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MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

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Human settlement

Women in Australian suburbia

by Ruth Crow

".... We cannot go on like this!"
- a challenge for International Habitat Year. (p1)
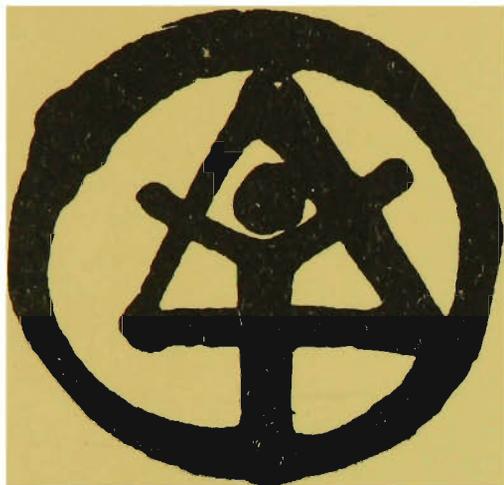
Mobile privatism or convivial community

by Maurie Crow

Notes on Strategy:
. Two stereotypes   (p.9)
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	The world	Shelter	Man
OFFICIAL SYMBOLISM–			
INTERNATIONAL HABITAT YEAR			
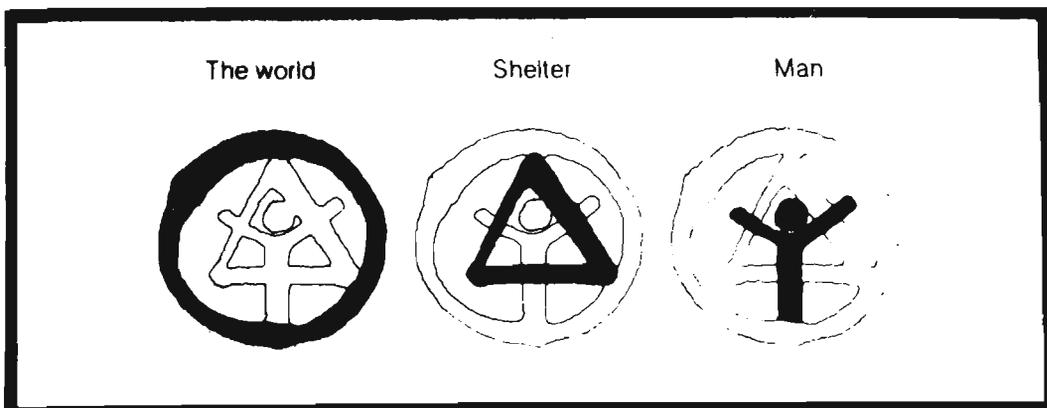
		The world		Shelter		Man
COMMENT–	....	but not divided by freeways	....	but without speculation	....	and also women and children

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN SUBURBIA

May 1976.

......"We cannot go on like this!"

(A special contribution on Women in Australian suburbia to stimulate policy in conjunction with United Nations Habitat (Human Settlement) Conference in Vancouver this year).

By Ruth Crow.

"We cannot go on as we are today."   This is the warning given by Enrique Penalosa, Secretary General of the United Nations World Conference on Human Settlement (Habitat) which is being held this year in Vancouver.

These words are also the cry of anguish of women trapped in Australian suburbs. There is plenty of evidence to prove this claim.

For example the 1975 report prepared by the Y.W.C.A. "Leisure.. An Inappropriate Concept for Women", which reported "Women daily are confined to the company of their children, becoming socially isolated and going for long periods of time with no adult company other than her husband. In such circumstances women lack all the conditions of a stimulating environment which are essential for satisfactory personal development".

In Australia, the family and its present limited capacity to care for its very young children, is imposing critical strains on the mother who must care for her children alone in a house or flat.   As the world famous anthropoligist has said "We now expect a tiny family unit to achieve what no other society has ever expected of the family.   In effect we call upon the family to achieve alone what the whole clan used to do". (Margaret Mead.)

The editorial comment of "Community Child Care Newsletter (October 1975) states ... "the work conditions of the women who stay home are unacceptable by any standards. She is usually isolated in the home, on call 24 hours a day, economically dependent and has no means of transport".

The suburban twins .. Sexism and Consumerism.

The women's liberation movement has identified the sexist nature of oppression of women and this is enabling many women to struggle independently for their own identity and liberation.

This new understanding of women's oppression is resulting in collectives around health centre, half way houses, women's co-op's, information centres, neighbourhood houses for children and many other new types of community facilities which were quite unthinkable in the 1960's. (Some of these were assisted greatly by the spotlight of the United Nations International Womens' Year 1975).

Such initiatives have provided urgent help and have at the same time contributed to the confidence and self esteem of those involved with pioneering these innovations and equally importantly have helped to create community where none previously existed.

But the problems in our suburbs are much deeper than loneliness, isolation, lack of stimulation, and insufficient support services for health and child care. The increase in child bashing, suicide and drug abuse are the symptoms of the break down of human relationships in Australia where consumerism is the inseparable twin of sexist oppression.

The word "Consumerism" has been coined to describe the phenomen of conspicuous waste being made possible through sophisticated advertising and modern technology. The housewife in the suburbs is the main target.

In this period of capitalism, where, in "advanced" countries like Australia the basic needs are met for the vast majority, new markets have to be produced if the eoonomy is to continue to grow ... and as we know, capitalism can exist only as a growth economy.

.../2

Consumerism flourishes in our suburbs because the privatism of suburban living assists the market to try to foist on to everyone a life style which expects each family to own privately the goods and services which were supplied in the past and can be supplied now, much more effectively by the community or for community use. At the same time women become more vulnerable to sexual oppression as they substitute possession of things for relationships with people and identify themselves with the sexist advertising which is an integral part of consumerism. (Footnote 1).

This puts an especially heavy burden on women who are expected more and more not only to keep up with the Joneses but to go one better; and who are being subjected continually to programming to give them an appetite for more and more goods and services which are presented to them as if such things can compensate for the loss of opportunity to satisfy the human yearning for social relationships unfettered by competition.

There are those, like Hugh Stretton (author of "Ideas for Australian Cities") who claim that "isolation in the home is not happening" and that "there are some unhappy and inactive people in every kind of housing, but 'suburban apathy and isolation' predominate only in atypical circumstances (Those that attract the most researchers)." (Footnote 2).

Neil Guerin (Deputy Engineer in Chief of the Victorian Country Roads Board) makes a similar claim and says that varied and interesting things can be carried out in spacious private surroundings and that people trade distance for size of home to make this possible. (Footnote 3).

Even if these claims were true and if there were no "hostile sterotypes of house and garden life" and only "some unhappy and inactive people" as Stretton suggests, there is another vitally important factor that must be considered. Guerin implies its existence but does not identify it. The "distance" he talks about in the current circumstances he assumes can be covered only by more and more use of motorised vehicles. Some of the problems associated with such mobile privatism are dealt with more fully in the other main article in this issue of Ecoso Exchange. Here we need to emphasise two facts.

1) In our car dependent suburbs the family turns in on itself .. the car and car type recreation and car type holiday tighten the bonds of family togetherness long after it is necessary for such relationships to exist ... if they ever need have. The private space of the car becomes an extension of the private space of the home and no matter how many people congregate socially in the home or through the use of the car, social life tends to become very much private social life.

   The aged, children and women are trapped in the suburbs where community life is declining and the women bear the increased burden of the "invisible work" needed to provide for the compensatory private social life centred on car and home. (Footnote 4).

2) The new type social problems that are recognised quite commonly are inseparably linked with the problem of the squandering of the world's natural resources.

   The sprawling suburbs which depend on cars, roads and petrol are using an ecologically extravagant form of transport and added to this, the suburban life style demands a poliferation of consumer articles many of which are extravagant ecologically. Those who eulogose the suburbs seem to overlook two facts.

   a) that our human habitat is not merely a conglomeration of suburban homes, but that our urban setting is a combination of many different land uses including transport,

   b) that our Australian standard of living is at the expense of the low standard of living of the vast majority of people who inhabit the world.

Damage from "growth economies" can be gauged by the picturesque proportions given by Ivan Illich in "Celebration of Awareness" where he states... "During the late 1960's it has become evident that less than 10 percent of the human race consumes more than 50 percent of the world's resources and produces 90 percent of the physical pollution which threatens to extinguish the biosphere". (Footnote 5).

Our spacious homes and gardens, the unprecedented range of our domestic equipment and household luxuries, our fast cars and vast roadway sytems are possible only because we are part of this 10 percent.

Common Concern to Humanise the Urban Environment.

Rosemary Brown, the Canadian feminist socialist emphasised the interdependence of the ecology movement and the women's liberation movement when she warned .. "The women's liberation movement is a final and last ditch stand to stop the mad rush mankind is on to destroy it. As feminists we cannot separate our struggle for our own liberation .. whatever that may mean... the right to realise our full potential ... we cannot separate that from the wanton waste of our resources; we cannot separate that from the kinds of things that humanists and environmentalists around the world are doing". (Footnote 6).

In Australia ecology and urban issues are becoming matters of concern for women's liberationists, and concurrently with these new developments some of the conservation organisations which previously have directed their main attention to the natural environment are grappling now with some of the problems of the built environment. (Footnote 7)

These new breadths to the visions of these historically important movements of the 1970's coincide with the opportunities that are being provided by the World Habitat Conference. The conditions are becoming ripe for a dynamic political movement to develop around the common concern of humanising our urban encironment.

1976 has been chosen by the United Nations as the Habitat Year (or Human Settlement Year). There will be an International Conference in Vancouver and a program of activities throughout Australia.

Will the spotlight of the Habitat Conference result in greater cross fertilisation of ideas and action between urban action activists, conservationists and women?

"The main purpose of the Conference is to serve as a practical means to exchange information about solutions to problems of human settlement against a broad background of environmental concern". (From A.C.F. Newsletter Feb. 1976).

As with previous International Years (Women, Environment, Population etc.) there will be a number of forums and exhibitions held in Australia in conjunction with the International Conference.

Unlike the fanfare of publicity that accompanied the various activities of International Women's Year 1975, so far there has been only very low key publicity about Habitat Year. But there is still time to use whatever occasions there are to make sure that some of the most significant urban problems in Australia are b ought to the fore.

Almost 80 percent of Australians live in large cities. Australia is thus the most suburbanised country in the whole world. (There are some larger suburban areas in other countries, but in no other country is there such a high proportion of the population living in large suburbanised cities. Thus the problems of women in the suburbs is a problem that particularly applies to Australia. The Habitat Conference must not be allowed to pass without this pecularity of Australia being made a central issue, not only so attention can be directed to solving the problems here but also to prevent similar problems developing in other countries where there are pressures for them to develop along similar lines.

The general "tone" of the Habitat World Conference and its associated activities in Australia has already been set and the following quotes from an official United Nations Habitat newsletter show that a number of matters as regards women in suburbia that have been raised in this article fall well within the scope of the conference objectives. (Note - the underline of the quotes is ours ... Ecoso Exchange).

Spokespeople for the Habitat Conference.

"Challenging a Dream".

... "Most of our people and leaders have looked to industry as the main solution to the problems of poverty and backwardness, as the instrument which would enable us to satisfy popular needs and desires   Although it is a hard and bitter thing to challenge a dream, it is our duty to recognise that this promise is not being fulfilled .... we know that the rich countries are faced with mounting problems of social, economic and environmental deterioration that go far beyond current cyclical disruption".

(Enrique Penalosa, Secretary General of United Nations Habitat Conference).

"No Urban Models".

"While cities in the more developed lands, by triumphant innovations in sanitary engineering, overcame some of the worst environmental horrors .. filth, and epidemics and waterbourne disease ... our twentieth century rapacity for goods and energy have overloaded these triumphs with mountains of garbage and the heavy pall of emissions from the internal combustion engine ... the streets are no longer open sewers, but cars block them ... we have not as yet any really satisfactory urban models even among the rich lands which have the resources to produce them".

(Hon. B. Danson, Minister of State Urban Affairs, Canada ... the host country for the Habitat Conference).

