Victoria University of Technology

Faculty of Arts

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Master of Arts in Town Planning

``DUAL OCCUPANCY AND ITS IMPACT ON
METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN MELBOURNE
(1986 - 1992)"

Submitted By
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August 1999

DECLARATION

I, **Kathryn Mitchell** declare that this thesis
entitled **''Dual Occupancy and its Impact on
Metropolitan Growth in Melbourne (1986-1992)"** is
my own work and has not been submitted previously,
in whole or in part in respect of any other
academic award.

August 1999

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ABSTRACT

Dual occupancy, the development of two dwellings on a single allotment, was initially formulated by the Victorian Ministry of Housing in the late 1970s as a housing policy. In the 1980s it became a planning issue and was then developed as a key plank of metropolitan planning policy by the (then) Ministry for Planning and Environment, resulting in specific controls being introduced into metropolitan planning schemes in 1985. By 1987 it had become a major mechanism for the implementation of the government's urban consolidation policy.

This thesis traces the evolution of dual occupancy policy and discusses its impact on urban consolidation of metropolitan Melbourne. It explores three major questions:

- How did dual occupancy become part of metropolitan planning policy?

- What impact did dual occupancy have on housing and building options from its inception (1985/86 to 1991/92)?

- Did dual occupancy contribute to increased growth rates in the established municipalities of the metropolitan area?

This thesis involved the application of a number of different research methodologies, including interviews, analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data and some literature reviews.

Interviews were conducted with several key people who were involved in formulation of dual occupancy policy. This enabled the policy to be put into its proper metropolitan context.

A central element of the thesis involved a detailed analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics census data for years 1985/86 through to 1991/92, including analysis of building approval statistics, population data, household size and household numbers for all municipalities within the designated metropolitan area of Melbourne. This allowed a number of trends to be established and observations to be made about the impact of dual occupancy developments on overall housing and population characteristics.

The research represented in this thesis demonstrates that although dual occupancy was successful as a form of housing, it had little success as a contributor to urban consolidation. The data in this thesis shows that a large number of dual occupancies proportionate to other types of dwellings were built in the established and growth municipalities, but this form of development had a cost. Dual occupancy did not contribute to stabilising the population of established areas, nor did it contribute to reducing the rate of growth of developing (outer) municipalities.

AUTHOR'S NOTE:

This thesis was substantially researched and prepared from 1991 to 1993, following which it lay abandoned for some time. The thesis had to be abandoned at this stage due to family commitments, including the birth and rearing of a third child. After significant encouragement and support from colleagues and peers to revisit this thesis, a substantial effort was made to complete this work and to submit it for accreditation. It is acknowledged that this work has taken a long time from conception to commencement to completion and that it has not been an easy journey.

This thesis represents an examination of the impact of dual occupancy on urban consolidation of the Melbourne Metropolitan area from 1986 to 1992, and it should be read as a stand alone piece of research within that timeframe for which it was prepared.

There has not been any attempt to update the research, but it is recognised that events have overtaken what is represented in this thesis. In particular, there has been a complete restructuring of local government boundaries, there have been numerous policy changes, dual occupancy provisions have changed, and the government has embarked on a major project of planning reform. Policy documents such as the Victorian Code for Residential Development have been superseded by the Good Design Guide for Medium Density Development (which itself is now under review), the Government has introduced Living Suburbs as it's main metropolitan planning policy and all municipalities are nearing completion of introducing a new system of planning reform. Notwithstanding this, this thesis provides a useful analysis of government policy within a particular timeframe.

During the course of the preparation of this thesis, there are a number of people who I would like to thank for their help and encouragement. These include:

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1980s, both the Labor and Liberal State Governments of Victoria had been increasingly concerned about the outward growth of Melbourne, often referred to as ''*urban sprawl''*.   This concern stemmed from a genuine worry that the geographical area of Melbourne was getting too large and that the various levels of government would not be able to provide the necessary levels of social services and physical infrastructure.   At the same time, changing demographics, including an increase in the percentage of adult only households had altered the need and demand for a traditional family home comprising three bedroom single detached home on a separate allotment.   By 1987, the Cain Labor government adopted a policy of urban consolidation in order to:

> *arrest population losses from established urban areas and to reduce outward growth rates …* (MPE; 1987:34).

Dual occupancy (the development of two separate dwellings on a single allotment) was initially formulated by the Victorian Ministry of Housing in the late 1970s as a housing option and policy.   In the 1980s it was taken up by the Ministry of Planning and Environment and emerged as a planning issue which was then incorporated as a plank of metropolitan planning policy, resulting in specific dual occupancy planning controls being introduced into all metropolitan planning schemes in 1985 as a statewide control.   By 1987 it had become a major mechanism for the implementation of the government's urban consolidation policy.   It had thus become a key aspect of policy, widely promoted and enforced as a major tool of urban consolidation.

However, since its inception in 1985, through to the early 1990s, there had not been a thorough policy review of the effectiveness of dual occupancy in achieving its stated

aims. Such a review was timely, if not overdue by 1992. Planning is an evolutionary process and as part of this process, planning policies must be reviewed regularly and must be seen to be responsive to the aspirations and goals of the community, as well as to the objectives and aims of the policy itself. This thesis is based on a review of dual occupancy policy in the context of urban consolidation and it seeks to determine whether or not the policy was effective in contributing to, or achieving, urban consolidation in the metropolitan area of Melbourne.

At the time of this research, dual occupancy policy had been in place for almost ten years, and there had been little monitoring and evaluation of its effectiveness by governments since its inception. This thesis will demonstrate that the policy had not successfully achieved its stated goals and objectives, and had not succeeded in arresting population and household decline in established urban areas. It was however one of a number of early initiatives, which together with lifestyle changes have subsequently resulted in a remarkable change.

The dual occupancy provisions form one of the measures aimed at implementing the Government's Metropolitan Urban Consolidation policy and arose from a number of housing and planning studies undertaken in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This came about largely in response to the decline in the traditional ``nuclear family unit'' as the predominant household type, the increase in single person and single parent households, the increasing physical and social infrastructure costs associated with continuous outward urban development of the metropolitan area, the increasing awareness of the need to conserve energy and promote energy efficiency in residential development, the ageing of the metropolitan population, increasing interest rates and the increasing cost of housing and land and house/land, particularly towards the end of the 1980s.

The background to this thesis lies in the critique of state planning policy offered by various planning and housing policy observers. It could be contended that ''public planning policy'' generally existed in a policy vacuum. Several authors supported this view in relation to planning policy. McLoughlin and Huxley (1986), McLoughlin (1987, 1991, 1992) and Eccles and Bryant (1991) in particular were critical of the lack of evaluation and monitoring of planning policy in Victoria.

McLoughlin had argued that in order to analyse public policy in its correct context, an understanding of the history and intent of the policy is of critical importance:

> *A set of phenomena cannot really be said to be the result or effect of planning or policy making (urban or otherwise) unless it can be shown that some intention, purpose or goal is involved. Where these intentions come from and how they figure in the creation and implementation of policy is very much an empirical matter* (McLoughlin; 1987:6).

In discussing dual occupancy McLoughlin provided a useful framework in ''*Shaping Melbourne's Future?*'' :

> *in order for any monitoring and review of policies to occur, their content must be expressed in forms, which make it possible to compare outcomes with intentions .....*

and further:

> *…land use planning law of Victoria has never contained any requirement for careful and continuous monitoring and occasional review* (McLoughlin; 1992:145).

A British commentator and critic of town planning issues, Eric Reade suggested that academic work and research in the

field of urban and regional planning should have as its primary focus constant evaluation of the impacts of public policy. He stated that:

> *A system that emphasises 'pure rules of law' has the virtues of simplicity and comprehensibility and is also manifestly fair, in the sense that we can all see what the rules are. It may however become rigid if its purposes and its effects are not constantly challenged by researchers''* (Reade; 1987:11).

Planning is a political process, and government planning policy in Victoria in the 1970s and 1980s had rarely been subjected to intense monitoring and analysis. Reade suggested that planners have failed to develop and explore planning theory, which may assist in constructive evaluation processes:

> *To be able to discuss land use planning sensibly, one first needs some theory about it. But this it is meant some reasonably credible account as to why it might be attempted and what it might achieve. Planners themselves have failed to develop such theory* (Reade; 1987:6).

Eccles and Bryant drew on the work of Reade and others to form the conclusion that:

> *Town planning authorities do very little monitoring and evaluation of either their policies or their implementation mechanisms. This explains why planning is in fact all too often a reactive process —— it occurs in reaction to problems rather than as a means of preventing (them) in the first place.* (1991:7).

The research in this thesis aims to critically evaluate dual occupancy as an instrument of State Government planning policy. It will demonstrate that there had been

very little systematic in-house analysis or review of planning policy by the relevant State Ministries/Departments. In order to achieve this aim, the thesis traces the derivation and evolution of dual occupancy policy, which emerged in the late 1970s through the Ministry of Housings, determines how effective dual occupancy has been as an instrument of urban consolidation and examines the impacts of dual occupancy on urban morphology.

To undertake this research, the thesis employed a range of methodologies, including interviews, analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics and other data, and literature reviews. Interviews were conducted with several key people who were involved in formulation of dual occupancy policy. Where data or opinion from the interviews has been incorporated into the text, the name of the informant has been shown in brackets.

Analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data was undertaken principally for years 1985/86 through to 1991/92, including an analysis of building approval statistics, population data, household size and household numbers for all municipalities within the designated metropolitan area of Melbourne. This area included some 56 municipalities and is shown as Figure 1. This allowed a number of trends to be established and observations to be made about the impact of dual occupancy developments on overall housing and population characteristics. Since this research was commenced however, Local Government boundaries in Melbourne and Victoria have changed, the details of which is indicated in Appendix 1. However this dissertation uses the former Local Government boundaries as it is the basis upon which all the statistical information has been collected. Those municipalities were also the basis of the planning processes in the critical years from 1970 to 1992.
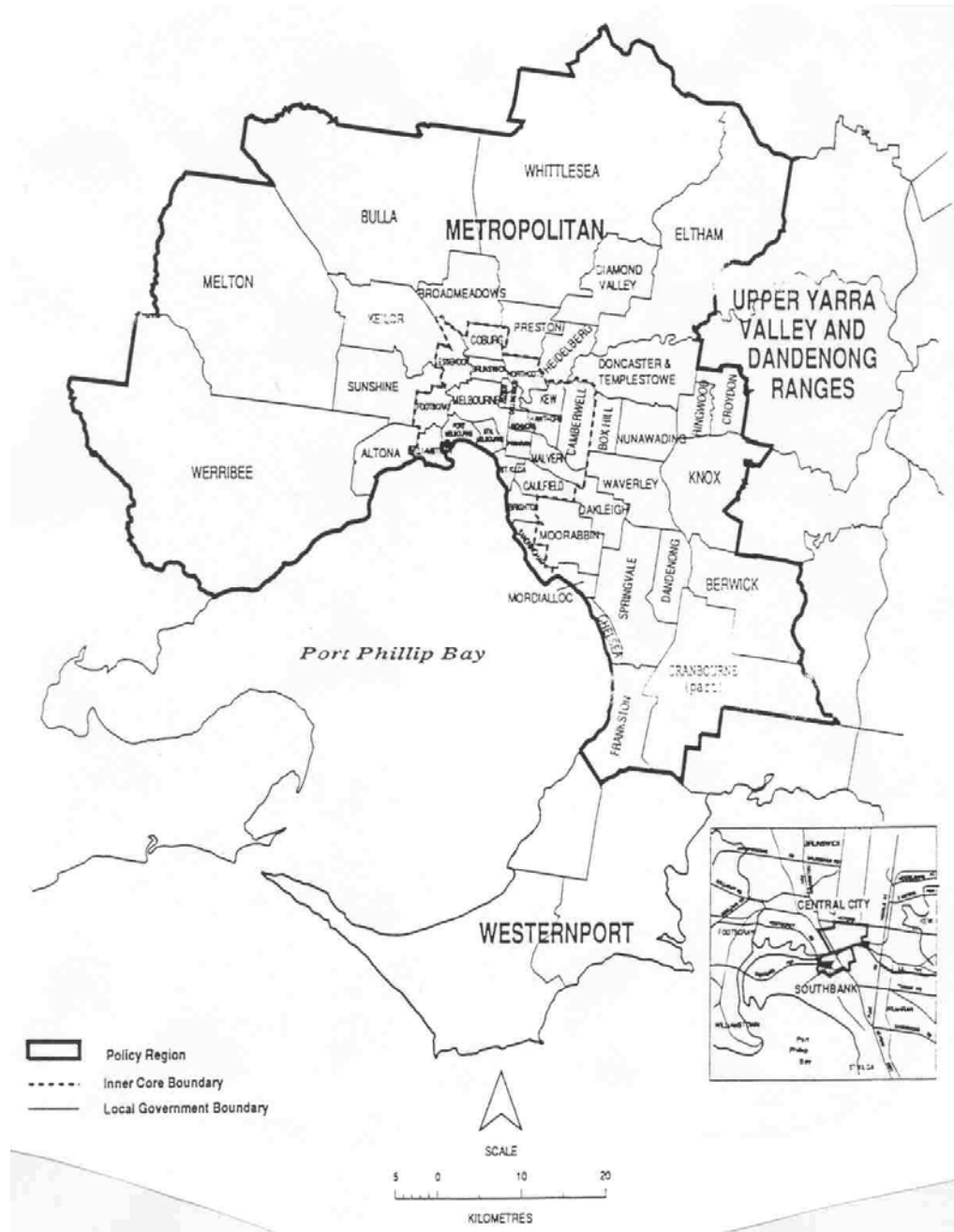
Figure 1:   Metropolitan   Area   of   Melbourne   (Pre Amalgamation) from ABS Catalogue No. 8733.2

The collation and presentation of this data in order to provide an analysis of the effect of dual occupancy on metropolitan Melbourne has not been without problems and it has been difficult to use the empirical data available to

establish specific trends and impacts. Castells expressed some concern about the use of empirical data in sociological research:

> *Research data, to be something other than a photograph of reality at a precise point in time must be used to verify hypothesis which themselves have to be integrated into a cumulative evolving body of knowledge.* (Castells 1977:61)

Castells (1977) recognised that urban sociology is not a scientific domain, nor a field of observation, but he described it rather as an ideological artefact. Lindblom in his paper *The Science of Muddling Through* (Faludi 1973) questioned the policy making process and its comparison and relation with theory, and suggested the evaluation of the policy process and empirical analysis to be intertwined.

Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses dual occupancy in the context of the Victorian legislative and planning policy framework, and explores its emergence as a response to changing household needs, population characteristics and land development factors. Further, it places dual occupancy in context of housing policy and then its emergence as a government planning policy, and discusses its statutory planning implementation mechanisms (ie. through metropolitan planning schemes).

Metropolitan planning policy from the early 1920s through to the 1970s when the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works was the metropolitan planning authority is discussed in **Chapter 3.** In the 1980s, local councils became more responsible for their own planning controls and local policies, and the Ministry of Planning and Environment (1983 - 1990) became the metropolitan planning authority. Some of the key planning and housing policy initiatives (1970 - 1992) and how they were influential (or otherwise) in shaping dual occupancy policy are discussed here.

The development of dual occupancy and its transition from a housing initiative to a metropolitan planning policy in a period from 1979 to 1985 is discussed in **Chapter 4**. The key aspect of this research was in the form of interviews with many of the major players who were involved in this process. Dual occupancy was initially developed as one of several housing options to replace the high rise flat construction that was occurring in the inner suburbs of Melbourne. New forms of housing were explored as an alternative to high rise development, but for dual occupancy to be implemented, it eventually became a planning mechanism. Many housing and planning analysts at the time expressed criticism of dual occupancy policy, particularly of its role as a means of urban consolidation.

Interviews took place with the following people: Eugene Kneebone, former General Manager of the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division, Ministry of Housing; Ken Burr, former Director of Planning, Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works; Bill Chandler, Director of Loder and Bayly, who in 1980 was seconded to the Ministry of Housing to prepare a report on dual occupancy; David Rae, former Assistant Director, Regional Planning, Department of Planning and Housing (formerly with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works); Dennis Ingemann, Manager of Special Housing Branch, Ministry of Housing; Les Groves, Chief Executive Officer, Housing Industry Association; Professor David Yencken, Head of Landscape Architecture School of Environmental Planning at University of Melbourne, former Director of the Ministry for Planning and Environment; Paul Goldstone, Planning Officer, Ministry of Planning and Development; and David Whitney, Director of Planning, Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd.

The extent of dual occupancy dwellings as a component of the private housing market is detailed and analysed in **Chapter 5**. The chapter differentiates between dwelling unit commencement and building approval, and dual occupancy and other types of dwelling construction such as houses and

other residential buildings. Dual occupancies in the metropolitan area of Melbourne are shown in absolute numbers and as percentages of total housing approvals. Dual occupancies are discussed in terms of location, ie. where they have, and have not, occurred. The analysis of location patterns indicates that dual occupancy as a percentage of total building approval has identified distinct locational trends.

Chapter 6 further explores census and household data, in order to correlate dual occupancy data with municipal population growth rates and locational characteristics. Analysis of occupancy rates over a forty year period exhibits a steady decline in dual occupancy rates for all municipalities over that period, but also highlights the difficulty of increasing the populations in inner and urban areas through dual occupancy, principally because of changing household structures. This leads to a discussion on peak population figures and the difficulty in achieving any noticeable increase, particularly due to changing demographic structures, and in particular smaller household sizes.

The major findings of this thesis are presented in **Chapter 7**. The key conclusion of this thesis, based on the research indicates that although dual occupancies as a percentage of total building approvals, and the total number of dual occupancies built could be considered to be high, dual occupancy has not contributed to the urban consolidation of metropolitan Melbourne in any meaningful way. As a policy mechanism for urban consolidation, dual occupancy had largely failed to have an impact in the time period of this research, but it did provide a start in arresting the decline in population in the established residential areas of metropolitan Melbourne and it led to further policy initiatives.

2. THE VICTORIAN LEGISLATIVE AND PLANNING POLICY FRAMEWORK

The context of the Victorian planning system and the role of policy development within that system is discussed in this chapter. From the 1960s through to the late 1980s, the Victorian planning framework was the subject of numerous changes, particularly with regard to the legislative changeover from the *Town and Country Planning Act* to the *Planning and Environment Act* 1987, the loss of the planning function and metropolitan responsibility of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and the increased emphasis of each municipality in the metropolitan are to be responsible for the administration of its own Planning Scheme.

Pre 1960s, much of Melbourne's town planning was undertaken by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board (MMBW). However in 1969, the Town and Country Board was established and the following table provides an overview of the various government planning portfolios, the key dates and the Ministers responsible for town planning.

Form of Govt	Dates	Name of Department	Minister in Office
Liberal	1969-1981	Town and Country	Geoff Hayes
		Planning Board	Rupert Hamer
			Alan Hunt
Liberal	1981-1983	Department of Planning	Lou Lieberman
Labor	1983-1989	Ministry for Planning	Evan Walker
		and Environment	Jim Kennan
			Tom Roper
Labor	1989-1990	Department of Planning and Urban Growth	Andrew McCutcheon
Labor	1990-1992	Department of Planning	Andrew McCutcheon
Liberal	1992-1995	Department of Planning	Robert Maclellan

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                                    and Development
Liberal                 1995-1999   Department of Infrastructure   Robert
Maclellan
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> *Note: From 1975 to 1982, Metropolitan Planning was a ''Troika''*
> *with three departments having planning responsibility - those*
> *being the Department of Infrastructure, The Melbourne and*
> *Metropolitan Board of Works and the Town and Country Planning*
> *Board.*

2.1 Administration of the Victorian Planning System

For the time frame of this research, the *Town and Country Planning Act* 1968 essentially administered the Victorian planning system from the 1960s until 1987, from which that time, the *Planning and Environment Act* 1987 came into effect.

The Town and Country Planning Act 1968 provided for the making of a Planning Scheme for any area and the contents of a Scheme were restricted to all or any of the matters set out in the Third Schedule to the Act and which may have included a statement of the objectives which were intended to be achieved. The Schedule generally allowed for the prohibition, restriction or regulation of the development and use of land and the reservation of land for public purposes. The Act also provided for the introduction of an Interim Development Order (IDO) until such time as the Planning Scheme came into effect. An IDO was designed to provide temporary control over the use and development of land so as not to prejudice the intentions of a proposed Planning Scheme.

The Act provided for the MMBW to continue to be the planning authority for the metropolitan area and subject to Ministerial approval, to delegate to Councils powers and responsibilities as it saw fit.

The Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme came into effect, following approval by the Governor-in-Council on 22 May 1968. The scheme comprised two parts, a set of maps covering the metropolitan are and an Ordinance which were the regulations governing the scheme. The maps showed how the various zones and reservations related to particular areas of land and the Ordinance set out those uses which were permitted, discretionary or prohibited in each of the zones shown on the maps. The ability to use or develop land in accordance with the zone provisions required a town planning permit, or a rezoning to change the Ordinance.

The Ordinance contained a table for each of the zones in the scheme, and each table comprised five columns. Column 1 contained the name of the zone; Column 2 specified those uses which could be unconditionally carried out in the zone; Column 3 contained those uses which were permissible subject to specified conditions; Column 4 contained those uses which required planning permission, ie discretionary uses; and Column 5 contained those uses which were prohibited in all circumstances and for which a permit could not be issued. The composition of the table of zones largely influences the nature of activity within a particular zone. (Appendix 2 provides an indication of how these tables were presented in a fairly typical Planning Scheme at that time.)

It is important to note that it is the exercise of discretion under the provisions of Column 4 that accounts for a large amount of the day to day to administration of the scheme. Apart from the tables, the Ordinance sets out the need for consent for certain buildings, works or subdivisions and these requirements could be, but were not necessarily, specific to particular zones. Much of the control over use and development within the metropolitan area was exercised by the Scheme itself and Ken Burr, who in 1983/84 was the Chief Planner at the MMBW indicated that the structure of the controls was such that the majority of

new development could be carried out without resorting to the need to exercise discretion.

The Scheme provided for anyone to make an application for a town planning permit (so long as the owner of the land had been given consent notified) and the authority responsible for considering the application was generally given two months to make its determination. Failure to make a decision within this time gave the applicant the right to appeal to the Planning Appeals Board, an independent body established by the Minister. The Board could also hear appeals against refusal of permits, conditions of permits or third party appeals against the issue of a permit.

Amendments to the Scheme could originate from within the MMBW or from outside applicants, generally Councils and Landowners, or Government agencies. A request could be made to the Board for consideration of a proposal and a subsequent request to place an amendment on public exhibition. The Act required a public exhibition period of three months for a reservation, or one month for zone amendments. The Board would consider the merits of the proposed amendment and if it was not opposed to it, would agree to place it on exhibition. Following the exhibition period, the amendment and any submissions received were considered by the Board who may have then adopted the amendment and forwarded it to the Minister for further consideration and then gazettal. If the Board was not receptive to the submissions or was not mindful to adopt the amendment, an Independent Panel could be appointed to consider the amendment and submissions and then make a report to the Board with its recommendation on whether the amendment should be adopted.

There was no direct procedure laid down for the consideration of proposed amendments by the Board, however the *Town and Country Planning Act* provided wide powers of intervention by the Minister to either directly amend the

Scheme (Section 32(6)) or instruct the Board to exhibit an amendment.

This form of planning control changed in the 1980s because of two significant factors after the election of the Cain Labor Government in 1983. Firstly, the planning operations of the MMBW were absorbed by the Ministry for Planning and Environment in 1985, and secondly the *Town and Country Planning Act* was repealed by the *Planning and Environment Act* in 1987. Each municipality in Victoria was responsible for developing and implementing its own Planning Scheme, although the relevant provisions of the State and Regional Sections of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme had overriding weight.

Eccles and Bryant (1991) indicated that the *Planning and Environment Act* 1987 did not change the basic structure of the planning system that developed under the *Town and Country Act,* however it did change some of the ways in which the system operated. They noted that:

> *The Planning and Environment Act 1987 and that is a planning scheme based on the municipality to which the scheme applies provide for only one form of planning control. There is no provision for IDOs.* (Eccles and Bryant, 1991:20, 21)

It should be noted that in effect, IDOs were allowed as temporary amendments to local planning schemes.

