorities can change, as can political will and support to bring them to fruition. Innovations can get mired in bureaucracy and fail to attract seed funding to grow and spread. An interesting recent example of a somewhat lagging South Australia is smoking bans. It is noteworthy that during the 1980s South Australia was a leader in smoking cessation debates, and yet was one of the last states to ban smoking in pubs and clubs.²⁷ There are no doubt other examples, but these cases are a useful corrective to the South Australian story. While South Australia's has striking record of social innovation, this has been uneven, and at periods has lagged behind the other states.

Explaining South Australia's history of innovation

At times, South Australia has been a crucible for innovation and experimentation,²⁸ and yet, as noted from the outset, the pace of innovation has been inconsistent. This invites us to ask why has South Australia, at times, been able to punch above its weight as a place for innovation?

A useful framework for understanding the causal factors in social innovation is Giddens' theory of 'structuration'.²⁹ Simply put, this framework suggests that to understand a given social phenomenon it is important to pay attention to both structure and agency. In the history of South Australia, this means understanding the degree to which historical factors and structural conditions have shaped new social innovations, but also it requires a focus on the role of the key agents of innovation. The value of this approach is that it also improves understanding of the phenomenon of social innovation itself. Understanding the processes and causes of social innovation can lead us to look to the future and identify the factors that are likely to generate new innovation.

Historical conditions in South Australia's development

Following the public consultation of the earlier draft of this paper, a number of factors and conditions were offered in an attempt to account for South Australia's history of social innovation. The table below outlines some of the suggested reasons for South Australia's record of experimentation, along with a summary judgement on how far they might be casual factors.

Historical factors in the development of South Australia		
factor	comment	explanatory power
notion of 'systemic colonisation'	Wakefield and Gouger's vision for 'systemic colonisation' at least attempted to establish South Australia on a different footing to the other states in Australia.	<i>High</i> – South Australia was set up on different terms to the other states, and this influence can be detected on a number of early innovations.
equality of sexes	The early balance between the sexes is a factor in explaining why South Australia quickly developed more social innovations originated by women for women (and children). Historian Susan Marsden argued that the commitment to a 'family-based society' was in the forefront of the minds of the planners of the colony, and noted that, Wakefield's scheme specified not only land sale and labour, but also that emigrant labourers be selected giving 'absolute preference ... to young persons, and ... no excess of males', so that fertile young couples might quickly increase the colonial population. (EG Wakefield, quoted in Elizabeth Kwan, <i>Living in South Australia: a social history</i> , 1, 1987, p.11) ... Women as artists, writers, mothers, farmers, and social reformers were prominent from the first ... ³⁰	<i>High</i> – this was a distinctive feature of the early colony, and the numerous innovations that resulted from active lobbying from SA women tend to support this.
number of religious dissenters	The early cultural climate of the early settlers and colonisers had an unusually high number of religious dissenters. ³¹	<i>Medium</i> – While a number of innovations can be traced directly to these early settlers, it is harder to determine the full extent of their influence.
capital and capitalist development	The social development of South Australia is closely entwined with the capitalist society envisaged by Wakefield and Gouger, particularly the innovative sale of land to fund immigration and labour. Lately, Stewart Sweeney's notion of the 'South Australian settlement' also suggests that the different development of capitalism in the state—principally to keep labour costs low to drive industrialisation—meant that the state had to innovate in different ways.	<i>Medium</i> – Clearly, capitalism has been a strong influence on the development of South Australia (particularly apparent in a range of government policies in the Playford era). However, as an explanatory factor it is not sufficient alone to directly account for the full range of social innovations.
tyranny of distance	The tyranny of distance might be applied to South Australia in two ways. Firstly, it was distant from Europe, and from the other Australian colonies. The relative isolation of South Australia has meant that to some extent it has had to innovate from its own community to address the growing social needs and expectations.	<i>Low</i> – While this might be an underlying factor, it could also apply to other states and territories and its explanatory power as a direct cause for social innovation is harder to determine.

Historical factors in the development of South Australia		
factor	comment	explanatory power
Adelaide as city-state	Adelaide as a city-state. Compared with the other states, the ratio of metropolitan dwellers compared with country dwellers has been and still is much higher than other states.	<i>Medium-low</i> – While this has been a distinctive feature of the state, It is harder to prove how far this really shaped some key innovations.
no gold-rush	Unlike the other states, there was no gold rush in South Australia—forcing it to seek its wealth and resources from other means.	<i>Low</i> – While the gold rush in Victoria and elsewhere did affect South Australian society in that there was significant emigration of men hoping to strike it lucky interstate, it is not a strong or direct causal factor for social innovations at this time.
luck and fortune	Derek Whitelock suggested that the topography and favourable climate when South Australia was ‘discovered’ was to some extent fortuitous. Also, South Australia was relatively free from any immediate military danger in its formative years which meant its development could take place at a steady pace. On a much smaller scale there was some element of luck.	<i>Low</i> – This is also hard to determine as a direct casual factor, although many social innovations have involved some element of luck. Whitelock for example suggested that there was a rather strong element of luck at play that William Light was appointed Surveyor-General. ³²
economic hardship	Economic hardship—in both the Great Depression of 1930 and the more recent recession in the 1990s, the effect was harshest on South Australia when compared with the other states.	<i>Medium</i> – South Australia has never been as economically strong as the eastern states, and in both the Great Depression and more recently the 1990s recession, South Australia faired far worse than the other states. The Great Depression was a key factor which motivated Playford’s drive for industrialisation. While the pursuit of economic growth is a key determining factor in the development of the state, in itself it does not account for the way South Australia developed or the supporting innovations.

These historical factors give some indication of how South Australia's history has evolved, at times differently from the other states. There are, no doubt, more recent factors and conditions which could be considered. However, no single condition in itself is enough to explain the peak periods or key South Australian social innovations. A number of these factors, such as the principles of Wakefield and Gouger, and the balance between the sexes do seem to have much stronger explanatory power than other conditions, such as the lack of a gold-rush. In combination, they shed some light on why some innovations may have developed in South Australia but not elsewhere. However, overall these factors are insufficient to account for the key periods of experimentation and innovation. These historical conditions provide useful context but there is a stronger correlation rather than cause between these factors and the innovations. Other factors, then, are at play.

The role of agency in South Australia's development

Giddens' 'structuration' framework argues that both structure and agency are key features in accounting for social development. In this schema, while it does not have primacy, the role of agency is crucial in understanding why some social innovations have occurred. Broadly speaking, three main types of agency have been instrumental in South Australia's history of social innovation:

- key individuals
- organisations
- political leadership.

Key individuals

As Mulgan noted in his study of the process of social innovation that historically, social innovation took place mainly due to the efforts and dedication of key individuals in making their ideas a reality. Compared with other fields, for example the natural sciences, social innovation as a distinct field is still institution-building to systematise and accelerate its development.³³

In the case of South Australia, there were numerous active and energetic individuals who were instrumental social innovators. Particularly in the early life of the colony, these key figures were the main source of innovation. William Light, Catherine Helen Spence, Helen Mayo, David Unaipon and Laura Corbin are all prominent figures, to name but a few. In a number of cases they may not have originated the ideas, but were instrumental in putting them into practice. As noted above, the significant number of women who feature in the life as early social innovators is striking, and is a distinct feature of early South Australian history.

Key organisations

In common with advanced industrial societies elsewhere, social innovation in the state was increasingly driven by and through key organisations and institutions. To name but three such examples in South Australia, Roseworthy College (the first agricultural college in Australia), the ground-breaking South Australian Housing Trust, and the Waite Research Institute have all played key roles. The growth of the tertiary sector in the state is also increasingly shaping policy and fermenting social innovation. The government sector is also emerging as either a sponsor or originator of innovation in a range of new policy areas.

There is, of course, an interesting overlap between all types of agency outlined here. Influential organisations also require inspiring individuals to drive through their innovations. An interesting South Australian example took place at Roseworthy College. In 1882, Professor D Custance set up experimental plots to test the value of phosphate fertiliser for growing wheat. These initial trials proved successful, but it is

reported that Custance's 'attacks on the farming methods employed by hard-pressed wheat farmers only served to arouse their ire'. It took the efforts of his successor Professor W Lowrie to 'carefully introduce them to wheat farmers' at a later date in 1887 to enable the innovation to be implemented.³⁴ The process of social innovation often requires a number of agencies and actors before they become more widely adopted.

Likewise, influential figures within organisations are often needed to drive innovation. Other examples include Alex Ramsay and Hugh Stretton at the Housing Trust, and Ian Cox (Director General of the Department for Community Welfare, set up under Dunstan).³⁵

Political leadership

The final key type of agency I have identified is political leadership. Arguably, this has been the most consistent and significant driver of social innovation. While proving the cause of an innovation is difficult, it is fairly apparent that innovation in South Australia has peaked when dynamic political leaders have shown a clear willingness to experiment and innovate. The most commonly cited and agreed upon political figures are Charles Cameron Kingston (1893–99),³⁶ Thomas Playford (1938–65) and Don Dunstan (1967–68, 1970–79).

In their different ways, each of these leaders was able to articulate a strong vision for South Australia, and crucially use the available economic and human capital to work towards this end. As noted above, Whitelock considered South Australia to be the perfect vehicle and city-state for 'Dunstanism'. This reinforces the view that visionary and driven political leaders have an opportunity to stamp their mark in a way that may not be possible over a sustained period at the national level.

In summary, it is no coincidence that, broadly speaking, the peak periods of innovation in South Australia have taken place during periods of charismatic and effective political leadership. This remains perhaps the strongest causal agent in the peak period of social innovation in the state.

The history and future of social innovation in South Australia

The history of social innovation in South Australia tells us that innovation does not just happen by itself. Certain structural factors and conditions can help create an environment which enables creativity and innovation to flourish, but in themselves are not enough to foster innovation. The role of agency is crucial to making good ideas a reality. Strong and dynamic political leadership has arguably been the most important component in accelerating innovation in South Australia's history.