"Mobilise Public Opinion".

"The Conference will plan to set in motion a world wide discussion on at least some of the questions related to Habitat which are of a "human" nature and some of which are of great urgency .... public opinion must be mobilised in order to generate the political will without which it is impossible to take the decisions which are called for."

(J.G. Van Putten, Chairman of the Non Government Organisations Conference on Habitat which will be held in association with the U.N. Habitat Forum).

It is encouraging to read such fine words. We must make sure that a Conference with such a broad concept of the urban and world problems is no allowed to become merely another international event which we read about in the papers. So far the activities around the Habitat Conference in Australia have not reached very much further than the Federal Government's initiative in 1975 which included plans for: 3 films, a photographic exhibition, the possible distribution of a "school kit", a proposed student architectural competition, and the compil ation of a national report (although it is stated that contributions for the report "have been made by all levels of government, universities, social groups, citizens action groups, professional associations, etc." This has not been with any wide popular public knowledge).

The task that is waiting to be done is to use the Habitat Year in the same way as many of the women's groups used International Womens' Year. That is to help people not only to become aware of the issues but to be able to see how they, themselves can be active in changing the urban settlement to a more human habitat. This is essentially a political responsibility.

Inspiring "Political Will".

J.G. Van Putten (Chairman of the N.G.O. Committee for Habitat... we have already quoted from his statement.. see above) has recognised the importance

of the "political will". Basing our actions on the theories advanced in
this analysis of women in suburbanised Australia, two main political
efforts can be identified .. these are:

1) By demanding that production meets real human needs. For as Enrique
   Penalosa states in the United N ,ions circular. "The more one looks
   at the Habitat Conference the clearer it becomes that this is an
   opportunity to re-evaluate every element of our economic and social
   organisation, and especially to go beyond the macro economic aspects
   to review that basic unfilled needs and desires of the masses of
   humanity".

2) By planning our urban areas so that transport energies are saved and
   opportunities for people to participate are maximised. The United
   Nations circular lists under "issues to be discussed at the Habitat
   Conference" the following two vital points.

   a)   "Consideration of transport systems which reduce the
        dependence on private cars"- and "Land (viewed as a resourc
        rather than a commodity; with special attention paid to
        its control and use for public benefit)".

   b)   ... "Use of land as a resource in equitable ways so as
        to avoid personal gain at the expense of the community at large".

Thus the Habitat Conference circular has presented the value judgements
around which we can develop the planning principles for political action:
to reduce the use of cars; to design new urban areas and restructure existing
areas on a human scale; and to develop mixed participatory communities around
strong urban cores served by public transport. The other main articles in
this Ecoso Exchange deals with these proposals in more detail. (Footnote 8).

A Vision to Inspire Political Will.

Women have a significant role to play in bringing in these social changes.
Not only because they suffer most from the inhuman and anti-social nature
of our existing cities, but also because in the struggle for their own
liberation, they are not hampered by methods of organisation which have
become entrenched by tradition as in long established organisations.

In a recently published study "Women and Planning: Planners Attitude", an
examination is made of how our Australian urban environments are created
to suit the activities of men, yet are used predominantly by women and
children. (Footnote 9).

Similarly, in "Cities for Sale", Dr. Leonie Sandercock's review of town
planning in three major Australian cities, there is only one women who is
referred to as making a significant contribution to town planning since 1900.

It is no wonder that to date women have played no part in what has been
recognised as town planning. The history of town planning in Australia
is a story of how good ideas and good intentions come to so little. (Footnote 10).
The meagre planning that has been attempted in Australia has been frustrated
at every level by private ownership of land, by the influence of speculators
and profiteers and by the deification of economic growth and political power.
The piece meal approach of remedying each problem separately has helped to
conserve the establishment and to discourage social innovation. On the other
hand women have been active directly on many matters that effect the home
environment ... education, child care, recreation, libraries ... but because
these have been separated out from each other and from the general problems
of society it has been only too easy for such campaigns to be "things in
themselves" and for them to help strengthen conservative forces.

Under these conditions women are continually being "put down" as the technical
and administrative functions are mainly the monopoly of men. Such beheading
of the movement of people around urban issues, and such belittleing of the
efforts of women in local organisations, will continue until such time as there
is a generally accepted vision of the wort of alternative urban settlement
that would really meet our human needs for a life where human relationships
are more important than the possession of goods.

No doubt it will take some time before such an overall vision can be popularised; especially because to date we have not begun to consciously try to find ways of presenting such a different type of urban life in a popularly acceptable way as the occasion rises.

Campaigns on urban issues tend to remain at the prptest stage ... anti-freeway protests without a mention of what sort of a life we could envisage if the car was not allowed to dominate our urban areas; anti power station campaigns without in some way advocating a new life style of participatory activities which would reduce the dependence on the use of fossil fuel; housing policies which merely look at the economics of housing and ignore the human needs of those who will make the buildings their homes; child care, as if the child's needs are paramount and there are not parent's needs; education, health and so on as if these are needs quite separate and apart from general community needs; and in most cases on all of these issues very little consideration as to whether the siting of these facilities will lead to clustering of human activity or not.

We must strive to become quite precise in presenting alternative ideas so that the future will not produce the anachronisms of the present which are expressed in the prevailing ideas, for example, that all dwellings are for nuclear families; that cars are the most prized form of transport; that the bigger the school, university, hospital or super market the better; that community and neighbourhood are no longer of significance; that there is no suburban isolation but only "unhappy and inactive people".

Alternatives are already beginning to take practical form as more and more people are taking the future into their own hands and setting up community base child care, community schools, community health centres, food co-ops and other small do it yourself community efforts. But these efforts will remain frail and easily co-opted into the conservative, and male dominated stream of establishment institutions unless there is developed an overall political movement with an over all vision into which these human small scale efforts can be dovetailed.

It is not easy to find the starting points to inspire the "political will" to bring in these social changes. But just as in the Women's Liberation movement, the recognition of the nature of sexist oppression resulted in the Women's Liberation movement becoming a force for social change, so also the identification of the main features of the ecological crisis will result in a united and determined movement for social change.

As Enrique Penolsa has warned "We cannot go on as we are today". This applies to Australia (particularly to women in Australia) and to all other countries of the world. . It is time we ended the political paternalism that has for so long dominated the very nature of the lives we live in our Australian cities and which has selfishly ignored the plight of the large majority of those who inhabit the Earth.
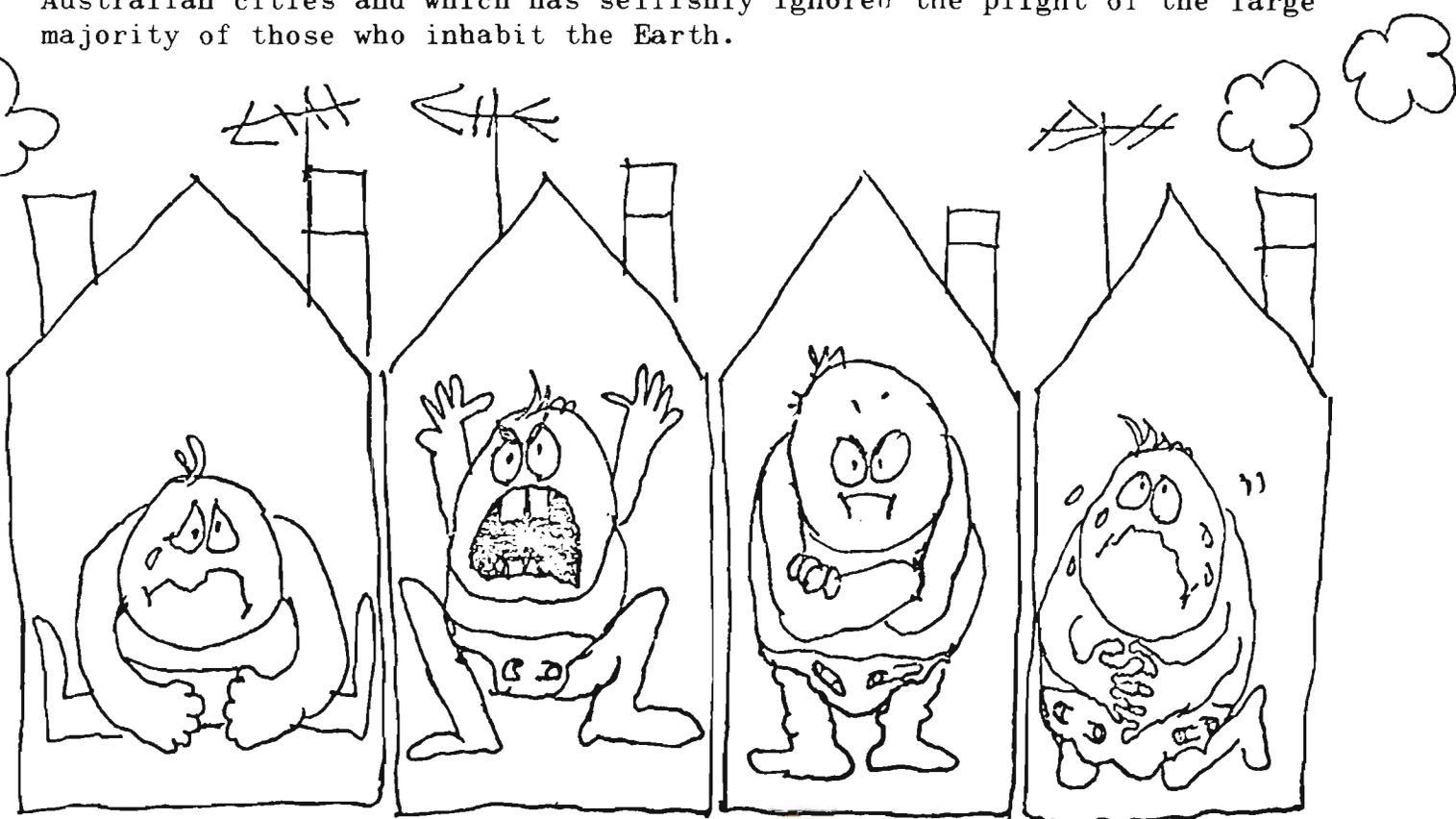
FOOTNOTES.

1. See article by Dr. Alan Roberts in "Radical Ecologist No.1" -
   December 1974.
   He states that "consumerist satisfactions are pale substitutes for
   the avenues of self fulfilment forcibly excluded from his/her life."

2. This quote is from an article by Hugh Stretton entitled "Ownership
   and Alienation", published in World Development 1975 Vol.3, No.11.
   In this article Hugh Stretton advocates "domestic production".
   For a suggested alternative that incorporates better the advantages
   of suburbia that Stretton lauds and which at the same time aims at
   overcoming disadvantages of isolation and privation see the other
   article in this issue of Ecoso Exchange under the heading "The
   Ideal in New Growth Areas", Principles.... page 23
   (It is to be hoped that in a future issue of Ecoso Exchange
   a fuller examination of Strettons views are presented.   Despite
   the criticisms made in this issue Stretton has made some very
   positive proposals for improving life for women and children in our
   Australian cities).

3. Neil Guerin made a statement like this at a meeting on Habitat which
   was called by the Australian Conservation Foundation to discuss
   "How can the population be involved in the progress of decision
   making on human settlement issues."   Feb.14th. this year.   Mr.
   Guerin is attending the Habitat Conference.

4. The term "invisible work" was coined by Barbara Ehrenreich and
   Deidre English in an article entitled "The Manufacture of Housework"
   published in Socialist Revolution, No.26, Vol. 5, (San Francisco).

   This article is an analysis of the structure of women's daily
   lives which shows that housework has not declined but has been
   refined within the new conceptions of the home.
   They say "housework is invisible work .. no one notices it until
   it is not done ... we notice the unmade bed, not the polished floor".