Through Section 7, the *Planning and Environment Act* 1987 provided for a State and Local Section within each scheme, and a Regional Section for the Metropolitan, Geelong, LaTrobe Valley, Westernport and Upper Yarra Valley and Dandenong Ranges Regions. (Eccles and Bryant 1991)

2.2 Metropolitan Planning Policy

Metropolitan planning policy is provided for in Planning Schemes through the provisions of Clause 14: Regional Planning Policies. Housing and planning policy relevant to this issue is specifically provided through Clauses 14-1: Pattern of future metropolitan development, and Clause 14-2: Housing and urban consolidation. These policy clauses are included as Appendix 3. The Metropolitan Policy Region is defined in the scheme as well as the Strategic Plan for the area, and these are shown as Figures 2a and 2b.
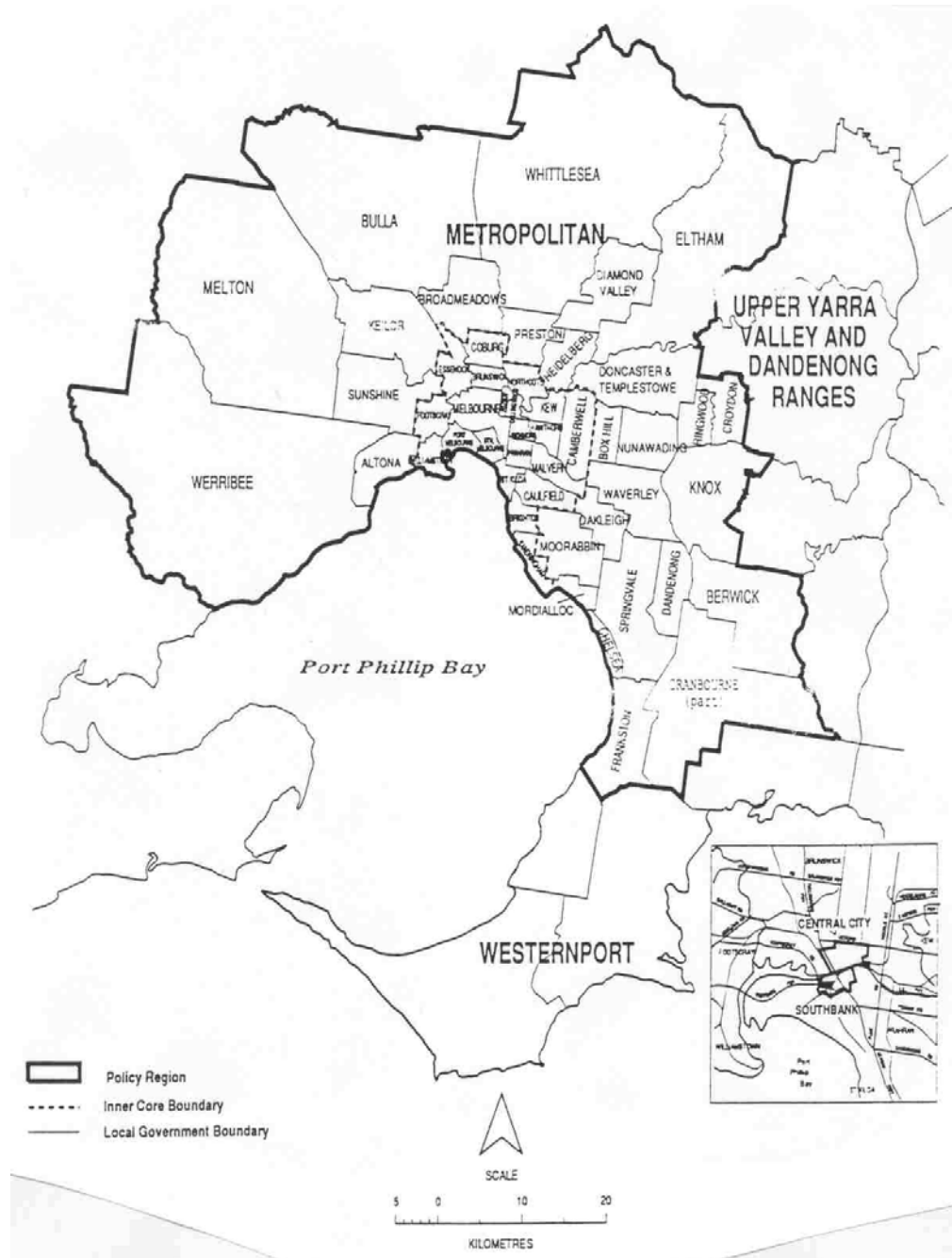
Figure 2a: Metropolitan Planning Policy Region
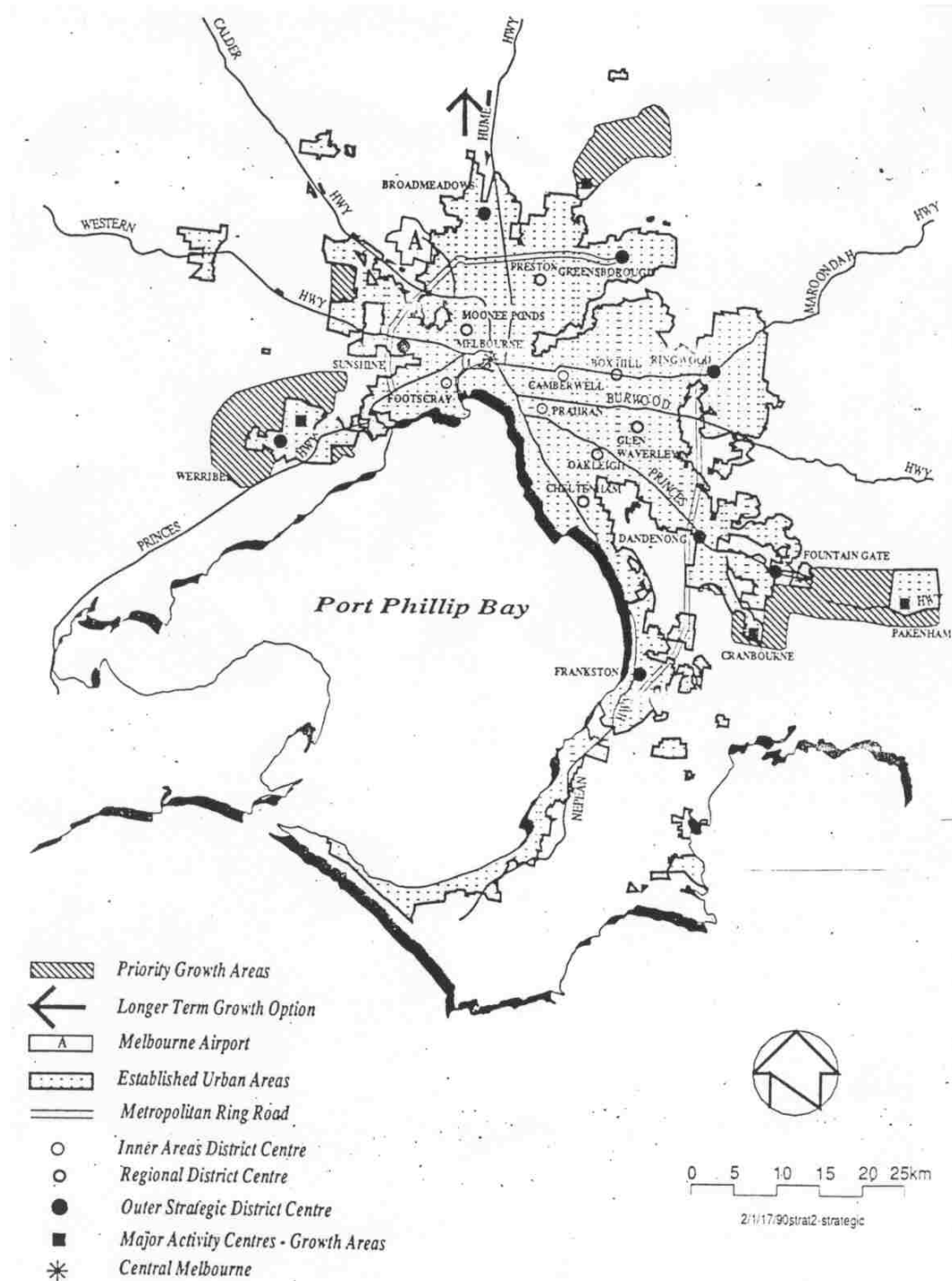
Figure 2b: Metropolitan Strategic Plan Area

The relevant provisions of the Metropolitan Policy are as follows:

14-1   *Pattern   of   future   metropolitan development*

It is metropolitan policy to:

* *Enhance and consolidate residential and employment opportunities in the established urban area and promote higher household densities in both existing and future residential areas*

* *......*

14-2   *Housing and urban consolidation*

It is metropolitan policy that:

* *A range of housing opportunities to meet the diverse housing needs of the community are provided and that principles of choice and affordability are promoted.*

* *.....*

* *.....*

* *A range of lot sizes, multi-dwelling development and dual occupancy housing in all appropriate residential areas are developed as key components of urban consolidation.*

* *Opportunities are provided for increased dwelling densities to reduce population losses in established areas.*

- *The Victorian Code for Residential Development - Multi-dwellings, November 1993, is used in the assessment of applications for multi-dwellings and residential buildings, and for dual occupancy under Clause 20A-2.*

- *.....*

- *Housing stock is retained to reflect community needs and urban consolidation objectives.*

In considering applications for development or an amendment to any scheme, the provisions of these policies must be taken into account.

2.3 Urban and Residential Consolidation

The previous sections of this chapter have described the context of the planning system in place at the time when the issue of urban consolidation began to become an issue of strategic and metropolitan significance. In order to understand the concept of urban consolidation better, it was important to understand the context in which it was developed. At the time there were some key debates about urban consolidation and its various interpretations. The relationship between the planning system and consolidation policy is more fully explored in Chapter 3.

Planners (including those at state and local government level and those in private practice), researchers/academics, politicians (including state and local, ie. councillors), real estate agents, builders and developers held different understandings and perceptions of what urban consolidation meant, and what was to be achieved by polices supporting it. Rosenberg (1987) attempted to provide a range of common definitions put forward by other

researchers applicable to urban consolidation. She found that:

> *the definition of what constitutes urban consolidation differs among researchers and that these differences can be divided into three areas, namely macro — economic efficiency, the provision for human need and the processes directed towards its attainment. This specific definition given by a researcher varies as a result of the importance placed on these issues.* Rosenberg (1987).

She held that writers who defined consolidation in macro economic terms focussed on the social and economic improvements in urban structure that would result. For example, Roseth used a broader definition of consolidation which involved increases in population or dwellings, or both. De Monchaux disagreed with the inclusion of dwellings within the definition and restricted his definition towards an increase in gross population densities (Rosenberg; 1987). Bunker extended the meaning of population to include higher densities of both living and working populations. In 1987, the Victorian Ministry of Planning and Environment defined consolidation in similar terms, and indicated that it was a policy directed towards:

> *retaining population levels which already exist,*

in established areas, and:

> *while consolidation means additional dwellings and households, it does not necessarily mean more people.* (Ministry for Planning and Environment; 1987).

Few writers specifically defined urban consolidation in terms of household need.

Others avoided giving a clear definition of urban consolidation and instead focussed on the means for its general encouragement (Bunker and Orchard). For example, Landa believed that consolidation represented a change of approach in urban management, which removed the many constraints that impeded the adaptation of built up areas. Due to this, some writers focussed on the deregulation of local authority planning and building controls as a means of freeing up the housing market to achieve consolidation.

At a Federal Government Housing Summit held in March 1989, some participants pointed to the fact that land use solutions were not sufficient in reducing the present housing crisis and therefore extended the mechanisms towards increasing household access to shelter to include Federal and State Government monetary and fiscal polices. Other writers incorporated a broader definition such that consolidation being an objective that would allow the housing market to meet the preferences of households in each area.

Rosenberg defined urban consolidation to mean:

> *That process that will provide a more compact metropolitan region by increasing the density of both residential and working populations.* (Rosenberg; 1989)

It is considered that the definition put forward by the (then) Victoria Ministry for Planning and Environment (MPE), which was defined in a series of papers presented a range of seminars to coincide with the release of ''*Shaping Melbourne's Future*'' in 1987, be a suitable definition for this thesis particularly with respect to the review of the aims and objectives of dual occupancy policy.

Urban consolidation policy at that time was directed towards:

> *retaining population levels which already exist in established areas, and while consolidation means additional dwelling and households, it does not necessarily mean more people* (MPE; 1987).

This definition recognised that there was a need for improved use of existing areas and infrastructure services and facilities, and it also recognised the changing structure of households in Metropolitan Melbourne, particularly within established areas. Chapter 4 of this research takes up the issue that an increase in dwellings does not necessarily mean an increase in population and to ''*achieve*'' urban consolidation in the built form may not necessarily lead to the achievement of increased population levels.

Badcock (1984) contended that the outer areas of Australian cities were purpose built around the use of the private car and they lacked the structural adaptability of inner areas, a view increasingly shared by other writers (Beed, Kilmartin and Thorns). Badcock further indicated that strong government support given at this time at state level to urban consolidation reflected growing concern that poor, jobless households would be stranded by fuel and transport shortages on the outer fringes. Through a paper presented to a BOMA seminar on metropolitan planning in November 1990, it is understood that Andrew McCutcheon, the Minister for Planning from 1990 to 1992, made this view clear to his audience.

It is necessary to distinguish between urban consolidation and residential consolidation and the Governments metropolitan policy of 1987 is quite specific in its intended objectives for residential consolidation policy as far as metropolitan growth is concerned. This policy, which differed slightly to urban consolidation policy was more directed towards managing growth in the Melbourne metropolitan area, and it had as its main aims:

> *Residential consolidation will achieve more*
> *intensive development in established urban areas.*
> *It will reduce population losses in the core and*
> *inner ring. It will keep the population in the*
> *middle ring stable, mean more growth in the outer*
> *ring and less on the fringe.* (Ministry for
> Planning and Environment; 1987:36)

The policy proposed that this would be achieved by
developing sites that had become redundant for other uses
(eg former industrial sites, schools and the like), and
providing for more medium density developments. The
outcome of this would be a more compact metropolitan area
with greater residential densities in established urban
areas.

McLoughlin was critical of the way in which the Government
developed its urban consolidation strategies and did not
consider that increasing residential densities would
achieve much:

> *Increasing net residential densities ..... with*
> *the object of ''saving' total land demand is*
> *subject to rapidly diminishing returns .....*
> *policies for density increase are not a very*
> *effective part of an urban consolidation*
> *strategy.* (McLoughlin 1991)

The Hon. Andrew McCutcheon, in his speech to the Federation
of Housing Societies of Victoria State Convention in
February 1992, indicated his definition of urban
consolidation as follows:

> *Essentially urban consolidation means slowing the*
> *population drift from built up areas. It means*
> *encouraging more people to live in established*
> *areas rather than migrate to fringe suburbs.*
> (McCutcheon:1992)

One component of implementing the broad urban consolidation policies that the Government advocated and introduced was the development of a more refined dual occupancy policy and this thesis attempts to determine the success of that policy. It is recognised that there were limitations to developing this line of research and one of the limitations whether there has been enough time since the policy was implemented to properly analyse and then make conclusions about the impact of dual occupancy on the metropolitan area of Melbourne in the seven year time period this thesis has adopted. Castells pursued this issue in some of his work and questioned whether research of this type could really explain sociological processes at work:

> *While some urban problems are highly regarded as priorities in political programs ..... urban sociology seems more and more incapable of providing scientific answers to these problems, ie it can describe problems, but seems incapable of explaining the processes at work.* (Castells, 1977:61)

This also suggests that while the type of research undertaken in this thesis is appropriate and valid, it should only be seen as being indicative of social processes, and unable to be considered in the same way as pure scientific research.

2.4 Dual Occupancy Policy

Dual occupancy was one component of the Victorian State Government's Urban Consolidation Policy, which formed one of the major themes of metropolitan planning policy as outlined in ''*Shaping Melbourne's Future*'' 1987:

> ***Urban Consolidation*** *- achieving a greater proportion of future urban growth within established urban areas* (MPE; 1987:1).

It also impinged on another major theme of metropolitan planning policy, that of Housing Choice and Affordability:

> *providing a wider range of housing choices and improving housing affordability* (MPE; 1987:1).

The State Government through the (then) Department of Planning and Urban Growth (and all of its predecessors) provided direction for strategic planning policy initiatives, both for the State of Victoria, as well as for the designated metropolitan area of Melbourne. This government was committed to the concept of consolidation and had as one its planning major aims, to consolidate residential opportunities in the established urban area and to promote higher household densities in both existing and future residential areas:

> *The government's policy of urban consolidation aims to arrest population losses from established urban areas and to reduce outward urban growth rates that would be too rapid to service. This represents a deliberate choice to counter present trends that would result in inefficiencies and inequities …* (MPE; 1987:34).

In this regard, the government had formulated a metropolitan policy that aimed at promoting a range of housing opportunities to meet the increasingly diverse needs of the community, one of which is that dual occupancy development be promoted and developed in all appropriate residential areas as a key component of urban consolidation.

Local councils were the bodies required to implement state and regional policy and it is understood that different councils adopted a variety of approaches to various aspects of development control. Some councils, because of a legacy of poor flat and unit development in the 1950s and 1960s, considered that any development, other than traditional detached housing, was a potential threat to their local

amenity (eg. Camberwell, Knox). These Councils developed their own policy guidelines to refine dual occupancy provisions and to make application of the planning control more restrictive. Some of these developments were in the form of what has been referred to as the ''*six pack walk up flats*'' developed in the 1950's and 1960's that are common in the inner areas of metropolitan Melbourne, eg in Caulfield, St Kilda, Richmond and Brunswick.

Analysis of the 1991 ABS Census data revealed that approximately 30% of all households in the metropolitan area of Melbourne comprised a typical ''*nuclear*'' family (2 parents plus children), yet approximately 90% of new dwelling stock throughout the metropolitan area of Melbourne was in the form of a traditional detached 3 or 4 bedroom home (Groves interview). It had been generally recognised for some time by housing and planning policy commentators (Burke, Eccles) that there were major gaps in the housing market, especially housing that catered for the diverse needs of particular groups (ie. single parent households, elderly people, childless couples, group households etc). In addition, and in response to these issues, the State Government had committed itself to a policy of urban consolidation, which, amongst other things, meant a commitment of the implementation of dual occupancy, the Residential Development Provisions, the VicCode for Residential Development: Multi-Unit Developments, and to also development of surplus government land.

The government advocated urban consolidation on the basis that it:

> *..... not only achieves significant economies in urban development but also provides a greater diversity in housing choice and an alternative to fringe location for new households* (MPE; 1987:34).

A conceptual plan of the metropolitan area showing the desired effects of the urban consolidation policy was included in ''*Shaping Melbourne's Future: 1987*'' and it had been reproduced here as Figure 3.
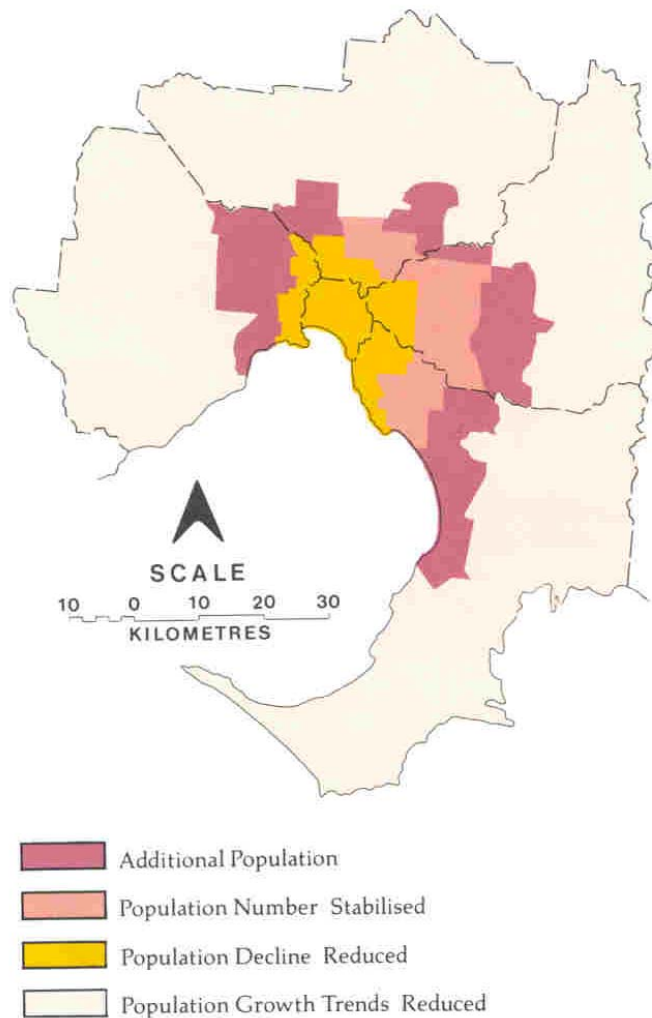
Figure 3:   Effects of Consolidation Policy on Melbourne Metropolitan Area (from Shaping Melbourne's Future, 1987)

Dual occupancy is defined in the regional section of all metropolitan planning schemes as:

> *Two dwellings on one lot that may be subdivided into two lots each containing a dwelling. It does not include a moveable dwelling unit.*

The dual occupancy provisions form one of a number of measures aimed at implementing the Victorian State Government's Metropolitan Urban Consolidation policy:

> *The Government has already taken a significant step in promoting residential consolidation by introducing dual occupancy in 1985. It will build on this with additional measures to encourage more medium density development* (MPE; 1987:34).

The issue of dual occupancy arose from a number of housing and planning studies undertaken in the late 1970s and early 1980s (refer to Chapters 3 and 4), and was in response to:

- the decline in significance of the traditional ''nuclear family unit'' as the predominant household type, and the increase in single person and single parent households.

- the increasing physical and social infrastructure costs associated with continuous outward urban development of the metropolitan area;

- the increasing awareness of the need to conserve energy and promote energy efficiency in residential development;

- the ageing of the metropolitan population;

- increasing interest rates; and

- the increasing cost of housing and land and house/land , particularly towards the end of the 1980s.

The realisation of the significance of these factors and emergence of the dual occupancy policy was demonstrated by the Liberal State Government's ''*Green Paper on Housing in Victoria*'' (1980). Some elements of the Green Paper emerged as proposed planning policy in the *Metropolitan Strategy Implementation Report* of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) in 1981. At that time the MMBW had a Planning Division which was responsible for metropolitan planning and strategic policy for the metropolitan area of Melbourne.

The Melbourne Strategy Implementation Report, which was largely implemented by Amendment 150, described dual occupancy as the building of new houses or converting existing houses to provide two dwellings on a single lot which could satisfy a need in the community for rental accommodation, for extended family units or for smaller dwellings. (Melbourne Strategy Implementation Report, 1981:20)

After a long process of public exhibition, panel hearings, reports, assessments and further amendments, the planning provisions and mechanisms for dual occupancy as part of a wider package to implement urban consolidation were gazetted as Amendment 367 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme (MMPS) in 1985 by the then State Labor Government (see Chapter 4).

The amendment provided that dual occupancy could take many forms and some of the more common examples included:

- an existing dwelling added to, and then divided into two separate dwellings;

- an existing dwelling on an allotment with a new detached dwelling at the rear;

- an additional dwelling on a corner allotment; and

- two new detached dwellings on a vacant single allotment.

Amendment 367 allowed all of these options and encouraged the development of dual occupancies by making it an 'as of right' use in the standard residential zone in the schemes, Residential C, so long as the proposals complied with certain conditions. These conditions (see Appendix 4) were clearly defined and contained requirements relating to site area, building height, floor area, site coverage, privacy, setbacks, open space and car parking.

A proposed dual occupancy development that did not meet the 'as of right' requirements required a town planning permit. Developments of this kind were often assessed under specific guidelines prepared by the individual Councils concerned and such guidelines varied from Council to Council. Some Councils embraced dual occupancy , or were compliant with it, while others opposed it. For example, the (former) Cities of Cranbourne and Knox tended to have more restrictive guidelines, while the Cities of Caulfield, Nunawading and Broadmeadows had a more relaxed approach. Normal appeal mechanisms through the Planning Division of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal existed for those developments initially refused the issue of a permit by the local planning authority, or if the notice of decision to grant a permit was contested by an objecting third party.

Although the provisions for dual occupancy in all metropolitan Planning Schemes made it an 'as of right' use subject to conditions, many of the applications for dual occupancy were the subject of hearings through the Administrative Appeals Tribunal – Planning Division because of objections, refusal to grant by Council or because of appeals due to conditions imposed. There were some notable appeal cases in the late 1980s where Councils had developed local policies to counterbalance the dual occupancy provisions of the Planning Scheme, and in the main these

were not seen to be successful.   Some of these are discussed further.

In *Appeal No. 1989/36632, Bysouth vs City of Knox,* Council had issued a Notice of Refusal to grant a permit for a dual occupancy at 28 Devenish Road, Boronia on the basis that it was contrary to local policy.   In a subsequent appeal against that notice by the Appellant, the Tribunal found that while it was appropriate for the Planning Authority to develop local polices, such policies should be consistent with metropolitan policy in the local context.   The Tribunal considered the Knox density policy to be unrealistic, and directed that a permit be issued.   In another case, *Appeal No. 1990/09110, McMullin vs City of Knox*, the Tribunal directed that a permit be issued following a Notice of Refusal by Council for development of a dual occupancy on land at 170 Scoresby Road, Bayswater. In its determination the Tribunal questioned why the rest of Victoria should subsidise Knox's policy of low density development when the subject land appeared to be ''*eminently suited to residential development''.*

In *Appeal No. 1989/37900 Apollo Management vs Shire of Cranbourne*, Council refused the issue of a permit for a dual occupancy development but the Tribunal allowed the appeal and directed the issue of a permit because in its view, the Council's local policy which allowed one dual occupancy per six residential sites would not assist in achieving metropolitan containment policies.   Also in Cranbourne, *Appeal No. 1990/27721 Phoenician Building and Construction vs Shire of Cranbourne,* the tribunal allowed an appeal and directed that a permit be issued in a case where it was one of two appeals relating to a dual occupancy development on adjoining lots.   The key concern in this case related to how bad design of dual occupancy development could influence public perceptions of dual occupancy.   The Tribunal directed the issue of a permit on the proviso that it required different styles of development to be adopted for the adjoining sites.

The Tribunal upheld an appeal however in Sunshine, *Appeal No. P89/1166, Devetak vs City of Sunshine*, where Council had refused to issue a permit for development of land, for dual occupancy at 6 Rally Road, Maribyrnong. In its determination, the Tribunal found that the subject land would be unsuited for development at higher densities due to its location on the Maribyrnong floodplain, where there was a probability of flooding once every 20 years.

These were just some of the early appeal cases that dealt with dual occupancy development and it became evident that as more dual occupancies were proposed, many were decided at the Tribunal rather at Council level because of Council reluctance to support dual occupancy and because of third party concerns about the form of development proposed.

3.   CONTEXT FOR DUAL OCCUPANCY POLICY

The planning of the metropolitan area of Melbourne has been the responsibility of various departments or ministries of government since the 1970s. It has also been subject to change due to changes of government and subsequent shifts in policy direction. In addition, the rapid growth of the metropolitan area, particularly since the second World War (post 1945) has meant that governments had to accept responsibility for the planning of the urban areas and have needed to concentrate more resources into metropolitan growth.