So what does this mean for the future of social innovation in South Australia? Increasingly, innovation is being generated by organisations rather than relying on inspired and energetic (and usually isolated) people. In an increasingly interdependent world, with the advent of technology unforeseen even a decade or so ago, there are new opportunities and networks to foster innovation—global networks such as the Australian Social Innovation Exchange (ASIX) are now in place. Yet arguably the states have less power and autonomy than they did in the Dunstan era, which poses its own challenges.³⁷

Many of the structural factors which underpinned the early life and development of the state are clearly no longer relevant today. Wakefield's principles, the mix of religious dissenters, and the lack of a gold rush for example, are clearly no longer applicable. A key political and social aim of the proponents of social innovation is to both identify and shape the conditions and trends that will shape future policy directions. For policy makers the issue is to create a new 'South Australian settlement' to begin a new wave of innovation. Issues as diverse as obesity, climate change, poverty in a post-scarcity society, and Aboriginal social and economic inequality might be some of the issues that drive future innovation.

A more open question is whether the political leadership and other agents of innovation are in place in South Australia to foster and generate social innovation. In many respects, the Rann government has shown some willingness to experiment, for example setting up a social inclusion unit, or setting up key external

boards to influence government decision-making. The Rann government, after all, set up the Adelaide Thinkers in Residence, of which Geoff Mulgan's residency on social innovation (and this paper) are a key output.

With this in mind it is noteworthy that when surveying the history of social innovation in South Australia (using the three-fold typology of innovations, adaptations and copies set out earlier in this paper), by far the majority of the innovations listed would be categorised as adaptations. There is perhaps only a handful of pure innovations. What this seems to reinforce is that South Australia has a particularly fine record of adapting innovations. With an eye to the future it is interesting to note that Premier Rann has been described as a policy 'bowerbird'³⁸—picking and choosing policies and innovations from a wide variety of contexts. In this respect, Rann may be well placed to continue South Australia's history of introducing and adapting innovations in the state, rather than being a genuine innovator. However, it is arguably too early to say whether this really constitutes a new era for creativity and innovation.

Appendix 1

List of Social Innovations in South Australia

The table below outlines the history of social innovation in South Australia. Originally a more straightforward chronology or timeline of the various innovations was proposed. However, at Stewart Sweeney's suggestion I have organised the innovations chronologically under the six main themes of the current South Australian Strategic Plan:

- growing prosperity
- improving well being
- attaining sustainability
- fostering creativity and innovation
- building communities
- expanding opportunity.

Organising the list in this way offers a different perspective on South Australia's history, so that this can prompt further thinking about the future of social innovation. It means that we can strengthen the connections between the past and the future. In this respect, social innovation is often about inventing new strategies to deal with long-standing problems such as poverty and social exclusion.

One of the key insights this list offers is that it underscores the social changes that have taken place in South Australia. In many respects these are very modern headings. For example, 'attaining sustainability' has contemporary meaning. However, by treating these as broad categories it is possible to draw links between the past and the present without imposing modern meanings and interpretations on past innovations. Historians would rightly argue that each case should be understood in its fuller historical context. I strongly support this position.

The presentation of the innovations under the SASP headings is only intended to present the history from a different, more public-policy oriented perspective. In addition, these are not strictly defined categories. Many of the innovations could appear under a number of these headings. These qualifications aside, it is hoped that presented the list in this way offers an innovative and different view on South Australian history.

'Pre-contact' Aboriginal history and social innovation

As outlined in this paper, all human societies are characterised by some degree of innovation. Innovation, in itself, is nothing new. As noted above, the history of Indigenous Australians can be traced back approximately 60,000 years, and the oldest dated sites in South Australia indicate at least 40,000 years of occupation.³⁹ Indigenous cultures were not static, and changes over time included landscape modification through the use of fire-stick farming and the development of extensive trade networks.

However, for the purposes of this paper, social innovation has a more modern precise meaning bound up with the emergence of highly urbanised societies. For this reason, I have not catalogued changes and innovations in pre-contact Indigenous history in this list of social innovations.⁴⁰

Growing prosperity	
innovation	comment
1830s – seeds of planned or systematic colonisation	<p>SA was founded according to principles developed in the 1830s by theorists Robert Gouger and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. They envisaged a planned colony that maintained a balance between the sexes and between labour, capital and landowners. Religious pluralism was a hallmark of the early settlement. A key feature of the scheme was selling land to fund immigration.</p> <p>In many respects, the Wakefield Scheme was not a particularly innovative social concept. While the members of the South Australian Company hoped to make their own fortunes, they planned to do this by keeping labouring men in their place. Like many who left Britain at this time, they looked back nostalgically to an ideal pre-industrial age.⁴¹</p>
1839 – Adelaide Chamber of Commerce established	The first Chamber of Commerce established in Australasia was set up in Adelaide in 1839. The first Chamber of Manufactures was set up in 1869. ⁴²
1840 – Adelaide Corporation established	The Adelaide Corporation was the first elected municipal body in Australia. ⁴³
1844 – first census in SA	In 1844 the first census of South Australia was undertaken. Aboriginal people were not counted. ⁴⁴
1858 – ‘The Real Property Act’	The Act introduced a simple, secure and inexpensive method of registering and checking land titles. It became known as Torrens Title, but the role of RR Torrens, Registrar-General, was in publicly advocating the system and marshalling the ideas and support of the many proponents of reform, including Ulrich Hubbe. The system, which was refined in 1859 and 1862 and overhauled 1886, was adopted by many jurisdictions and countries around the world. ⁴⁵
1858 – Associations Incorporation Act	The Act, introduced in 1858, provided a relatively simple and cheap way of incorporating a non-profit organisation. This was an innovative and groundbreaking piece of legislation in Australia, and was later more widely adopted. ⁴⁶
1876 – trade unions legalised	South Australia was the first territory in the British Empire outside Britain to legalise trade unions. ⁴⁷
1876 – stump jump plough	<p>‘... Designed by brothers Richard and Clarence Smith of Yorke Peninsula, the stump jump plough allowed farmers to cultivate the land without removing rocks and stumps. Along with the Ridley stripper (another South Australian invention), the stump jump plough revolutionised farming worldwide. Widespread land clearing in the 1860s and 1870s meant a vast number of mallee stumps were left in the ground—a problem for farmers wishing to plough their land. The stump jump plough was designed to jump over stumps, thereby protecting machinery and avoiding the cost of having to remove each stump ...</p> <p>Clarence Smith ... made the first stump jump plough under Richard's direction in 1876 and continued improving the design while farming at Kalkabury. He ... established a factory at Ardrossan in 1880 where he began manufacturing the plough. He died in 1901 and his business passed to his sons Glen and Alma Smith. The business ceased operations in 1934.’ (edited extract from State Library of SA website)⁴⁸</p>

Growing prosperity	
innovation	comment
1878 – horse-drawn trams	Adelaide was the first Australian city to begin to establish a system of horse-drawn trams. ⁴⁹ While horse-drawn trams were not unique, this emphasises Adelaide's position as an early adopter of social innovations, particularly in this period of the state's history.
1881 – Public Trustee Office Established	South Australia was the first Australian colony to establish an Office of Public Trustee to provide an independent and qualified executor or trustee to anyone in need of those services. ⁵⁰
1884 – UTLC formed	In 1884, the United Trades and Labour Council was formed. ⁵¹
1885 – Income and Land Tax	South Australia became the first Australian colony to introduce land and income tax with the implementation of the <i>Taxation Act 1884</i> . ⁵²
1887 – first irrigation settlement	The first irrigation settlement in Australia was established at Renmark. ⁵³
1890 – model for industrial arbitration and conciliation	Charles Cameron Kingston introduced the first version of what would become his Conciliation Bill, the first attempt in Australia to impose conciliation and arbitration as a means of preventing and settling industrial disputes. The Bill, significantly amended, was passed in 1894. Kingston's system became a model for similar legislation in New Zealand and other Australian colonies, and in the new Australian commonwealth following federation. ⁵⁴
1894 – Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (and subsequent amendments)	'South Australia was the first Australian State to enter the field of conciliation and arbitration of employment matters with the passing in 1894 of the Conciliation Act (No. 598 of 1894) which enabled legal recognition to be given to private collective agreements and provided for the establishment of both private and public boards of conciliation to make rulings for particular industries on the condition that the parties agreed to accept them as binding. However, this initial legislation proved to be unworkable and the Factories Amendment Act was passed in 1900 with provision for the creation of wages boards. This was followed by the Factories Act Amendment Act in 1906, the concept being founded on the Victorian precedent established with the Factories and Shops Act 1896. These wages boards were comprised of elected representatives of both employers and employees in the industry with an independent Chairman and fixed the minimum wages to be paid to workers in specified industries with the right to sue in court for wages underpaid.' ⁵⁵
2002 – external government boards	The Rann government set up innovatory new governance systems, particularly by bringing in outsiders within cabinet. External Boards were created to encourage wider ownership of key issues and supplement government expertise. The <i>Economic Development Board</i> (then headed by prominent businessman Robert Champion de Crespigny), and also the <i>Social Inclusion Board</i> (headed by Monsignor David Cappelletti), and also the <i>Premier's Roundtable on Sustainability</i> (then headed by Tim Flannery). ⁵⁶
1972–73 innovative consumer protection legislation	In the early 1970s, South Australia was a leader in enhancing consumer protection, supported by legislation such as the <i>Consumer Credit Act 1972</i> , <i>The Consumer Transactions Act 1972</i> , and the <i>Land Agents, Brokers and Valuers Act 1973</i> . ⁵⁷