5. "Celebration of Awareness" published as a Penguin Education Special
   in 1971 is a series of articles by Ivan Illich.   The quotation is from
   the last article in the book "A Constitution for Cultural Revolution"
   which was first published by the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

6. From a speech by Rosemary Brown on Monday Conference in 1975, when
   she was visiting Australia from Canada.
   Rosemary Brown is a Feminist, Socialist and long time community
   activist.   She has sat in the Canadian Legislature.
   Her Monday Conference speech was printed in Vashti's Voice, October 1975.

7. The Australian Conservation Foundation and the Conservation Council of
   Victoria as well as a number of similar other organisations have sub-
   committees to consider urban issues and their publications reflect
   this concern.   For example the A.C.F. magazine "Habitat", the
   Women's Liberation Movement in Melbourne has formed an Ecology Group.
   Some of the literature from Women's Liberation reflects this interest
   in urban and ecological matters.

8. In addition to the ideas in this issue of Ecoso Exchange there is
   also an article by Ruth and Maurie Crow on "Melbourne the Social and
   Ecological Choices", in the Australian Left Review, No.49 (March 1976).

9. "Women and Planning; Planners Attitude" was commissioned by the Federal
   Government in 1975.   Some of the matters adversely affecting women
   that are exposed in this study are:-

   1) The growing tendency to centralise numerous services such as
      health centres, sports complexes, shops and commercial facilities,
      into larger and more geographically distant units.

   2) The low value placed on a housewifes time .. the hours she spends
      domestic and child chaffeuring trips are not seen as inefficiencies
      as her time does not count.

3) The lack of either local employment opportunities or good public transport penalise women trying to hold down a job and raise a family.

10. "Cities for Sale" by Dr. Leonie Sandercock published by Melbourne University Press, 1975. A review of this book by Ruth Crow was published in the February 1976 issue of "Architecture in Australia". In Ecoso Exchange No 11, January 1976, there is another review of "Cities for Sale" by Ruth Crow. This Ecoso review is in conjunction with a review of "Damned Whores and God's Police", by Anne Summers.
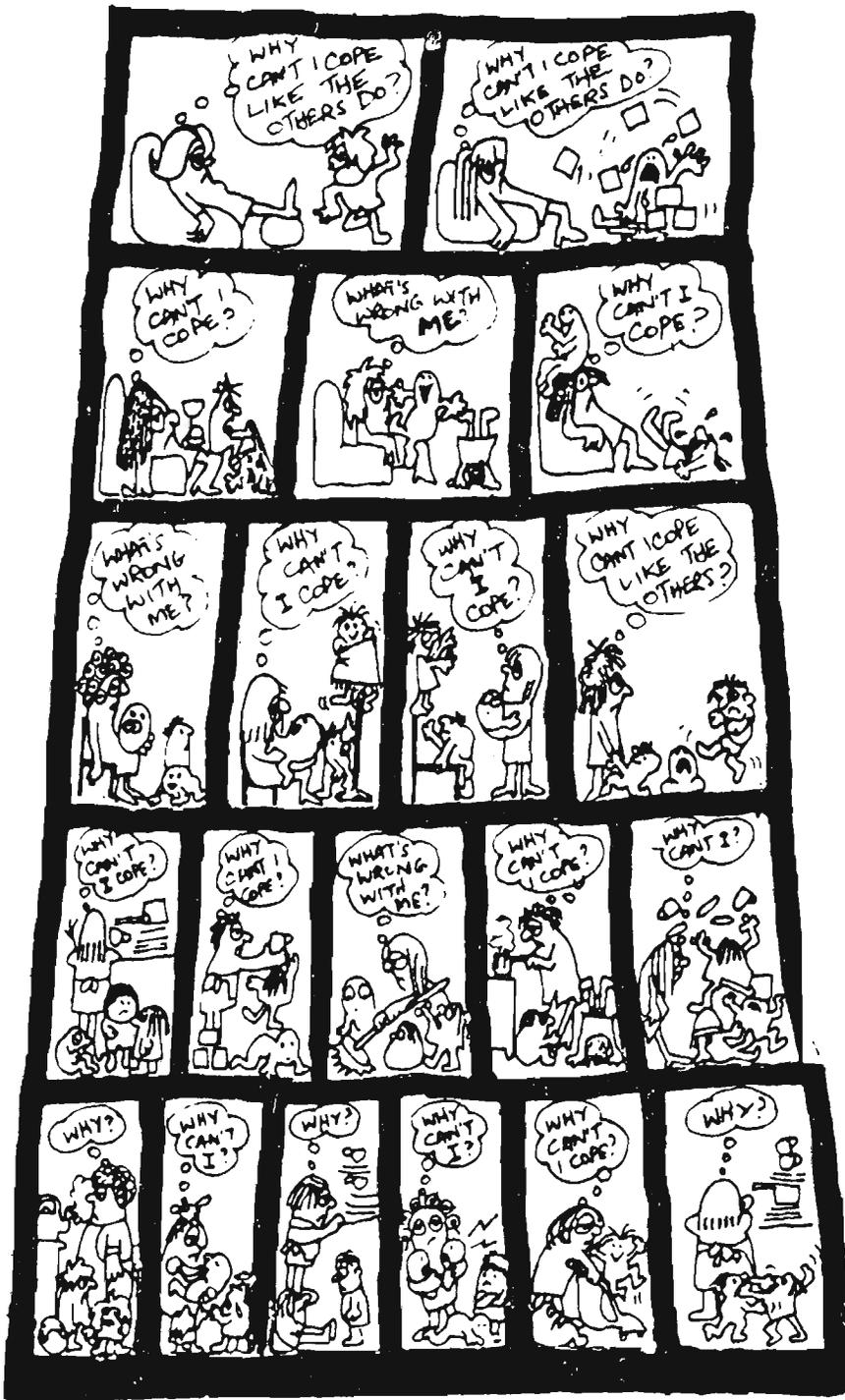
B. MOBILE PRIVATISM OR CONVIVIAL COMMUNITY ?

Notes on Strategy:
1. Two Stereotypes
2. Ring Freeways No Halo
3. Inner Areas No Doughnut

1. Two Stereotypes

From the standpoint of ecological concern for fossil-fuel
conservation there are two basic strategies open to a city-
centre such as Melbourne and the city-region within which it lies:

A. __The Car City__ or "__City of Mobile Privatism__"

Continuation of present trends:-

* Car/truck as predominant mode of transport.

* Redevelopment dismantling denser inner areas and 12-storey
  city buildings

* Alienated lifestyles based on privatism and consumerism

B. __The Tracked City__ or "__Convivial Community City__"

Reversal of present trends:-

* Public transport as predominant mode.

* Redevelopment displacing lower-density buildings around
  railstations in suburbs and "loop" stations in the CBD.

* People-oriented lifestyles based on co-operative involvement.

Purpose for stereotypes.

The purpose of this first item is not to argue out the ecological
implications assumed in the above thumb-nail description (which
has been done before by "Ecoso Exchange",and will be done again).
Nor is the purpose to develop any pretension of a comprehensive
description of the features or virtues of a convivial community
as against a city of mobile privatism.

The purpose is to expand enough of the general features of each
alternative city to be in a better position to assess,against such
a framework of models or stereotypes,the significance of two
topical issues for Melbourne (i) the Study for an outer-ring
freeway around Melbourne commissioned by the Board of Works (See
item 2 below) and (ii) the Mixed Use Area Study of the Melbourne
City Council Planning Department and related studies done for the
South Melbourne and St.Kilda Councils,on the vexed question of
whether a "mixed" use is desirable and if there is to be a mixture
where,what sort of mixture,at what density,and why (See item 3 below)

We proceed,therefore,to present some of the interrelated features
of ideal stereotypes of each alternative city,whilst acknowledging
that the pure idea could not be achieved in practice,no matter
what measures taken either by a capitalist government or a socialist
one,especially in the short term,if for no other reason than that
restructuring of the present built-up area of Melbourne towards
either stereotype is,of its very nature,a long term exercise.

But the long term perspectives are indispensable,otherwise no short
term measures can be sufficiently consistent to set the direction

towards the goal,and the goal can never then be reached,
particularly to the extent that it is against the trend.

A. Car City Stereotype.

A dignified journey by car for each trip and a dignified access
by car to every possible destination is one of the prime planning
objectives. This enables a private choice of a maximum range of
directions and locations,but is part of and accentuates high-
energy lifestyles.

The whole city region would,ideally,be covered with a freeway
grid with an approximately equal distribution of people-
intensive places (such as factories,offices,shops schools,hotels,
etc.) within each suburban square of the grid enabling an even
flow of traffic and thus maximum use of freeway road space with
minimum congestion.

Under this stereotype it would be better to reduce the size and
activites in the Central Business District,and not to build up
mixed clustered facilities in district growth centres or even local
growth centres for the same reason:concentration of traffic-
attracting facilities invites congestion.

The proximity of residential areas to access somewhere on the
freeway network would be more important than proximity of
residential areas to workplaces,shops etc. Buildings should be
sufficiently separated to enable ample off-street parking at ground
level,or,if this is impractical (as in the CBD and inner areas or
even some extensively built-up suburban centres),buildings should be
redeveloped gradually to enable sufficient floors of parking within
buildings to serve those buildings.

Consistent with the direction towards this stereotype is opposition
to the underground "loop" in Melbourne's CBD;opposition to the
Strategy Plan as recommended by Interplan to the City of Melbourne
insofar as that Plan aims to maximise use of the railways by
concentrating all future office towers within a short walk of the
"loop" stations. Consistent with this direction is support for
amendments to the Strategy Plan by the "mixed Use Areas Study" of
the Planning Department of the City Council because they will
enable the "sprawl" of office towers into the mixed use areas away
from the "loop" railstations where twice as many cars are needed as
for an equal area of office floorspace in the CBD (See item 3
below).

Consistent is the indiscriminate sprawl of office towers into the
middle suburbs:a new feature altogether for Melbourne (for those
looking for detail follow proposed amendments 35 and 45 of the
Planning Scheme for Melbourne). Consistent is the earlier sprawl
of factories into the far outer suburbs away from tram termini or
railheads,although conveniently accessible by truck and car.
Consistent is the persistent neglect of public transport for four
decades,and still continuing.

Consistent also with the direction towards the car city are attempts
to replace public transport systems servicing the CBD by the freeway
network,which in the early phases is very destructive,and in the
later phases counterproductive.Destructive,because,apart from
despoliation of the recreational open spaces of creek valleys,
acquisition of buildings for road space,and expanded off-street
parking needs,freeways require demolition of the old moderately-
dense inner area building stock to be replaced by more floorspace
in bigger buildings (often over-spacious-which means less intensive
use offsetting the higher building density). But this requires bigger
set-backs for parking at ground level and/or in building basements.

Similar parking pressures plus location decisions by company
directors instead of planners have resulted in office towers in the
CBD causing demolition of scores of 12-storey buildings mainly in
the centre of the CBD instead of demolition of 1-storey,2-storey or
3-storey buildings near the "loop" stations.

The longer-term effects of attempts to service the CBD by a
freeway network are counter-productive because,as the freeway
system gradually nears completion,the outer less-congested
parts of the system attract location of businesses and
residents draining the centre of the potential growth planned.

This car way of life imposed on people by the current market
pressures and trendplanning infrastructures that match the
market,lead to lifestyles of privatism. People live in the
private world of their private home,equipped with privately-
owned facilities and entertainment;if they travel,it is
privately in a private vehicle;when they reach their destination
the privatism often continues even within a crowd,for no-one
knows anyone else well enough,and even if they did there is
nothing common to be done.

B. Tracked City Stereotype

A dignified access to the widest range of people-intensive
activities,including non-commercial activities,and the
deliberate deployment of public transport and design of
location of facilities for this purpose is one of the prime
planning objectives.This provides the objective possibilities
for development of a more co-operative convivial and low-energy
lifestyle,whilst preserving the possibility of privacy.