This chapter sets out the broad history of metropolitan planning and then leads into the policy context for urban consolidation, while the following Chapter 4 examines the evolution of dual occupancy policy as a means of achieving urban consolidation. It discusses the context of dual occupancy policy in the light of metropolitan planning and it provides an analysis of the various policies and changes in policy that ultimately led to the establishment and acceptance of urban consolidation policy. It provides a brief overview of Melbourne's planning and development from the early 1920s and presents it in three sections, 1920s to 1970s, 1970s to 1980s, and finally the 1990s.

3.1 Metropolitan Planning: 1920s to 1970s

In the period immediately after World War 1, municipal councils and other statutory authorities sought the creation of a metropolitan planning authority for Melbourne to coordinate planning and urban development (Burr 1991). As a consequence, the Government implemented the *Metropolitan Town Planning Commission Act* 1922 and a Commission was appointed to report on urban development in the metropolitan area under the provisions of this Act. In 1929, the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission submitted its final report to the State Government. It examined the

physical structure of Melbourne, its people and services detailed the first comprehensive recommendations for controlling the development of metropolitan Melbourne. The Commission suggested that the population of Melbourne could grow to nearly 5 million people by the year 2000. No action was taken on this report due to the Great Depression.

Towards the end of World War II, the *Town and Country Planning Act* 1944 empowered councils for the first time to prepare planning schemes for their own areas, or joint schemes with neighbouring councils. Not many Councils embraced this idea, or else they used the provisions of the Interim Development Orders (IDO) as their planning guide. As post war growth increased the Government recognised the inadequacy of this approach and established the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works as the metropolitan planning authority. The *Town and Country Planning (Metropolitan Area) Act* 1949 formally required the MMBW to become the metropolitan planning authority in Melbourne (as, up until this time it was only a sewerage, drainage and water authority) to prepare a planning scheme to control the use and development of land within the Melbourne Metropolitan areas as defined in a schedule to the Act. Outward growth and housing sprawl were not planning issues at this time.

In 1954 the Metropolitan Scheme, which was termed ''Melbourne's Master Plan'' was placed on statutory public exhibition. It generated some 4,000 submissions to its proposals. The basic policies underlying the scheme covered a planning area of some 1800 square miles, generally within a 15 mile radius of the GPO. It included. making provision for a population of 2.5 million by the end of the 1990s if current population levels within built-up areas were maintained, of half the population projected in the 1920's.

The Central Business District of Melbourne was to be
maintained as the major activity centre and was to be
supplemented by five District Centres at the key locations
of Moorabbin, Box Hill, Preston, Sunshine and Dandenong.
There was to be co-ordinated development of outward growth
areas, and steady growth of industrial and other activities
to the east and south where significant population
settlement was occurring. Controlled outward extension of
development into rural zones that surrounded defined urban
areas was also proposed. A diagrammatic version of the
1954 MMBW Plan for Metropolitan Melbourne follows as Figure
4.
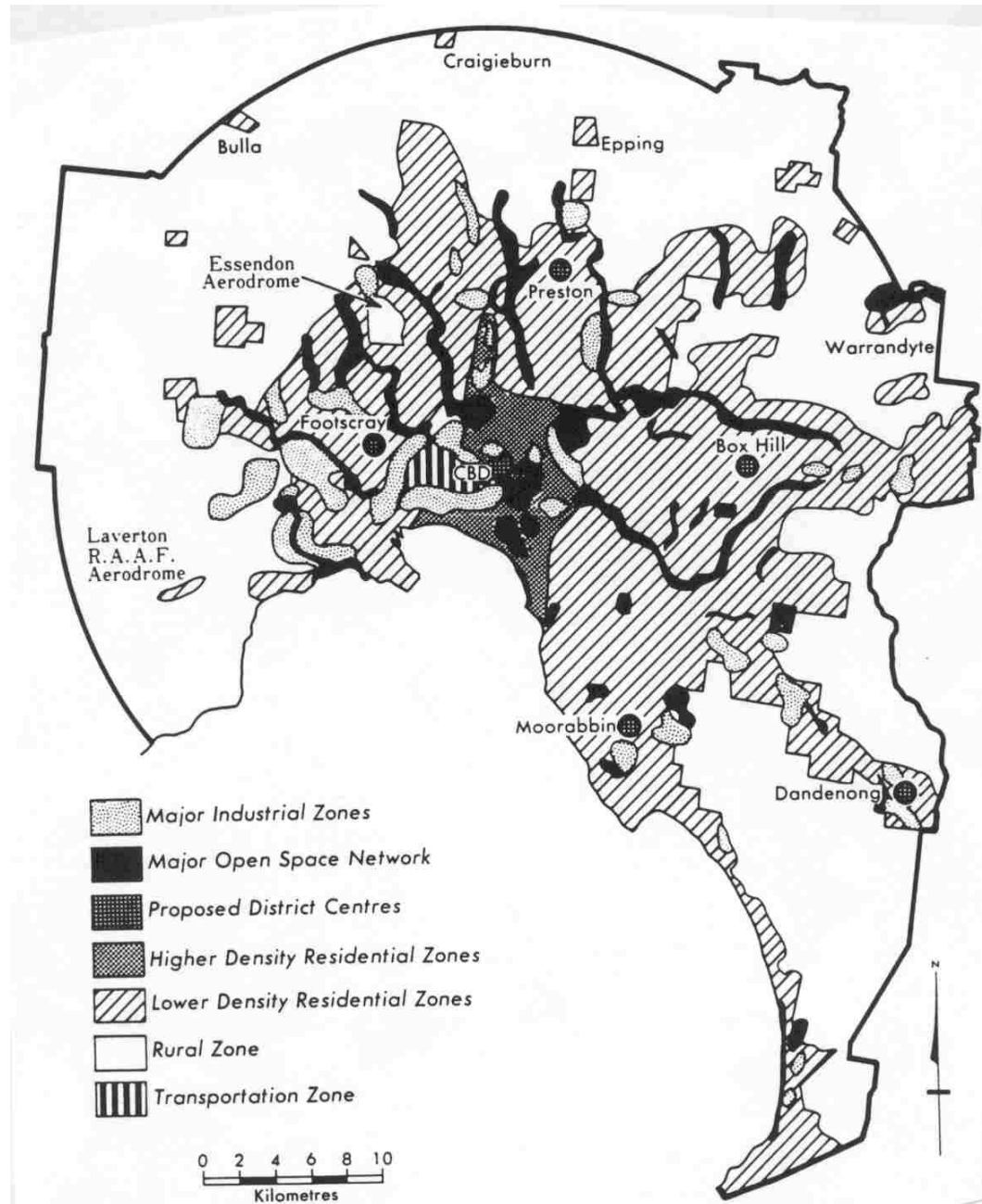
Figure 4:   1954 MMBW Plan for Metropolitan Melbourne (from Logan, 1981)

In 1955 the Board was made the responsible authority for implementing the scheme over the metropolitan planning area, and following approval of the first interim development order, the Board commenced control of development based on the proposed scheme.   In 1956 an amendment of the Board's Act expanded the Board's functions

to include design, construction and maintenance of declared metropolitan highways and bridges, protection and maintenance of metropolitan foreshores and to provide for parks of a metropolitan character.

Some five years after its release, and following consideration of objections, the planning scheme, which was derived from the 1954 Master Plan was amended and submitted to the Government in Council for approval in 1959, however it was not formally approved until 1969.

A Metropolitan Transportation Committee was established by special Act in 1963 to review and report on Melbourne's transport problems and needs which by this time had become of major significance.

In 1967, the Town and Country Planning Board, which was established by the Government to give independent planning advice to the Government, and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works made a report to the State Government on long term metropolitan development. The ''*Future Growth of Melbourne*'' was released and it introduced the concept of urban expansion in the form of development corridors and open space wedges. It also recommended encouragement of development to the north and west, and it reaffirmed a need for an expanded planning area to cope with the then projected doubling of the metropolitan population by the year 2000. Figure 5 shows the 1967 MMBW favoured corridor growth option plan.
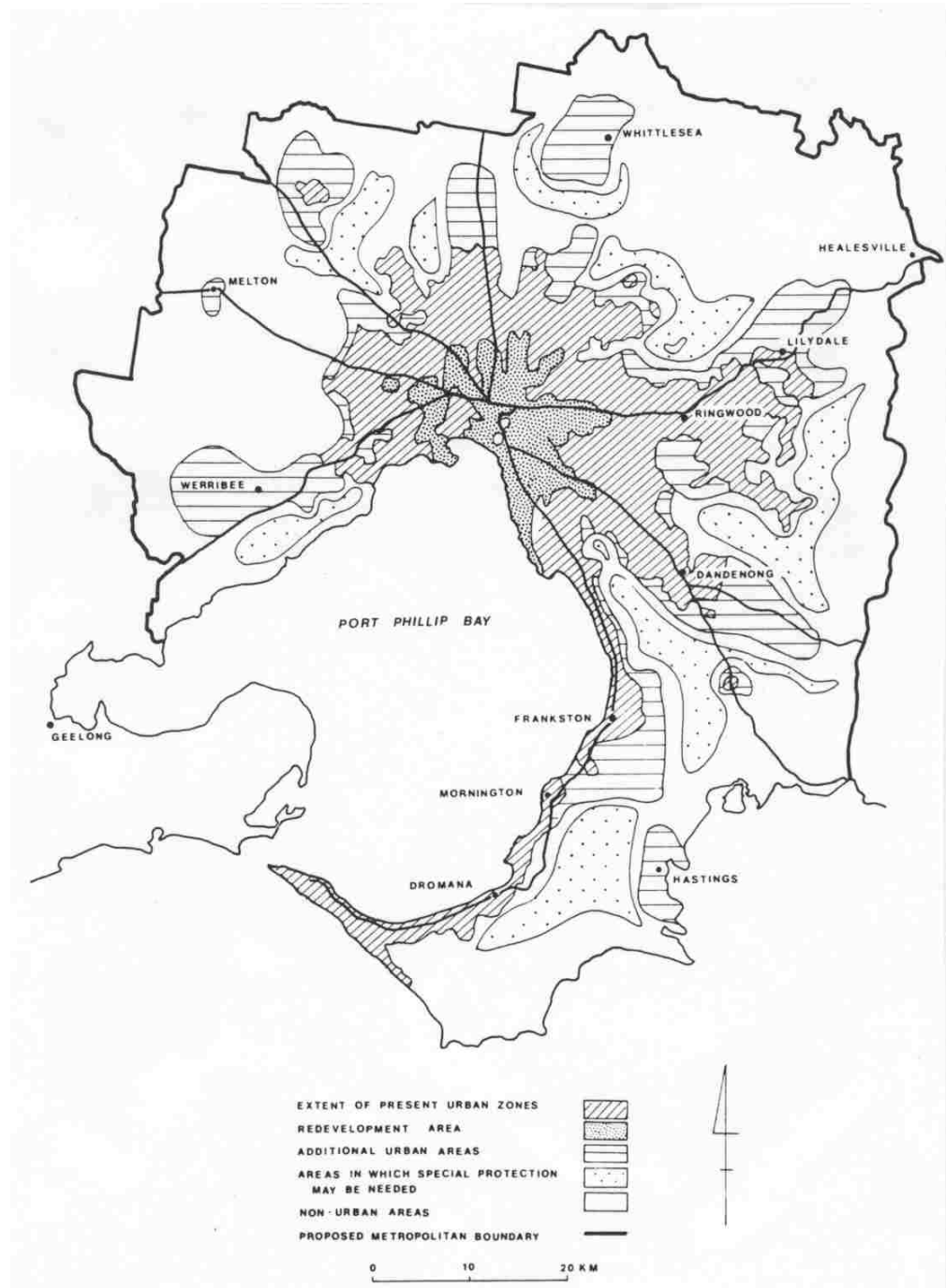
Figure 5:   1967 MMBW Corridor Growth Option Plan (from Logan, 1981)

In 1968 the government undertook a review of its previous strategy and then announced support for a corridor/green wedge policy, and for satellite township development (Melton and Sunbury) to the north and west. The government also provided for a three tiered structure for planning and it established a State Planning Council. The government approved the metropolitan scheme (Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme), expanded the Board's area, as growth was beginning to spill beyond the 15 mile radius. It directed that municipal schemes and IDOs be reconciled with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme and revoked.

3.2 1970s - Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works

In 1969, the then Minister for Planning and Local Government who was responsible for Planning, Rupert Hamer, set the stage for significant changes in the way in which the planning of metropolitan Melbourne was undertaken. At Hamer's direction, a number of actions were taken by the MMBW that had wide ranging implications. In 1969, the MMBW, by statutory instrument as provided for in the *Town and Country Planning Act* 1961 delegated to all metropolitan councils powers and responsibilities for various zones in the metropolitan scheme. However, delegation was only partial in the outer areas and it did not have much effect until the 1970s. In the 1970s, most of the inner Councils in the metropolitan area had full delegation powers, however most of the non-urban areas in the outer suburbs and the growth corridors were still controlled by the MMBW. The Board Committee controlled the urban areas of municipalities such as Berwick, Knox, Bulla and Pakenham. It was generally only those matters where it was considered that the exercise of discretion could be of metropolitan significance which were withheld from full delegation. (Burr)

After extensive investigation and liaison, the Board placed on exhibition major amending planning schemes, Amendment 3 and Amendment 21 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme for the extended area of Melbourne, and released the accompanying report ''*Planning Policies for the Melbourne Metropolitan Region''*. It represented a major review of the overall strategy and proposals included statutory recognition of the corridor/wedge concept, expansion of urban areas within the corridors, staged outward development, permanent non-urban zones and a series of major metropolitan parks. This is diagrammatically shown as Figure 6. The MMBW's approach was consistent with the Town and Country Planning Board's 1969 report.
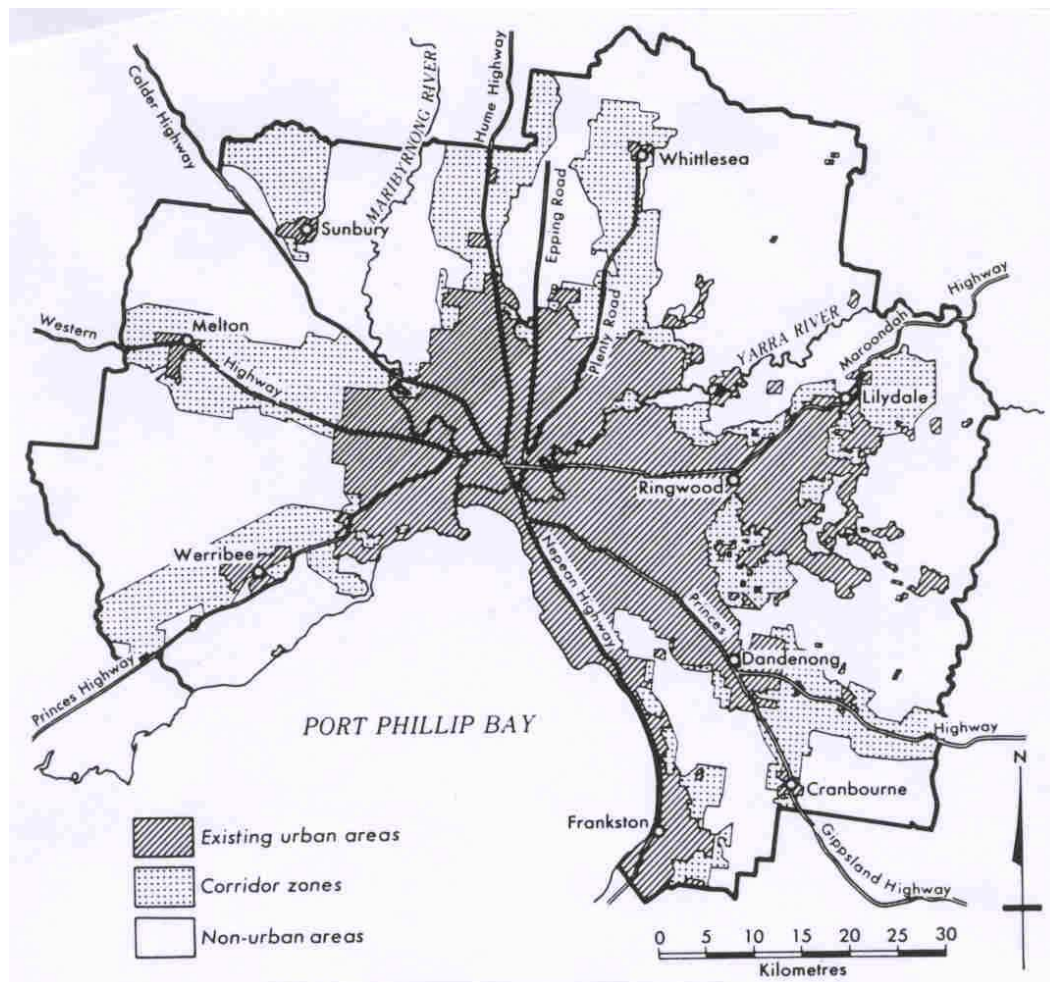
Figure 6:   1971 MMBW Framework Plan (from Logan 1981)

Following a review of objections to the general concepts of the 1971 proposals and consideration of a series of possible strategies for Melbourne's development, the Board reported to the government in 1974.   It recommended an interim strategy providing for outward development within a reduced number of corridors and for limited satellite township development.   These objections were mapped in the form of an outline strategy and is shown as Figure 7.
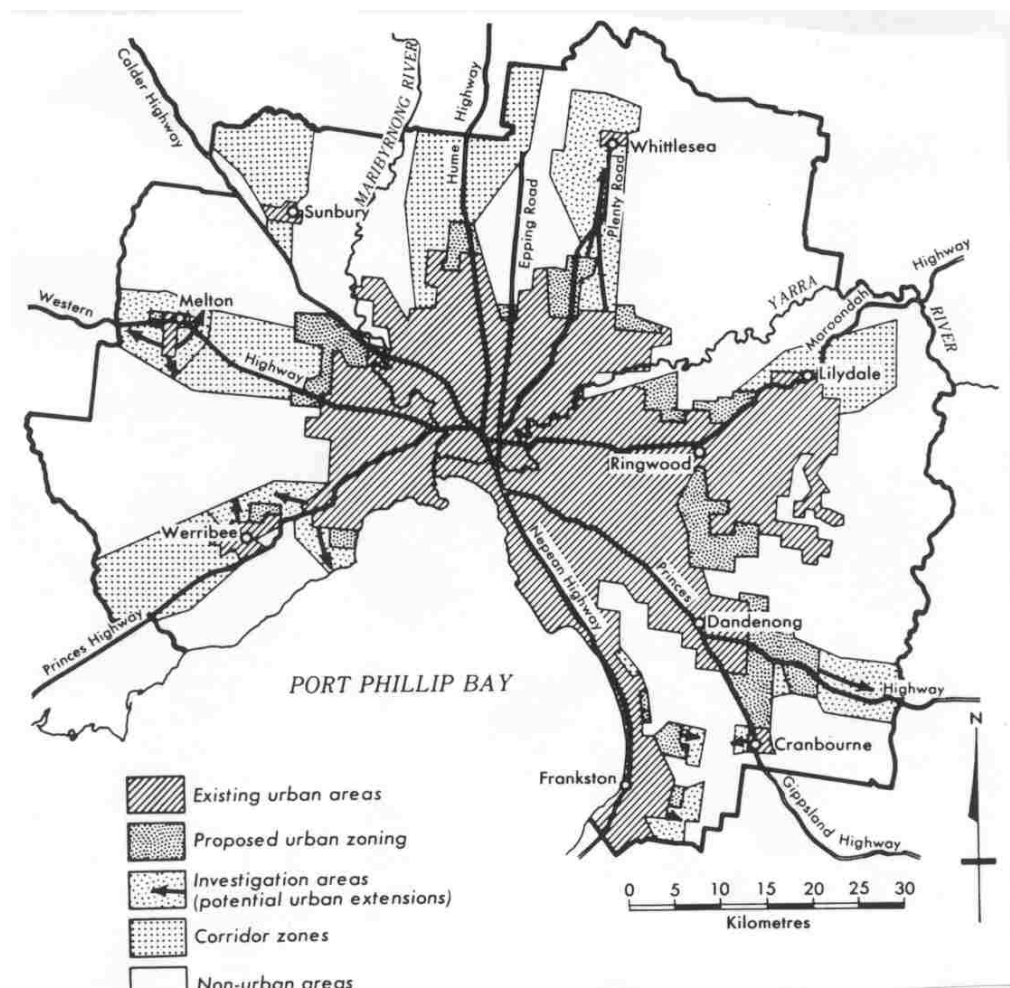
Figure 7: 1974 MMBW Outline Strategy (from Logan 1981)

Up until this time, most of the town planning activities of the MMBW were about growth management. Also at this time, the Board's highway design and construction functions were transferred to the Country Roads Board and its coastal responsibilities to the Public Works Department. Up until this time most of the responsibilities of the MMBW were dictated by physical and infrastructure issues, whereas the changes that occurred in the 1970s began to embrace social and economic planning issues. In 1975 the government introduced a system of Preferred Development Areas (PDA's) which specified certain areas within those already zoned for urban purposes based on planning criteria and the ready provision of services. These Preferred Development Areas are shown as Figure 8.
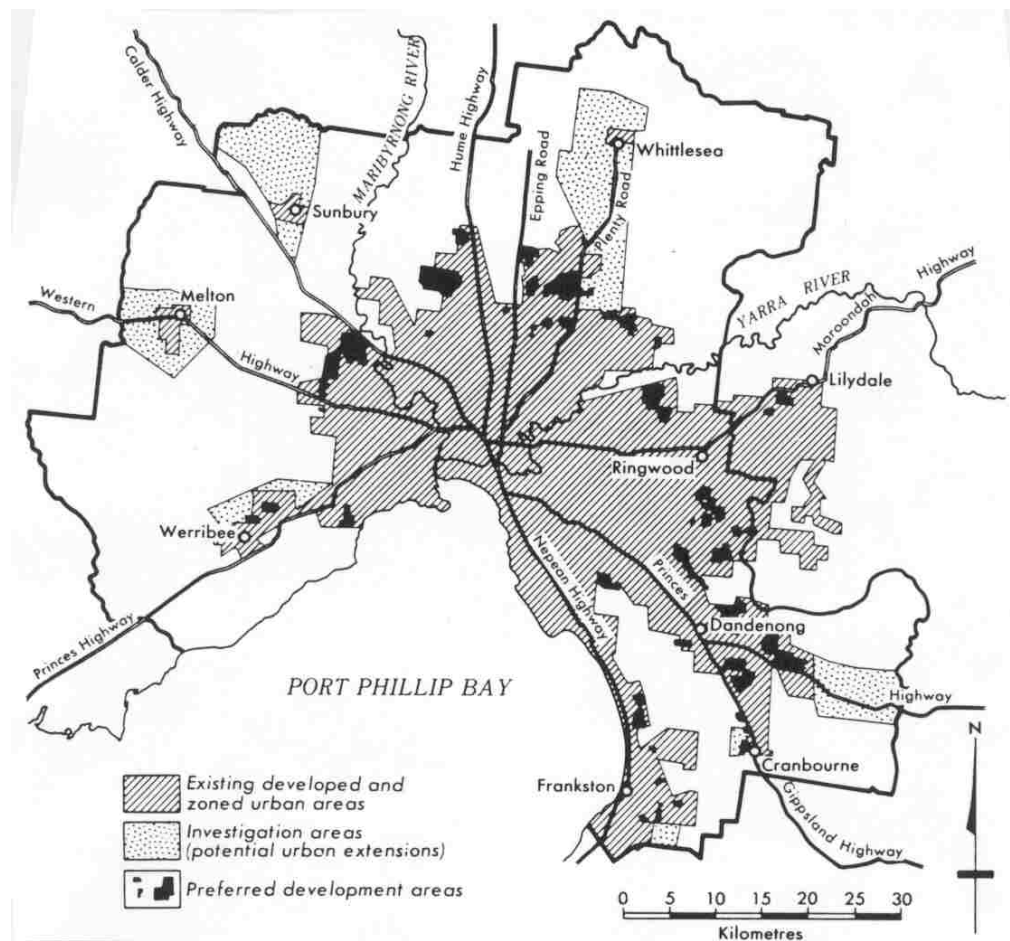
Figure 8: 1976   MMBW   Preferred   Development   Areas   for Melbourne (from Logan 1981)

The   Preferred   Development   Areas   were   designated   by government   and   assigned   priority   in   the   direction   of resources   with   the   aim   at   that   time   of   increasing   the supply of urban land quickly.

The mapping of the various growth strategies of the MMBW indicates a degree of indecision and uncertainty about the future direction of the Melbourne metropolitan area in the 1970s and the need for a strategy that provided certainty to residents and developers in the metropolitan area.   It also   indicated   that   the   MMBW   were   unsettled   in   its approaches to metropolitan planning and this may have been a factor in the subsequent demise of its planning functions and operations.

Towards   the   middle   of   the   1970s,   the   Government   reached agreement with the Commonwealth to establish the Urban Land Council (the predecessor of the Urban Land Authority/Urban Land   Corporation)   in   order   to   increase   and   bolster   the supply of affordable housing lots.   The ULC was instructed to   concentrate   on   the   growth   corridors.   The   land commission program had been an initiative of the Whitlam Government   which   had   increased   public   awareness   of   urban issues - this was the first Commonwealth involvement in these matters.

A   Ministerial   Statement   on   government   policy   for   future metropolitan   growth   confirmed   the   non-urban   areas, announced reduced options for continuous corridor growth and   identified   the   government's   priorities   for   future development as:

- Preferred Development Areas —— Melton/Sunbury;

- Urban Zonings in Amendments 3 and 21; and

- Future zonings in selected corridors.