Growing prosperity	
innovation	comment
2004 – the Far West Aboriginal Enterprise Network (FWCAN)	The Far West Coast Aboriginal Enterprise Network (FWCAN) is made up of Aboriginal people who own business enterprises or are establishing one. Located about 800 km west of Adelaide. FWCAN was established during 2004–05 through the DK-CRC Plants for People Project in South Australia. FWCAN supports and advises people with an interest in business and enterprise development and encourages them to develop their own enterprises. It also provides access to information and resources both within the Network (e.g., a trained horticulturalist) and outside it. All members are engaged in an enterprise project in their community, e.g., market gardens, nurseries, and production of native foods, oils, soaps and bush medicines. ⁵⁸
2004 – South Australian Strategic Plan (SASP)	In March 2004 the government launched the 10-year strategic plan setting out the long-term issues for the state and developing a series of nearly 100 targets for government performance to be measured by. The origins of the SASP lie in the ‘Oregon Shines’ plan, and expertise from Oregon was brought into advise. Since the development of the original SA plan a number of other states have developed their own long-term plan. ⁵⁹

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
1849 – Destitute Board Established	The Destitute Board was set up to care for the colony’s dependent, deserving poor through the recommending of rations. ⁶⁰
1866 – education and care for poor families	The Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, the first entirely Australian order of nuns, was founded by Mary MacKillop and Father Julian Tenison Woods to educate children from poor Catholic families and to care for the poor. ⁶¹
1876 – Adelaide Children’s Hospital and Maternity Relief Association established	The efforts of Adelaide citizens, particularly women, concerned about high infant mortality in the colony, led to the founding of the Adelaide Children’s Hospital in 1876. It also provided the colony’s first training school for nurses. In the same year the Maternity Relief Association was formed to provide material assistance to poor women with newborn babies. ⁶² While this was not an Australian first (the Melbourne Hospital for Sick Children was established in 1870) it established new social institutions in South Australia.
1880 – South Adelaide Crèche	Largely due to the efforts of Laura Corbin, the South Adelaide Crèche was set up to care for the children of the poorest working women in Adelaide. Corbin was inspired by similar crèches in London and Paris, and set up the first crèche in SA. In 1887, the South Adelaide Day Nursery was formally established. ⁶³
1881 – water-borne sewerage system	Adelaide was the first Australian capital city to be connected to a water-borne sewerage system, following over a decade of community agitation. It was one of the most important government interventions in public health in the century. ⁶⁴
1893 – District Trained Nursing Society formed	The Districted Trained Nursing Society was formed at Bowden to provide a free (or low-cost) home nursing service to the poor. ⁶⁵

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
1900 – SA first state to introduce worker’s compensation legislation	South Australia was the first Australian state to introduce legislation which enabled people injured at work to seek compensation. However, it should be noted that this Act was modelled on an Imperial Act of 1897, and before that, South Australia had the <i>Employer’s Liability Act 1884</i> , similarly based on an Imperial Act of 1880. ⁶⁶
1907 – Kindergarten Training College was established.	In 1905 the Kindergarten Union was established. Daphne de Lissa became a leader in this new movement and opened Adelaide’s first kindergarten in 1906 and became the principal of the Kindergarten Training College from its establishment in 1907. ⁶⁷
1909 – School for Mothers established in Adelaide	In 1909 the School for Mothers was formed in Adelaide to ‘promote the education of the mother in all that concerns the physical, mortal, and moral development of herself and her off-spring’. When many European women migrated to South Australia they had very little experience of caring for a child in a hot climate. The school was established to help them adapt to the climate and to teach them how to keep their babies cool during very hot weather. ^{68,69} The Adelaide School for Mothers was not a new innovation for Australia. Formal attempts to educate mothers were probably initiated in Sydney and, by WG Armstrong, from 1904. The Alice Rawson School for Mothers was established in Sydney in 1908, under the auspices of the National Council of Women. ⁷⁰
1915 – first children’s library	In 1915, South Australia developed the first children's library with storytelling in Australia. The Children’s Library was part of the South Australian Public Library. However, this had been preceded by over 50 years by what appears to have been the first children’s library in SA, established by women of the Unitarian Church in 1859, with the aim of ‘exciting a taste for reading’. ⁷¹
1928 – Royal Flying Doctor Service formed	There is a South Australian connection with the formation of the Australian Flying Doctor Service. Founder of the Flying Service, Reverend John Flynn, took up his first mission in 1911 at the Beltana Mission in the northern part of SA and set about building medical facilities in the outback. Flynn’s vision for the Flying Doctor Service was confirmed by his correspondence with Clifford Peel about the use of the emerging aviation industry to overcome the issues of distance in the outback. South Australian Alf Traegar, who is credited with the invention of the first pedal radio, was introduced to Flynn in 1925. ‘The future of communications in Australia—the Pedal Wireless and the Royal Flying Doctor Service was decided by the ingenuity of Alf Traeger, and the vision of the Reverend John Flynn’. ^{72,73}
1927 – Mothers’ and Babies’ Health Association	The School for Mothers (see entry for 1909) changed its name to the Mothers’ and Babies’ Health Association in 1927. The Association ran infant welfare centres, ‘Baby trains’ and, from 1937, a training school, and contributed to the reduction in infant mortality in South Australia, which was for many years the lowest in the commonwealth. ⁷⁴

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
1954 – Meals on Wheels was incorporated in Adelaide	Meals on Wheels was incorporated in South Australia in 1954—the first such incorporation of its type. However, the history of Meals on Wheels is complicated and it is likely that it was started at the same time in South Melbourne and Port Adelaide. It seems to be generally acknowledged that the inspiration or model for Meals on Wheels was a service provided during WWII in London, which National Archives suggest, was brought to Australia in 1949 by Mrs Nancy Dobson who was on the Ladies Auxiliary of the South Melbourne Council. ^{75, 76}
1976 – SA Health Commission established	The SA Health commissioned was established in 1976 with the primary role of administering hospitals and health services. It was based on a vision of health services distant from the influence of changing party political influence. ⁷⁷
late 1970s – development of Community Health Centres in SA	The initial impetus for the development of the growth of Community Health Centres in South Australia lay with the Whitlam government’s National Community Health Policy, but was given added impetus by the Labor state government. Community Health Centres were conceived as a radically different means of structuring health services. ⁷⁸
1977 – pilot model for domiciliary care	In 1971, The Western Domiciliary Care Service accepted its first referrals for the pilot scheme. The purpose of the scheme was to make the transition from hospital to home easier, and enable more people to stay at home rather than be admitted to hospital. An early report suggests that of 1,800 patients, about 700 would be in nursing homes if the scheme had not existed. This innovatory approach to domiciliary care was rolled out across the state. ⁷⁹
1977 – SA Cancer Registry	The SA Cancer registry was established in 1977 to collate statistical information on cancer in South Australia. The registry monitors, analyses and reports on a number of indicators with the aim of reducing as far as is practicable the burden of cancer on the SA population. ⁸⁰
1984 – Port Pirie Lead Implementation program	<p>The South Australian government's Port Pirie Lead Implementation Program commenced in 1984 to help reduce the amount of lead that children were absorbing from their contaminated environment. The Program was established in response to a history of environmental lead contamination linked to 100 years of smelting in Port Pirie, where the world’s largest lead smelter is situated.</p> <p>The major focus of the program is to reduce household exposure of pregnant women and children below the age of five years. The Centre investigates the pathways to lead exposure, educates the community on minimising exposure and monitors exposure by offering free routine blood lead testing to pregnant women and young children. The Port Pirie Lead Implementation Program followed a major population research study by the SA Health Commission in the early 1980s.⁸¹</p>

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
1985 – identifying community hazards through the use of public hospital records	<p>South Australia was a leading state in implementing a system for identifying community hazards through the use of public hospital records. This began in 1985, and continues. Some benefits of this innovative approach include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accidents at playgrounds were quickly found to be a source of concern. This led SA to conduct the nation’s first engineering tests on soft-fall surfaces. The other states and territories followed SA’s lead and adopted recommendations which eventually formed a national standard • a similar event occurred with bunk beds (prior to this work in SA, most bunk beds were made without a top guard rail) • SA was the first state to legislate on safe transport for infants in motor vehicles • SA was the first jurisdiction to develop crash barrier system for urban roads.⁸²
1986 – SA first state to legislate to ban tobacco advertising	<p>South Australia was a leader in banning tobacco advertising, and in some respects has been credited with being a world leader in health promotion on smoking and tobacco issues.^{83, 84} Interestingly, Victoria presented innovative legislation the following year, and this model was subsequently adopted by other states, including SA.⁸⁵</p>
1990 – South Australian Health Omnibus Survey	<p>The Health Omnibus Survey (HOS), an annual, face-to-face survey of a representative sample of South Australians aged 15 years and over, was established in 1990. The first survey was facilitated by the South Australian Smoking and Health Project that required population data on smoking-related beliefs and behaviours. The data are used for planning, developing and monitoring health services and health promotion initiatives. HOS has not only produced valuable data, but also networking opportunities that have resulted in other innovative, collaborative South Australian work, including the North West Adelaide Health Study and the Nutrition Obesity Lifestyle and Environment (NOBLE) Study.⁸⁶</p>
1990 – The Social Health Atlas of SA	<p>In 1990 the first edition of the Social Health Atlas was produced by John Glover and Tony Woollacott for the SA Health Commission. It has been updated on a regular basis since then. The Atlas presents maps that show in detail a wide range of information about social and health issues across the state. Atlases have also been produced on topics such as youth and Aboriginal health.</p> <p>The Social Health Atlas is used to support service planning by providing an overview of health status and patterns of health and welfare service use by people in different parts of the state in the context of socioeconomic background. The work continues to be developed and updated by the Public Health Information Development Unit within the University of Adelaide.⁸⁷</p>
1998 – Health and Social Welfare Councils	<p>This program was established jointly by the SA Health Commission and Department of Community Welfare in Councils Program 1988 and continued until 1995. The Health and Social Welfare Councils were set up as local community-based councils with representatives from the local communities, including service providers. HSWCs were established in Marion-Brighton-Glenelg, North West Suburbs, Murray Mallee and Riverland areas as pilot sites. The HSWCs advised DCW, SAHC and the Minister about health and welfare issues of concern to the local communities.⁸⁸</p>