The whole city region would be urbanised as much as possible
by encouragement of lively centres of clustered facilities on
a compact human scale which would provide maximum attraction
for all people-intensive activities (including labor-intensive
light industry,offices,secondary and tertiary education,shops,
and indoor cultural and recreational pursuits) higher-density
residential accommodation immediately fringing such centres

Centres would be local;or of district size supplementing a
number of local centres;or the CBD itself supplementing a number
of district centres. The car would be banned from such centres,
and,except for separated delivery facilities,so would the truck.
This would enable a tight compactness enabling easy pedestrian
access to every part of each centre,thus permitting the highest
possible degree of practical variety and hence attractiveness.

Public transport would be deliberately deployed to accentuate
the availability of all urban centres both from residential
areas,and between one centre and another.All local public
transport would be a shuttle-type funelling to the local and/or
district centre;all local and district centres would be around
railstations;all district centres and the CBD connected by
express services.

Though optional,encouragement would be given to cluster-type
dwelling places,with private indoor and outdoor quarters but also
providing shared common spaces for children's playspaces,
laundry,workshops gardens etc. The closer to the local or
district centre,the higher the residential density would be
encouraged to enable walking and cycling to replace cars and
local transport of a public variety.

There is not very much of current history that can be quoted
to illustrate what is consistent with taking a direction towards
this convivial community stereotype,because corporations,
governments,instrumentalities,local authorities,marketing
mechanisms and mass media are all geared to the trends connected
with mobile privatism. Much of what there is is in the form of
popular defensive protestation against excessive manifestations
such as anti-freeway movements,pro public transport campaigns,
anti-redevelopment groups,conservation movements,and personal
alternative lifestyle trends.

Consistent,however,with the tracked city,on the official side,
is the underground loop and lesser but miserly public transport
improvements;the Strategy Plan's idea of utilising the loop to

give maximum access to the CBD by confining the highest-density
functions within the perimeter of the loop and encouraging a
surrounding mixture of uses,but with residential uses
predominating.

Consistent,but by no means sufficient,is the Cluster Titles Act
and the few,as yet inadequate experimental cluster-housing
estates,before and after the Act.

The tracked city would require redevelopment around some suburban
railstations,but the minor destruction required would be of a
completely different order to the massive destruction of demol-
ition for freeways,and of inner suburb terraces and CBD 12-storey
offices mentioned.There is much railway reserve and roadspace
immediately around many suburban stations,and typical adjacent
uses are low density shops and low density houses.

The city of convivial community is of a design that provides
the objective conditions for a genuine choice bwteen privacy
and community,and some acceptable balance between different
degrees of these two conditions is something all people need,
although that balance may differ from person to person.From the
choice of indoor/outdoor privacy or designed neighbourly sharing
at home,the public transport emphasis would be designed so that
the local destination at which one stops,or through which one
travels,could itself provide a reasonable range of different
types of purposeful desired activity so that,at the destination,
there would be the choice of privavy or of involvement in a
group capable of being convivial because of more stable
association.

Complementary v.Competitive Centres

It can be seen that the car city is a disurbanising trend.
It scatters potential CBD and inner area activities to the
outer suburbs,so that the scene becomes a confrontation
debate of "CBD interests" versus "suburban growth-centre
interests". But the trend goes further than this in dis-
urbanising. In the outer suburbs themselves,it tends to
scatter growth into randomly-located individual buildings,
with separation of drive-in shopping from drive-in hotels
from drive-in theatres,and (lately) from high-rise offices.
And it differentiates one suburb from another more and more
in the sense that it facilitates age-segregated,status-
segregated,occupation-segregated socio-economic differences
that heighten the effects of privatism.

The tracked city,by way of contrast,contemplates a distinctly
urban trend. It proposes local and district centres where they
are now non-existent,or inadequate:but not at the expense of
the CBD. The more people that are attracted to activities -
especially non-participatory activities - in the local or
district centre,from the private home or the private car-
tripping,the greater the quantity of truly urban life can
emerge that is now non-existant. The more this can happen,the
more of a base there would be from which to feed the central
CBD activities.

So,with the convivial community city there is no problem of
"centralism versus decentralisation to the suburbs". It
postulates more,more varied,and more sustained human people-
involving activities in all centres,local,district and central

2.Ring Freeway No Halo

"Surely you must agree that an outer ring freeway is better
than a radial freeway system?". This,we anticipate,will be a
refrain of car-city advocates for the period ahead.

There is to be a $336,000 study by Pak-Poy and Associates ordered by the Board of Works for a "ring-road" between 15 and 35 kilometres around Melbourne's CBD. If approved,it would be like a halo around Melbourne,fitting the built up areas,but in most places not too tightly. The concept is said to be favored by the Premier Mr Hamer (See "The Age" 28/4/76 and Figure 1 reproduced from "The Herald" 17/4/76.).

Those with the source material who wish to study the new proposed route will see that it appears to be the joining up into a complete ring of the outermost planned circumferential segments of the old 1969 M.T.C freeways F3,F5 and F35 - or pretty close to it. It has been released under the name of a "ring road",but we are assuming here that the intention is that the road will be a freeway.

Now the 64-dollar question (or maybe we should say the 640,000,000 dollar question?),is this: would the ring freeway really be an angelic halo of glory for Melbourne - a welcome alternative to radial freeways - or a crown of thorns that would give the daddy of all headacres to the next generations?

The answer,of course,depends on your value judgement: whether you believe the direction should be set for mobile privatism or convivial community.

If you are for the tracked city of convivial community,then the ring freeway is no halo:it is thorns. The choice between a radial freeway system and a circumferential freeway with inward spokes and outwards spurs is a choice between two evils - two versions of mobile privatism - not a choice between that and convivial community.

To demonstrate this we will backtrack to Melbourne 1969 and to Boston 20 years earlier

Original MTC Network Grid

The original Melbourne Transportation Committee's plan of 1969 had two features:
1. It was a grid of square segments overlying Melbourne's entire built-up area.
2. To the extent that it was a "demand" plan (including the objective of trying to accommodate estimated "demand" parking in the CBD) it was also :-
    (a) a radial system (those sections of the grid that came towards the CBD all had a higher planned capacity - i.e. the 8-lane freeways,and those expected to carry 100,000 vehicles a day or more were radial).
    (b) it was coupled with an inner ring freeway tight around the CBD. See Figure 4: the CBD is in the segment we have marked "1".)

Premier Hamer,just prior to the 1973 State elections,in March 1973 shrewdly confirmed the Government's decision to scrap the inner freeway ring,and added the policy of slashing the freeway network from 494 km. to 328 km. (all of which couldn't be built in a few years anyway). There emerged a policy of theoretical opposition to "radial freeways",although as two segments (Tullamarine and South Eastern) and a semi-freeway (Kingsway) existed,and as three freeways (Lower Yarra leading to Westgate Bridge,Eastern Freeway and Mulgrave) and one semi-freeway (Hoddle Street) were proceeding - later pressures for joining the bits and pieces were inevitable.

In 1973 the Government won further points for its credibility by promising not only a new freeway study to replace the emasculated 1969 plan,but also that the transportation planning would be subject to public participation. To give it its due,it did at least stick to the underground loop against heavy road lobby pressure,and it appears to be trying to back the overall strategy of the Strategy Plan,mentioned above (although showing signs of retreating on this).

But,to date, - three years later - there has been no overall transportation planning exposed to public scrutiny,let alone public participation. The outer-ring freeway study,apparently has terms of reference already fixed,because according to Board of Works Chairman Mr Croxford it "would investigate all facets of the proposed link and could recommend changes to the planned route ("Age" 28/4/76.). This doea not sound anything like the expected planning for Melbourne region transport planning as a whole including public transport.

Now examine Figure 1. Note that the outer ring intersects the existing and planned freeways and/or major highways,which,read clockwise are :-

1. Princes Highway - Lower Yarra Freeway
2. Western Highway (a)
3. Western Freeway (a)
4. Calder Highway - ½Keilor By-Pass (b)
5. Tullamarine Freeway (b)
6. Hume Freeway
7. Greensborough Freeway
8. Eastern Freeway
9. Maroondah Highway
10. Healesville Freeway
11. Burwood Freeway
12. Mulgrave Freeway - South Eastern Freeway
13. Princes Highway - Dandenong Road
14. Dingley Freeway (c)
15. Mornington Peninsula Freeway (c)
16. Nepean Highway

(Note: several of the above routes converge within the "ring" and are marked (a) (a),(b) (b), (c) (c) above of which only (c) (c), between the planned Dingley Freeway and Mornington Peninsula Freeway enclose any considerable area---but this area is part of a green "wedge" in the planning scheme).

So there will be 14 areas enclosed between these converging freeway/highways and the outer ring,like 14 uneven slices of cake. Major rterial crossroads,such as South Road,North Road, Springvale Rôad,Doncaster Road Manningham Road and Bell Street, if made into semi-freeways could add another 10 or 12 pieces of cake by cutting one of the northern slices into 2 pieces and and the south eastern slices into 2,3 or 4 pieces.

This could give an effective grid,although not of squares so much as of oblongs and triangles forming a network overlying the built up areas,and those to be developed in the urban corridors/satellites ranging from about 25 pieces (freewavs only) or 36 pieces (counting existing double-way highways such as Dandenong Road,Burwood Road,Maroondah Highway,Sprinvale Road,Manningham Road and Bell Street,or roads with reservations wide enough for such treatment such as South Road,North Road - Wellington Road).

For a diagram showing the "freeways only" grid with about 25 segments see Figure 2. For what we have called a grid of freeways and"semi-freeways" with about 36 segments,see Figure 3. By a "semi-freeway" we mean the upgrading of divided highways (whether existing planned or potential) by making access even more limited than at present so far as cross roads are concerned. Where the road width is sufficient some main areterials which cross divided highways could be grade-separated either under or over the highway,thus minimising the number of traffic lights and converting the highway into a statue not greatly short of a freeway.

By comparison to figures 2 and 3,the MTC grid had about 38 segments (See Figure 4)

Legend:
- **—— COMPLETED FREEWAYS**
- **- - - FREEWAYS UNDER CONSTRUCTION**
- **—— EXISTING ROADS**
- **- - - PLANNING PROPOSALS**
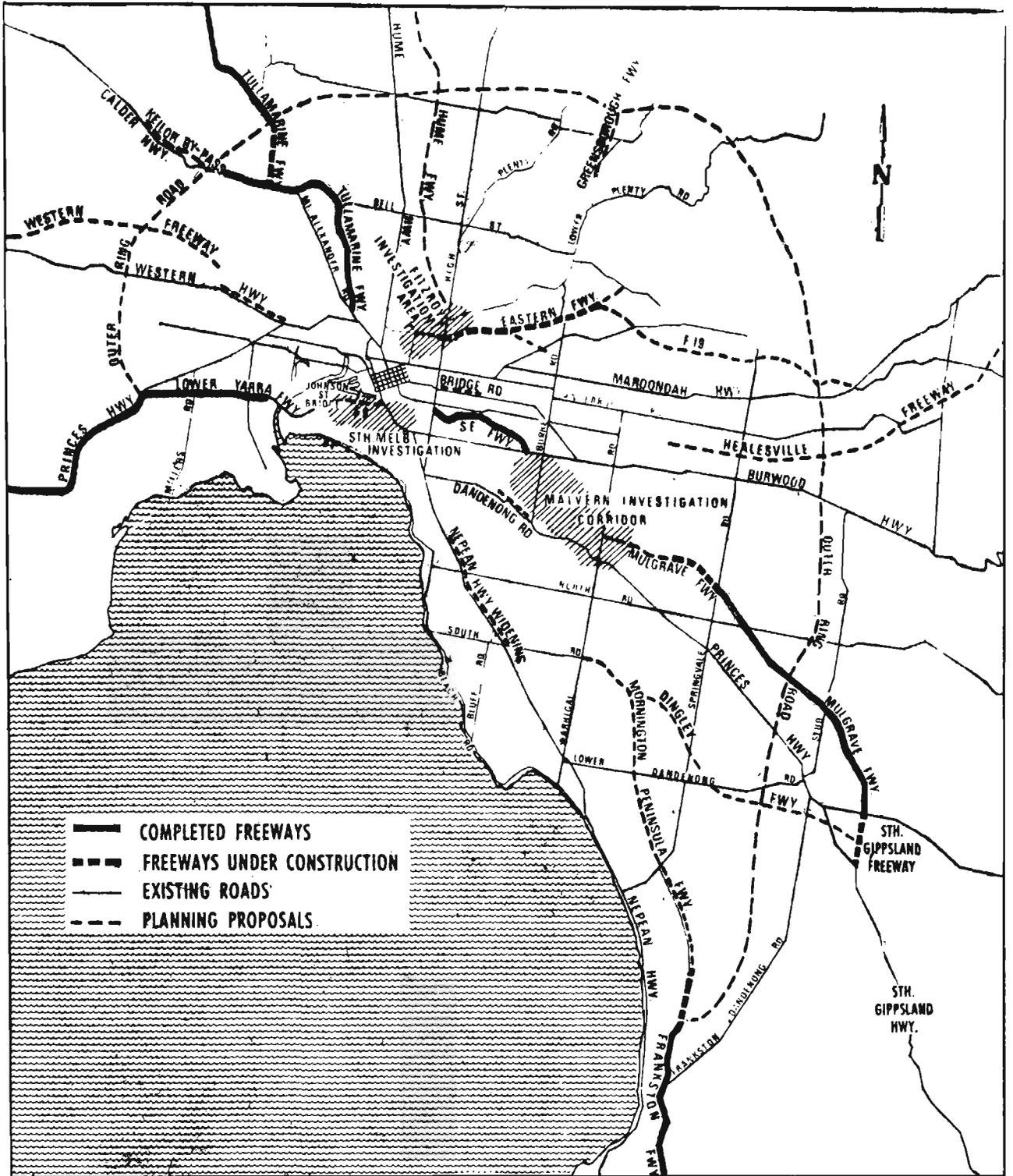
WHAT'S PLANNED AND WHY