In the middle to latter part of the 1970s, a number of studies and actions were carried out as follow-ups to the 1974 report. These resulted in the release of four major reports, being *Challenge of Change* (March 1979), *Alternative Strategies for Metropolitan Melbourne* (October 1979), *Background Papers to the Alternative Strategies Report* (November 1979), and *Metropolitan Strategy Implementation Report* (July 1980).

The first of these, *Challenge of Change* was a collection of papers which covered the following strategic issues, implementation of preferred development areas, household formation report, social dysfunction and relative poverty, policies for non-urban areas, socio-economic studies, transport studies and a report on inner areas. Collectively these studies represented a change in emphasis from purely physical considerations of infrastructure to a more holistic or total view of Melbourne as a place to live, work and play. Wider societal concerns were now being addressed.

This material, as drawn together, identified the major challenges facing Melbourne as a dispersed city in the 1980s as energy management, capital shortage, structural unemployment and concern for the environment - commonly described as the ''*four E*'s''.

Energy had specific regard to shortage and price of petroleum resources, public transport, small vehicles, car pooling and higher density housing; **efficiency** had regard to maximum use of infrastructure and urban facilities; **employment** had regard to reduced labour requirements due to technological and organisational advances, and to personal service jobs to offset manufacturing loss; and **environment** had regard to conservation of natural and man made elements of the environment which were important to the quality of life. A fifth ''*E*'' emerged and this is described later.

Changed circumstances such as lower rate of growth in industrial output, technological developments affecting employment, lower rates of population increase, changing population structure and accommodation needs pointed to the need to review metropolitan planning policies. Kilmartin and Thorns, in their discussion on urban social relationships noted this about the way in which society was structured:

> *The dominant mode of urban living is a suburban one of owner-occupied, single-family homes on their own blocks of land at some distance from the central business district and other sources of employment. These suburbs have, in many cases, grown rapidly with indifferent planning, little in the way of overall direction, and no concept of community planning.* (Kilmartin and Thorns, 1977:151)

The goal of a more *contained* city form was suggested to reduce the current and potential problems associated with the dispersed city. This represented a major change in planning philosophy. Involvement of public agencies and the Melbourne community in the review of policy and the derivation of a preferred development strategy were invited.

These discussions underpinned the rationale for development of dual occupancy as a viable form of housing which would assist the Melbourne metropolitan area cope better with the changes to its physical and societal structure.

Later, in 1979 the *Alternative Strategies for Metropolitan Melbourne* report reviewed the implications of the four *E*'s and added the further issue of **equity** as related to areas relatively disadvantaged with regard to the distribution of community facilities, services and employment opportunities. The report took into account public

responses to the *Challenge of Change* and it recommended a series of strategic development options. These were:

- **Dispersed growth** (continued outward settlement)

- **Centralised growth** (Central Business District as main activity focus and inner areas)

- **Suburbanised growth** (increased emphasis on development of selected suburban centres)

- **Incremental growth** (balanced development, continuance of Central Business District, recycling of buildings, density and diversity of housing, growth of centres with transport and locational advantages, economy of servicing).

Public response was again sought, and shortly thereafter, an auxiliary paper entitled *Background Papers to the Alternative Strategies Report* (1980) was released in response to the community's need for further information. These papers covered public utility and community services such as transportation and energy, housing issues, socio-economic studies and other strategic concerns. In 1980 the *Metropolitan Strategy Implementation Report* was released which brought together the results of the planning studies and development recommendations previously outlined.

Incremental growth was recommended as the most appropriate strategy for Melbourne and it was based on a concept of balanced development which aimed to ensure comprehensive planning for fringe growth and its essential services and facilities, while encouraging as much growth in existing urban areas as practicable:

> *The metropolitan strategy is one of incremental growth ... it seeks to channel development into areas where it will provide the people of*

> *Melbourne with the most benefits at the least
> cost, while encouraging freedom for individual
> action* (MMBW; 1981:2).

The strategy also attempted to encourage diversity in
dwelling density, type and tenure throughout the urban
area, and as such, housing development was encouraged in
both inner and outer areas. The incremental growth
strategy did not envisage high rise/high density
development, but rather taking the opportunities that could
achieve higher densities, and at the same time greater
diversity in residential accommodation. Some of these
opportunities were not obvious, but pocket development and
infill development could become highly significant when
added together and aggregated. The strategy itself
addressed five key areas, namely, housing (density and
diversity), transport, employment, community services and
facilities, and district centres (the role of central
Melbourne and suburban activity centres).

Legend

Urban
- Inner Areas
- Outer Areas
- Established Areas
- Central Melbourne
- District Centres
- High Public Transport Accessibility

- Potential Urban
- Deferred Potential Urban

Non Urban
- High Ecological and Landscape Interest Value
- Broadscale Mixed or Intensive Farming.

— Planning Boundary
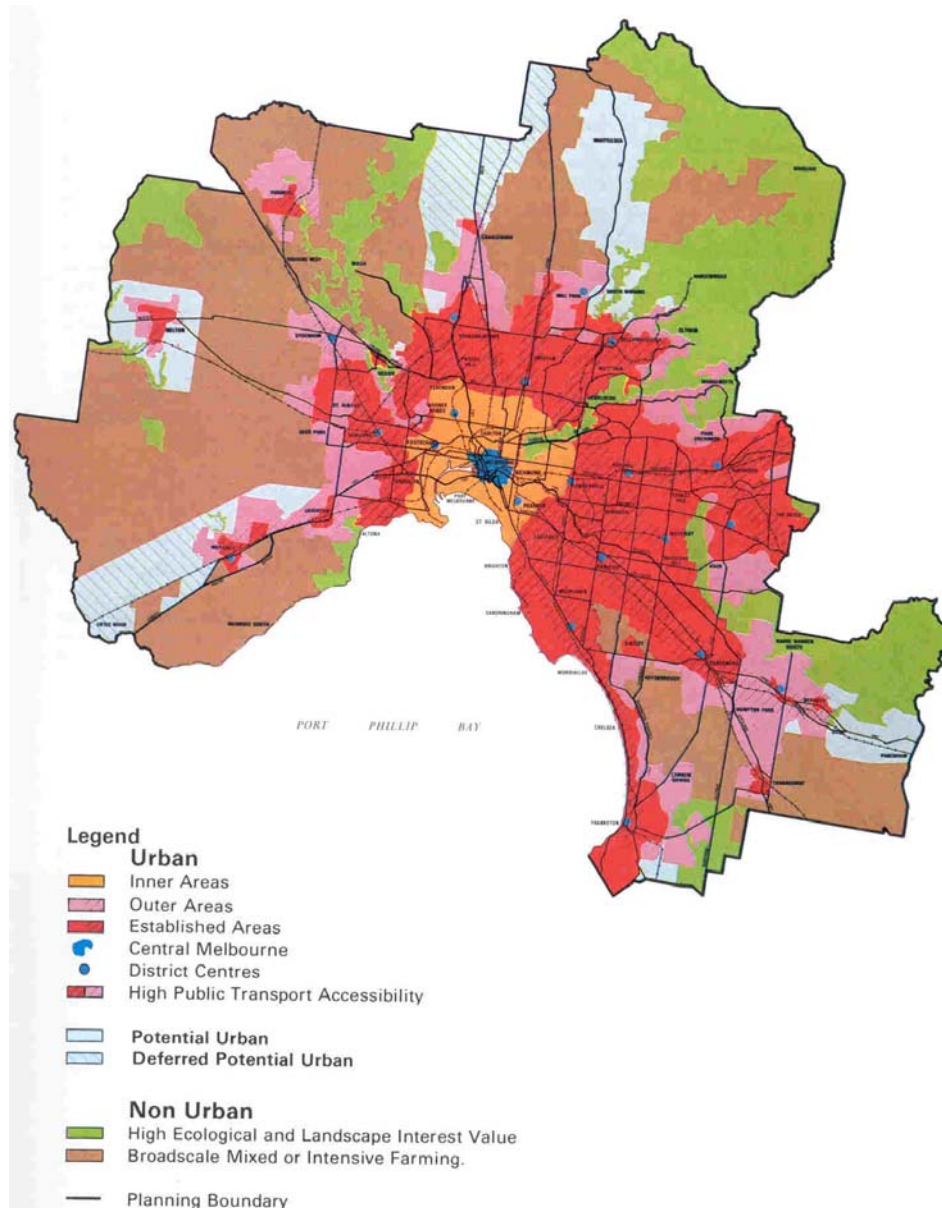
Figure 9: 1981 Metropolitan Strategic Framework Plan (from Metropolitan Strategy Implementation Report)

The report indicated a decisive shift from outward growth to a consolidation of the metropolitan area, and it also drew on Commonwealth initiatives in the mid 1970s to the early 1980s (Joint Venture for More Affordable Housing) which aimed to generate more consistent forms of residential development across the states in order to achieve lower costs of housing, greater housing mix and diversity, and better use of existing infrastructure (both

physical and social). There was an early emphasis on housing solutions, rather than a focus on planning issues.

This report introduced two new policies to planning of the Melbourne metropolitan area, specifically the dual occupancy policy, and the District Centre policy. The Board believed that a small percentage (about 10%) of total new growth could be accommodated within the existing urban area. It was seen as a modest start.

Accompanying the Metropolitan Strategy was Amendment 150 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme, which formed the framework for preparation of local development schemes by metropolitan councils, and which incorporated all the objectives of the Strategy in a manner that would allow them to be implemented. It provided a report for public exhibition and comment.

The concept and planning ideology of dual occupancy was first mooted in the 1981 *Metropolitan Implementation Strategy*, although it had previously been significantly discussed and researched by the Ministry of Housing from the late 1970s (see Chapter 4 for further details). It created considerable discussion and controversy throughout the metropolitan area and some councils in particular were extremely forceful in their opposition to the policy. It was exhibited as Amendment 150 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme, as a Column 3 use (as of right, subject to conditions being met), but most councils submitted that it should be a Column 4, discretionary use.

After a lengthy public exhibition and consultation period as required by the panel hearing process, Panel reports began to emerge on the various components of Amendment 150. Part I of the report related to the general guidelines and Part 2 related to individual components of which there were over twenty different parts, all incorporated into three volumes.

The main issues related to dual occupancy as submitted by councils was loss of amenity, inadequate standards, and the need for dual occupancy to be limited to certain locations (ie. only so many per area). In addition, most councils requested that dual occupancy be a Column 4 use that is it required a town planning permit and would be subject to third party appeal.

By the end of 1985, dual occupancy as a planning provision was incorporated into the Regional Chapter of the Metropolitan Planning Scheme, and it was an 'as of right' provision for Residential zones in all municipalities subject to conditions.

When the amendment was finally gazetted as Amendment 367 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme in November 1985, it included some further conditions to that which was originally exhibited, including:

- maximum building site coverage of 60%;

- minimum site area of 450 square metres (originally there was no minimum site area);

- each site to allow two car parking spaces to be arranged so that cars could enter and depart the site separately; and

- one of the two dwellings to have a maximum floor space of 100 square metres (ten squares).

(The more detailed and often political processes associated with the evolution of dual occupancy policy are provided in Chapter 4).

An editorial in The Age on 26 November 1985 discussed the introduction and gazettal of Amendment 367 in the following way:

Variations on a Housing Theme

> *Until recently, most Australians aspired to own their own home and quarter acre suburban block. In pursuit of that goal scarcity and rising land prices to further and further afield forced them.*
>
> .....
>
> *Until now, housing controls have tended to discourage new or varied patterns of housing. Many municipal Councils and property developers are still wedded to the concept of a single dwelling on a standard size suburban block. Last week however the Victorian Government abandoned tradition and declared that in future owners of residential properties would be free to build a second home on their block. Previously Councils could refuse to issue permits for dual occupancy. But under the Government's plan the Councils power of veto will be abolished, provided that owners meet certain standards and provided that the block is at least 450 square metres in area.*

3.3 1980s — Ministry for Planning and Environment

In 1985, after many years of discussion, planning and negotiation, all planning powers and responsibilities of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works were transferred to the Ministry for Planning and Environment, and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works ceased to have a town planning function. This officially took place on 1 July 1985.

In 1987, the State Government released its metropolitan policy entitled ''*Shaping Melbourne's Future*''. This document made specific reference to urban consolidation as a major policy and strategy and it utilised it as a key thrust within the development of the metropolitan area.

The Government's policy of urban consolidation aims to arrest the population losses from established urban areas and to reduce outward growth rates that would be too rapid to service. This represents a deliberate choice to counter present trends that would result in inefficiencies and inequities as existing infrastructure became underutilised ... Residential consolidation not only achieves significant economies in urban development, but also provides a greater diversity in housing choice ... government has already taken a significant step in promoting residential consolidation by introducing dual occupancy in 1985. It will build on this with additional measures to encourage more medium density development. (Ministry of Planning and Environment; 1987:34).

It was during the later part of the 1980s that the State Government became more committed to its efforts to promote urban consolidation, although municipal Councils did not readily take up such commitment. Considerable opposition to proposed medium density developments from both councils and third parties had resulted in numerous appeals to the Planning Division of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (AAT).

In 1988, the Ministry released the ``Residential Development Provisions'' for Planning and Environment, which aimed to increase densities for new subdivisions in outer and fringe areas (an average of 15 lots per hectare) and to promote smaller lot subdivision. Badcock believed that:

Real headway in the search for solutions to problems of housing people will not be made unless governments adopt a broadly based strategy

> *that addresses structural change in its entirety.*
> (Badcock 1984, 337)

He further noted that:

> *The ageing of the population, with the added pressure of a permanent pool of unemployed workers, will in time necessitate a thorough revision of government policies in relation to collective consumption, especially public housing and urban consolidation.* (Badcock 1984, 338)

Real progress towards increasing residential densities was achieved through totally planned estates. Delfin's Golden Grove estate in South Australia clearly demonstrated how careful attention to design and aesthetic considerations, as well as the provision of all services and amenities could be achieved with much higher densities. The Urban Land Authority followed a similar path in Melbourne, and at this stage, the contribution of dual occupancy was negligible.

3.4 1990s — Further Policy Initiatives

The 1990s saw a flurry of reports and policy statements relating to metropolitan growth and urban consolidation, which ensured that the debate about urban consolidation was always active. In addition, following the change from a State Labor Government to a Liberal Government in 1992, there had been a successful commitment to local Government amalgamation. Melbourne's 56 metropolitan municipalities were amalgamated into 22, with most of the previous local government boundaries no longer in existence. (Discussion earlier and Appendix 1 has noted and indicated these changes).

The key government planning policies and reports which related to urban consolidation and dual occupancy are discussed further on, in this chapter but it is fair

summary to note that although governments have been consistent in their recognition of urban consolidation issues, the specific approaches to implementation had not been forthcoming.

Recognised housing policy commentators (Burke, Maher, Heywood, Berry, Huxley, McLoughlin, Eccles et al) readily agreed that the Government needed to take the lead role in providing policy to make urban consolidation work more effectively, but all considered government not to be doing enough, or not doing it properly in order to achieve the desired outcomes.

In 1990 a series of working papers were released by the Department of Planning and Housing, including the *Medium Density Housing Study* and *Housing Melburnians for the Next 20 Years*, and these aimed to provide discussion on the impact of the need to diversify housing opportunities within the metropolitan area.

Further in 1990, the State Government released *Urban Development Options for Victoria*, which highlighted four major options for increased growth and population in both metropolitan Melbourne and Victoria, namely:

    (i)   Compact Melbourne

    (ii)   Twin Cities

    (iii)   New Towns

    (iv)   Regional Centres.

These options are represented diagrammatically as Figure 10.

Compact Melbourne
Corridor growth, containment,
consolidation

Twin cities
Emphasis on South-Eastern Growth Area
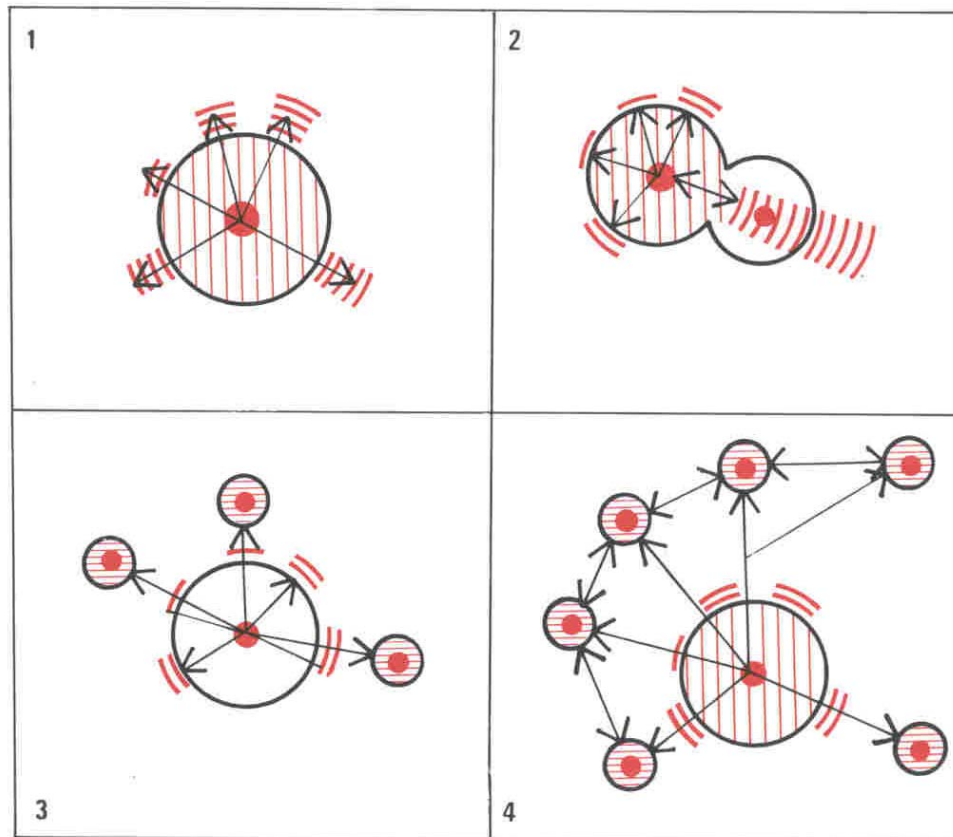
New towns
New cities,
corridor growth limited

Regional centres
Emphasis on established centres,
some consolidation

Figure 10: 1990 - Urban Development Options for Victoria (from Department of Planning and Urban Growth, 1990)

This report was the subject of significant discussion and debate, and at times, ridicule. The government did not ever release its preferred option, although in its review of all submissions received in response to the options report it stated that ''*New Towns*'' to be the least preferred option by submittors. A good deal of criticism was levelled at this report in that it basically went over the same ground as the 1979 Alternative Strategies Report by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and that the government was not focussed nor committed enough to properly put any option into effect (Goldstone).

In 1991 the government released ''*Victorian Code for Residential Development*'' which was basically a Victorian version of the ''Greenstreet'' principles, and which encouraged smaller lot sizes in newer, developing areas.

The government also released a code on medium density provisions, which included provisions that allowed some medium density to occur in residential areas, as of right, subject to certain provisions, in a similar manner to the dual occupancy provisions. This became known as VicCode 2 which was incorporated as a State policy into the state sections of all Planning Schemes through the provisions of Amendment R126. It enabled all Responsible Authorities to consider the code in deciding on an application to use or develop land for the purposes of a multi-dwelling development. VicCode 2 was incorporated into the Melbourne

and Metropolitan Planning Scheme (MMPS) and its key objective was to:

> *Encourage the use and development of land for multi-dwellings in accordance with the Victorian Code for Residential Development - Multi Dwellings 1993.....*

And, amongst other matters to:

> *Develop a consistent approach to the assessment of applications for multi-dwellings.* MMPS, Clause 21.

If there was any aspect of the Local Section of a Planning Scheme which was inconsistent with the Regional Section, then the provisions of the Regional Section prevailed. The scope of VicCode 2 applied to land in any urban zone or reservation where a planning permit was required for:

- *development and use of 3 or more dwellings on a site, other than a moveable dwelling unit or high rise apartment requiring lifts;*

- *development and use of a dual occupancy except as provided by Clause 20A;*

- *development and use of residential buildings;*

- *subdivision of land into lots and development and use of dwellings in accordance with the specific designs or building envelopes;*

- *dwelling extensions to any of the above.* MMPS, Clause 21-1

Clause 20A of the MMPS contained requirements for dual occupancy and provided for as of right dual occupancy when specific requirements were not met. However Clause 20A only applied to the Residential C, the Camberwell

Residential, Eltham Gateway and Urban Conservation and Residential NO. 1 Zones. In these zones VicCode 2 is only used when the as of right provisions were not met, and then only with respect to the particular aspect of the proposal which did not comply, (eg for car parking). In all other zones, dual occupancy was subject to consideration under VicCode 2.

VicCode 2 was initiated to facilitate medium density housing in the thrust for a more consolidated city. Its aims were to curb urban sprawl and to use existing infrastructure more efficiently, to offer increased choices in housing options, to promote appropriate development, to encourage good quality and cost effective design which was appropriate for a particular locality, to promote an increase in the number and affordability of multi-unit dwellings, to achieve greater consistencies in the requirements for multi-unit developments and to preserve the amenity of adjoining neighbours. One of its major benefits was that it strived to improve the consistency of planning controls across Victoria.

Consolidation was being promoted at that time primarily as a means for making better use of existing infrastructure and reducing the need to spend public money to extend service lines and networks beyond the existing urban areas. At this time there were differences in opinion as to whether there really was much savings to be made by urban consolidation initiatives and Flannigan held the view that if consolidation was to retain credibility, the 'savings' needed to be identified, debated and their existence resolved. (Flannigan 1994) he further noted that the perceived community advantages (eg increased access to facilities and public transport) needed to be assessed against personal disadvantages (less personal open space and privacy).

VicCode 2 was eventually abandoned by the State Government
in 1995 and the Good Design Guide for Medium Density
Housing was introduced instead.

The Ministry of Housing and Construction commissioned a
survey on dual occupancy five years after its introduction,
''*Dual Occupancy Review Report 1990''*, and this was carried
out by the Urban Studies Unit of Footscray Institute of
Technology (now Victoria University of Technology). The
survey analysed the extent and general acceptance of dual
occupancy in a number of municipalities located throughout
the metropolitan area of Melbourne. It recognised that
while the concept of dual occupancy had been supported by
many of these municipalities and also by the housing
industry in general who were trying to promote a variety of
housing stock and options, there had been some continued
and vocal opposition from some municipalities and resident
and neighbourhood groups, particularly those in the eastern
suburbs.

The review also found that while some dual occupancy
developments could be considered to be cheaper, because in
theory the cost of a block of land would be halved, the
development costs tended to outweigh any benefits that
could accrue from cheaper land, as developers were
reluctant to pass on savings in land costs. (Ingemann,
1992) The study found that while development in outer
suburbs such as Werribee and Melton had been able to
provide economical housing, in areas such as Camberwell and
Brighton - apart from local opposition - expensive land
costs and the desire to build a high standard of housing
has not meant that there has been significant savings in
the cost of housing provided.

The Hon. Andrew McCutcheon, in his speech to the Federation
of Housing Societies of Victoria State Convention in
February 1992, indicated that his Government's number one
priority in planning was to halt urban sprawl by reversing

the drift of population to suburban subdivisions on the outskirts of Melbourne. He noted that:

> *There are compelling reasons for moving away from this traditional pattern of development. It is economically unsound, it is socially inappropriate and it is environmentally unsustainable.* (McCutcheon: 1992)

McCutcheon advocated the introduction of the Victorian Code for Multi-Dwelling Development and the Victorian Code for Residential Development. He considered the Multi-Dwelling Code to be an extension of the dual occupancy provisions which he noted had `` ..... *received strong market acceptance since their introduction in 1985.*'' (McCutcheon 1992)

In an article in the Sunday Age on 7 November 1993, the Minister for Planning and Development, Mr Robert Maclellan discussed his government's concerns about dual occupancy and removing the automatic provisions from the Planning Scheme:

> *The dual occupancy provisions introduced by the former Labor Government in 1985 had not worked in many cases and had encouraged shoddy speculative developments out of character with the local areas, often in locations where they were never intended.*

What he indicated was born out to be partly correct and in the analysis of population and census data in Chapter 5 of this thesis, it is demonstrated that dual occupancy developments predominantly occurred in locations where consolidation was not intended.

4.   EVOLUTION OF DUAL OCCUPANCY POLICY

The role played by the two major government agencies, the Ministry of Housing and the Planning Branch of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, together with the Ministry for Planning and Environment which had a minor, but important role to play towards the end of 1985, in the development of dual occupancy policy is examined in this chapter. It traces the development of dual occupancy policy and its transformation from a housing policy to a metropolitan planning policy. Most of the material on which the chapter is based is derived from a series of interviews with key people generally recognised as being significant in the evolution and implementation of dual occupancy policy and includes personnel from the (then) Ministry of Housing, the (then) Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and the (then) Ministry for Planning and Environment. These people included the following:

- Eugene Kneebone, former General Manager of the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division, Ministry of Housing;

- Ken Burr, former Director of Planning, Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works;

- Bill Chandler, Director of Loder and Bayley, who in 1980 was seconded to the Ministry of Housing to prepare a report on dual occupancy;

- David Rae, former Assistant Director, Regional Planning, Department of Planning and Housing (formerly with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works);

- Dennis Ingemann, Manager of Special Housing Branch, Ministry of Housing;

- Les Groves, Chief Executive Officer, Housing Industry Association;

- Professor David Yencken, Head of Landscape Architecture School of Environmental Planning at University of Melbourne, former Secretary of the Ministry for Planning and Environment;

- Paul Goldstone, Planning Officer, Ministry of Planning and Development; and

- David Whitney, Director of Planning, Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd.

It should be recognised that each of these people had different and varying roles in the development of dual occupancy policy and their comments reflect their particular position and role, consequently some of their comments need to be carefully interpreted.

These interviews took place predominantly from June to November 1991 and each interview took up to four hours that followed an open ended question format which generally dealt with the following issues:

- how did dual occupancy become a policy?