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
2002 – South Australian Monitoring and Surveillance System	The South Australian Monitoring and Surveillance System (SAMSS) is a telephone monitoring system designed to systematically monitor trends in chronic conditions, risk factors and social determinants of health. SAMSS was established in 2002 and was based on the Behavioural Risk Factor Surveillance System in the United States. The continuous data collection of SAMSS means that approximately 600 computer-assisted telephone interviews are conducted with a random, representative sample of South Australians of all ages every month. ⁸⁹
2003 onwards – innovations in healthcare in South Australia	There has been a number of new innovations in South Australia's recent past. It is worth highlighting a few prominent examples. Arguably the theme that links many of these innovations is the notion of integrating health care with other social policy areas, and placing greater focus on preventative health care. In 2003 the landmark <i>Generational Health Review</i> that reviewed SA's health system was published. The state government responded and the 2007 Health Care plan was noted as a major step in creating an integrated health care system that includes features such as the roll out of GP Plus Centres. The first GP Plus centre was opened in Aldinga in 2006, the first of its kind in SA. ⁹⁰
2003 - the Universal Home Visiting Program	The Universal Home Visiting Program is part of the SA government's commitment to early intervention in a number of health issues of public significance. Nurses offer to visit all new parents shortly after their discharge from hospital. Nurses do the first recommended health check and determine which families require additional support. The Family Home Visiting Program is funded by the government as part of the 'Every Chance for Every Child' initiative and provides ongoing home visits and support over a two-year period. Nurses are supported by a multidisciplinary team that includes social workers, psychologists and Aboriginal health staff. The Program forms part of the SA government's focus on an early childhood agenda. ⁹¹
2004, 2007	Two pivotal publications, <i>Inequality in South Australia: key determinants of wellbeing</i> (2004) and <i>Towards a fairer society: community case studies</i> (2007), helped improve understanding of the social determinants of health and well being. These reports have informed the state government's approach to addressing health inequities through a series of Health Equity Action Plans that cover problems such as smoking and obesity. ⁹²
2006 – Psychiatric Disability Service (PDS)	The Psychiatric Disability Service (PDS) is a small, innovative program that is part of <i>Disability SA</i> . The development of the PDS was based on an expansion of the approach adopted by the City Watch House Project. Essentially, the service advocates support packages to socially excluded homeless people with multiple and complex needs. In 2006–07, 93 clients were receiving support. The PDS takes an innovative approach that breaks from more traditional charity-based means of supporting homeless people with complex needs. A key feature of this approach is that it targets people who fall between the coverage of different service agencies. ⁹³

Improving well being	
innovation	comment
2006 – Children’s Centres	As part of their work on early childhood development, the state government is setting up children’s centres that are one-stop-shops for young children and their families. The Centres will bring a mix of services to children, their families and also to the community. The centres will help foster access to health and therapeutic services, and offer information on vocational education and employment. ⁹⁴
2006 – Building Health Community pilot sites	<p>A government health-related initiative has set up 10 pilots across the state that focus on chronic disease. In Port Augusta, the ‘Pika Wiya Shared Care Live Longer Program’ was set up with a number of related projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a self-management support group • a training program for Aboriginal health workers working in remote and isolated areas of the region • a partnership with the Sharing Health Care Program • educational camps for women.⁹⁵
2007 – Strategic Health Research Program	The SHRP is linked to the health targets of the South Australian Strategic Plan. It provides direct research funding for research related to problems such as obesity, smoking, psychological distress and Aboriginal health and well being. It is innovative in that strives to link health research to government priorities and policy-making. ⁹⁶

Attaining sustainability	
innovation	comment
1835 – planning for Adelaide. (William Light appointed Surveyor-General); Light’s Vision	Colonel William Light was appointed Surveyor-General and is generally credited with the design and layout of Adelaide as part of the new planned settler colony (although some claim this work owed more to George Strickland Kingston). The foresight of his vision, which entailed a grid system of roads and wide main boulevards encircled by a belt of public park lands, with suburban villages beyond, has meant that although Adelaide has grown substantially over the years, the main outline of original plan remains. ⁹⁷
1854 – Botanic Garden established	A site for a botanic garden had been included on Light’s city plan; in 1854 the Adelaide Botanic Garden was established on a site recommended by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, a group established in 1842. Economic botany became an important part of the role of the Garden, and contributed to the selection and development of crop and other agricultural and horticultural varieties suitable to the conditions of the colony. ⁹⁸
1864/5 – Goyder’s Line	George W Goyder was sent out to map the extent of the drought, and on his return advised the government to discourage farmers from planting agricultural crops north of a line delineating 12 inches of annual rainfall. This line became known as Goyder’s Line. The line was disputed, and after pressure the government passed the <i>Waste Lands Act 1874</i> that threw all land north of Goyder’s line open for selection. Drought in the 1880s vindicated Goyder’s warning, and many farmers were forced to retreat from the northern lands and the search for land elsewhere. ⁹⁹
1878 – South Australian Acclimatisation Society formed	Set up in 1878, the South Australian Acclimatisation Society sought to introduce British species to make South Australia less mysterious and alien, and more like home for the white European settlers. They introduced species such as skylarks, thrushes, foxes, rabbits and petunias, among many other species of plants, animals, and birds. ¹⁰⁰ The Acclimatisation Society was later called the Royal Zoological Society of South Australia. Around this era a number of other natural sciences organisations and associations were formed in South Australia. They included the South Australia Ornithological Association (1899) and the Field Naturalist Society of South of Australia (1883). ¹⁰¹
1881 – new farming techniques leading to establishment of the first Agricultural College at Roseworthy	One of the early problems facing many South Australian farmers was a declining wheat yield. One of the early responses to this problem was in 1881 when an experimental farm was set up at Roseworthy to investigate new fertilising techniques. This initiative led to the creation of the first agricultural college in 1883. ¹⁰² ‘Roseworthy Agricultural College is opened—the first agricultural college in Australia and part of the South Australian government’s push to encourage agriculture’. ¹⁰³

Attaining sustainability	
innovation	comment
1891 – National Park Act – SA gained Belair National Park	There is evidence to suggest that the ideas and influence of British naturalists and American naturalists on Australia has been great. Yellowstone National park was the world's first and was declared in 1872. Areas in NSW and Victoria were set aside as parks from the 1860s, but it was not until 1891 that SA gained Belair National Park. At the turn of the century there were a number of legislative measures to expand the definition of 'parks', with arguably a stronger emphasis on ideas bound up with conservation. The initial act in 1891 may have been a first for South Australia, but the source of innovation is much earlier. ¹⁰⁴
1920 Town Planning Act	'... Charles Reade, a New Zealand journalist with experience in the British garden cities movement, became the town planning advisory to the South Australian Government in 1916. Reade prepared a Town Planning and Housing Bill in 1916 which embraced concepts for integrated development and housing which were as advanced as anywhere in the world at the time. The Bill did not become law. However, in 1920 Parliament passed the first Town Planning Development Act for any Australian State. It was much more limited in scope than the 1916 Bill. The Act gave the Town Planner wide latitude to advise the government but limited the statutory powers to planning new government towns and controlling private land subdivision'. ¹⁰⁵
1924 – Waite research Institute established at University of Adelaide	The Waite Institute is an institution fundamental to the understanding of natural sciences in South Australia. For example, it is cited as a watershed in the development of soil science, and led to the first detailed soil survey undertaken by Taylor and Edward at Renmark in 1929. ^{106, 107}
1940s & 1950s – growth of natural science professional associations	In the development and growth of the natural sciences in South Australia, it was noted that '... the growth of professional societies is the last but not least important part of the change that took place between 1940 and 1970'. ¹⁰⁸ An example is the Adelaide Geographical Association that was formed in 1950. These organisations and associations of professional scientists in their field were instrumental in improving scientific understanding and had important social (as well as environmental) implications.
1958 – first seismological station. SA Seismic Network established	Following the earthquake in South Australia in 1954, the state's first seismological station was established in 1958 at Mount Bonython. It soon became part of an international and also state network. ¹⁰⁹
1962 – Metropolitan Area Report	The Metropolitan Development Plan of 1962, which had been shelved by the Playford government, was taken up following the change of government in 1965 and given a legislative basis in the <i>Planning and Development Act 1967</i> . This Act created the State Planning Authority and led to comprehensive planning and development control across developed areas of South Australia. ¹¹⁰

Attaining sustainability	
innovation	comment
1966 – KESAB (Keep South Australia Beautiful) formed	<p>KESAB was established in 1966, initially as a community campaign with a range of stakeholders that included the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the RAA and <i>The Adelaide Advertiser</i>. KESAB is a founding member of <i>Keep Australia Beautiful</i>. Since its inception KSEAB has been innovative in cleaning up the environment of South Australia. KESAB's role has grown significantly since its formation. Its initial narrow focus on litter has expanded to include water quality and recycling.</p> <p>While similar organisations operate in other states, KESAB has a much larger and more significant role. As South Australia is the only state with container deposit legislation (see below), KESAB has had to develop more innovative strategies to engage with key stakeholders.¹¹¹</p>
1972 – <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1972</i>	<p>This legislation was described by Derek Whitelock as the 'Magna Carta' of conservation legislation in South Australia, and was significant because the conservation reserves became the responsibility of one body for the first time—the Department for Environment and Conservation. This legislation marked the beginning of an era of growth in the area of land designated for conservation and parks. It was preceded by the establishment of the Conservation Council of South Australia a year earlier in 1971.¹¹²</p>
1975 – container deposit legislation	<p>In 1975 the South Australian government introduced container deposit legislation that imposed a deposit on a selection of beverage containers. The deposit is included in the retail price and is refunded when the container is returned to a collection point. SA is the only Australian state to have introduced such legislation.¹¹³</p>
1981 – Trees for Life established	<p>In 1991 a group of volunteers established Trees for Life, an organisation whose main aim is to help protect the biodiversity of South Australia. A key part of the scheme is to get volunteers to grow trees for revegetation that are then planted around the state. Trees for Life have over 10,000 volunteers and is reportedly the largest organisation of its type in Australia.¹¹⁴</p>
1988 – World Environment Day – Adelaide features on the Green Map system	<p>Adelaide was first city in the southern hemisphere to be part of the Green Map System (www.greenmap.com). The system uses an international set of symbols to identify and locate green aspects of the urban environment.</p>
1989 – Pastoral Land Management and Conservation Act	<p>The <i>Pastoral Land Management and Conservation Act 1989</i> (SA) makes provision for the management and conservation of pastoral land in South Australia. This is an innovative piece of legislation that set up 'a detailed lease assessment program [that] requires regular assessments of land condition (including the native vegetation) and estimates of its ability to support stock. This has helped to improve land management in the region over the last decade or so'.¹¹⁵</p>

Attaining sustainability	
innovation	comment
1998 – development of Christie’s Walk ecological development	<p>Christie’s Walk is a leading edge ecological development on the old Halifax Depot site in south-west Adelaide, significant not only because of its adoption of innovative environmentally friendly features (passive solar design, non-toxic allergy neutral construction) but also due to the social processes that support its design principles. There is good evidence to suggest Christie Walk has a number of Australian firsts, including:¹¹⁶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first green development in City of Adelaide • first genuine roof garden in South Australia (earth covers the entire roof to a depth of 350 mm) • first strawbale houses in an Australian capital city • first inner-city project in Australia to have on-site sewage treatment and to supply effluent for irrigating publicly owned parklands.