OUTER RING ROAD: This would provide an outer link between major centres of population and commerce including Dandenong, Ringwood, Greensborough, Broadmeadows and Keilor.

A study is now being carried out into the effects and advantages of such a road.

LOWER YARRA CROSSING — F9 EXTENSION: This will become the southern by-pass of the city centre of National Route 1.

It will lead from the Lower Yarra Crossing to Kingsway, providing the final link between Geelong and the south-eastern suburbs.

MULGRAVE FREEWAY: The work now in progress from Springvale Rd. to Forster Rd., Mount Waverley, will cost about $40 million.

Extension to Warrigal Rd. will improve the freeway's effectiveness and studies are under way on a possible road connection to the South-Eastern Freeway at Tooronga.

EASTERN FREEWAY: The extension of the Eastern Freeway along the eastern corridor reservation will improve access to the eastern suburbs and reduce traffic on residential streets.

GREENSBOROUGH FREEWAY: North from Watsonia, this will provide a by-pass of the Greensborough shopping centre and access to the residential areas around Diamond Creek.

HUME HIGHWAY: There is no solution yet for traffic from the metropolis, especially the eastern suburbs, feeding onto the Hume, the main interstate road link.

The CRB says at present this flow is creating environmental and traffic problems in the northern and inner suburbs.

CALDER FREEWAY: This provides free movement for traffic headed towards Bendigo. The Keilor by-pass will remove this traffic from the commercial centre.

TULLAMARINE FREEWAY: Work at Essendon airport will complete the freeway link from Flemington Rd. to Tullamarine airport.

WHAT'S PLANNED AND WHY —

FIGURE 1   FREEWAYS, PLANNED FREEWAYS, AND INVESTIGATIONS, WIDENINGS ETC.

— COUNTRY ROADS BOARD MAP
(Reproduced by "The Herald" 27/4/'76)

FIGURE 2 FREEWAYS - PLANS
AND PROBABILITIES

―――― FREEWAYS
Existing
Under construction } See Figure 1 for
Planned   disclosed plans
●●● PRESSURE ON FOR PROBABLE LINKS
NETWORK OF ABOUT 25 SEGMENTS

FIGURE 3 FREEWAYS AND
SEMI-FREEWAYS
(≡ UPGRADED DIVIDED HIGHWAYS)

―――― FREEWAYS - PLANNED
●●● FREEWAYS - PROBABLE
⬡⬡⬡⬡ DIVIDED HIGHWAYS (Existing and
possible, upgradable to semi-freeways)
NETWORK OF ABOUT 36 SEGMENTS

Assessment of the Effect of the "Ring"

The built-up areas:

The new scheme would give an effect,functionally,not unlike
that of the 1969 grid scheme
The ring "road",which would be a freeway of enormous length,
coupled with the completion of freeways outside or within the
grid which are planned,under construction or already existing,
would give much the same effect,overall,as the original 1969
grid. The shapes of the grid pieces would be somewhat
different and some would be larger - especially in some of the
middle suburbs.

The adaptation of existing divided highways to a semi-freeway
status,even without the expensive and politically difficult
task of upgrading some arterials to the same purpose,could
greatly reduce the discrepancy between the two schemes,
especially in the outer suburbs beyond the tram termini.

The areas outside the "ring".

Enormous stimulus would be given to development along the
rout of the ring road itself,and outwards into the urban
corridors/satellites lying beyond the perimeter of the ring.

This proposition would especially apply if the ring freeway
were to be built first before those that cut across it,and if
it were to be. a super highway with so many lanes as to be
normally immune from congestion. The uninterrupted and
superior travel for cars and trucks for such an enormous

FIGURE 4   1969 FREEWAY PLAN
(Metropolitan Transportation Plan)
NETWORK OF ABOUT 38 SEGMENTS
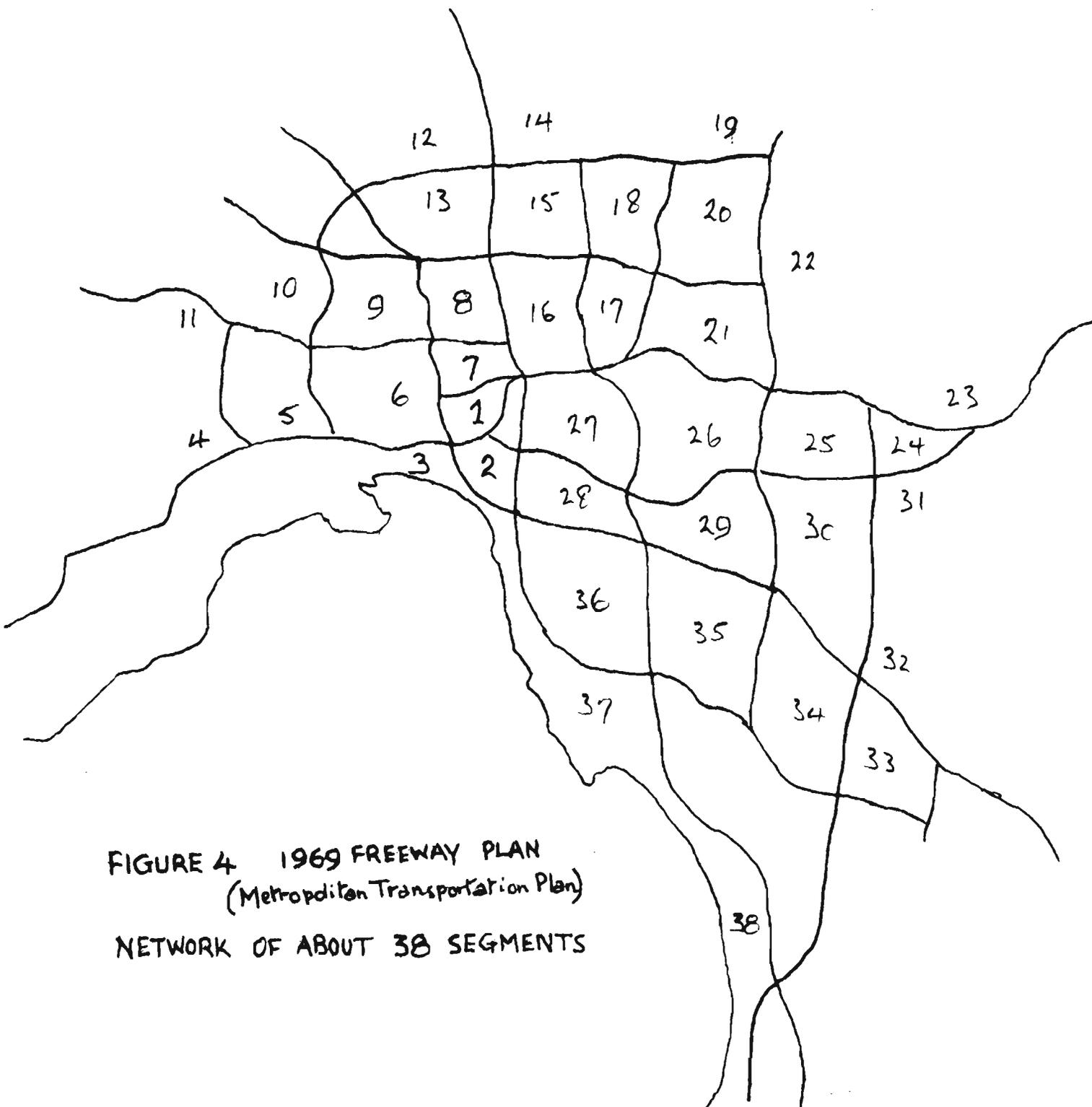
length would attract both businesses and residents seeking to
avoid the street congestion and lack of convenient car access
and parking typical of the parts of built-up Melbourne designed
more than 20 years ago. New urban growth would then tend to take
on a circumferential direction with spurs jutting outwards to
corridor/satellite urban developments.

<u>The overall effects on:</u>
<u>public transport</u>
<u>growth and travel patterns.</u>

<u>A super ring road would buid up circumferential and centrifigal</u>
<u>travel and growth patterns that would:-</u>
   (a) <u>scatter the urban growth outwards in the quickest and most</u>
      <u>efficient way imaginable.</u>
   (b) <u>further break down the radially-organised growth and travel</u>
      <u>patterns based on railed public transport.</u>
   (c) <u>give the least favourable conditions for establishing new</u>
      <u>public transport travel along the new circumferential route</u>
   (d))<u>cancel out the feeble attempts to revive public transport</u>
      <u>generally,not only by reviving a watered down equivalent</u>
      <u>of the old grid freeway system within the "ring",but by</u>
      <u>conferring a virtual monopoly for private transport along</u>
      <u>the route of the ring and outward from it.</u>

It would be a mistake to regard the main function of such an outer
ring to be a by-passing one for "through" traffic,although this
would account for some proportion of its uses. According to the
MTC 1969 Report,the daily trips "external" to the Melbourne region
(i.e. with either one end of the trip or both ends of the trip
outside the region) for 1964 were only 85,905 as against 2,618,559
for trips starting and finishing within the region i.e. only about
1/30th.of the total trips. (See tables 4-2,4-8 and 4-11 MTC Report
Vol.3),and any marked change in proportions since that date would
be unlikely. (By way of a parallel in official thinking,the inner
area freeways,despite abandonment of the inner freeway "ring",are
not regarded as serving only by-pass routes around the CBD,
although they could be made to do so by denying on/off ramps
except within several miles of the CBD).

It would be equally a mistake to regard the main function of the
ring freeway as connecting existing outer centres of Dandenong,
Ringwood,Greensborough,Broadmeadows and Keilor,although this also
would be a part of its function.

Its main function would be a developmental one,re-directing growth
circumferentially on a car/truck basis,and then serving the growth
it has helped create--- just as the suburban electric trains did in
an earlier era,with the community spending the transport money and
the land developers making the profits.(shared this time by the oil
and car corporations).

Incidentally,a considerable proportion of the route would appear
to be across the "green wedges" between the urban corridors of the
regional plan;and to this extent would extenuate travel distances,
,giving less potential variety than an equal distance through
all-urban areas,at the same time wasting unnecessary fossil-fuel.