- why did it become an issue?

- what was the political climate of the day?

- who were the major players in its origin and inception?

- what was the original intent of the policy?

- why was it was implemented in 1985? (Why not before? Why not after?)

- what was the basis of its controls?

These issues are addressed in the following sections of this thesis. Firstly there is a discussion on dual occupancy as an emerging instrument of housing policy, and secondly commentary on the appropriation of dual occupancy by the planning arm of government. In addition, some of the criticisms levelled at dual occupancy by the respondent interviewees has also been discussed.

4.1 Dual Occupancy as an Emerging Instrument of Housing Policy

As indicated in Chapter 2 dual occupancy began as an initiative of the (then) Ministry of Housing in April 1979. The 1970s were a time of controversy and disruption within the Ministry of Housing, due mainly to the land deal scandals and the development of high rise public housing accommodation that began in the 1960s and which terminated in the early 1970s (Sandercock; 1979). An influx of inner city public housing, including high rise development was developed under the umbrella of slum clearance and later the largely ineffective urban renewal programme via the *Urban Renewal Act* 1978. Kneebone indicated that urban renewal activity under the Act was mainly confined to general discussion and planning, and not real action, while McLoughlin noted that:

> *Housing Construction Victoria, established as early as 1936, was essentially a slum clearance and redevelopment agency.* (McLoughlin, 1992:123)

In a speech in 1992, Planning Minister McCutcheon described the early public housing estates in the following way:

> *We have to accept the fact that the high and medium density developments of the 1960s - the walk ups and tower blocks - were poorly conceived. They were cold and ugly and did not*

> *meet people's housing needs. The public housing*
> *sector was so chastened by this experience that*
> *by 1986-87 only 45% of the new housing built by*
> *Housing Construction Victoria was medium density.*
> (McCutcheon, 1992)

Early public urban renewal initiatives were led initially by Housing Commission of Victoria Assistant Commissioner Harry Parsons, Housing Commission of Victoria General Manager Les Allwinton, and Dr. Roy Gilbert, Director of the newly formed Ministry of Housing.

Largely on Parson's initiative, the Liberal Government had been encouraged by the Housing Commission to pass an *Urban Renewal Act* with Parsons responsible for its Administration. This Act was based on United Kingdom model and contained wide ranging powers. However, possibly due to other pre-occupation and political imperatives it remained largely unused. When the Urban Renewal Act was drafted in 1979/80, the main provisions of the United Kingdom models were included. A decade later when the government and the community were keen to encourage urban consolidation some of its provisions was finally utilised. Yencken and Kneebone (1991) however, expressed the view that many operators regarded it as draconian and politically too difficult to be of real benefit.

These ideas represented a significant change in the role of the Housing Commission. During the 1960's and early 1970's it had purchased large tracts of land on the fringe of new suburbs. These included Broadmeadows, Pakenham, Goonawarra (Sunbury), Narre Warren and so on. In 1976/1977 the Commission and the Government sustained heavy criticism and with the passing of *Urban Land Authority Act* during the 1980's these estates were progressively transferred to the Urban Land Authority.

Some claim the Gowans report ultimately led to the Liberal Governments' demise - it certainly was a major contributing

factor. A new breed of public housing leaders including Gilbert and Kneebone turned their eye to the existing urban fabric, and the new policy directions reflected this change.

In the view of the General Manager of the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division of the Ministry of Housing, Eugene (Trevor) Kneebone, there was, in 1979, a ''*policy vacuum*'' in the urban renewal and redevelopment area. Kneebone believed that the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division ''*inherited*'' a range of disparate housing policies, and one of its principal responsibilities was to then refine and redevelop such policies into meaningful and workable housing and urban solutions. At the time, he saw a need to sensitively ''*restitch the torn urban fabric*''.

The Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division by its development of new ideas began to turn what was meant to be a largely operational responsibility (neighbourhood redevelopment) into a *defacto* policy branch for the Ministry of Housing. It formulated a number of housing policy options, some of which included:

- self help/self build;

- infill housing/rehabilitation;

- spot purchase;

- estate improvement;

- scattered public housing in private estates; and

- dual occupancy.

The initial aims of the dual occupancy policy were contained in an in-house ideas discussion paper prepared by the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division as its working

mission in April 1979. Kneebone indicated that this document outlined the broad intent or thrust of the dual occupancy policy among other issues. As the aforementioned discussion paper began to take shape, three clear objectives began to emerge which would broadly implement the initial goals of the dual occupancy programme. These included:

1. to combat the increasing cost and diminishing affordability opportunities of housing;

2. to increase housing choice to suit a changing range of demographic profiles and lifestyle options; and

3. to provide greater social mix and diversity within existing neighbourhoods.

Of the three objectives, planners or policy makers had rarely discussed the third one of providing greater social mix and diversity within existing neighbourhoods, perhaps due to the complexities of this objective. However, it has been stated as a policy objective in the *Melbourne Strategy Implementation Report 1981* and *Shaping Melbourne's Future* 1987. It is important to point out at this stage (in 1979) the thrust to increase urban consolidation opportunities was not considered as an objective of dual occupancy policy.

The initial dual occupancy policy of the Ministry of Housing also had three separate foci, that of a planning function, a housing supply function and an urban initiatives function, ie promoting a range of housing options and forms (Kneebone 1991).

The general philosophy of the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division at this time was to provide an alternative to high rise accommodation and according to Kneebone, to improve the image of public housing in Victoria, particularly the slum clearance excesses which had been generally ignored

during the so called urban renewal period. Dual occupancy
was seen to be a small, but effective compromise in
achieving this aim. McLoughlin indicated that:

> *The sheer scale of the typical high rise*
> *construction has resulted in a considerable*
> *influence on the built environment.*
> (McLoughlin, 1992:123)

The Ministers of Housing under the Hamer/Thompson Liberal
Government during this time were Brian Dixon, and later,
Jeff Kennett. The former closed the Holmesglen Concrete
Housing factory whilst the latter halted the development of
further large scale, high rise housing estates. According
to Kneebone, both Ministers strongly supported the various
policy initiatives and programs of the Neighbourhood
Redevelopment Division which were also reflected through a
Housing Green Paper process at that time.

Not only did the dual occupancy policy have direct
relevance to housing provision, but it also had a
significant relevance to planning (Burr 1991). At this
time, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works was the
responsible planning authority for the metropolitan area of
Melbourne. Basically the broad aim of the MMBW with regard
to dual occupancy in the early 1980s was to allow a mode of
housing provision that provided for smaller housing modes
on the one site. According to Kneebone, the initial thrust
was not aimed at urban consolidation issues but rather to
provide for a greater diversity of housing types in a range
of areas accessible by public transport and close to key
employment opportunities.

The waiting lists for public housing were continuing to
grow and it was considered that the increasingly diverse
needs of actual and potential housing consumers was not
being met. At this time, Kneebone considered the greatest
demand for public housing was coming from single parent
households, usually comprising a female head with one or

two dependent children. Analysis of census data and housing waiting lists at this time showed that this client demand increased even more from the 1970s through to the 1990s (ABS 1991, Ministry of Housing).

It was considered by the Ministry of Housing that single parents had a real need for a smaller house, without the responsibility of looking after large (if any) gardens and outdoor open space areas. In addition, they needed to be in locations that were accessible by public transport or by foot to community amenities such as shopping centres, schools, kindergartens, child health, medical and child support services. According to Kneebone, dual occupancy was seen to provide opportunities to develop new housing that involved the ''*least intensive intervention into existing urban areas*''. By this, he indicated that the public sector could intervene to modify urban populations in a way that had the ''*lightest impact*'' in terms of physical form on the neighbourhoods.

Dual occupancy sought to address the ''mismatch'' between what people needed in terms of housing, and what was presently available. An analysis of the 1976 Census of Population and Housing showed that non-traditional household units were becoming more dominant than traditional nuclear family units, and that household structures were significantly changing. While only 30-40% of households comprised traditional nuclear units, 90% of all new housing being built was in the form of a detached three bedroom plus house on a separate allotment in the outer or fringe municipalities.

In 1980 Bill Chandler, a Director of the Loder and Bayly Consulting group was seconded to the Ministry of Housing as an in-house consultant to prepare a report on dual occupancy for the Ministry. He stated that he was ''*scrambling around for a while, as no-one had a handle on where to go*''.

Due to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Work's residential subdivision policies (MMBW: 1979) and the various land deals of the 1970s (Sandercock: 1979), people were moving out of the inner city areas and new suburbs such as Knox, Lilydale, Berwick, Keilor, Sunbury, Werribee and Melton were being developed and opened up. In addition, the federal housing policies of the 1970s (new towns, regional growth centres), which were established during the Whitlam era (1972 – 1975), also meant that the Geelong Region was attracting significant population growth.

Bill Chandler prepared a report entitled *Dual Occupancy: Addressing the Mismatch Between Housing Stock and the Needs of Households* for the Neighbourhood Redevelopment Division of the Ministry of Housing, released in December 1980. The report specifically dealt with dual occupancy and it highlighted a number of important issues such as the need for increased public housing, the need for smaller homes, and the increase of single adult female families which provision of dual occupancy housing could address. However, from the historical perspective, it highlighted a number of key issues that helped to reinforce the policy direction in relation to dual occupancy of the Ministry of Housing in the late 1970s. The increase in single parent families had a significant impact on the demands of the public housing market and initially the Ministry of Housing developed dual occupancies for public rental only. Further research by the Department of Planning led to the view that dual occupancy provided a viable and cheaper housing option in all areas and it encouraged private builders to offer them as private homes. (Goldstone, 1992)

Chandler put forward the proposition that the housing market operated under a series of thresholds, which were principally related to affordability and the type of housing available. He indicated that there were significant gaps in the welfare and bottom end of the private housing market, issues also related to income and

affordability. His thesis was that the private housing market was not building what people wanted, or could afford. The report attempted to explain that housing needs were becoming increasingly diverse and that they had changed significantly from the 1950s to the 1980s. Housing needs were not able to be answered by simplistic homogenous solutions any more (by building three bedroom detached houses), and such needs would continue to diversify throughout the 1980s.

Chandler concluded that the level of understanding by the general community, including builders and developers, of changes in demography and socio-economic situations was low, and that *housing decision makers* were still building for the typical *nuclear* family. The 1976 census showed that 48% of metropolitan households were living in one or two person households. It had become even more serious since then with non-nuclear households now being close to the absolute majority. The study dealt with housing in a *holistic form*, and discussed issues such as physical form, affordability, site and building relationships, social issues, fire control, recognition of different working environments, leisure time and finance.

One of the obstacles that had to be overcome very early in the study was to formulate an accurate definition of dual occupancy and Chandler stated that the working group at the Ministry of Housing to whom he reported spent some time debating this issue. The final definition of dual occupancy that was agreed upon and adopted was:

> *Dual Occupancy: two households living independently on a shared single residential site.*

Thus it was important to fully explain this definition and it was of interest to see the way the definition was clarified at that time. It can be seen that this statement represented an attempt within the Ministry of Housing to

generate a watertight definition. The subsequent interpretation and acceptance of the definition by the relevant planning authorities and users would be a key to effective implementation of this policy. Dual occupancy was formally defined as follows:

*(i) **Two** —— the dual occupancy concept is not intended to by-pass controls on multi-unit development … With the possible exception of allowing a ''pensioner relative unit'' on a dual occupancy site which has suitable characteristics, it is intended that only two occupancies be*

*(ii) **Households** —— not intended to artificially limit dual occupancy to particular types or groupings of people ... a household is defined as ''a group of people who live together as a single domestic unit and eat together from a common food supply. A person living alone is also a household''. There is no implication that the people in the group need be related.*

*(iii) **Living Independently** —— dual occupancy is not simply an extreme version of a shared house. It requires some specific requirements to be complied with. These are:*

o   separate front and rear door;

o   separate kitchen;

o   physical barrier between the adjacent occupancy which achieves an acceptable level of fire and noise separation.

> *(iv) SHARED SINGLE RESIDENTIAL SITE (ALLOTMENT) ——*
> *the essence of dual occupancy concept is to*
> *maintain the whole site on one title and in*
> *one ownership.   It is intended that the*
> *front garden, driveway and other outdoor*
> *areas will be to varying degrees, shared.*
> *In no way is it intended to by-pass multi-*
> *unit controls by allowing future subdivision*
> *and ownership through strata titling or very*
> *long term leasing.   (Ministry of Planning;*
> 1980:5.)

The development of dual occupancy housing in 1980 or at this stage was not intended to be targeted for any particular suburb, municipality or region. However, it was recognised that different councils would deal with it in different ways. It had been a common perception that dual occupancy was targeted for the middle ring suburbs of Melbourne, particularly since the Ministry of Planning's policy of urban consolidation had become more prominent (Burr 1991). However, dual occupancy had more potential to be implemented in middle ring suburbs compared to some others, due to larger allotment sizes, changing household structures and diverse populations. Urban consolidation was not seen as the main focus of dual occupancy. However, Kneebone among others of the early policy developers later saw dual occupancy as a means of implementing consolidation policy.

One of the original housing aims of dual occupancy policy was to satisfy the increasingly diversified housing needs of a demographically changing society. The Ministry of Housing already had a limited granny flat programme in place, and it was considered that this should be extended to incorporate other physical forms of housing. Dual occupancy was seen as a natural extension of this programme. Dual occupancy was also seen to have the potential to create greater social mix and to increase the diversity of social mix of a neighbourhood or area.

From a tenure point of view, a dual occupancy development could provide options in tenure, namely owner/owner, owner/tenant or tenant/tenant. This view had changed somewhat from its original intention of the whole site being ''*on one title and in one ownership*'' (Ministry of Housing: 1980). From a sociological point of view, dual occupancy was seen as being able to contribute to greater diversity in social tenure, with one of the popular concepts being that an older couple/person could create an additional dwelling for rent by a younger couple/family/person where there could be an exchange of responsibility depending upon the capacity of the household (for example, the younger family could maintain the gardens while the older family could provide child care, baby sitting and support) (Chandler: 1991).

Dual occupancy was also seen as a means of encouraging older people to remain in their households/area for a longer time period, and to thus indirectly slow the drain on community services for provision of additional elderly housing and support services. A second contributing household could then potentially assist an older aged household structure unit to remain at home for a longer time period (Chandler: 1991, MMBW: 1981).

In attempting to gain support for the dual occupancy programme, the Ministry of Housing used the fact that they were also a public housing authority, and consequently implemented several demonstration projects around the metropolitan area of Melbourne. These demonstration projects included conversion of larger houses into two smaller houses, conversion of granny flats into more livable and useable dwellings, conversion of larger houses into two separate dwellings, ie. one house *upstairs* and one house *downstairs*, and construction of specific, purpose built *pairs*. Some of the demonstration projects were carried out in conjunction with the Housing Industry Association, who, Kneebone acknowledges, had given the dual occupancy housing concept great support from the outset.

Once the dual occupancy policy was formulated and available to be implemented as a housing option, the Ministry of Housing approached the planning branch of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in early 1981 to assist with its planning implementation. According to Kneebone, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works took a:

> *decidedly cool approach to the policy and did very little to assist them for two years.*

This opinion is contrary to the opinions expressed by Burr who indicated that the MMBW were keen to develop dual occupancy policy as a planning mechanism.

The Ministry of Housing gave a number of talks and seminars to a range of government and non government people about the policy, and attempted to *cajole* the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works into being more receptive to it (Kneebone 1991).

In addition, some that considered it the Ministry for Planning and Environment, headed by David Yencken (from 1982) preferred to keep well away from the policy. Kneebone claimed that David Yencken was a *visionary* who seemed not to like to ''*dirty his fingers*''. However he further claimed that Yencken supported the dual occupancy policy in principle, but his key staff were not supportive. Yencken had earlier been the main driving force behind the strata title legislation and therefore well understood the potential of dual occupancy. The extent to which Yencken was reacting to the likely views of his political masters was also a factor in this opinion.

By the early to mid 1980s, when the Cain Labor Government incorporated the town planning function of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works into the Ministry for Planning and Environment, resistance to dual occupancy within planning circles diminished and senior planning staff became convinced of its worth and value as a significant planning and housing initiative. To encourage

this change, the Ministry of Housing sponsored many discussions by its own staff with interstate planning authorities, particularly in Adelaide, Sydney and Canberra, and chaired the medium density aspects of the *Working Party of the Inquiry into Housing Costs*. In addition, New South Wales had implemented an early form of dual occupancy policy which was slowly being developed, but which was not working very well. Lessons could be learnt from the New South Wales experience that had been used in New South Wales prior to 1979 (Yencken 1991).

4.2 The Appropriation of Dual Occupancy by the Planning Arm of Government

From about 1981 and 1982, dual occupancy began to emerge as a planning policy, rather than a housing option. As a planning option the planning division of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works took it up, and later on it was primarily the responsibility of the Ministry for Planning and Environment. At about this time, an interdepartmental committee was established, comprising John Lawson (Planning), Eugene Kneebone (Housing) and David Rae (Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works). Rae considered that the three members of this Committee were key figures in the evolution of the dual occupancy policy, amongst other planning and housing policy matters. Kneebone agreed with this view. This interdepartmental Committee was basically established to discuss ways and means of how they could all work together to implement the Chandler report. Concurrent with the preparation and release of this report, was the release in 1981 of the Melbourne Strategy Implementation Report that was prepared by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in conjunction with Amendment 150 to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme.

From the mid to late 1970s and onward (as outlined in Chapter 3), there had been a noticeable change in planning policy for the metropolitan area of Melbourne and there was

a shift from the outward, corridor growth patterns to a more consolidated pattern of growth. In addition, the *Melbourne Housing Study* (King 1981) highlighted the existing and future problems for consumers of housing in Melbourne. It painted a fairly stark scenario as to future housing opportunities.

So the seeds for dual occupancy were firmly sown and the Committee used every possible opportunity to promote the opportunities for the concept. According to Rae, the key issues for dual occupancy at this time were to provide an increase the diversity and options for housing, and to examine the inflexibility of the current planning controls in relation to this form of development. The Urban Land Authority played an important role in demonstrating the advantages of smaller lot sizes, and in the 1980s it had a policy of ensuring that a proportion of all its estates were set aside for medium density housing. In the outer suburbs like Broadmeadows the allocation was around 10%, while in the middle suburbs like Box Hill it was 30%. (McCutcheon, 1992).

In 1987 the Government appointed John Lawson as Deputy and then Chairman of the ULA. The Government gave him a Charter to pursue housing affordability objectives and to reshape the Authority. Whereas the Authority had previously ensured its residential developments matched those of its private sector rurals, Lawson pursued an entirely more radical agenda. Instead of accepting the generally accepted experts view of the market the Authority employed ways to mould and change the market. In a three year period, densities of the large core estates were increased by up to 40%, largely through raising amenity standards in totally integrated housing estates.

Parts of the resultant cost savings were used to drive down or at least contain prices and part of it was spent on genuine improved community facilities. In the initial phase, particularly at the Meadows Heights estate at

Broadmeadows, dual occupancy was used as planning approval already existed but subsequently the Authority replaced its estates to these new standards. The Authority rapidly took over the role as market leader and other developers adopted the new standards. Dual occupancy had played a small but important role as a tool.

At this time, specific proposals for dual occupancy had been included in Amendment 150, with dual occupancy being nominated as a conditional, 'as of right' use in Residential C zones. This meant that it was permitted as of right, subject to certain conditions being met. According to Rae, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works was quite adamant that this was the only workable option, and it was the only way that it could get through the local council opposition, which was already being strongly noted.

In this regard, the key planners from the Ministry for Planning and Environment considered that they had learnt from what had happened with dual occupancy in New South Wales (Goldstone). Prior to this, New South Wales had tried to implement dual occupancy by firstly making it a discretionary use, and secondly by tying it to occupancy provisions in that the second occupant had to be related in some way to the main owner or tenant. According to Roseth, this proved to be much too inflexible and for the years that it was in operation, the provisions did not achieve any noticeable results (ie any obvious increases in dwelling construction) as too many councils would not issue permits due to their discretionary powers.

After observing the problems with implementation in New South Wales, particularly the difficulties with dual occupancy being a discretionary use in residential zones, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works was convinced that New South Wales was on the wrong track, and that dual occupancy should be a conditional, 'as of right' requirement in all Planning Schemes (Burr).

Yencken indicated that New South Wales indirectly set the scene for the evolution of the dual occupancy policy in Victoria. Looking back in 1991, he recalled that the genesis of the policy came from initiatives in New South Wales. He believed, however, that Victoria made a:

> *much more significant attempt to do something about the issue and that was to force councils to do something about medium density.*

By the time Yencken was appointed as Director of the Ministry for Planning and Environment after the election of the Cain Labour Government in March 1982, significant work and attempts to get the dual occupancy policy up and running had already been made, particularly from the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works. He believed that there was clear evidence that the 'as of right' provision in the planning schemes would be the only way to achieve positive results. Some of those interviewed regarded Yencken as one of the first bureaucrats to consider the dual occupancy policy in the context of efforts to try and introduce urban consolidation initiatives to metropolitan Melbourne. Although overall his staff at the Ministry for Planning and Environment was supportive, Yencken was aware that there was some pockets of resistance to the introduction of the policy amongst his key staff. Chandler was more forthcoming in his criticisms and indicated that in the early 1980s, the Ministry of Planning and Environment *was not all that interested in urban consolidation and dual occupancy.*

The actual process of implementing dual occupancy as a policy and including it as a provision of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme became somewhat long and laborious. From the time the *Melbourne Strategy Implementation Report* was released in 1981 through to the formal inclusion of the planning controls in the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme, four years passed. The role of the Ministry of Housing in the process at this

stage had begun to decline, although it still maintained an active interest in the policy and were still involved in its promotion and implementation for its public clients.

It had become critical to get the dual occupancy provisions approved by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and especially by its Planning Committee, which was principally comprised of elected local councillors from various municipalities. By this time, most local councils were vigorous in their opposition to dual occupancy. There were some vociferous opponents of the policy, including council representatives on the Planning Committee of the Board, including Frank Cox from Coburg and Peter Cownley from Keilor (Rae). It took until 1984 before the Board formally adopted the dual occupancy provisions of Amendment 150, by which time the Cain Labour Government was in power, but according to Rae:

> ..... *a very conservative planning department at the Ministry of Planning and Environment still existed.*

An independent panel was appointed by the Minister for Planning to hear submissions in relation to Part 7 of Amendment 150 that dealt with the dual occupancy provisions (chaired by John Bayly).

Rae's recollection was that the government at this stage was not prepared to come in and over-ride the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and in his opinion the government did not push strongly enough to curtail the prolonged implementation process. He further believed that the Ministry of Planning and Environment did not play a strong part in implementing the Amendment 150 provisions and considered that it was the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and the Ministry of Housing which did most of the work.

Following the recommendations of the independent panel to adopt Part 7 of Amendment 150 (which dealt with the dual

occupancy provisions), the proposal went to the Planning Committee of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works on 20 March 1984. However the Committee asked for further information, as members were wary of approving dual occupancy in the recommended format which allowed it to be an 'as of right' provision. The Planning Department of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works had numerous informal meetings with the internal Planning Committee in an effort to try and get them to understand and to approve the amendment.

Rae met with some of the Planning Committee members individually and discussed a number of proposals with them and he claimed this eventually resulted in a slight modification of the amendment with the introduction of some further minor changes. These changes were informally canvassed with supportive colleagues at the Ministry of Housing (Rae 1991, Kneebone 1991).

On 8 May 1984 the Planning Committee of the MMBW adopted Amendment 150 Part 7. It was then sent to the Honourable Evan Walker, Minister of Planning, for his approval. However, the Ministry for Planning and Environment still had some concerns which stemmed from local government, and the Ministry allowed a further two month period for submissions which, according to Rae, continued to hold up the process.

It is understood that it took further discussion with Yencken to push the amendment through, as he as head of department, was supportive, but some members of his Ministry staff were not. Dual occupancy was finally approved as Amendment 367 on 27 November 1984. According to Yencken, Ministers do not lightly introduce 'as of right' provisions, and he believed that the Planning Minister at the time, Evan Walker was looking for three criteria needed to be met prior to giving it his approval. These included that the dual occupancy concept, when left with local government, was able to be properly implemented,

that dual occupancy could work in an attractive and reasonable way and that other Ministers could be convinced of the same.

As part of the internal lobbying and in order to convince Evan Walker and other Ministers of the need for dual occupancy, Dennis Ingemann of the Ministry of Housing (who was assisting Kneebone) organised a bus tour of dual occupancy projects completed by the Ministry of Housing. Yencken called this ``a *very influential and successful event''*, while Ingemann remembered it as a:

> *seminal event in the evolution of dual occupancy becoming an actuality as it totally convinced the three Ministers that dual occupancy was a good thing and that they ought to move in on it.*

The other Ministers present included the Hon. Ian Cathie (Minister for Housing), and the Hon. Frank Wilkes (Minister for Local Government). In addition Roy Gilbert (Director of Housing), Rae and Mr Wilkes' adviser accompanied Ingemann on the bus tour, which took approximately two hours and visited a number of dual occupancy developments in the Kew, Heidelberg and Doncaster areas. Many of these projects had been developed on Ministry of Housing sites as it was effectively the only developer which had built any at this time, but some projects were converted to dual occupancies from spot purchase properties. According to Ingemann, many of these were subject to Planning Appeal Board hearings in order to allow them to proceed, as the various councils did not allow a permit for development. With one exception, all were allowed to proceed. As each development was built and opened, a *launch* was held and they were promoted and marketed as a cost effective form of housing.

According to Rae and Ingemann, the bus tour helped convince the Ministers present that dual occupancy did not harm anyone, and if designed well, it could blend in with other

development.   It was considered to be a very useful exercise as it helped to convince the Ministers, especially Mr Wilkes, that what was being built was perfectly acceptable and that a dual occupancy development was really just two villa units.