Fostering creativity and innovation	
innovation	comment
1838 – public lectures in Adelaide	Public lectures on a variety of topics began under the auspices of the Adelaide Mechanics' Institute, which opened in 1838. ¹¹⁷
1848 – first newspaper in a language other than English	<i>Die Deutsche Post fur Die Australischen Colonien</i> , the first non-English language newspaper in Australia, was published in Adelaide. ¹¹⁸
1848 – first South Australian to take out patent using a private bill in parliament	Prior to the passing of the 1852 Letters of Registration Bill, 'It was possible to obtain a patent for an invention in an Australian colony either by a Private Bill through Parliament or by personal application to the Patents Office in London. To obtain a patent by means of a Private Bill it was necessary to petition Parliament for a patent which, after consideration and consent by the Legislative Council, was then granted by the Governor'. In 1848, Andrew Murray was the first (South) Australian to granted a patent for his 'new and improved windlass' by private bill. ¹¹⁹
1856 – <i>South Australian Institute Act</i>	This Act brought together the Adelaide Mechanics' Institute and the Library and Scientific Association to form the South Australian Institute. This was the forerunner to both the State Library and the South Australian Museum. ¹²⁰
1877 – the <i>Patent Act (SA)</i>	'... South Australia was the first colony to pass legislation to allow the Commissioner of Patents, with the sanction of the governor, to licence fit and proper persons to be Patent Agents for transacting business under the provisions of the Act'. ¹²¹
1904 – first community-owned hotel	The first community owned and run hotel in the British Empire was established at Renmark. ¹²²
1920 – first public archives	The first public archives in Australia were established as a department of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery in Adelaide. ¹²³
1927–29 – first publications by an Aboriginal author, David Unaipon	David Unaipon's three booklets of 'Native Legends', published in 1927, 1928, and 1929, were the first Australian publications by an Aboriginal author. ¹²⁴ David Unaipon, a Ngarrindjeri man, was born in 1872 at Raukkan (Point McLeay Mission) on the shores of Lake Alexandrina in South Australia. David Unaipon is commemorated on the \$50 note. Among a lifetime of numerous achievements and accolades, David Unaipon is credited with several inventions that include an improved handpiece for shearing sheep, and a centrifugal motor. During his lifetime David Unaipon registered ten patents, of which eight are still in use today. ¹²⁵
1960 – first Adelaide Festival of Arts	The first Festival of Arts was held in Adelaide in 1960, and was the first major arts festival in Australia (it was modelled on Edinburgh Festival). ¹²⁶
1965 – Australian Dance Theatre was established.	In 1963, Elizabeth Dalman 'established her own school of dance in Adelaide, which she directed until 1975. Then, in 1965, with Kevin Roberts as production manager, she founded the Australian Dance Theatre. Dalman was the company's artistic director from 1965 until 1975 and as its main choreographer she created over 30 works frequently using commissioned scores from Australian composers and designs by Australian artists'. ¹²⁷
1972 – first Community radio station in Australia	Radio Adelaide (formerly 5UV) is Australia's first community radio station; it was established by Adelaide University in 1972. ¹²⁸

Fostering creativity and innovation	
innovation	comment
1972 – South Australian Film Corporation established	The SAFC was formed in 1972 to help rejuvenate the film industry in South Australia. The SAFC predated the Australian Film Television and Radio School by a year, and predated the Australian Film Commission by two years. ¹²⁹
1973 – Adelaide Festival Theatre opened	The Festival Theatre was the first stage of the multi-purpose Adelaide Festival Centre, the first multi-function arts complex in Australia. ¹³⁰
1977 – joint use libraries	As a state with a small but far flung population, South Australia has to be clever and use economies of scale to ensure that the whole state has access to a professional public library service. South Australia led and still leads Australia in using joint-use school–community or TAFE–community libraries, which allow small communities that would otherwise not be able to afford a stand-alone library to offer library services. The first such in the country was in Pinnaroo in 1977. ¹³¹
late 1980s – pioneering overseas literacy courses.	In the late 1980s and early 1990s the Department of Education and Children’s Services licensed Rigby Education in the USA to adapt and deliver the Early Literacy In-service Course (ELIC) and Literacy Learning in the Middle Years (LLIMY) in North America. The programs there are called <i>Developing literacy first</i> and <i>Supporting literacy</i> . ¹³² At the time SA was pioneering the development of courses overseas.
1986 – SA Migration Museum opens	The Migration Museum, a museum of the History Trust of South Australia, was the first in Australia to focus on migration and settlement history. It had, and continues to have, an emphasis on recording and presenting the state’s cultural diversity. ¹³³
1999 – <i>Learning to Learn</i> established	<i>Learning to Learn</i> is an internationally recognised state government funded education redesign initiative. It models a new way of creating school reform that is designed on principles of learning and engagement rather than on traditional project management approaches. This novel approach attracts leading educational thinkers and researchers from around the world. It is a network of schools from pre-school to year 12 that explore the latest learning research from a number of disciplines and use this to inform new actions in schools that engage students in learning for the future. ¹³⁴
1999 – ‘Unlocking the World Program’	Unlocking the World is a series of professional development programs for classroom teachers that are developed and delivered by the Department of Education and Children’s Services (DECS). Each program is completely self-contained and provides professional development that is immediately applicable in the classroom. The programs are based on a train-the-trainer model that offers a flexible, in-house, professional development resource. ¹³⁵ The program began with one program and has subsequently trained and licensed more than 1,000 tutors around the world. ¹³⁶
1999 – Adelaide “Festival of Ideas”	The Festival of Ideas was first held in 1999 and brought together a wide range of different people to give fresh insight and thinking into key issues and topics. ¹³⁷

Fostering creativity and innovation	
innovation	comment
2002–04 – Dale Street Health Centre	In 2002–04 Dale Street Women's Health Centre, in partnership with women from the western region of Adelaide and some dedicated community artists, received arts and health funding for two innovative community arts projects: <i>Women's Story Wall</i> and a floor design for a new purpose-built building. These arts projects explored issues of women's health; improved well being through participation in the arts; the history of the health centre established by local feminists; community cultural development and also included the voices of local Kurna women. These two arts projects, as well as the story of the Health Centre have been captured in a publication, <i>Plus Connection: Women's Health Through Creativity</i> . ¹³⁸
2003 – Adelaide Thinkers in Residence	The Adelaide Thinkers in Residence program is an innovative approach (and a world first) that brings in expertise from outside the state and tests new thinking and ideas for meeting social needs. Prominent Thinkers include Fraser Mustard (early years expert), Ilona Kickbusch (health promotion), Stephen Schneider (climate change) and Susan Greenfield (science and society), amongst many others. ¹³⁹

Building communities	
innovation	comment
1834 – South Australia Act (UK)	Unusually, the colony of South Australia was established by an act of the UK parliament, and was different in that it was founded on the principles of systematic colonisation. This was embodied in the South Australian Colonization Commission, which was responsible for managing land sales and immigration. The Act also established that there were to be no convicts transported to South Australia. ¹⁴⁰
1834 – formation of SA Literary and Scientific Association	South Australia's long history of social innovation is also shown by its planner's commitment to books, libraries and education. Two weeks after the South Australian Act received royal assent, a South Australian Literary and Scientific Association formed in London whose members collected books for the new colonists to take with them to assist them to set up the new colony and to form the basis of the colony's library. (Some of these books survive in the State Library today in the Gouger Collection). ¹⁴¹
1838 – first Lutherans arrive	The first wave of Lutherans fleeing religious persecution arrived in South Australia in 1838. They settled initially at Klemzig, and then established German villages in the Adelaide Hills and the Barossa Valley. ¹⁴²
1841 – first ration stations for Indigenous people	The first ration stations were established at Moorundie on the River Murray in 1841 and near Port Lincoln on the Eyre Peninsula. ¹⁴³
1844 – Aboriginal Evidence Ordinance	The Ordinance allowed courts to accept Aboriginal testimony without the necessity of swearing an oath. This improved the legal position of Aboriginal people, but did not give Aboriginal testimony equal treatment—courts were able to decide the weight to give such testimony. ¹⁴⁴
1851 – separation of Church and state	South Australia was the first British colony to end state aid to religion, realising in practice the principles of religious liberty and voluntarism, important in the founding of the Province. ¹⁴⁵