<u>The Boston lesson.</u>

It is often said that Australia's car-based cities repeat the
history of their American counterparts although 15 years or so
later. It is instructive therefore to study the effects of the first
limited access circumferential highway ever constructed around any
major metropolitan city in the world. This was Boston,Massachusetts,
USA. The history of "Route 128" as it is called is analysed in the
book "Access for All" by K.H.Schaefter and Elliot Sclar (Penguin
1975).

Boston which had had an earlier streetcar and transit system,like
Melbourne,constructed a ring freeway in the 1950's. By 1960
Boston's population was 2.5 million,comparable with Melbourne today

and the distance of Melbourne's proposed ring freeway from its CBD - between 15 to 35 kilometres is also comparable to Boston where the average distance of Route 128 was about 20 kilometres from downtown.

A few excerpts from the authors can tell the story:

"It was built not only as a by-pass around the metropolitan areas,but also to supply and stimulate quick and easy access to Boston's far-flung suburbs,something a net of Boston-centred transit lines could never accomplish" (p.90).

"While limited-access highways are very efficient as private car and truck roadways,they are severly deficient as local bus transit roadways. Local bus transit must get to the traveller's origin and destination,and these are never on the limited-access highways,but by definition on another local street. Thus,for public bus transit,arterial roadways,which have abutting origins and destinations,are superior to limited-access roadways. Route 128's design not only provided a positive means to turn the Boston suburban region over to the automobile,but it also created an effective barrier to the development of circumferential local bus transit" (p.91 - our emphasis).

"Route 128 more than met its planner's and designer'' expectations, It attracted traffic and centred all developments in suburban Boston around the automobile" (P.91 - our emphasis)

After describing the multi-purpose use of Route 128 the authors add: "In recent years more and more traffic comes from local residents who have found that the road enables them to accept new jobs 30 and 50 miles away in and outside the metropolitan area, without changing residence." !! (p.91)

As if this is not crazy enough,we read later that "In the Boston area the 1969-71 recession,which hit the suburban industries particularly hard,broughtwith it a marked incre ase in rush-hour travel along Boston's circumferential highway. Since employment did not increase,the explanation seems to be longer work trips. Longer work trips usually make it more difficult to find car pools especially is one works in suburbia." (p.106)

The age-segregated suburbs,and the insecurity and alienation arising partly from the resulting most uneven distribution of mobility that humans in post-feudal society have ever allowed to be imposed upon themselves is dealt with in the chapter "The Social Crisis" (Chap.7 pp 103-120)makes frightening reading but there is not space here to deal with it.(It is hoped to do this in later issues.

The ecological lesson alone is enough to draw,here,from the example of Boston.The lesson of Route 128 is there for all to see and those who insist on repeating history's mistakes must be either corrected or removed from authority before they waste too much of our precious human and natural resources.The Route 128 experience,if repeated with the lesson unheeded by Melbourne's ring freeway proposal,would foist mobile privatism onto the next generation more firmly than ever,making the ultimate inevitable restr cturing of land use/transport design and lifestyles,an agonising process at the end of an agonising social crisis.

3. Inner Areas No Doughnut.

Rise and fall of "doughnut" policy

Twenty years ago,before the North Melbourne Association tried to save the "Happy Valley" shops from Housing Commission demolition, before the Carlton Association saved the Lee Street block from demolition,and before the Fitzroy Resident's Association partially saved the Brook's Crescent block from demolition,there was an unchallenged prevailing policy regarding the inner areas,popularly presented as the"doughnut" policy.

The argument was that the buildings of the inner areas around the City were mostly obsolete,sub-standard,decayed,ready to fall down or be pulled down,leaving Melbourne like a doughnut with nothing of worth (except the City of course),in the centre. Associated with this,were ideas that the people living there were also decayed,delinquent,or in some way deviant,resulting from their depressing surroundings.

The remedy almost universally acclaimed by politicians of all brands,planners,community workers,such as there were,the Housing Commission and the Bolte Government seemed obvious: clear all these hundreds of acres of slums away,rebuild with smart new flats,attract back whitecollar and professional workers (misnamed "the middle class") and fill in the centre of the doughnut with solid citizens living in solid accommodation.

But that was 20 years ago. The activities of the associations mentioned and others,began to change public opinion,and opinion within the Liberal Party. The Hamer Government commenced on the same "doughnut" tack,but quickly reversed direction when it saw how unpopular it was becoming,and began to make speeches and pass legislation in the direction of "preservation" (albeit without much "sinews" to make it happen). The Housing Commission however was eventually brought into line,and the new situation was potentially stabilised in 1974 by the Melbourne City Council "Strategy Plan",prepared by the consultants "Interplan",which lay emphasis on rehabilitation and restoration rather than demolition and redevelopment;public transport for commuting to work rather than freeways and escalating off-street parking; a full range of housing that all socio-economic groups could afford rather than prices and rents so high that dwellings would become attainable only by the filthy rich;and a city centre accessible to the maximum number of people (not the maximum number of cars), and hence not exclusive and prestigious with boutiques,nightclubs and luxury-class hotels for the the elite only,but with a full spectrum of attractions --- varied,compact and accessible.

Resurrection of "doughnut" thinking.

That was two years ago,and it could have been hoped that the obsolete,the old-fashioned,the inappropriate and unpopular habits of thought and planning of 20 years ago would not try for a revival,particularly in the face of ecological imperatives that are becoming clearer year by year.

It was not to be.The doughnut theory has raised its sepulchral head,backed strongly by speculative redevelopers in the fringe areas,anguished at missed opportunities for high-rise towers,and no doubt cheered on by the car,oil and freeway interests.

The "Mixed Use Area Study" (called here "MAS" for short), produced within the City Council by the Planning Department is now to be recommended to the City Council. The Minister of Planning and the Cabinet,the Labor Party,professional institutes of planners and architects and the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce and all resident associations affected have all said that MAS does not conform to the Strategy Plan;and they are right.

The Minister for Planning has given a direction to the Town & Country Planning Board (Victoria's senior planning authority) to prepare a Statement of Planning Policy for the whole of the inner areas. The government apparently retreated from the initial impression that this was to be a threat to replace the City Council as planning authority,unless it proceeded with the original strategy. As soon as this retreat was sensed,the support supporters of MAS made it clear that they would defy the government.

Premier Hamer interviewed Mayor Walker on April 6th,and the outcome,as reported by the press stated: "The Lord Mayor Cr. Walker assured the Premier Mr Hamer that an alternative scheme which would have altered the aims of the Strategy Plan had no chance of adoption by council" ("The Herald" 6/4/76).

Two days later,however,in a closed City Council meeting,the
Mayor said he had been misreported,and the Town Clerk and City
Planner and others,proceeded with the by-then familiar pretense
that MAS was in conformity with the overall strategy,and that the
Government had misinterpreted MAS.

It is not the purpose,here,to examine the evidence and argument
produced by the City Planning Department in favor of MAS,nor that
produced by its critics against it beyond the statement of the
broad situation which follows. For those interested in the full
range of argument,reference should be made to the Mixed Use Area
Study(available for $5 - if it is still in print - from the 11th.
floor Bank of NSW cnr. Swanston St. and Collins St. Melbourne)
including the introductory comments of City Planner Mr J.Williams.
Also to a documant "A Defence of the Strategy Plan" price $2,
published by the Town & Country Planning Assoc. c/o The
Environment Centre 324 Williams St. Phone 329,5377. The keen
student might also refer to an earlier TCPA document of November
1975 "Reports on MCC "Mixed Use Areas Study",$5 from the same
source.

The Strategy Plan's overall strategy is (1) confine all high-
intensity employments within a short walking distance of the
"loop" stations (2) To do this,permit only small scale offices
(plot-ratio 1.5:1)) in the"mixed use" areas on the City's
immediate fringe,but (3) allow more residential than non-
residential uses in these areas (up to 250 habitable rooms per
acre,which could be in addition to the 1.5:1 plot ration.MAS,on
the contrary,proposes higher densities in these areas of which
the highest at 4,4.5 or 5:1 plot ratios,would enable city-size
buildings in mixed use areas where it is estimated that twice as
many cars would be used per area of floorspace than if the same
floorspace were to be located within the loop area.

The differences at stake are big enough - coupled with other
policies - to tip the balance between whether the direction is set
set for entrenchment of the car-city,or a fight for a tracked-
cityAssuming maximum development,MAS would mean 16,000 extra cars
at peak hour,and massive redevelopment in the mixed use areas
for the 40,000 jobs w ich would otherwise have been in the CBD
served by public transport.

The whole tenor of MAS is redevelopment,thus tacitly,but not
openly,reviving the outworn "doughnut" approach.

Mr Croxford,Board of Works Chairman,has used the word "doughnut"
too quite recently,in such a careless context that (unless he has
been misreported or not fully reported) it could be equAlly
alarming,although there is some ambiguity in his statement.
Releasing figures which showed that construction of "multi-unit'
dwellings" (meaning flats,units and townhouses)in the 10 inner
suburbs had declined from 28.6% of the Melbourne region total
in 1972 to10.5% in 1976, Mr Croxford said the Golden Mile will
not continue as the centre for metropolitan social and economic
activities unless Melbourne's residential growth pattern is
arrested. (Incidentally,see item 1. above for this method of
pitting CBD interests against the suburbs).Mr Croxford added,so
it is reported,that "residential development in Melbourne is
likely to take on a "doughnut" form unless conflicts which had
encouraged a swing away from development in the inner suburbs to
the outer fringes were resolved." (The "Age" 7/5/76)

If by "development",and overcoming "doughnuts" he means
"redevelopment by the traditional way of demolition and new
building,indiscrimatly throughout the inner areas;and if by
"conflicts",he means resistence by resident associations to high
rise developments such as the Housing Commission flats,or flats,
units or townhouses quite out of scale or keeping with the
character of the residential or mixed-use areas of Melbourne,Port
Melbourne,South Melbourne,Richmond Collingwood,Fitzroy or

Williamstown,then Mr Croxford will surely be inviting conflict
rather than resolving it.

On the other hand,it is the policy of the Strategy Plan,supported
by the resident assocations to increase the residential population
especiall in the mixed use areas of St.Kilda Rd.Jolimint,Victoria
Parade,South Carlton and North and West Melbourne. This needs to
be achieved,however,in a highly selective and sophisticated style:

  (1) By carefully selecting areas where new high density resident-
      ial estates could be constructed without destruction of the
      older residential areas. Examples are :
      (a) the ½Flagstaff Gardens project suggested by Interplan
          (between Flagstaff Gardens and the railway)
      (b) extension of this project by decking the railway tracks
          to the south of the project
      (c) similer project on decking over railyards to the east of
          the proposed Tivoli Gardens project.
      (d) the "Haymarket 431 Area" suggested by the North Melb.
          Association (between Elibaeth St, and Peel St to the north
          of Victoria Market;and in Flemington Rd.opposite to the
          Dental Hospital,Melbourne Hospital and Vetinery College)
      (e) on some Harbor Trust land to the aast of Flinders St.
          extension,and
      (f) further out,on the Newmarket cattle salesyards,abbttoirs,
          and adjoining areas,suggested by the Strategy Plan.
  (2) By permitting extension or expansion towars the rear of
      existing buildings without altering the streetscape.
  (3) By re-converting buildings that were originally dwellings but
      now used for storage,offices or light industry back to
      residential accommodation
  (4) By converting buildings originally used for other purposes to
      residential accommodation e.g. old shops,hotels or even
      factories.
  (5) By infill techniques in areas where row houses or terrace houses
      are the typically built form.
  (6) By multi-purpose use of buildings with the greater proportion
      of the buildings available for residential use,especially in
      the mixed use areas,as envisaged by Interplan,but only for such
      redevelopments as would not disrupt the streetscape or community

Incidentally,it should not be assumed that simply because there are
more "multi-units" built by way of redevelopment in the inner areas,
that that would necessarily mean an increase in population. Terrace
housing provides,surprisingly,a moderately higher residential
density,often equal to,or greater than, the modern "multi-units" that
replace them. Moreover,students and lower income families that
traditionally reside in the older building stock,do so at a greater
occupancy rate than the more affluent who shift into multi-units
with more space per person.If Mr Croxford is aware of this factor,it
did not rate a mention in his published remarks.