In addition, and as part of the ongoing publicity, the Ministry of Housing and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works released a joint design guideline brochure, *Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Guidelines No 1: Dual Occupancy* in October 1982. This brochure introduced the concept of dual occupancy, it discussed its benefits and provided conceptual examples of how a dual occupancy could be designed on standard allotments. In this regard, the brochure provided 7 dual occupancy examples and discussed site area, building area, building coverage, plot ratio and open space areas. It also discussed the relevant regulations, municipal by laws and controls. At the time of its release, the formal planning provisions for dual occupancy had not been introduced, however it encouraged the application for two units on the one site under the existing planning scheme provisions. It was considered to be helpful to some people in that it had some details relating to infrastructure and service issues.   It was considered that the MMBW planning heads were innately conservative, and they strongly resisted change even when the writing was on the wall.

The brochure also promoted the benefits of dual occupancy as a joint venture between two major government departments.   According to Kneebone, there was some opposition from the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in being involved in this as the Ministry of Housing had by now come to the conclusion that they had done all they could to make dual occupancy work and due to its much wider planning implications, it was now up to the planning authorities to develop suitable controls for its implementation.

Following the gazettal of Amendment 367 in November 1985, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry for Planning and Development produced a further brochure which followed along the same lines as the 1982 brochure, but which detailed the planning provisions where a permit would not be required for a dual occupancy development in a Residential C Zone. It also provided the dual occupancy guidelines that potential applicants would need to consider in applying for a dual occupancy development.

Yencken believed that dual occupancy was only one measure for facilitating urban consolidation, and although he stated it was ''*a useful measure, it clearly has now had some distortions introduced because of other factors*''.

Kneebone commented that it was recognised that dual occupancy would not put any more people back into an area than already existed at the peak of an area's population. On a dual occupancy site, the average number of people living there may be between three and five, which is somewhat higher than the metropolitan household size average. But with diminishing household size in other parts of an area, net population gains may not be achieved. What dual occupancy was attempting to do, according to Kneebone, was to ''*put about as many bums back on toilet seats as used to be there*''.

One criticism of a perceived effect of dual occupancy by councils was that it would lead to a hastened need to improve the urban infrastructure of an area (water, sewerage, drainage etc). However, in older residential areas this infrastructure would gradually need to be augmented or improved, or replaced in time anyway.

The Victorian Ministry of Housing came to the conclusion in the very early 1980s that if the dual occupancy policy was to be introduced in Victoria, it then had to find a way of ''*selling*'' it to the local councils, the building and housing industry, the planning authorities and the housing

consumers. Thus it emphasised its advantages in terms of housing choice and affordability and marketed these aspects as its key benefits. Planning scheme provisions pertaining to development of dual occupancy developments were prepared, however the Ministry of Housing considered some of the standard clauses to be prohibitive, particularly on aspects such as car parking, height limitations, overlooking, area of dwelling and site coverage.

The Ministry of Housing was prepared to go further than it was originally allowed by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and then the Ministry of Planning and Environment, and Kneebone claimed the version that was finally allowed was significantly watered down from that which was originally proposed. For example, the conditions attached to dual occupancies were more stringent and the need for a town planning permit for matters if those conditions were not able to be satisfied was increased.

It had been considered by Groves that some developers would use dual occupancy as a cheaper way of providing more housing, particularly more so in the outer and fringe municipalities rather than in the middle ring suburbs and areas. This was seen as one of the objectives of dual occupancy policy. However, some more recent research had shown that most dual occupancies have been built with reasonable care and design, and in some instances it has greatly enhanced the amenity of many areas in that it enabled the removal of old and worn out housing and has allowed it to be replaced with new housing which had been subject to various controls relating to design (Whitney 1991, Groves 1991). Further, it is subject to more controls than would exist for a single dwelling.

Kneebone considered that performance standards were more appropriate in guiding development rather than restrictive codes. He believed that if one worked from first principles on design, good design would follow automatically, and there should be no need for prohibitive

regulations and controls pertaining to the development of dual occupancy. Issues that he considered being important related to the need for good design, no matter what density was being sought.

It would appear that a perception amongst the key government players involved in the early development of dual occupancy was that its provision had the potential for increased housing affordability to consumers. Kneebone believed that, from a consumer perspective if a greater variety of housing types could be provided it then became more affordable as it reflected a pent up demand that satisfied market forces. He believed that dual occupancy had the potential to make housing more universally available.

However, with regard to dual occupancy, the issue of relative affordability needed to be examined more closely in context with its location. The general community perceived a first home buyer as someone who will live in the outer suburbs, which is where most of the new residential growth is occurring. A dual occupancy in Broadmeadows or Cranbourne may be *affordable* to a young couple, however a dual occupancy in Brighton or Camberwell is unlikely to be affordable to the same couple.

Groves suggested that people were still under the apprehension that affordability can be *produced* for first home buyers in Camberwell and similar areas. The issue of affordability needed to be further studied and couched in that context. However Groves further believed that land developed for dual occupancy purposes in most residential areas of Melbourne had reached a stage where it was producing affordable housing and a land price break was occurring. As noted previously noted this had been achieved through a raft of measures including dual occupancy but it mainly occurred through a significant increase in density.

4.3 Criticisms of Dual Occupancy Policy

One of the identified negative impacts of dual occupancy policy has been its impact on medium density development commencements. Through further work, the State Government has acknowledged that the introduction of dual occupancy has actually contributed to the decrease of urban consolidation opportunities in metropolitan Melbourne. (Department of Planning and Urban Growth, 1990)

Many councils within the metropolitan area of Melbourne have expressed quite considerable opposition to dual occupancy while others in the community such as builders and developers and the Housing Industry Association support the general aims of the policy (Groves). Groves expressed the view that since 1985, as Councils are powerless to refuse dual occupancy development provided certain conditions are met, a complacent but nevertheless slightly resentful attitude existed about its implementation and effect. Equally some councils have also expressed considerable opposition to medium density development.

A report prepared for the (former) Department of Planning and Urban Growth in 1990 by consultants (Tract et al) levelled a number of criticisms at dual occupancy policy, particularly at some of its perceived negative and unintended effects or consequences:

> *Since the introduction of the dual occupancy policy, there has been a reduction in medium density statistics. Dual occupancy may actually be reducing the overall percentage of multi-unit housing stock, instead of its intended aim to arrest the long term decline in medium density housing in Melbourne ... many of the sites on which dual occupancy has taken place would have been sufficiently large to build three or four dwellings, rather than two* (Tract; 1990:8).

Kneebone and others considered these to be fair comments. They believed that the state government should have had provisions for medium density housing similar to those for dual occupancy. However, Kneebone considered this not as a criticism of the dual occupancy policy itself, but rather as a criticism of the lack of depth of the range of options generally available for medium density housing. (This criticism was partially addressed under the provisions of VicCode.)

From the housing market perspective, Groves was also critical of the lack of opportunities provided for medium density housing and also believed that dual occupancy may have contributed to decreased urban consolidation opportunities. He did not believe that Councils took enough interest in their role as *providers* of housing, rather they became too involved in the regulative aspect. He believed councils had a ''*you tell us what you want to do and we will tell you if you can do it*'' approach.

Kneebone believed that the dual occupancy policy did not go far enough, that it could have perhaps been a tri-occupancy policy, or even a complete multi-unit policy. He believed that dual occupancy on its own would never have been able to satisfy urban consolidation objectives as it was highly unlikely that the inner and middle ring suburbs would ever again achieve their peak population numbers of the 1950s and 1960s, even though it was recognised that this was not an early specific objective of urban consolidation. Subsequent research has proved these views to be correct.

He also considered that one of the major reasons why approvals for medium density housing declined in the 1980 and early 1990 period was because of the weight of objections allowed for any proposal, and the appeal rights of the third party objectors. Without getting into a debate at this time about such rights, there was no doubt that the vexatious attitude of many third parties, and the flow on effect that it has on councillors and council

officers, was a major factor in the reluctance of developers to proceed with the process of gaining approval for medium density development. In the long run, this not only added to delays in starts, but also to increasing costs which then ultimately had to be passed on to the housing consumer. Also in 1988/89, the property market collapsed because of wider economic factors.

5. ANALYSIS OF DUAL OCCUPANCY DATA

As previously discussed, dual occupancy was provided for as 'of right' in metropolitan planning schemes in 1985. Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis focus on the impact of dual occupancy on the metropolitan area of Melbourne from an empirical perspective and address the following issues:

- The extent to which dual occupancy development occurred in the metropolitan area of Melbourne from 1985/86 to 1991/92.

- The geographic locations in metropolitan Melbourne where dual occupancy development occurred.

- The extent to which dual occupancy development had an impact on real population growth in the Melbourne metropolitan area from 1985 to 1992.

- The extent to which dual occupancy development had an impact on occupancy rates and changing household structures.

5.1 Research Background

The research in this chapter is based on analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics, and Department of Planning and Development data, and focuses on building statistics, dual occupancy approvals, and population and household data from 1985/86 to 1991/92. Where appropriate, the data is correlated with 1991 census of population and dwelling data on broad population and household data to provide the basis for determining whether or not dual occupancy development has had an impact on population and household formation rates, and therefore on the consolidation of the metropolitan area.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (A.B.S.) regularly publish two sets of statistics relating to new building and dwelling commencements for each local government area of Metropolitan Melbourne. Such statistics are published monthly, and at the end of each financial year they are tabulated and published as annual statistics.

The statistics referred to and used as a source of information for this study were as follows:

> (i) Building Approvals by Statistical Local Areas (Publication 8731.2)
>
> (ii) Dwelling Unit Commencements Reported by Approving Authorities (Publication 8741.2)

These figures were compiled by the A.B.S. who were initially provided with the relevant information by the development approval authorities, that is, the local municipalities. Generally, building approvals and dwelling

unit commencements were categorised by the A.B.S. as follows:

Building Approvals

New Residential Buildings   Non-Residential Buildings

Houses   Other Residential
                         Buildings

Private   Public   Private   Public
Sector   Sector   Sector   Sector
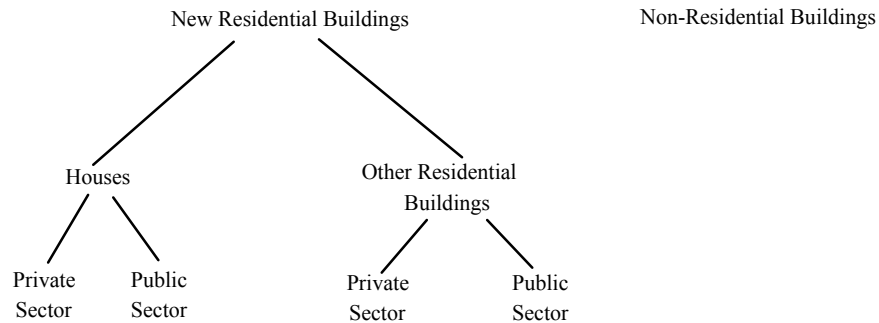
The exact details of what constituted a new residential building, or a home or other residential building was not defined or explained in Publication 8731.2. However, it was defined in Publication 8741.2. These relevant definitions are as follows:

> *Dwelling Unit: A dwelling unit is defined ... as a self contained suite of rooms, including cooking and bathing facilities and intended for long term residential use. Units (whether self contained or not) within buildings offering institutional care, such as hospitals, or temporary accommodation such as motels, hostels and holiday apartments, are not defined as dwelling units.* (ABS 1991:13)

> *Residential Building: A residential building is defined as a building predominantly consisting of one or more dwelling units. Residential buildings can be either houses or other residential buildings.* (ABS 1991:13)

> *House: A house is defined as a detached building predominantly used for long term residential purposes and consisting of only one dwelling*

unit. This includes detached ''granny flats'' and detached dwelling units (such as caretakers' residences) associated with non-residential buildings are defined as houses for the purpose of these statistics. (ABS 1991:13)

Other Residential Building: *Any other residential building is defined as a building which is predominantly used for long term residential purposes and which contains (or has attached to it) more than one dwelling unit (eg. includes townhouses, duplexes, apartment buildings, etc.)* (ABS 1991:13)

The data contained in Publication 8731.2 has been used for analysis in this study, but with limited application only, as it did not properly differentiate between the various forms of dual occupancy that were available. For the purposes of this research no distinction was made between public and private sector developments, nor was data used which related to non- residential buildings.

In addition, only the **total numbers** of building approvals was used and the total cost of such approvals was not considered to be of relevance to this research.

In addition, the Department of Planning and Development had compiled statistics on the total number of dual occupancies approved, based on ABS Publication 8731.2. This data was supplied by the Department for the purposes of this research in quarterly totals from 1986, following which it was summarised into annual totals for each of the financial years 1986/87 to 1991/92.

Unfortunately, there was a major weakness in the data, in that the dual occupancy statistics were not disaggregated into the ''houses'' or ''other residential buildings'' categories. Dual occupancy could include a range of development types, including two single detached units on the one site, a new attached unit sharing a common wall

boundary with an existing dwelling, two new attached units on an allotment and so on. The various forms and types of dual occupancy development have previously been discussed in earlier chapters. For these reasons the impact of dual occupancy and multi density development was significantly understated.

If the dwelling was **attached** it was categorised as 'other residential buildings', and if it was **detached** it was categorised as a 'house'. However, the data subsumes dual occupancy numbers in each of these categories.

5.2 Shortcomings of Data Presented

There were a number of shortcomings in the way in which data relating to dual occupancies and building approvals had been presented by the ABS. This had introduced difficulties in the analysis of the data and it had limited the way in which the data had been able to be analysed and subsequently interpreted and presented.

In the first instance, the ABS did not publish data on dual occupancy approvals alone, rather data on dual occupancy approvals were incorporated into building approval statistics (catalogue 8731.2), and even in this situation, the individual statistics on dual occupancy were not evident. It was from further derivation of this data from the (former) Department of Planning and Housing that dual occupancy statistics became available in a published form, but only on a very limited basis.

However, even in this form, it was difficult to determine properly the form and type of dual occupancies that were being approved in the metropolitan area. The data did not show whether the dual occupancies were as houses, or other residential buildings, whether they were two new houses on an allotment, or an additional house on an existing allotment, whether they were joined to an existing house by a common wall, or whether the were built as two home units.

The lack of such statistical data meant that the type of dual occupancies being built in the various regions or municipalities of Melbourne was not able to properly researched, and it is considered that this information was crucial to the proper analysis of the impact of dual occupancy development in metropolitan Melbourne.

At this time, problems with ABS data was also recognised by some municipal councils, and in particular, the City of Doncaster and Templestowe had written to the ABS with such concerns:

> *..... there is a problem with the Building Approvals publication for Victoria (No. 8731.2). For example, according to this publication there were only 6 Building Approvals for 'other residential buildings' in 1989/90 for the City of Doncaster and Templestowe. However, our building approvals for the same period show there were 196 units or attached dwellings.*
>
> *This problem occurs because the copies of Building Approvals forwarded to you have only limited information. In most instances references to ''units'' in our records is for attached dwellings. In addition, a dual occupancy which comprises two detached houses are included with other single detached houses are in the Australian Bureau of Statistics publication referred to above. Hence, the extent of multi-unit/dual occupancy development occurring in the City is being further underestimated. … suggest that you review your method of gathering statistics so that a more realistic picture can be given.* (City of Doncaster and Templestowe, 14 June, 1991).

A further issue that had a major impact on the housing and building statistics was the world wide economic and

financial crisis of the late 1980s and this economic period had a major influence on housing starts.

5.3 Dwelling Unit Commencements

The data from ABS publication 8741.2 on dwelling unit commencements has been summarised for each local government area of Melbourne for the year's 1984/85 to 1991/92. The data included the total number of houses and other residential buildings, the numerical change for each year, the percentage change for each year and the proportion of houses and other residential buildings in relation to the metropolitan total.

Dwelling Unit Commencements are defined as the following:

> *For the purposes of this statistical series, a residential building is regarded as being commenced on the date when:*
>
> *a) a local government or other government authority building inspector or surveyor first inspects the building work, whether the work is passed or not. In general, the first inspection is undertaken at the foundation or footings stage of construction; or*
>
> *b) the building work is determined as commenced by a building inspector or surveyor* (ABS 1991:13).

The following Figures 11, 12 13a and 13b have been derived from the data on dwelling unit commencements from 1984/85 to 1991/92, which is provided in tabular form in Appendix 5.
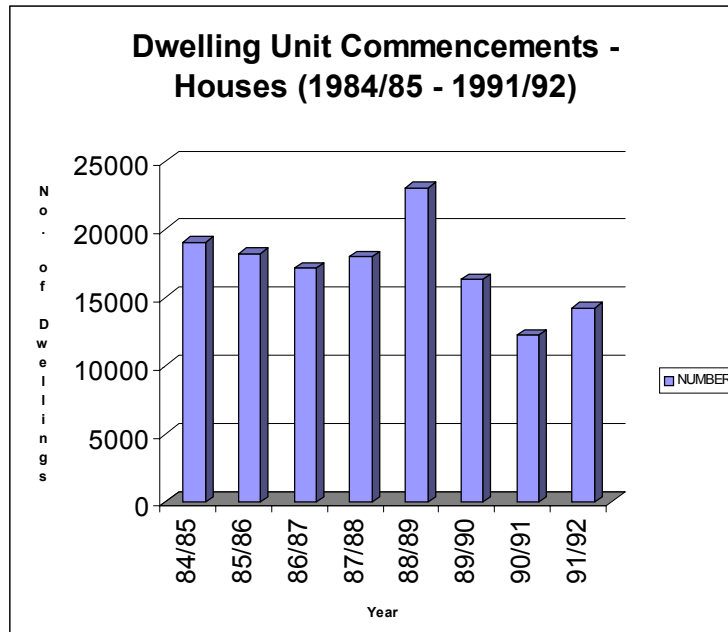
Figure 11:   Dwelling Unit Commencements for Houses
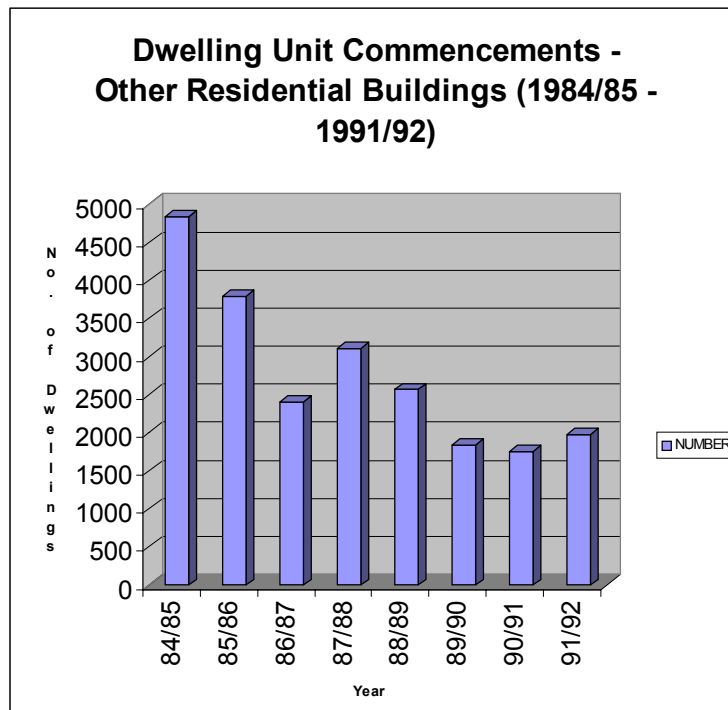
Figure 12:   Dwelling Unit Commencements for Other Residential Buildings
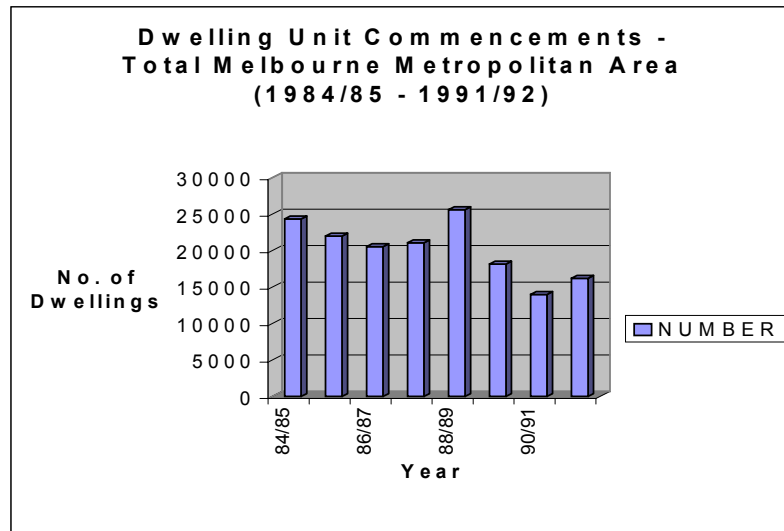
Figure 13a: Total Dwelling Unit Commencements for Houses and Other Residential Buildings (1984/85 to 1991/92)
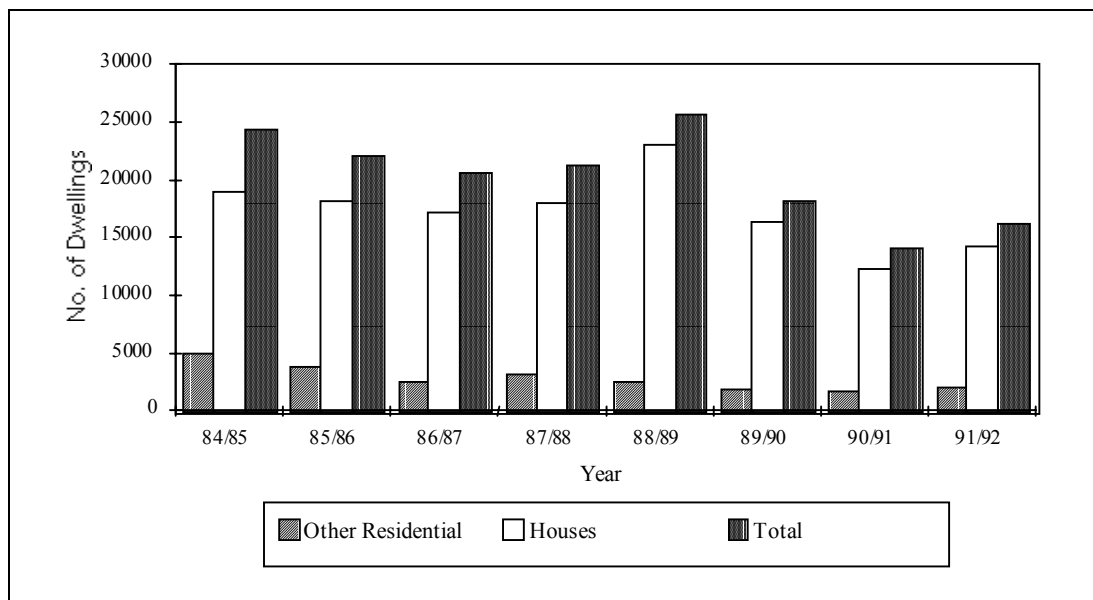
Figure 13b: Dwelling Unit Commencements for Houses and Other Residential Buildings (1984/85 – 1991/92)

The data for dwelling units commenced for the MSD has been analysed on a total metropolitan basis because more

detailed and relevant information can be better derived from the statistics on building approvals and dual occupancies. Nevertheless, the dwelling unit commencements revealed a number of interesting features, which provided indications of housing development trends since 1984/85.

Total dwelling unit commencements reached a peak of 25,600 in 1988/89, of which 23031 or 90% were housing commencements. Other residential commencements peaked in 1984/85 (which was the first year such data was made available), and it has steadily declined since that period, apart from a slight increase to reverse the trend in 1991/92.

In 1984/85, the proportion of ``houses'' to ``other residential'' was almost 4:1; however, this has gradually declined to 9:1 in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Evidence elsewhere in this work suggests that the decline in other residential buildings is due to the increase in dual occupancies (see Chapter 5.5).

From 1984/85 to 1991/92, there has been a steady decline in commencements of some 4832 houses or a decrease of 25%. However, from 1988/89, (which was the peak year) to 1991/92, there has been a steady decline of 8811 houses or 38%.

Similarly, from 1984/85 to 1991/92, there has been a decline of 2862 other residential buildings or 59%, but a less proportionate decline was exhibited from 1988/89 of 588 or 23% to 1991/92. This is because the total number of other residential buildings has steadily been declining since 1984/85 anyway. In fact, there has been a steady and noticeable decline in other residential buildings since 1984/85, and although the proportion of other residential buildings to houses increased slightly in 1991/92, total numbers are very low.

## 5.4 Building Approvals

In addition to Dwelling Unit Commencements, the data from ABS publication 8731.2 *Building Approvals* has been summarised for each local government area of Melbourne for the years 1986/87 to 1991/92 (1986/87 was the first year this data was available). Again the data included the total number of houses and other residential buildings, the numerical and percentage changes for each year and the proportion of houses and other residential buildings in relation to the total number of dwellings approved. A summary of the data in table form from 1986/87 to 1991/92 has been provided in Appendix 6. The summary of building approvals is graphically illustrated in Figures 14, 15, 16 and 17a and 17b.