Building communities	
innovation	comment
1880 – the first Salvation Army meeting held in Australia	The first Salvation Army meeting in Australia was held in Adelaide. ¹⁴⁶
1882 – <i>Fire Brigades Act</i>	This Act established the South Australian Fire Brigades, funded by the government, City of Adelaide and insurance companies. Before 1882, insurance companies had maintained a brigade with a government appointed superintendent. ¹⁴⁷
1891 – cremation legalised	Cremation was legalised in South Australia—an Australian first. Advocates lobbied for cremation on public health grounds. ¹⁴⁸
1890 – Children’s Criminal Court	The first Children’s Criminal Court in Australia was set up in Adelaide in 1890. ¹⁴⁹
1897 – first Girl’s Club in SA	Lady Victoria Buxton formed a Girl’s Club for under-privileged girls and women. ¹⁵⁰
1917 –Town Planning Conference	The first Town Planning Conference to be held in Australia took place in Adelaide in 1917. ¹⁵¹
1936 – South Australian Housing Trust is established ^{152, 153}	<p>The first public housing authority in Australia was set up in 1936. The SA Housing Trust has been one of the most groundbreaking and innovative public bodies, and an institutional icon whose history has been recorded by Susan Marsden.¹⁵⁴ The SA Housing Trust has been instrumental in providing affordable housing across the state, initially on a rental basis, to low-income families. The Housing Trust initiated a number of new programs. For instance, in the 1970 and ’80s, they led the field in ‘spot purchase’ in which existing (poorly maintained or empty) residences were bought and upgraded.</p> <p>Some of the other innovative landmarks in the SA Housing Trust’s history include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1942 – Trust adopts policy of employing female tenancy officers • 1950 – first emergency rental dwellings were erected • 1962 – rental purchase scheme was introduced • 1965 – the Trust begins installing solar hot water heaters on selected properties • 1967 – the Trust is the first public housing authority to construct dwellings specifically for people with disabilities • 1972 – Priority Housing scheme was established which enabled social workers to make representations to the Trust for families in acute housing need • 1981 – first cooperative, the Women’s Shelter Housing Association was subsidised by the Trust • 1983 – first elected tenants committees were established • 1988 – the Aboriginal Women’s Shelter was set up. • 1990s – the Trust trialled new technologies in energy and water management at the New Haven urban development; environmentally sensitive stormwater management was developed at Parkholme and Gilles Plains.
1966 <i>Aboriginal Lands Trust Act</i>	This Act created an Aboriginal Lands Trust to hold freehold title to former Aboriginal reserves in South Australia, administered by an all-Aboriginal board. The Act marked the first major recognition of Aboriginal rights to land by an Australian government. ¹⁵⁵

Building communities	
innovation	comment
1984 – <i>Commissioner for the Office of Ageing Act, 1984</i>	In 1984, the South Australian parliament passed the Commissioner for the Ageing Act, which led to the appointment of a Commissioner in February 1985. This Act was the first of its sort, and arguably one of the first in the world that looks towards the challenges of an ageing society. The Office of the Commissioner was outside the departmental structures and was able to transcend policy domains. ¹⁵⁶
1984 – The Ru Rua Project	In 1979 the ‘Intellectually Retarded Person Project’ report was published and was major review of the circumstances of people with intellectual disabilities in South Australia. A key finding was that large-scale congregate care for intellectually disabled people was no longer acceptable. In 1984 recommendations from the report were enacted and the Ru Rua project was established. Initially 23 homes in the community were commissioned, with people either having their own bedrooms or sharing with one person—in marked contrast to conditions on the nursing wards. As a consequence, the Ru Rua Nursing home was closed in 1989. The Ru Rua project was recognised as being an innovative and groundbreaking way in supporting people with intellectual disabilities. ¹⁵⁷
1989 – SA Crime prevention strategy	In 1989, the South Australian crime prevention strategy was produced (and the Crime Prevention Unit established), which was the first such prevention-based public policy strategic response in Australia. South Australia was a leading state in crime prevention and developed some innovative programs, which were reflected in the national report ‘Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia’. ¹⁵⁸
1989 – SA government set up HomeStart finance	HomeStart finance was formed by the state government in 1989 and offers home finance to low and medium income earners. Since its inception it has supplied finance to over 50,000 customers and has developed a number of innovative services such as EquityStart a subsidised loan for public housing tenants. ¹⁵⁹
1991 – South Australian Community Housing Trust (SACHA) established	In 1991, the <i>South Australian Co-operative and Community Housing Act</i> was passed and set out the legislative framework to establish and regulate community housing. The Act also established the South Australian Community Housing Authority (SACHA). SACHA has been an innovative South Australian institution, particularly noted for its work in supporting people with disabilities in the community. ¹⁶⁰
1997 – response to the <i>Bringing them Home</i> Report	The South Australian parliament was the first to formally apologise to Aboriginal people for the forced separation of children from their families. This apology came only two days after the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission’s <i>Bringing Them Home</i> report was tabled in federal parliament on 26 May 1997. ¹⁶¹
2003 – ‘Advancing the Community Together’	SA was the first Australian state to draw up a formalised partnership agreement with key voluntary sector agencies. SA was the first state to create a minister and Office for Volunteers. ¹⁶²
2005 – Innovative Community Action Networks (ICANs)	The ICANs are an initiative developed by the Social Inclusion Unit. They bring together people from education professionals to families to form a network to tackle the issue of school retention. The networks have a clear task in trying to increase the number of young people involved in learning. ¹⁶³

Building communities	
innovation	comment
2006 – Office for Youth ‘A-Teams’	This is an initiative developed by the government’s Office of Youth. A-teams are made up of young public officials from government agencies. This is an innovative approach to recruiting and developing young policy makers—particularly in the face of the implications of an ageing public sector workforce. ¹⁶⁴
Expanding opportunity	
innovation	comment
1856 <i>SA Constitution Act</i> and <i>Electoral Act</i>	In 1856 South Australia had one of the most radical and democratic constitutions in the world, and an electoral system to match. South Australia was the first colony in Australia, and one of the first places in the world, to introduce universal manhood suffrage (including Aboriginal men). The Constitution and Electoral Act also introduced three-year parliamentary terms and electoral districts based on population (for the House of Assembly) and made no provision for plural voting. South Australia was also the first colony to have a truly secret ballot, although Victoria had a secret ballot system in place some months earlier). ¹⁶⁵
1858 <i>Electoral Act</i>	The Act changed the format of the Australian (secret) ballot. The version invented in Victoria two years earlier had electors striking out the names of candidates they didn’t want; this new one had a box next to each candidate’s name; the elector put an ‘x’ in the box next to their favoured candidate. The SA version was subsequently adopted around the world. Other world firsts in this legislation were: a statutory de facto chief electoral officer for the country; a census-like approach to enrolment that involved door-knocking every dwelling in the province; and salaried (albeit part-time) electoral officials. The South Australian electoral organisation was largely the model used by the Commonwealth government when it created the Electoral Office in 1902. ¹⁶⁶
1859 – Book Box Scheme	In 1859, the South Australian Institute Library began circulating specially constructed boxes of selected books to country institute libraries. In 1875, the scheme was extended to include boxes of books in German, sent to places with demand from German-speaking South Australians. ¹⁶⁷
1861 – SA women ratepayers granted local government election voting rights	Under the <i>Municipal Corporations Act 1861</i> , women ratepayers gained the right to vote in, although not stand for, local government elections. This was an Australian first. ¹⁶⁸
1879 – the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide established	Adelaide’s Advanced School for Girls, established in 1879, was the first state-sponsored secondary school for girls in Australia. ¹⁶⁹
1880 – University of Adelaide Degrees Act	Women could be admitted to degrees from 1881 when the letters patent accepting the <i>Adelaide University Act 1880</i> were granted. This made it the first university on Australia to do so. Women had been attending the university since it began in 1876. ¹⁷⁰

1894 <i>Constitutional Amendment (SA) Act</i> (Assented 1895)	When this Act was assented to in 1895, South Australian women became the first in Australia, and among the first in the world, to have the right to vote and to stand for parliament. ¹⁷¹
1888, 1890 – formation of Women’s Suffrage league and Working Women’s Trade Union	The Women’s Suffrage League was formed at a public meeting in Gawler in 1888. The Working Women’s Trade Union was formed in 1890 to reform ‘sweated’ conditions of female clothing workers. ¹⁷²
1897 – Catherine Helen Spence, first female political candidate	Catherine Helen Spence stood as a candidate for election to the Federal Convention in 1897—she was the first female political candidate in Australia. Catherine Helen Spence remains one of the most important social reformers in the state ¹⁷³ and was a ‘teacher, journalist, novelist, literary critic, social reformer, political theorist and activist, educator, feminist, public speaker, lay preacher’. Her name is linked with many innovations and reforms in South Australia including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first female member of several reform boards • co-founder of the first fostering out scheme for children • pioneering the children’s courts in Australia • first professional woman journalist in Australia • wrote the first legal studies textbook in Australia.
1901 – first female academic in SA	The first female South Australian academic was Ellen Ida Benham who was a lecturer in botany at the University of Adelaide. ¹⁷⁴
1902 – SA Co-operative Clothing Factory established	‘S.A. Co-operative Clothing Factory, established and run by women, opened in Blyth Street, Adelaide. It was the first electric powered clothing factory in the state. Catherine Helen Spence was President of the Board until her death in 1910’. ¹⁷⁵
1909 – Women’s Political Education Association is formed	The Women’s Political Education Association was formed in South Australia. ¹⁷⁶
1915 – women and the police	South Australia became the first place in the British Empire with women police when Kate Cocks was appointed in 1915. Women police in South Australia were appointed on equal pay and with equal powers to male police officers, and worked mainly with women and children. ¹⁷⁷
1916 – first female organiser for United Trades and Labor Council SA	‘Due to the influx of women into the workforce during the first world war the United Trades and Labor Council SA hired its first woman organiser, Mrs B Roberts’. ¹⁷⁸
1919 – first woman elected to local government	In 1919 Mrs Susan Grace Benny was elected to the Seacliff ward of Brighton Council, becoming the first woman councillor in Australia. ¹⁷⁹
1962 – <i>Aboriginal Affairs Act</i>	The <i>Aboriginal Affairs Act 1962</i> removed many of the restrictions that had regulated the lives of South Australia’s Indigenous people over the previous 50 years. ¹⁸⁰
1965 – first female judge	In 1965 Roma Mitchell was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia, becoming the first woman to be appointed to a superior court in Australia. In 1962 she was the first Australian woman to be appointed Queen’s Council. ¹⁸¹
1966 – <i>Prohibition of Discrimination Act</i>	The <i>Prohibition of Discrimination Act 1966</i> prohibits discrimination in access to goods and services on basis of race, country of origin, or skin colour. This is the first such legislation in Australia. ¹⁸²