To give Mr Croxford the benefit of all doubts,he <u>might</u> have had in
mind the above-mentioned selective and sophisticated methods of
increasing residential floorspace (as distinct from the number of
new units),and he <u>might</u> have meant redevelopment in St.Kilda,North
Northcote or Prahan further from the city and with less terrace
building stock. If so,it would be helpful if the Board of Works,
(and the Town & Country Planning Board,for that matter) were to say
so now,to enable them to enlist the support of communities living
and working all around the City,instead of inviting their hostility.

The above explanatory introduction was necessary to appreciate the
notes that this item wants to contribute to what was described above
as the vexed question of whether a "mixed use" is desirable around
an urban centre,and if it is to be a mixture,what sort of mixture
at what density and why - and,of course,how all this measures up
with a car-city stereotype or a tracked-city stereotype.

The Ideal in New Growth Areas

The ideal most consistent with the convivial community stereotype of the tracked city would be :-

Principle 1 : Some residences in the centre.

To encourage high density residential accommodation mixed with the non-residential mixed uses envisaged for all urban centres- local,district or CBD - sufficient for who elect to live in such style,and subsidised,if necessary,to bring it within reasonable reach of people so electing. The purpose is to keep more people in the centre at what would otherwise tend to be "dead" periods - after the shops and offices are closed,or at weekends, i.e. at the very time when people have the most leisure to meet and relate to each other and when the urban centres should be vital.

The ideal would be to have such accommodation in upper storeys rather than taking up the prime ground floor and lower floor space better occupied by community and/or higher intensive commercial uses,such as shops.

Principle 2 : All enterprises and ventures in the centre.

To encompass within such a centre - whether local,district,or CBD - all small-scale business enterprises as well as non-commercial ventures in amongst the bigger enterprises and government offices,and not,therefore in small-scale premises.

The purpose is the double one of,firstly,giving frail profit-making enterprises,and frail non-profit-making ventures the greatest possibility of survival by making room for them amongst the established enterprises and ventures;and,secondly, creating thereby a greater practical range of variety,including participatory activities,which would contribute to making such centres more attractive.

Principle 3 : High-density residences near the centre.

To enforce in areas fringing the planned bounds of such a centre - of whatever size - the highest density residential use gradually reducing in density the further the distance from the centre,with areas of the current typical suburban detached house at the furthest distance.

The purpose is to provide that the greatest possible number of people are within easy walking/cycling distance of the centre. This ideal could also provide a genuine choice of a range of accommodation lifestyles,not now available,because the practical choice for most is a 3-bedroom nuclear-family detached house, enjoying at best a semi-privacy from immediate neighbours,or a flat with no outdoor privacy;and neither of these limited choices are available with the option of neighbourly sharing,for which indoor or outdoor spaces are simply not provided.

Principle 4 : Crafts,hobbies and home industries.

To permit and encourage,especially in the form of collectives, crafts.hobbies and "home industries",and other activities of co-operative expression,in all residential areas;subject to such activities being conducted in a manner which does not harm the environment nor create nuisance.

The purpose is to provide,on the domestic scene,as much opportunity as possible for neighbourly co-operative effort for which spaces have never really been available,despite the often unused and unwanted front garden and backyards. The shared use by nearby neighbours of well-equipped workshops for mechanics, dressmakers,or carpenters,studios or office facilities,adventure playgrounds,laundrettes or reception room with proper regard to insulation from noise,and with garden plots and fruittrees, especially in lower density parts would not only make densities

somewhat higher by economising on unwanted or unusable private
spaces,thus minimising sprawl. It would also provide an
enhancement of the general standard of amenity,and economy of
equipment,and,more importantly,give opportunity for a more
co-operative/basis,at the domestic level,and from the youngest
age,thus helping to feed into the local community efforts of
wider and/or more specialised groupings,which the local centres
would be specially designed to cater for (as mentioned in item 2.
above).

Adaptation of ideal to existing CBD and inner areas.

The above 4 principles could be applied,much as described,to
new urban growth areas. In the built-up areas,however,the
existing design and location of buildings,the existing lay-out
of land-uses inrelation to transport and existing businesses and
community connections,mean that the above principles cannot be
applied holus bolus,but need adaptation to meet the circumstances.
Moreover,that adaptation would,of necessity have to be a longer
term,phased one,although the quicker the course is set in the
right direction,the less harm will be wrought by development in
the wrong direction.

The exercise of application to a typical existing suburb will not
be dealt with here (although,hopefully,in a later issue). Here,
the exercise will deal only with some aspects of the relationship
of residential to non-residential "mix",and the model will not
be a socialist one,based on control by the community of its
industry,commerce,culture,recreation - and the land-uses for these
activities - but will have have some regard at least to the
further capitalist constraints that follow from a market economy,
although not to the extent of allowing the market to dictate at
the expense of community benefit,for that would mean the
abandonment of planning altogether,and triumph for the car-city.

Adapted principle 1 : Residences in the centre.

Take,first,the mixture proposed of high-density residential
accommodation as part of the CBD "mixture" of uses. That is the
ideal,but,except for some tourist-type hotels and some recently
built luxury flats,there is virtually no residential
accommodation in the CBD.

There are,of course,extremely high land values in the CBD,which
means that to propose that permanent residents live there would
make rent or purchase of units extremely pricey;and,in turn,this
would tend to make the off-hours CBD too exclusive and adapted
too much for the elite. This would offend the concept of a centre
available for everybody. The Strategy Plan makes no mention of
any proposed residential accommodation in the CBD except for
"international hotels". This makes some sense,for visioors on
tour may well afford,for a few weeks,higher accommodation charges
than they can for their permanent residence.Nevertheless,again,
hotels of international standard have such high tariffs as to be
beyond the pocket of most,even for a few weeks.

An alternative would be to subsidise rents in the CBD. But this
would mean a very high rate of subsidy for all-year-round
residents. Such subsidies could surely be more effective in
helping people the CBD in off-hours in more direct ways,by
making the CBD a better magnet drawing people to it by way of
activities (for one example: by the "Tivoli Gardens" project
suggested by Interplan).

So - for the adaptation of our first principle of people living
in the centre we are driven almost to abandoning the idea
altogether ! (Although remember: what is judged an exception
for the CBD need not be so for district or local centres)

It is therefore suggested:

* High-density accomodation for permanent residents in a
  few carefully selected locations as close to the CBD as
  as possible (but this is not in the CBD,and strictly
  speaking is not serving to implement adapted principle 1;
  it is dealt logically under "adapted principle 3"
  regarding areas fringing the city,below.)

* Some subsidy for hostels and hotels so that visitors on
  holidays,or from interstate or overseas who have more modest
  means can afford similar convenience to the luxury tourist.

Adapted principle 2 : small scale enterprises and ventures.

Leaving aside the traumas of carparking or truck delivery
typical of the car-city,but which would be relieved in the tracked
city,most small scale enterprises and ventures would flourish
better in the highly accessible CBD than in the mixed-use areas
around it,provided,of course,that there was equality of rent.
However,so high have CBD land values become - a situation made
worse by replacement of scores of sound 12-storey buildings in
the centre of the CBD to make way for new towers - that many
small enterprises and ventures cannot afford a CBD location.
Instead they have shifted to the mixed use areas around the City
or new ones have located in these areas instead of in the CBD.

The suggested modification of the ideal here then is :

* permit a mixture of uses including small scale enterprises
  only in smallscale premises only in the mixed use areas.

* retain and encourage small-scale business and small-scale
  non-commercial ventures in the CBD by :
  (a) ceasing to demolish any more 12-storey buildings.-
      the effect of which would make available at rentals
      progressively lower compared to new towers which
      should be built in future near the loop stations.
  (b) making some provision for small scale activites in
      new towers with lower-rent subsidies paid for by way
      of some development bonus.

Adapted principle 3 : areas fringing the city centre.

Arising from the last item,it follows that,unlike the ideal,the
area immediately surrounding the CBD could not be high-density
residential only,because already established smallscale ventures
and enterprises should be left in the mixture.In many parts of
the mixed use areas,the ideal of higher residential accommodation
would also clash with other important social objectives,including
(a) retention of sound building stock for ecological reasons of
conserving energy (b) avoidance of disruption of existing
communities and (c) avoiding the destruction of the character
of the area for aesthetic and historical reasons.

Adaptation of the principle of increasing the number of
residents close to the City is therefore suggested as follows:

* high-density residential in very carefully selected
  parts only (See for examples,as listed above,item (1)
  (a) to (f) on p.22). These would be of an "estate" type.

* increased residential component in the mixture in most
  parts of the mixed use areas,by sophisticated methods
  that retain existing communities,the existing character
  of the area and the bulk of the existing building stock.
  (See,for examples listed items (2) to (6) on p.22)

# 4 CONCEPTS FOR MIXED USE AREAS (see also opposite)

DIAGRAMS SCHEMATIC ONLY — NOT ACTUAL

1 SPRAWLY C.B.D

— "RIBBON" MODEL

BOARD OF WORKS — PLANNING SCHEME

▯ Existing office growth
▮ Potential office growth
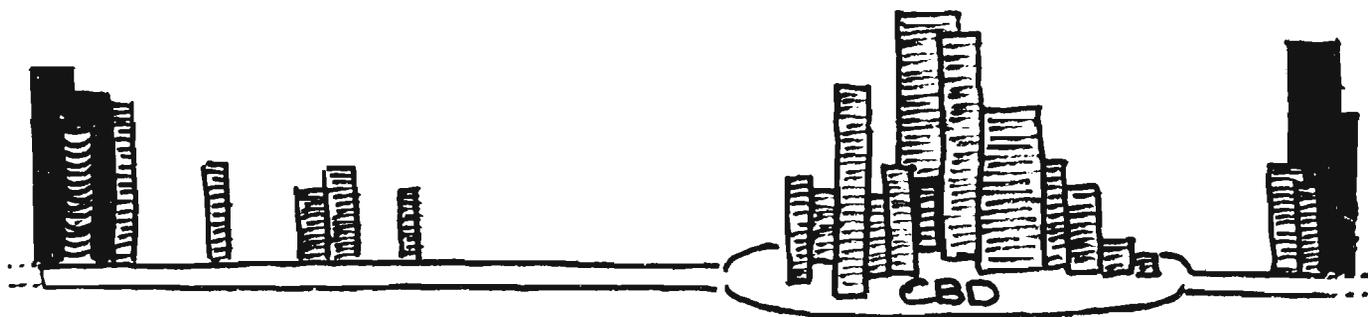
FEATURES

- Homogeneous zoned areas for offices, mainly in strips, — no height/density limit.— e.g. "Special Use 10" zone, "Local Business" zone etc. — exemplified by St Kilda Rd. (Contrary to criteria A and D)
- No concept of "mixed use" with small-scale offices only in the "mix". (Contrary to criteria C)
- No concept of encouraging residential uses in or near the C.B.D (Contrary to criteria A)
- Redevelopment taken for granted as normal right (Contrary to criteria B)

SCOREBOARD

CRITERIA	SCORE
(A) Residents close	✗
(B) Retains — community character, buildings	✗
(C) Helps small-scale	✗
(D) Helps public Transport	✗