This data has been compared with data obtained from Department of Planning and Development statistics on dual occupancy approvals, and although comparisons have been made, full evaluation and comparisons was not possible due to the fact that the breakdown of dual occupancy numbers into ''houses'' and ''other residential buildings'' was not available. A more detailed analysis of the dual occupancy statistics is presented further on.
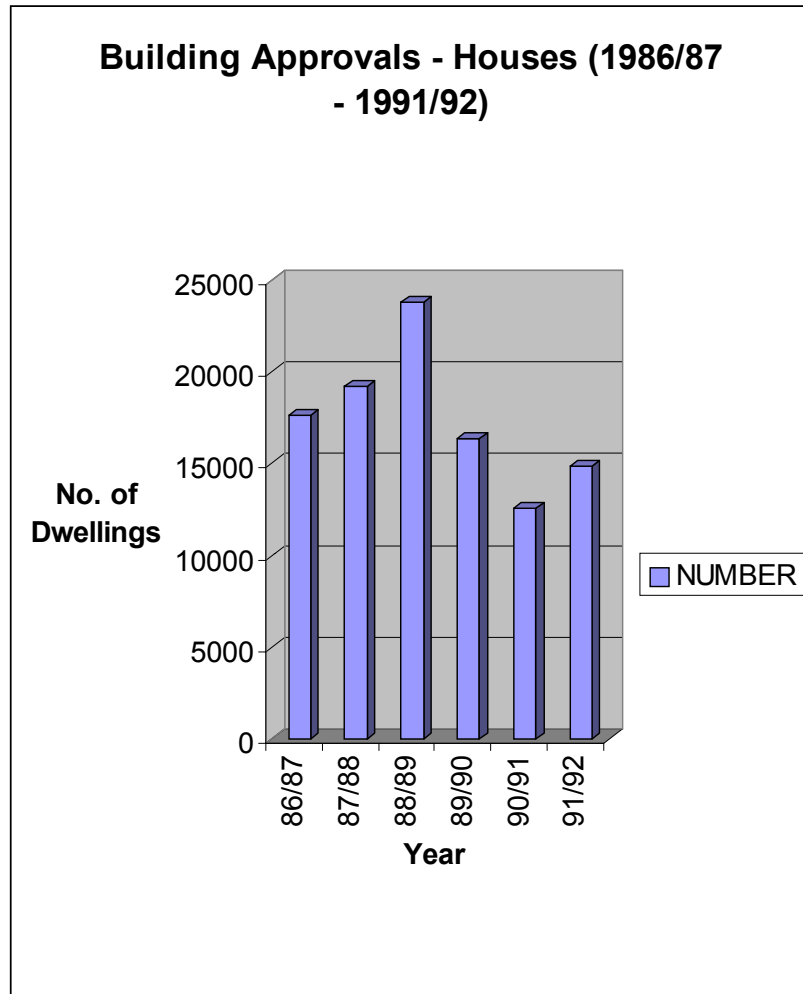
Figure 14: Building Approvals for Houses: 1986/87 - 1991/92

Building Approvals - Other Residential Buildings (1986/87 - 1991/92)

Figure 15: Building Approvals for Other Residential Buildings: 1986/87 - 1991/92
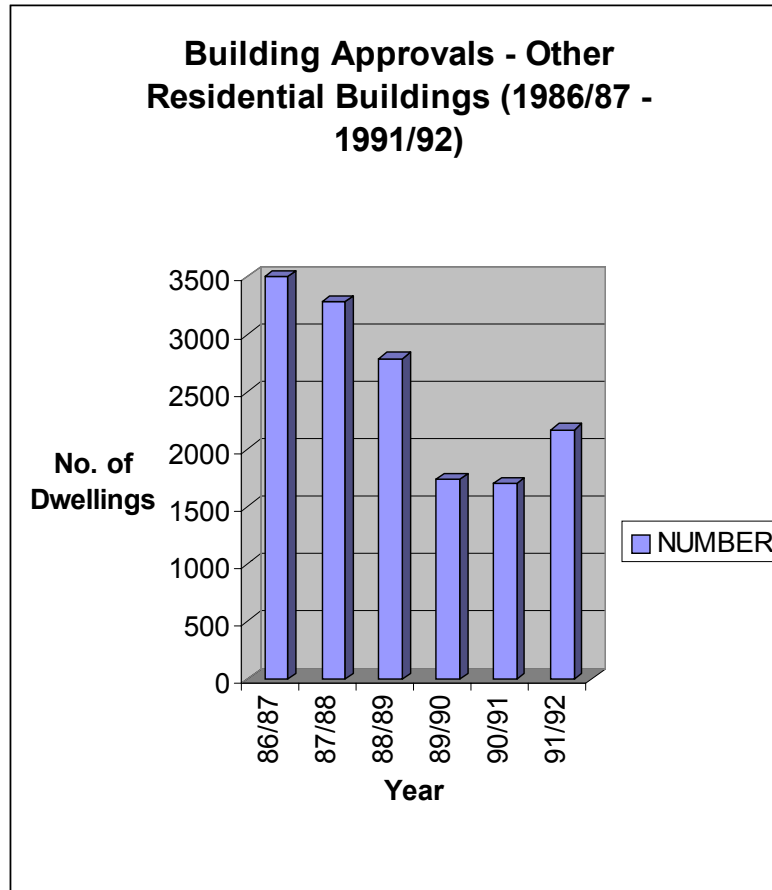
**Building Approvals - Dual Occupancy
(1986/87 - 1991/92)**
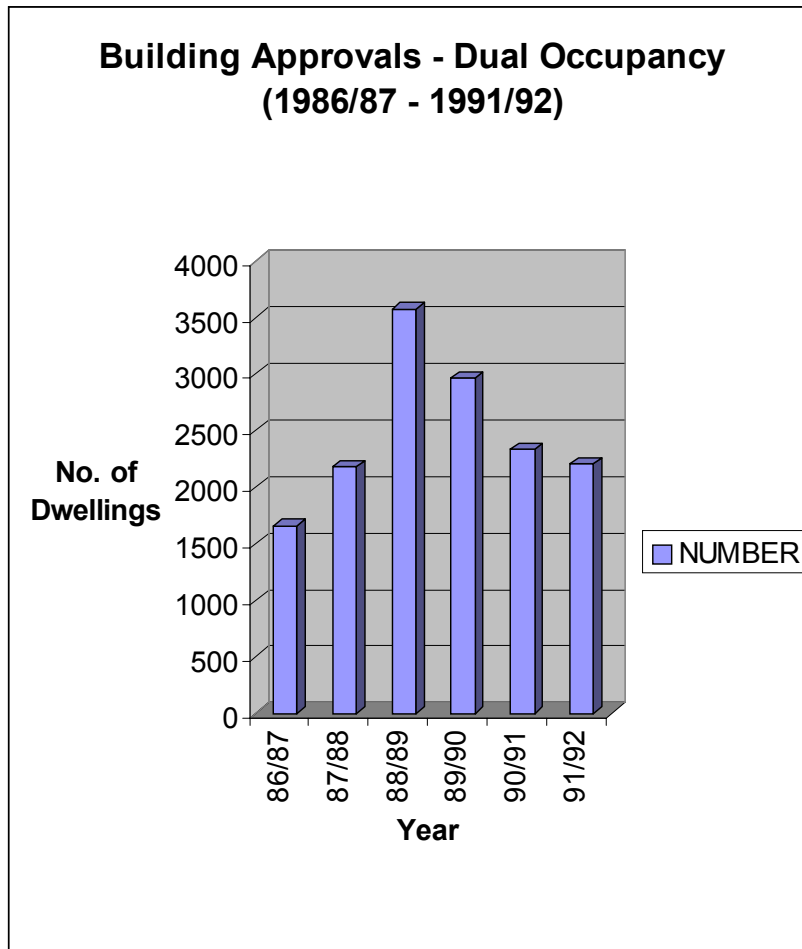
**Figure 16: Building Approvals for Dual Occupancy: 1986/87 –
1991/92**
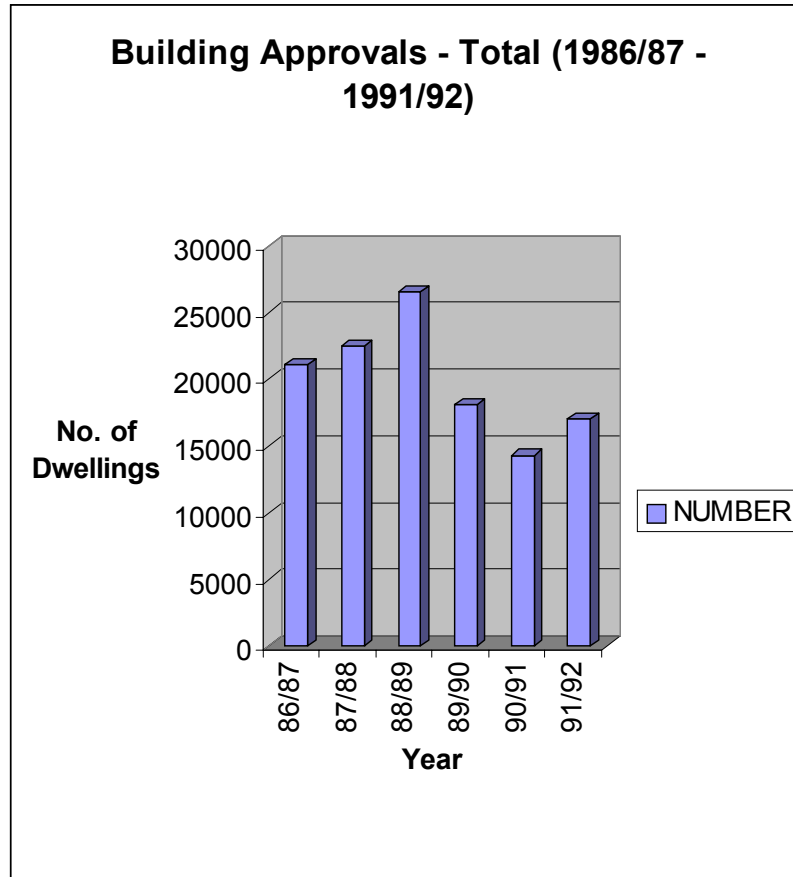
Figure 17a: Total Building Approvals: 1986/87 - 1991/92
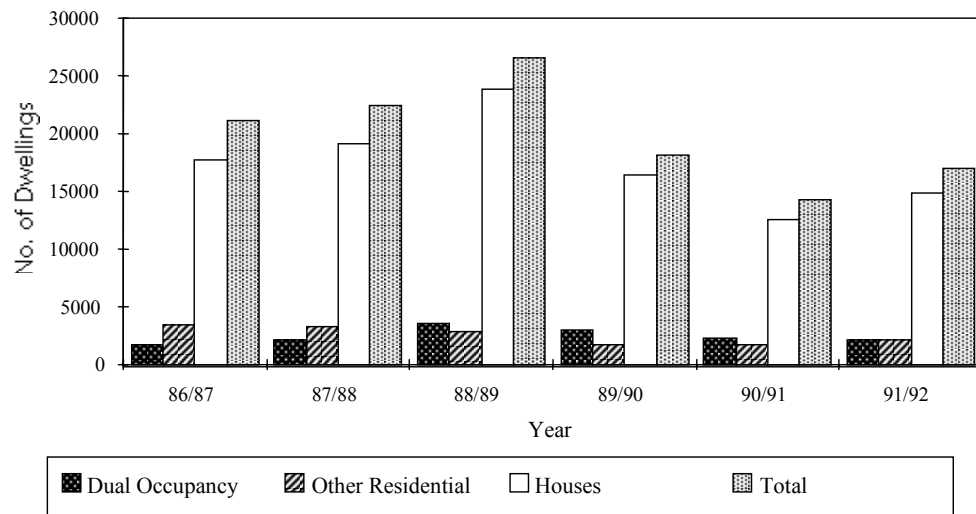
Figure 17b: Total Building Approvals: 1986/87 - 1991/92

A number of observations and conclusions can be drawn from this data.

The pattern of building approvals for the metropolitan area of Melbourne is similar to the pattern exhibited by dwelling unit commencements, with peaks shown for the total number of ''houses'' occurring in 1988/89. From that year on, there was a distinctive and steady decline, until 1991/92, when the trend was reversed.

The total number of ''other residential buildings'' decreased steadily from a high of 3498 in 1986/87 to a low of 1704 in 1990/91, and the proportion of such compared to houses in relation to total building approvals has also declined, although it did pick up slightly to 12.7% in 1991/92.

The total number of dual occupancies in the metropolitan area of Melbourne grew from 1986/87 to 1988/89, which was the peak housing era at the time of this research. Dual occupancies have declined since then at a rate similar to that of ''other residential buildings''. However, this rate of decline is not as significant as the rate of decline of ''houses'' or total building approvals. More significantly however, is the fact that while the number of houses and other residential buildings picked up in 1991/92, the number of dual occupancies continued to decrease.

However, dual occupancy approvals as a percentage of total housing approvals has increased steadily since 1986/87, commencing at 7.9% of all building approvals in 1986/87 and rising to 16.4% and 16.3% respectively for the years of 1989/90 and 1990/91 respectively. There was a distinct decline in the proportion of dual occupancies from 1990/91 to 1991/92 (from 16.3% to 12.9%).

Of 119,672 total building approvals from 1986/87 through to 1991/92, a total of 14,908 of these were approvals for dual

occupancies.   This represents 12% of all building
approvals.

On the basis of these statistics alone it could be
concluded that dual occupancy approvals had a significant
impact on the housing market, and it is suggested that this
impact would have continued.   However, the rate of decline
of ''other residential building'' approvals must also be
recognised to determine whether or not the rate of dual
occupancy approvals has had a significant impact on this
decline.   Later analysis will indicate that there has not
been a significant impact.

5.5 Dual Occupancy Approvals

The following Tables 1and 2 provide an analysis of the
total number of houses, other residential buildings and
dual occupancy developments that were built from 1986/87 to
1991/92 for each municipality in metropolitan Melbourne.
It also provides a breakdown of this data to indicate the
percentage of dual occupancy development for each
municipality compared with the total housing activity and
also the percentage of dual occupancy for each municipality
as part of the total dual occupancies completed for the
timeframe of this research.

The data for dual occupancy approvals exhibit some
interesting trends and characteristics.   One trend is that
very few, (ie. 6 to 8) municipalities have provided most of
the total dual occupancy approvals that occurred in each
year.   In some respects, this is relative to the total
number of building approvals, particularly in growth
municipalities which were developing at a rapid rate, such
as Werribee.

Under the State Governments local government area
classification system contained in ''*Shaping Melbourne's
Future*'' (1987), Moorabbin, Nunawading, Waverley and Keilor
are all classified as middle ring municipalities,

Broadmeadows as an outer municipality and Berwick and Werribee as fringe municipalities (see Figure 18).

The outer municipalities were generally characterised by young lifestyle families building houses on larger lots (ie in excess of 500 square metres), with lower housing costs and a quick return to the developer. Some ULA developments imposed covenants on land to preclude the development of dual occupancy for these reasons.

Legend

Core
Inner
Middle
Outer
Fringe
EAST Region

PORT PHILLIP BAY

NORTH

WEST

CENTRAL

EAST

SOUTH

SCALE
KILOMETRES

	Core	Inner	Middle	Outer	Fringe
CENTRAL	1 South Melbourne 2 Port Melbourne 3 Melbourne 4 Fitzroy 5 Collingwood 6 Richmond 7 Prahran 8 St Kilda				
WEST		9 Williamstown 10 Footscray 11 Essendon	**	31 Altona 32 Sunshine 33 Keilor	44 Werribee 45 Melton
NORTH		12 Brunswick 13 Coburg · 14 Northcote	22 Preston 23 Heidelberg	34 Broadmeadows 35 Diamond Valley 36 Eltham	46 Whittlesea 47 Bulla
EAST		15 Kew 16 Hawthorn 17 Camberwell	24 Box Hill 25 Doncaster & Templestowe 26 Waverley 27 Nunawading	37 Croydon 38 Knox 39 Ringwood	48 Healesville 49 Lillydale 50 Sherbrooke
SOUTH		18 Malvern 19 Caulfield 20 Brighton 21 Sandringham	28 Oakleigh 29 Moorabbin 30 Mordialloc	40 Dandenong 41 Springvale 42 Frankston 43 Chelsea	51 Berwick 52 Pakenham 53 Cranbourne 54 Mornington 55 Flinders 56 Hastings

**see outer west

Figure 18:   Regions and Rings (from Shaping Melbourne's Future, 1987)

Table 1 provides a summary of the percentage of dual occupancies which have been approved each year for each municipality in the metropolitan area of Melbourne. (This information has been derived from the following Table 2.)

Table 1: Dual Occupancy Development in Metropolitan Melbourne: 1986/87 - 1991/92

% OF TOTAL METRO D.O.	NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES					TOTAL NUMBER	TOTAL %
	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91		
0.0 to 0.5	15	15	16	19	16	15	4.2
0.6 to 1.5	12	16	15	11	18	13	11
1.6 to 2.5	18	10	8	9	10	12	23.9
2.6 to 3.0	5	8	10	9	6	9	28.2
3.0 plus	6	7	7	8	8	7	32.6
TOTAL	56	56	56	56	58	56	99.9

Source: Department of Planning and Development

From this table it can be seen that 28 (or exactly half) of the total municipalities have provided only 15% of all dual occupancy approvals since 1986/87 and the geographical spread of those municipalities is quite significant. Specifically, the 15 municipalities which contributed 4.2% of all dual occupancy approvals since 1986/87 included (in ascending order) Healesville (0.0%), Collingwood (0.1%), Fitzroy (0.1%), Port Melbourne (0.1%), Sherbrooke (0.1%), St. Kilda (0.2%), South Melbourne (0.2%), Melbourne (0.3%), Richmond (0.3%), Mornington (0.4%), Pakenham (0.4%), Prahran (0.4%), Brunswick (0.5%), Flinders (0.5%) and Footscray (0.5%).

Of these 15 municipalities, 8 include municipalities located within the core area of metropolitan Melbourne, and 4 include slower growing outer fringe areas, some with sensitive environmental policies in place, such as Sherbrooke and Healesville.

More interesting is the geographic diversity of municipalities, which make up the 28 previously mentioned and these included Bulla (0.6%), Hastings (0.6%), Hawthorn (0.6%), Diamond Valley (0.7%), Northcote (0.7%), Coburg (0.8%), Eltham (0.8%), Malvern (0.9%), Williamstown (0.9%), Croydon (1.0%), Kew (1.1%), Mordialloc (1.4%) and Sandringham (1.4%).

Individually each of these municipalities has contributed more to total metropolitan dual occupancy approvals than

have the collective 15 municipalities listed at the beginning of this section.

This data has been mapped further on in Figures 19 to 23 to demonstrate the spatial distribution of municipalities which have low to high rates of dual occupancy developments as part of total building approvals. This information was derived from the data prepared as part of the tables to this Chapter of the thesis and also from the data presented in Appendices 5 and 6. It provides a useful measure of indicating the metropolitan trends in relation to dual occupancy development and for highlighting any spatial or locational patterns.
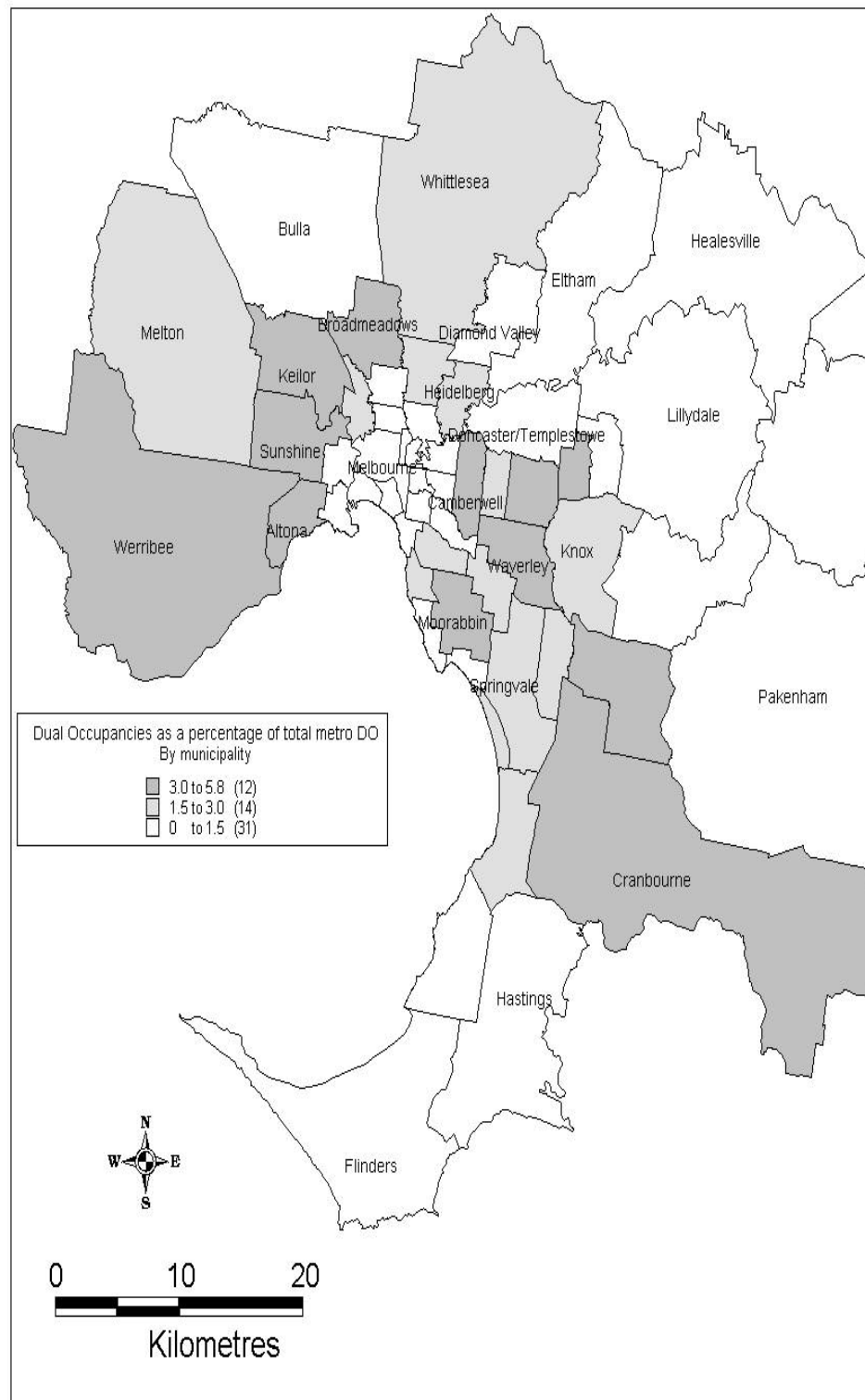
Figure 19: Dual Occupancy Development as a Percentage of Total Dual Occupancies by Municipality

As can be seen from these maps, the range of municipalities where dual occupancy development occurred during this time period is quite diverse, with no clear pattern emerging of their location. This could have suggested that the variation of dual occupancy approvals have had more to do with Council policies than anything else.

At the other end of the scale 7 municipalities have contributed almost 33% of all dual occupancy approvals since 1986/87, and these included Berwick (4.0%), Waverley (4.0%), Broadmeadows (4.4%), Keilor (4.7%), Moorabbin (4.7%), Nunawading (4.9%) and Werribee (5.8%). This correlated well with total building approvals and indicated those areas where development activity remained strong during the economic recession.

5.6 Comparative Building and Dual Occupancy Approvals

This section provides an overall commentary on the various data used to highlight the extent of dual occupancy in metropolitan Melbourne. Perhaps the most significant data for which an analysis of dual occupancy approvals is that which compares dual occupancy approvals with total building approvals, including both houses and other residential buildings for the total period 1986/87 through to 1991/92. This data covers a total of six years and provides a sufficient time period to determine any major emerging patterns or developments. This analysis has been presented in the form of a table (see Table 2) showing each municipality in the metropolitan area of Melbourne and the metropolitan area totals.

The details of the Building Approvals data were provided in an earlier part of this Chapter (5.3). This information relates to the total building approvals and a number of key characteristics have emerged. However, prior to

highlighting such characteristics, a number of points of clarification in relation to the composition of the table are necessary.

Table 2 shows the total number of housing approvals from 1986/87 to 1991/92 (Column 1) as well as the total number of other residential building approvals (Column 2) for the same time period, which collectively give the total number of building approvals in the metropolitan are of Melbourne from 1986/87 to 1991/92 (Column 3).

The table also shows the total number of dual occupancy approvals from 1986/87 to 1991/92 (Column 4). However, these approvals are included in the total houses and other residential buildings. The table **must not be read** as a three-way classification of houses, other residential buildings or dual occupancies, which collectively make up the total. The dual occupancy data was enumerated in two different categories. In other words, the numbers of dual occupancies are buried in the totals for ''houses'' and ''other residential building'' statistics.

Column 5 provides the percentage which has been derived at by dividing the total number of dual occupancy building approvals by the total number of total building approvals to determine the impact of dual occupancies since 1986/87. It is this column which is considered to be significant in terms of the analysis provided in this work.