1970s – the ‘Dunstan Decade’	Some of the most innovative government action took place under Premier Don Dunstan (many of these have been chronicled elsewhere). Dunstan set about reforming government activity and initiated progressive legislation and initiatives. For example, between 1972 and 1979 Dunstan attempted to introduce a series of industrial democracy initiatives. ¹⁸³
1970 <i>Criminal Law Consolidation Act Amendment Act 1969</i>	South Australia was the first state in Australia to legalise abortion in certain circumstances. ¹⁸⁴
1972 – WEL formed	The Women’s Electoral Lobby formed in South Australia, with the first International Women’s Day March in the streets of Adelaide. ¹⁸⁵
1975 Sex Discrimination Act	The <i>Sex Discrimination Act 1975</i> was proclaimed, making discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status in employment, education, accommodation and the provision of goods and services unlawful. This was the first such act in Australia. ¹⁸⁶
1975 Family Relationships Act	This was the first act in Australia to remove the legal consequences of illegitimacy. ¹⁸⁷
1975 – decriminalisation of male homosexuality	Amendments to the <i>Sexual Offences Act</i> made South Australia the first state in Australia to decriminalise homosexual relations between consenting male adults in private. ¹⁸⁸
1975 – Women’s Studies Resource Centre	The WSRC was established in 1975, following a conference on sexism in education held in 1973, and the growth of gender studies courses in South Australian secondary schools. Funding for WSRC was aimed at collecting educational resources. This was one of the first women’s libraries in Australia. ¹⁸⁹
1975 – first nudist beach in South Australia	Maslin Beach is about 40 kilometres south of Adelaide. In February 1975, the southern part of the beach was declared Australia’s first legal nude beach. This action was taken in response to the fact that many visitors to the beach who had been bathing nude there were at risk of being prosecuted for indecent exposure. ¹⁹⁰
1976 – changes in rape legislation	The <i>Criminal Law Consolidation Act Amendment Act of 1976</i> made rape within marriage a criminal offence. It is claimed that this is the first such statute in the English speaking world to do so. ¹⁹¹
1976 – Women’s Advisory Unit	The government set up the Women’s Advisory Unit in the Premier’s Department—the first state government to create such an office. Dunstan’s government also set up an Ethnic Affairs branch and created the position of disability advisor to the Premier. While these latter two innovations may not be Australian firsts, they do reflect the broader innovative impetus to the ‘equalities’ agenda. ¹⁹²
1980 – social innovation in Aboriginal Education	Professor Paul Hughes was the first South Australian Aborigine to be promoted to professor. Between the early 1980s until the mid 1990s, Professor Hughes was Director of Aboriginal Education for the SA Department of Education. Some of Professor Hughes’ initiatives were ground breaking and innovative, and a number were adopted more widely across the country. These include: ¹⁹³ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from 1980, the AnTEP was rolled out, a teacher training program aimed at Indigenous South Australians in the north-west of the state • from 1987 creation of specialist Aboriginal educational posts both centrally and regionally to coordinate Aboriginal education policy, with links to Aboriginal Educational Workers—a model that was adopted by other states • from 1988 systemic development of Aboriginal curriculum materials for all school levels, in tandem with wider training and skills development. At this

	<p>time it was a groundbreaking initiative which no other state or territory had undertaken</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in 1992, the South Australian government gave operational control, an unprecedented step, to schools in the north-west of the state to make Aboriginal self-determination in their schools a reality; the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) has a strong role in enabling closer oversight of the schools • setting up an Aboriginal Education Library within the Department.
1981 – Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act	<p>In response to strong lobbying by the Pitjantjatjara Council for recognition of the land rights of Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Ngaanyatjara peoples, the South Australian premier appointed a working party in 1977 to examine the viability of establishing an Aboriginal lands trust for the North West Reserve, Everard Park, Indulkana, Ernabella and Fregon. Reporting in June 1978, the working party recommended that legislation to transfer title to lands in north-west South Australia to the Pitjantjatjara be enacted'.¹⁹⁴ The <i>Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act</i> was passed in 1981.</p> <p>‘This legislation, recognising the traditional rights of the Pitjantjatjara people to their lands, was introduced by the Government of Don Dunstan. A change of Government occurred while the Bill was before the House and there were fears it would be abandoned, but the new Liberal Government eventually re-negotiated the matter to the satisfaction of the people involved. The law received Assent on 19 March 1981. The legislation gave rights well in advance of anywhere else in Australia. A more limited title was granted in the Northern Territory, where the passage of the <i>Commonwealth Aboriginal Land Rights Act</i> in 1976 granted rights to land, based on traditional association. In 1984 similar legislation was passed under a Labor Government conferring ownership of traditional lands on the Maralinga Tjarutja people’.¹⁹⁵</p>
1983 – first research centre for women’s Studies established in Australia	<p>In 1983, the University of Adelaide establishes Australia’s first research centre for women’s studies with Susan Magarey as its director.¹⁹⁶</p>
1986 – first female Presiding Officer in Legislative Council	<p>Hon. Anne Levy became the first woman to hold the position of presiding officer in an Australian legislature—the Legislative Council.¹⁹⁷</p>
1987 – legal recognition of reassigned sexual identity	<p>The <i>Sexual Reassignment Act</i> made SA the first state to regulate the performance of sex reassignment procedures, and provide for the legal recognition of the reassigned sexual identity.¹⁹⁸</p>
1989 – first minister for status of women created	<p>The position of Minister for the Status of Women was created – an Australian first. Hon. Anne Levy was the first minister.¹⁹⁹</p>
1991 – first woman governor	<p>Dame Roma Mitchell was the first woman to be appointed governor of an Australian state.²⁰⁰</p>
1991 – age discrimination protection	<p>South Australia became the first Australian state to make discrimination based on age unlawful.²⁰¹</p>

1998 to present – various programs to support Aboriginal education and employment.	Various initiatives aimed at creating ‘pathways’ for Aboriginal people seeking health careers were taken. ²⁰² Since 1998, the Aboriginal Health Division scholarship program has provided pathways for Aboriginal people studying a health profession at undergraduate and postgraduate level. There is a cadets’ program for those undertaking health programs at VET level. Since 2002, there have been Unique Centres of Learning at Pika Wiya and Port Lincoln to remove barriers for Aboriginal people seeking health careers. The Australian School Based Apprenticeships scheme is available for those at years 11–12.
2001 to 2005 – Healthy Ways project	Innovative cross-departmental initiative promoting good nutrition and anti-tobacco message to Aboriginal women in remote communities. ²⁰³
2004 – Inspire Peer Mentor Program	A mentoring program between the Flinders University and schools in the local region south of the university. ²⁰⁴
2004 – Anangu Bibi Program	The Anangu Bibi regional family birthing program aims to support socially disadvantaged Aboriginal and other teenagers living in Whyalla and Port Augusta. Workers from a number of agencies operate on a relationship model to care for mothers during their antenatal, birth, labour and postnatal periods. ²⁰⁵
2007 – improving dental and oral health for Aboriginal communities in SA	Innovative work is tackling the extremely high incidence of dental disease in some remote Aboriginal communities in SA. Country Health SA has supported the concept of the transfer and adaptation of a successful program called Filling The Gap that has been operating in Wuchopperen Health Service, Cairns. Essentially, it supports dentists from interstate who have volunteered their time and services for a week to work with the local communities. This program has increased access to dental treatment by 300% and has enabled capacity development in the local community through clinical training of dental assistants. A similar scheme is being planned with Umoona Tjutagku Health Service in Coober Pedy. ²⁰⁶

Appendix 2

Defining social innovation and methodology of the paper

This appendix deals with the complex issue of defining social innovation, and also outlines the methodology of the paper.

Defining social innovation

Defining what does and does not constitute social innovation is not an easy task. Potentially, social innovation can take in a number of social phenomena, making it difficult to arrive at a clear, agreed and precise definition. As Geoff Mulgan noted, the process (and theory) of social innovation is understudied.²⁰⁷ As this account of the history of social innovation in South Australia attests, social innovation can take many forms and types, including organisations, legislation, policy, activities and processes.

As a starting point, Geoff Mulgan has suggested that:

Social Innovation refers to innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominately diffused through organisations whose primary purposes are social. Business innovation is generally motivated by profit maximisation and diffused through organisations that are primarily motivated by profit maximisation. There are of course very many borderline cases, for example models of distance learning that were pioneered in social organisations but then adopted by businesses ...²⁰⁸

The borderline character of such cases underlines the difficulty in having a clear definition of what does and does not constitute social innovation. While technological, business, political, environmental (and many other forms of innovation) may have a clear social influence, it can be hard to say if they are all examples of social innovation.

An interesting example in South Australia was the invention of the stump jump plough in 1876 by the Smith Brothers (along with the invention of the Ridley Stripper also in South Australia). The Smith Brothers' plough was to have a global effect, and in South Australia enabled widespread opening up of land for agriculture. Arguably the primary purpose of the plough was to meet an agricultural rather than a social need, although of course the social effects were very significant on the establishment of the European settler colony, and also in entrenching the dispossession of Indigenous communities from the land. A narrow definition of social innovation would therefore mean that innovations such as the stump jump plough would be excluded from the history. However, a more general definition of social innovation allows us to see the influence of the stump jump plough differently.