2 SPRAWLY C.B.D

— "GRADED" MODEL

M.C.C PLANNING DEPARTMENT — MIXED USE AREA STUDY

▯ Existing office growth
▮ Potential office growth
⋯⋯ Density control graded
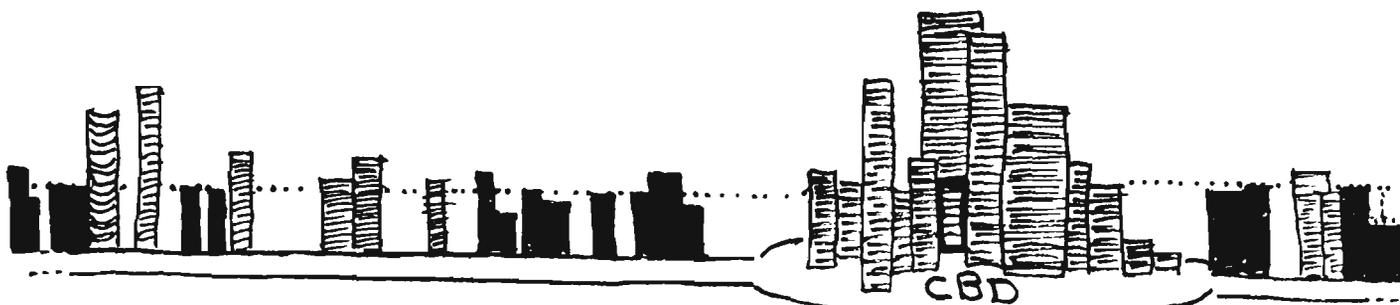
FEATURES

- Like model 1, permits sprawl of offices outside of C.B.D (Contrary to criteria D)
- Controls densities, but not heights, with higher densities closer to C.B.D — ranging from plot ratios of 3.5:1 to 5:1. (equivalent to typical pre-war city office heights) graded down to 2.5 or 1.5 in "outer fringes" of mixed use area (still contrary to criteria D)
- Bonuses to achieve highest densities include "site control" "set back", and "landscaping" — which assume re-development (Completely contrary to criteria B & C)
- "Residential use" is only one of 6 bonus-earners and not necessary to earn maximum plot ratio — and ∴ not really encouraged (So: criteria A Post to economic chance

SCOREBOARD

CRITERIA	SCORE
(A) Residents close	✗
(B) Retains — community character, buildings	✗
(C) Helps small-scale	✗
(D) Helps public transport	✗

4: CONCEPTS FOR MIXED USE AREAS (see also opposite)

DIAGRAMS SCHEMATIC ONLY — NOT ACTUAL

3 COMPACT C·B·D

— "TOP-HAT" MODEL

INTERPLAN – STRATEGY PLAN (AS RECOMMENDED)
LODER & BAYLY – PLANS FOR ST. KILDA RD.
(for South Melbourne and
St Kilda Councils)

Existing office growth
Potential C·B·D office growth
Potential "mixed" office/residential growth on site
Lower dotted line: office density
upper ······ office/residential density on site
↓ = High density residential

CBD
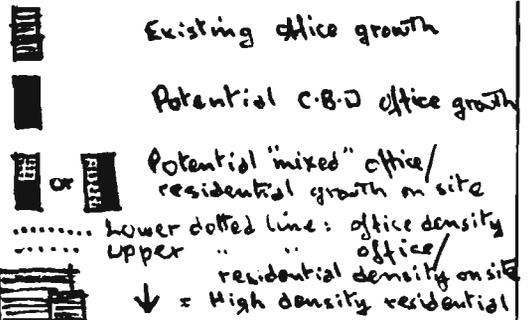
FEATURES : ● High density offices in CBD
● Residential to be in "the mix"
● Small-scale offices in "the mix"

● The diagram strictly relates to
(a) Interplan's Strategy Plan only although
(b) Loder & Bayly's plan for St. Kilda Rd (St. Melb)
and (c) " " " " " " " (St. Kilda)
are not markedly different in attitudes to
mixed use, density control and residential uses.

● Interplan scores fully for criteria A & D.
Not for criteria B however, because, unless
height limits are imposed as well as plot ratios,
and unless off-street parking positively restricted,
plot ratio 1·5:1 too destructive ≡ redevelopment.

● Regarding St Kilda Rd : is "small-scale"
sufficiently small (when so far from CBD) to
break ribbon development? And should
non-residential be expanded to the maximum
of estimated traffic? Hence the queries for C+D

SCOREBOARD

CRITERIA	(a) STRAT PLAN	(b) ST. KILDA RD. South Melb.	(c) St Kilda
Ⓐ Residents close	✓	✓	✓
Ⓑ Retains – community, character, buildings	✗	✓✗	✓
Ⓒ Helps small-scale	✓	?	?
Ⓓ Helps public transport	✓	?	?

4 COMPACT C·B·D

— "SOUP-BOWL" MODEL

"ECOSO EXCHANGE" – MODIFICATION OF STRATEGY PLAN
AND C·A·N REPORT OF NORTH MELB. ASSOC.

Existing office growth   ⋀⋀⋀ Existing building stock
Potential C&D office growth
Potential high-density residential growth
↓ = " " " on selected site
······ = (1) density of offices over C·B·D
(2) density residential on selected sites outside C·B·D

CBD
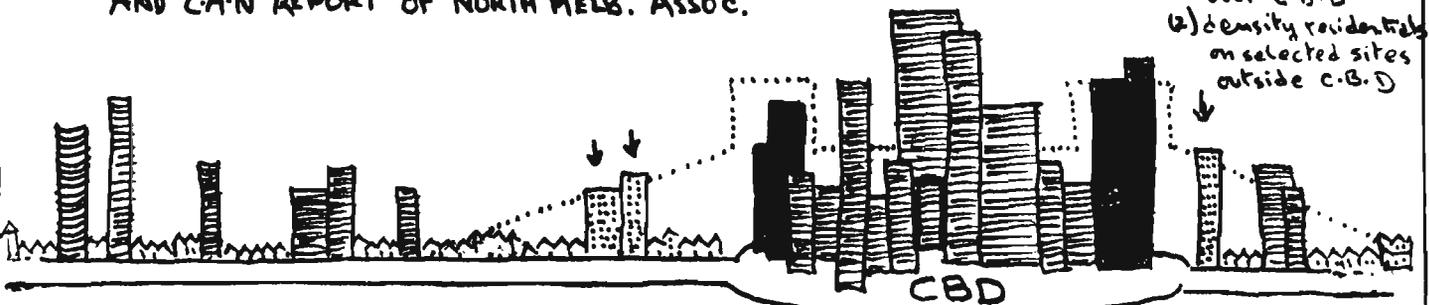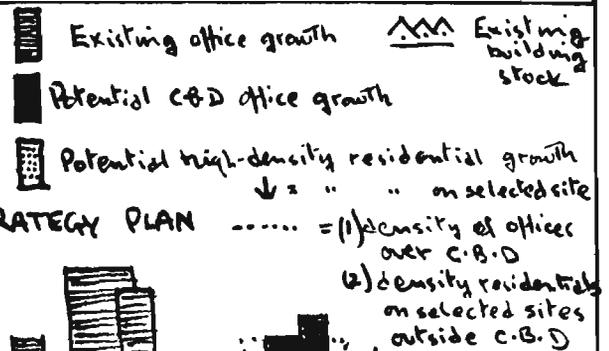
FEATURES

● High density offices in C·B·D
Leave 12-storey offices in centre of C·B·D.

● In mixed use area
Retain building stock, character of area and community
Convert buildings rather than demolish.
Permit expansion of premises where streetscape unaffected

● Small-scale offices only in "the mix"
All dwellings to be used for residential purposes.

● New high-density residential accommodation on a
few selected sites only.

SCOREBOARD

CRITERIA	SCORE
Ⓐ Residents close	✓
Ⓑ Retains – community character, buildings	✓
Ⓒ Helps small-scale	✓
Ⓓ Helps public transport	✓

Adapted principle 4 : crafts,hobbies and home industries.

There would not need to be any adaptation of this principle in
new high-density estates designed to embrace it,despite the fact
that there might need to be less ground space per person than in
suburban examples. It could be the form,rather than the content
that would be different. Thus,for example,noise-insulated
basements could serve for workshops,youth clubs,theatrettes,
reception rooms for parties;some private open spaces or childrens
play spaces could be in the elevated courts,roomy balconies or
roof gardens.

Of the older building stock,terrace and rowhouse sites are often
readily adaptable to creating small private courtyards at the rear
thus making room for common yardspace and facilities in the core
of the block.

Assessment of Four Current Concepts for Mixed Use Areas.

Finally,measured against the above four suggested principles as
adopted for Melbourne's CBD and inner areas (which,combined,link
back and assist the direction towards the stereotype of the
convivial community city),how can current practices or proposals
in Melbourne regarding the mixture of residential/non-residential
uses in and near the City be assessed?

We will answer this with a sheet of 4 schematic diagrams,each
with its scoresheet;and the diagrams will have concern especially
for the following criteria in relation to the question we have
just set,namely:-

   Does the option:

   A. increase the number of people living close to the city

   B. retain :   (a) the existing communities?
                 (b) the character of the area?
                 (c) the existing building stock?

   C. encourage small-scale enterprises and ventures?

   D. facilitate walking/cycling/public transport access to
      high-intensity offices?

We sound a warning note : nothing written nor conveyed by
impression in the diagrams should be taken to mean our advocacy
of any more high-rise office towers in the current economic
circumstances of acute over-supply of offices and undersupply
oh housing and community buildings;but strategic planning,is,
by its very nature looking forward at least a few decades,and
and it is most important that it lays down just where major
developments are to take place,if and when the time is ready
for such debelopments.

The diagrams,although in severely "shorthand" form,will,it is
hoped,convey the main general features of different options,with
a little study. It is not intended to supply a textual expansion
of the shorthand,which could rapidly expand into a book in any
attempt to do a thoroughgoing comparison and contrast as between,
the Planning Scheme,the Strategy Plan,the Mixed Use Areas study
and other similar reports as well as our own "Ecoso" proposals,
which are called this simply for identification(Readers of "Ecoso"
Exchange",of course,might have quite different ideas,and are
welcome to air them in later issues of this publication).

However,just two comments to assist anyone struggling with the
shorthand.

Firstly,densities expressed by plot ratio are "tricky" . It might
be felt that we have too severely assessed Interplan's

recommendation for the Strategy Plan as being potentially too
destructive in the mixed use areas by providing permitted
densities that would encourage redevelopment. A density of 1.5:1
sounds very low for office use - and even a density of 1.5:1 plus
250 habitable rooms per acre (= a plot ratio of about 2:1),
giving a total of 3.5:1 (4.5:1 for St.Kilda Rd.) may sound
modest.

It would be too,if the building covered the whole site. But,with
traditional offstreet parking requirements and/or setbacks
and/or landscaping,and/or inclusion of carparking floors in the
building (that do not count),the formula could well give rise to
mini-towers.By way of comparison,the 12-storey Children's
Hospital flats in Flemington Road,or the Jennings-type flat
developments in Carlton or North Melbourne,are both said to be
of a plot ratio of only about 1:1. If this is so,imaging what 3
times the density could produce !

The second comment is the query raised as to whether the office
densities down St.Kilda Road,especially St.Kilda Rd (formerly
"High St.") St.Kilda are not too high,and whether they have not
been set "as high as the traffic will bear" as a criteria,rather
than being set sufficently low to really carry out the intent of
the Strategy Plan.

The recommendations for St.Kilda,although infinitely to be
preferred to the Board of Works "Amendment 45" proposals
(originally providing city-type plot ratios requested by the
St.Kilda Council before it changed course),still provide plot
ratios as high as 3.8:1 for a mixture on a big site where the
residential component exceeds 50%. The impact of this has been
shrewdly deflated by the authors of the report estimating that
the outcome of the formula (not its theoretical maximum
potential) would only give an averaged plot ratio for the whole
area of about 2:1 of which half would be residential and half
office. Also explanation of the reasons for the specifics of the
formula,as a warning of too much traffic if higher ratios were
to be adopted,which throws some doubt as to whether the authors
are really concerned with encouragement of public transport.

However,our summary is that the Board of Works Planning Scheme
and the Mixed Use Area Study of the Melbourne City Council
Planning Department are both unacceptable,unless it is for
setting the direction towards the car-city stereotype. The
Strategy Plan,and still more the "Ecoso" proposals are more
consistent with the tracked city stereotype.

...The Mayor was dumb, and the council stood
As if they were changed into blocks of wood..
Pied Piper of Hamelin

"Age" Cartoon 7-4-76