Similarly, social innovation often involves fusing together a number of different ideas and technological innovations. A more recent example is the history of the formation of Royal Flying Doctor Service. South Australian Alf Traegar is credited with inventing the pedal radio that revolutionised communications with outback Australia. It was Traegar's meeting with the Reverend John Flynn in 1925 that was a key ingredient in making Flynn's vision for the flying service a reality. So, technological innovation in itself is not social innovation, but it can be an essential component of the latter.

Generally speaking, there appear to be a number of overlapping meanings attached to social innovation and, for the purposes of this history, a broader definitional approach is taken. Social innovation can refer to innovative processes that are embodied as either activities or organisations.²⁰⁹ The concept can also be linked with ideas of social entrepreneurship.²¹⁰ Social innovation is also closely bound up with innovation in public policy and governance. In some views, an explicit function of government is to reflect and address social needs. Social innovation in this sense can be reflected in government legislation. However, these overlapping meanings can make definitional precision difficult.

A focus on government public policy and legislation highlights these difficulties. It begs the question of whether every new piece of government legislation introduced (or new program funded) is innovative because it builds on what preceded it. Clearly not, otherwise a history of social innovation in South Australia might well just entail a long list of the legislation passed by the state parliament. Likewise, every new initiative developed by an NGO could not be called innovative—although it may be new to that organisation. In this respect, there may well be a difference between acts of legislation that are innovative (or have a socially innovative effect), but may not in themselves constitute social innovation. However, a history of social innovation may well need to reflect these legislative acts, as they set the context for wider social innovation and change. While this may seem a rather semantic argument, it reflects the importance of trying to set clear criteria for defining social innovation. There is a distinction between social innovation and innovation per se. The former is focus of this paper, and it may well be that when generalising about the history of South Australia it may have a stronger tradition of innovation rather than a more narrowly defined social innovation.

Types of social innovation

The focus of this paper is primarily on social innovations that are embodied in new programs, institutions, and activities that seek to improve quality of life and meet unmet social needs. As outlined in the paper above, three main types of social innovations are covered.

Firstly, this history focuses on genuine innovations; social experiments that may have made either their global or Australian debut in Australia. Secondly, there are adaptations; social innovations new to South Australia that may have been adapted from a model or idea elsewhere, but there is something distinctive about the South Australian version. Thirdly, some social innovations are copies. In these instances, these South Australian programs or initiatives are reproductions of existing models. There is, of course, some overlap in this typology. It is also worth noting that many social innovations are not new in themselves, but were developed and inspired by a composite range of ideas and influences. I am primarily interested in the first two types of innovations, although the history does include a number of copies.

Classifying periods of social innovation

Stewart Sweeney, in his ongoing doctoral research at the University of Adelaide, suggests that there are distinct periods of social innovation in South Australia.²¹¹ I acknowledge this work and use it as the basis for the framework when looking at the history of social innovation in South Australia. Sweeney suggests that innovation can be categorised into three levels: macro, meso and micro. In this schema there is a close correlation between periods of social change in South Australia (and social change more widely) and social innovation in the state.

This framework is useful as it more clearly demarcates different periods of social innovation. While there are dangers in over-generalising, by looking at distinct periods of social innovation, it provides a clearer context for showing how new social needs have arisen in the state, and how these needs have been met (or even ignored). The establishment of South Australia, and the systematic industrialisation under Playford are periods of macro innovation. The innovations under the Dunstan period might be categorised as meso innovation. Particularly, from the 1980s the present day (and throughout South Australian history), there are numerous examples of micro innovation.

A broader operational definition of social innovation

For the purposes of this paper, a wide reaching definition of social innovation has been used which employs the overlapping meanings outlined above. In the three-fold typology of innovations, adaptations and

copies, the focus is predominately on the first two. The list of South Australian social innovations includes examples of all three types.

It could well be argued that a tighter definition would exclude a good number of the examples appended to this paper, so that any claims made about how successful South Australia has been at fostering social innovation are to some extent tentative. For example, reviewing the list of innovations, there might be a case that South Australia might be a better adapter than innovator.

Methodology

This paper is a key outcome of Geoff Mulgan's work as Adelaide Thinker in Residence during 2007–08. In it I draw on a range of existing histories connected to South Australia and use secondary sources for the list of innovations.²¹²

In July 2007, an initial draft of this history was produced and circulated for wider public consultation and comment. In particular it was publicised widely across the South Australian public service. Nearly 70 submissions, comments, and revisions were suggested as a result of the consultation. A key aim in producing this history was to try to promote wider engagement with both the ideas of social innovation and also South Australia's own history in innovation. A draft of the paper and history were reworked in early 2008, and all matters raised in the submissions were addressed. With the aid of Mandy Paul from the History Trust of South Australia, the list of innovations was checked and sources provided.

The list of social innovations is far from complete, and there are gaps. Many of the submissions received were from South Australian public servants, and many of the later innovations tend to be weighted as government innovations. There are undoubtedly more innovations, particularly from civil society and NGOs that could be included in the paper. Several submissions also suggested that the more social innovations could be included which originated from the natural sciences. This history of social innovations is therefore a starting point for a fuller account.

Acknowledgements

This paper is a key output of Geoff Mulgan's work as Adelaide Thinker in Residence. It was at Geoff's suggestion that a history of South Australia's social innovation was initiated. Geoff made numerous comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of the paper and list. Thanks also to colleagues in the Adelaide Thinkers in residence office for suggestions, comments and revisions.

As the title of this paper makes clear, this is a collaborative history of social innovation in South Australia, and many people kindly gave their time and commented on drafts of both the paper and the list of innovations. In excess of 70 submissions were sent in as part of the consultation on the first draft. While there is not space to name all contributors, thanks to all who sent in submissions.

Thanks to Mandy Paul, Kate Walsh, and Margaret Anderson at the History Trust of South Australia. They made insightful and useful comments on the earlier drafts of the paper. Mandy has kindly worked through in detail the later drafts of the paper and helped source and refine many of the entries in the list of innovations. Colleagues at the State Library of South Australia also made a number of significant comments.

Many thanks to Stewart Sweeney, currently engaged in his doctoral work at the University of Adelaide, for offering ideas, comments and suggestions. Stewart provided the initial framework for the paper, and a number of his ideas and research are referenced in this paper, particularly the notion of systematic industrialisation under Playford.

I also acknowledge the work of two key South Australian historians. Brian Samuels' list of South Australian firsts was a key document for collating this list of South Australian social innovations. Thanks too to Susan Marsden, as a number of her books and papers were used as source material for this paper, including her history of the South Australian Housing Trust.

Finally, it should be stated that any errors and mistakes are fault of the author, not the contributors.

References and Notes

- 1 As the title of paper indicates, this is a collaborative account of the history of social innovation in South Australia. The acknowledgements at the end of this paper indicate some of the main submissions and contributions which made the completion of this paper possible. In particular, the input of the History Trust of South Australia has been invaluable. More detail about Geoff Mulgan's residency as 'Thinker' is available at: <www.thinkers.gov.au>
- 2 This figure depends on how 'Australian' and 'South Australian' is defined. The National Portrait Gallery identify 10 Australians as winners of a Nobel Prize, while the Commonwealth Department of Culture cite 13. While the link between winning a Nobel prize and place of birth or work is to some extent tenuous, it does illustrate, or perhaps suggest, a culture of invention and experimentation in South Australia. (For further info see: <www.dfat.gov.au/nobel_prize_winners.html>)
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- 10 That said, the history of social innovation in South Australia and European settlement is closely bound up with the fate of the Indigenous peoples. Indigenous people have been both the subject of innovation, and more recently the agents of innovation to redress the chronic social and economic inequalities that have persisted since dispossession.
- 11 See Appendix 2 for fuller discussion of the meaning of social innovation.
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- 14 Castles, A. & Harris, M. (1987) *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs*. Adelaide, Wakefield Press, p.176.
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- 19 For a fuller history of the SA Housing Trust see: Marsden, S. (1986) *Business, charity and sentiment: the South Australian Housing Trust, 1936–1986*. Wakefield Press, SA.
- 20 Cockburn, S. (1991) *Playford: Benevolent Despot*. Axiom Publishing, p.175.
- 21 Op cit., p.135.
- 22 It is also interesting to note some of the 'failed' innovations under Dunstan, such as his attempts to build a new city at Monarto. Also, Stewart Sweeney argues that Dunstan's plans for industrial democracy were potentially the most radical of his plans, and yet were not fully realised.
- 23 Cockburn, *Playford: Benevolent Despot*, p.136.
- 24 The notion of Adelaide as a backwater was given recent impetus after comments made by Victorian Premier John Brumby that unless Victoria pushed ahead with channel deepening it would end up like an 'Adelaide backwater' ('Without Dredging Melbourne will be Adelaide Backwater – Brumby'. *Herald Sun*, January 30th

- 2008, <www.news.com.au/heraldsun/story/0,21985,23131735-2862,00.html>). There has been a long history of competition and rivalry between the states. The Brumby ‘sledge’ sparked a series of comments and editorials with some South Australians offended by the slur of parochialism.
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- 212 The main sources of evidence for the examples are: Gibbs, R. (1969) *History of South Australia*. Balara Books, SA; The History Trust of South Australia <www.history.sa.gov.au>; <www.history.sa.gov.au/history/sa_history/sa_firsts.htm>; History Trust of South Australia: *Events and Statistics in South Australian History 1834–1857*. <www.users.on.net/~rdblair/events-sa.htm> Accessed 10 May 2008; Jones *In her own name*; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*; *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*; Samuels, *South Australian Firsts*; <www.history.sa.gov.au/history/sa_history/sa_firsts.htm> accessed 10 May 2008; South Australian Parliament <www.parliament.sa.gov.au>; State Library of South Australia <www.slsa.sa.gov.au/women_and_politics/intro.htm>; Twidale, C. Tyler, M. and Davies, M. (1986) *Ideas and Endeavours—the Natural Sciences in South Australia*. Royal Society of South Australia; Whitelock, *Adelaide: Sense of Difference*.