Table 2: Comparative Building and Dual Occupancy Approvals (1986/87 - 1990/91)

MUNICIPALITIES	TOTAL HOUSES			TOTAL OTHER			TOTAL		TOTAL DUAL OCCUPANCY		
	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF METRO	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF METRO	NUMBER	% OF METRO	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF METRO
ALTONA	1313	95.8	1.5	57	4.2	0.4	1370	1.3	413	30.1	3.3
BERWICK	7056	96.2	7.9	277	3.8	2.1	7333	7.1	508	6.9	4
BOX HILL	483	53.9	0.5	413	46.1	3.2	896	0.9	339	37.8	2.7
BRIGHTON	487	83	0.5	100	17	0.8	587	0.6	202	34.4	1.6
BROADMEADOWS	2420	86.6	2.7	373	13.4	2.9	2793	2.7	554	19.8	4.4
BRUNSWICK	150	46.3	0.2	174	53.7	1.3	324	0.3	62	19.1	0.5
BULLA	3527	96.4	3.9	133	3.6	1	3660	3.6	76	2.1	0.6
CAMBERWELL	1081	80.2	1.2	267	19.8	2.1	1348	1.3	497	36.9	3.9
CAULFIELD	722	62.8	0.8	427	37.2	3.3	1149	1.1	335	29.2	2.6
CHELSEA	649	79	0.7	173	21	1.3	822	0.8	225	27.4	1.8
COBURG	402	76.1	0.4	126	23.9	1	528	0.5	101	19.1	0.8
COLLINGWOOD	54	17.1	0.1	262	82.9	2	316	0.3	13	4.1	0.1
CRANBOURNE	8267	96.1	9.2	334	3.9	2.6	8601	8.4	389	4.5	3.1
CROYDON	2247	87.6	2.5	318	12.4	2.4	2565	2.5	128	5	1
DANDENONG	827	76.8	0.9	250	23.2	1.9	1077	1	314	29.2	2.5
DIAMOND VALLEY	2294	95.9	2.6	98	4.1	0.8	2392	2.3	92	3.8	0.7
DONCASTER/TEMP	2568	84.6	2.9	468	15.4	3.6	3036	3	417	13.7	3.3
ELTHAM	1370	84.6	1.5	249	15.4	1.9	1619	1.6	107	6.6	0.8
ESSENDON	479	73.1	0.5	176	26.9	1.4	655	0.6	255	38.9	2
FITZROY	17	9.2	0	167	90.8	1.3	184	0.2	13	7.1	0.1
FLINDERS	3998	93.7	4.5	271	6.3	2.1	4269	4.2	67	1.6	0.5
FOOTSCRAY	274	44.3	0.3	345	55.7	2.7	619	0.6	64	10.3	0.5
FRANKSTON	2164	81.7	2.4	484	18.3	3.7	2648	2.6	273	10.3	2.1
HASTINGS	2016	93.4	2.2	143	6.6	1.1	2159	2.1	80	3.7	0.6
HAWTHORN	207	84.8	0.2	37	15.2	0.3	244	0.2	72	29.5	0.6
HEALESVILLE	508	95.3	0.6	25	4.7	0.2	533	0.5	5	0.9	0
HEIDELBERG	652	71.1	0.7	265	28.9	2	917	0	324	35.3	2.6
KEILOR	4532	92	5.1	393	8	3	4925	4.8	601	12.2	4.7
KEW	273	74.8	0.3	92	25.2	0.7	365	0.4	144	39.5	1.1
KNOX	5739	92.3	6.4	481	7.7	3.7	6220	6.1	226	3.6	1.8
LILYDALE	3292	94.1	3.7	205	5.9	1.6	3497	3.4	242	6.9	1.9
MALVERN	344	69.5	0.4	151	30.5	1.2	495	0.5	113	22.8	0.9
MELBOURNE	100	21.3	0.1	370	78.7	2.8	470	0.5	40	8.5	0.3
MELTON	2153	94.8	2.4	117	5.2	0.9	2270	2.2	217	9.6	1.7
MOORABBIN	1190	83.6	1.3	234	16.4	1.8	1424	1.4	596	41.9	4.7
MORDIALLOC	337	83.8	0.4	65	16.2	0.5	402	0.4	175	43.5	1.4
MORNINGTON	1619	89.8	1.8	184	10.2	1.4	1803	1.8	55	3.1	0.4
NORTHCOTE	277	65.2	0.3	148	34.8	1.1	425	0.4	87	20.5	0.7
NUNAWADING	1435	74.9	1.6	480	25.1	3.7	1915	1.9	626	32.7	4.9
OAKLEIGH	554	64.4	0.6	306	35.6	2.4	860	0.8	205	23.8	1.6
PAKENHAM	388	92.8	0.4	30	7.2	0.2	418	0.4	47	11.2	0.4
PORT MELBOURNE	53	38.7	0.1	84	61.3	0.6	137	0.1	7	5.1	0.1
PRAHRAN	154	46.2	0.2	279	53.8	1.4	333	0.3	46	13.8	0.4
PRESTON	643	66.4	0.7	326	33.6	2.5	969	0.9	297	30.7	2.3
RICHMOND	72	28.8	0.1	178	71.2	1.4	250	0.2	38	15.2	0.3
RINGWOOD	896	77	1	267	23	2.1	1163	1.1	448	38.5	3.5
ST. KILDA	41	19.2	0	173	80.8	1.3	214	0.2	21	9.8	0.2

	TOTAL HOUSES			TOTAL OTHER			TOTAL		TOTAL DUAL OCCUPANCY		
		% OF	% OF		% OF	% OF		% OF		% OF	% OF
MUNICIPALITIES	NUMBER	TOTAL	METRO	NUMBER	TOTAL	METRO	NUMBER	METRO	NUMBER	TOTAL	METRO
SANDRINGHAM	414	79.9	0.5	104	20.1	0.8	518	0.5	176	34	1.4
SHERBROOKE	765	95.4	0.9	37	4.6	0.3	802	0.8	9	1.1	0.1
SOUTH MELB.	61	49.6	0.1	62	50.4	0.5	123	0.1	29	23.6	0.2
SPRINGVALE	2641	83.2	2.9	534	16.8	4.1	3175	3.1	294	9.3	2.3
SUNSHINE	1283	77.8	1.4	366	22.2	2.8	1649	1.6	399	24.2	3.1
WAVERLEY	1445	82.8	1.6	300	17.2	2.3	1745	1.7	511	29.3	4
WERRIBEE	6708	93.2	7.5	488	6.8	3.8	7196	7	739	10.3	5.8
WHITTLESEA	5737	96.9	6.4	182	3.1	1.4	5919	5.8	277	4.7	2.2
WILLIAMSTOWN	251	79.7	0.3	64	20.3	0.5	315	0.3	114	36.2	0.9
TOTAL	**89629**	**87.3**	**100**	**13012**	**12.7**	**100**	**102641**	**100**	**12704**	**12.4**	**100**

Source: Department of Planning and Development, A.B.S.

A number of maps have been produced to spatially indicate how this data has occurred throughout the metropolitan area of Melbourne and are shown as Figures 20 to 23. The following Figure 20 indicates the total number of new housing development in the metropolitan area of Melbourne by municipality in the period 1985/86 to 1991/92, and clearly shows that the outer municipalities had the highest level, in absolute numbers of building activity.

There is a strong and positive correlation between the number of houses and their percentage as a total of all building approvals as the distance between the city centre and the other fringe areas become greater. Most of Melbourne's housing growth has occurred in the outer and fringe suburbs since the middle 1980s and it has slowed down in the core, inner and middle ring suburbs. The number of houses and dual occupancies by municipalities has been mapped as Figures 20 and 21 to show spatial correlations and to assist in analysis of the data.
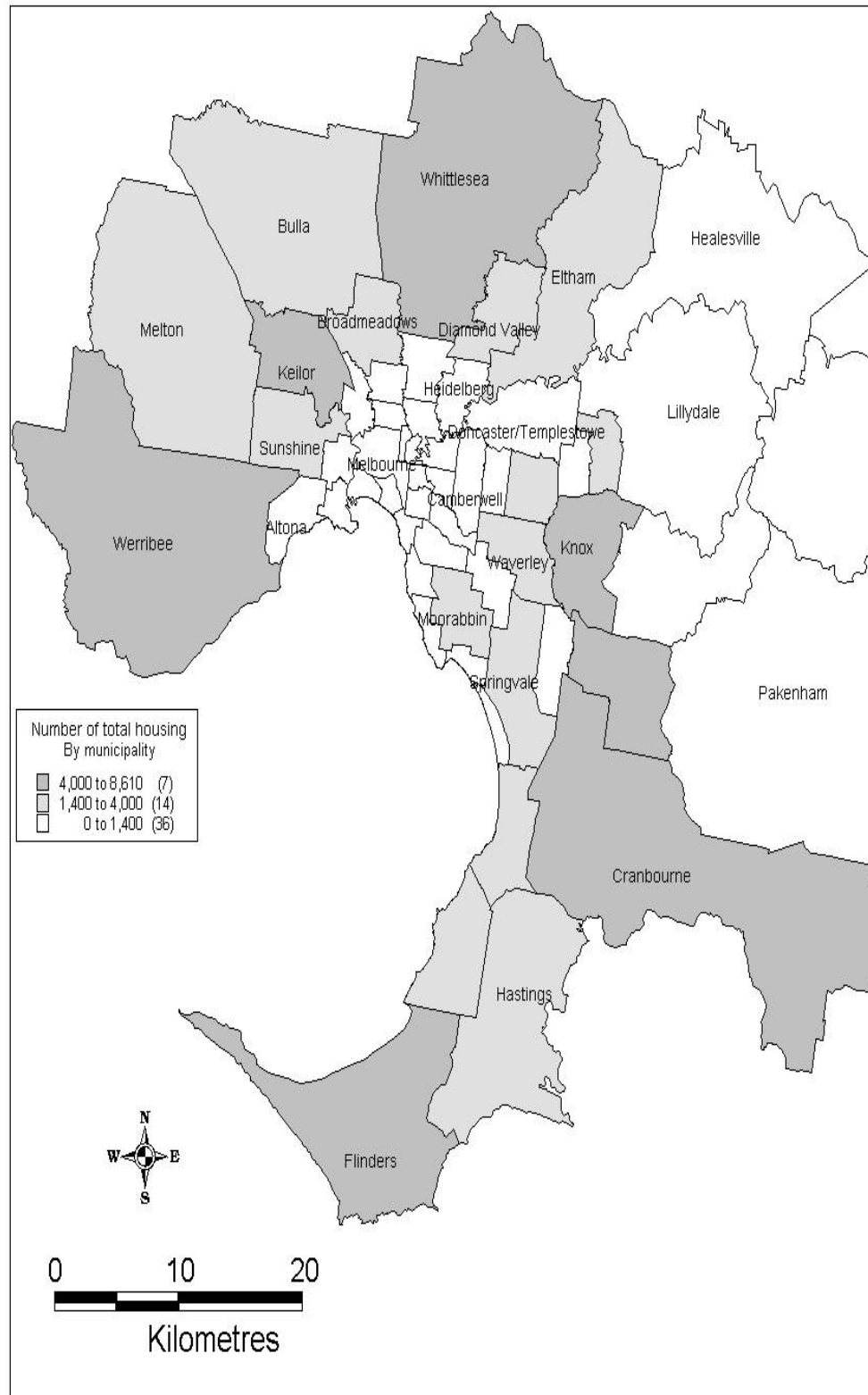
Figure 20: Number of Houses by Municipality 1986/87 – 1990/91
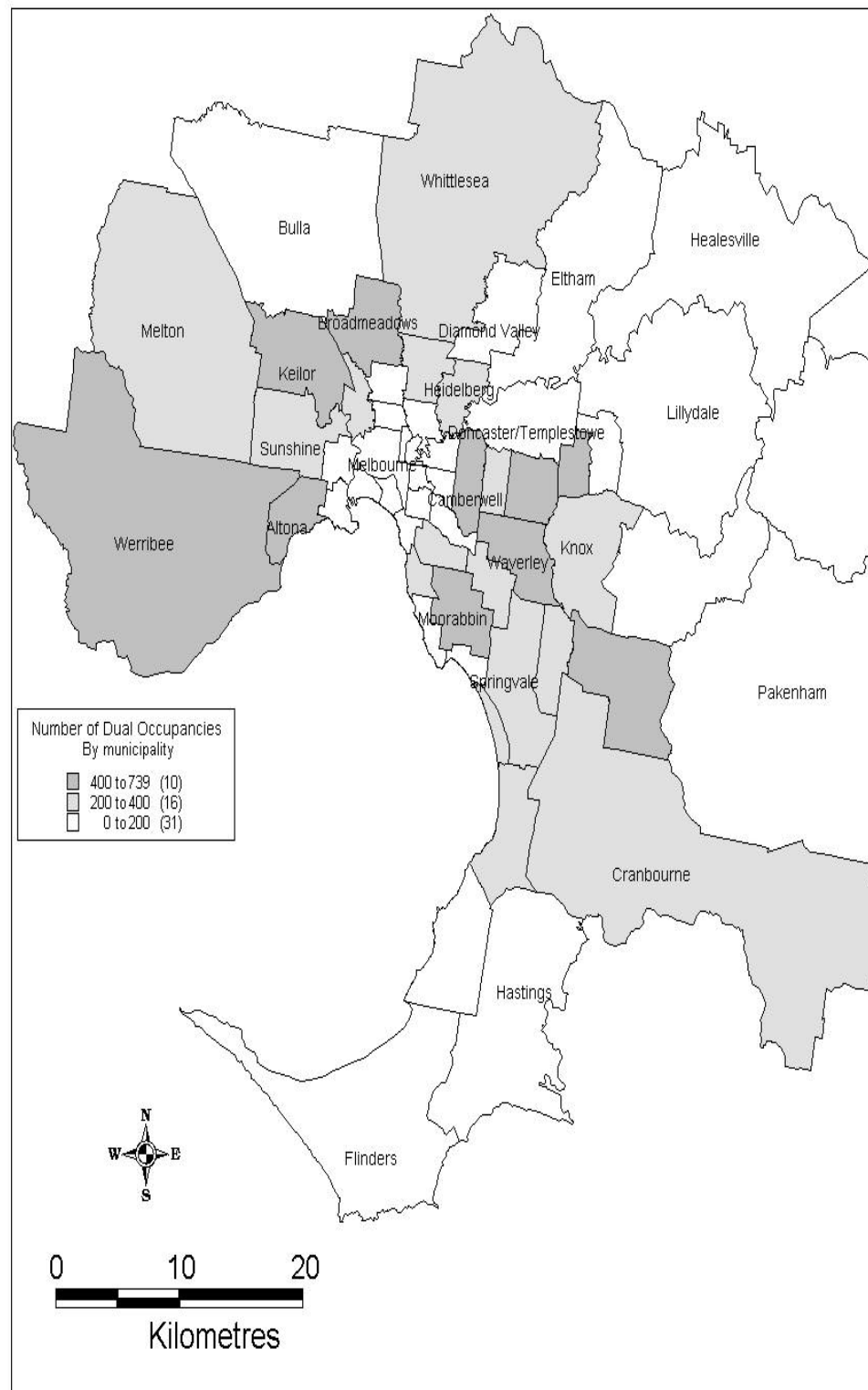
Figure 21: Number of Dual Occupancies by Municipality 1986/87 -1990/91
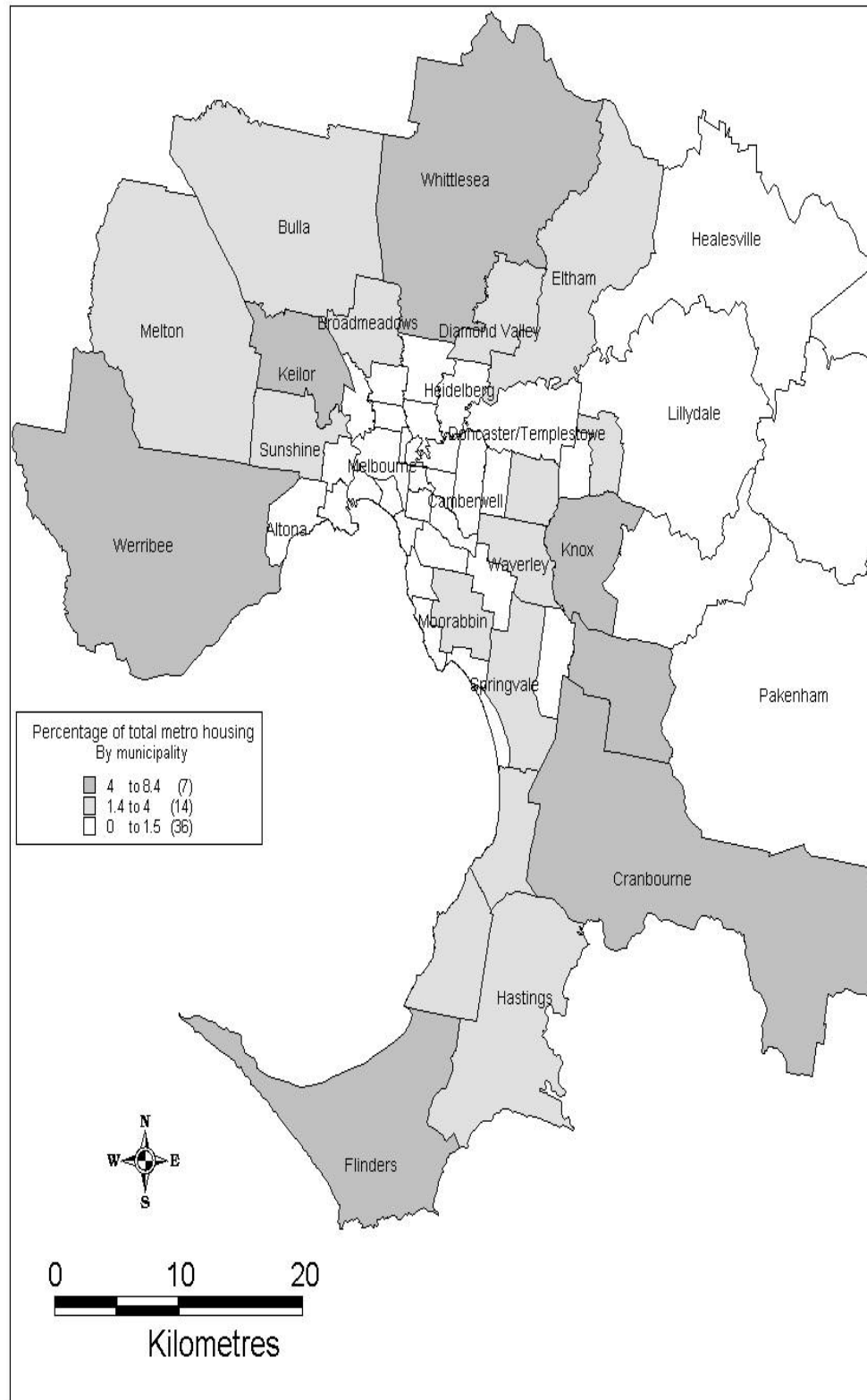
Figure 22: Dual Occupancy Development as a Percentage of Total Metropolitan Housing 1986/7 - 1990/91

Collectively, the nine municipalities of Berwick (7056, 7.9%), Cranbourne (8267, 9.2%), Bulla (3527, 3.9%), Flinders (3998, 4.5%), Keilor (4532, 5.1%), Knox (5739, 6.4%), Lilydale (3292, 3.7%), Werribee (6708, 7.5%) and Whittlesea (5737, 6.4%) have accounted for 48, 856 or 55% of total housing growth in the metropolitan area of Melbourne between 1986/87 and 1991/1992. Of these municipalities, the Shire of Cranbourne registered the highest numbers of housing approvals accounting for 8267 or 9.2% of the total. Without exception, all nine municipalities are as would be expected, located in the outer or fringe regions of the metropolitan area (see Figure 18 for details of location of regions and rings).

In addition, all of these municipalities had a far higher ratio of housing approvals to other residential building approvals, registering ratios higher than 9:1. There were a number of other municipalities that had proportions of houses over 9:1 and these also were principally located in the outer and fringe areas. These included Altona (9:6), Diamond Valley (9:6), Hastings (9:3), Healesville (9:5), Melton (9:5), Pakenham (9:3), and Sherbrooke (9:4).

Consequently, building approvals for other residential buildings is quite low in these areas, although further data reveals that this is not always true of dual occupancy approvals.

The proportion of other residential buildings to houses increases significantly the closer the municipality is to Central Melbourne, although that does not necessarily mean that the number and percentage of other residential buildings also increases. The municipalities which had in excess of 3% of ''other residential'' buildings since 1986/87 include Box Hill (413, 3.2%), Caulfield (427, 3.6%), Doncaster and Templestowe (468, 3.6%), Frankston (484, 3.7%), Keilor (393, 3.0%), Nunawading (480, 3.7%), Springvale (534, 4.1%) and Werribee (488, 3.8%).

Collectively, these municipalities contributed 3687 other residential buildings, or 28% of the total.

However, the municipalities with the highest ratio of other residential building approvals were located closer to the central area of Melbourne and those with a percentage of over 50 included Brunswick (54), Collingwood (83), Fitzroy (91), Footscray (56), Melbourne (79), Port Melbourne (61), Prahran (54), Richmond (71), St. Kilda (81) and South Melbourne (51).

With the exception of Brunswick, which is an ''inner'' municipality, all of the above constitute the ''core'' municipalities of Melbourne. Although some single detached houses are still being built in these areas, the majority of new residential development tends to be in the form of flats and other medium density housing, although not necessarily dual occupancy development.

One of the main factors to explain this could be the high cost of land to purchase and develop, and the demand for inner city medium density development, with consequently higher returns or money invested. The areas with the lowest ratios of other residential building development are the outer and fringe municipalities previously mentioned.

5.7 Dual Occupancy Development as a Proportion of Total Building Approvals

The final column in Table 2 shows dual occupancy approvals as a percentage of total building approvals since 1986/87. It clearly shows that dual occupancy has had a major impact on the building and development industry, particularly in the inner, middle and some outer suburbs.

There is a total of some 14 municipalities (out of 56) where the approvals for dual occupancy building approvals had been in the order of 30% or more of the total number of building approvals over the same period. These are also

shown in Figure 23. These are shown in order of significance in Table 3.

Table 3: Dual Occupancy Development as a Proportion of Total Building Approvals

Municipality	Percentage	Ring
MORDIALLOC	43.5%	Middle
MOORABBIN	41.9%	Middle
KEW	39.5%	Inner
ESSENDON	38.9%	Inner
RINGWOOD	38.5%	Outer
BOX HILL	37.8%	Middle
CAMBERWELL	36.9%	Inner
WILLIAMSTOWN	36.2%	Inner
HEIDELBERG	35.3%	Middle
BRIGHTON	34.4%	Inner
SANDRINGHAM	34.0%	Inner
NUNAWADING	32.7%	Middle
PRESTON	30.7%	Middle
ALTONA	30.1%	Outer

A further 9 municipalities had a ratio of over 20% of dual occupancy approvals, and these included the municipalities of Caulfield, Chelsea, Dandenong, Malvern, Northcote, Oakleigh, South Melbourne, Sunshine and Waverley. It is considered that there is a clear distinct locational correlation between these municipalities and the core to middle to some outer suburbs. There is also a strong linear correlation, with a distinct grouping of municipalities (refer Figure 23).
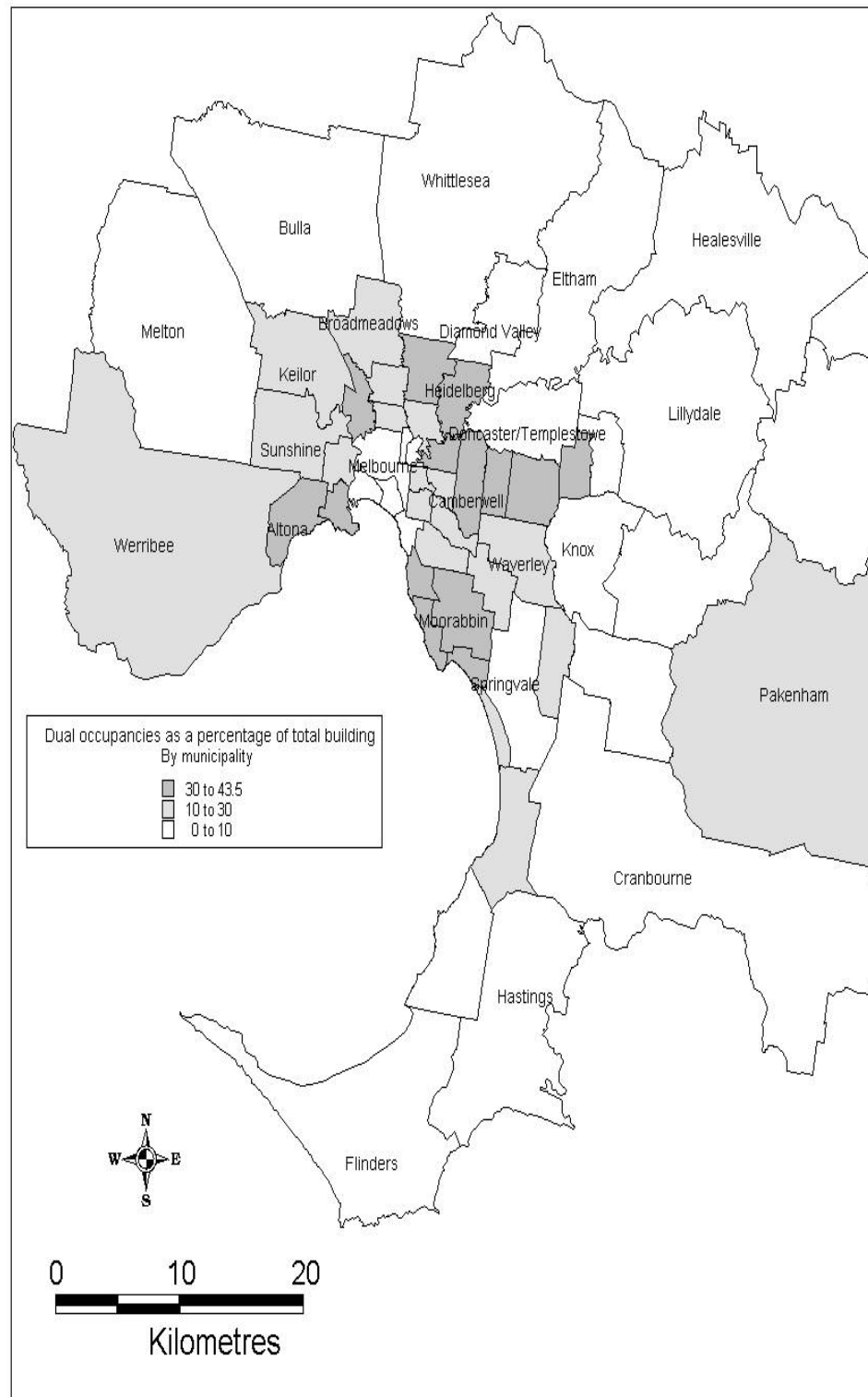
Figure 23: Dual Occupancy Development as a Percentage of Total Building Approvals

For example, the grouping of Brighton, Sandringham, Moorabbin and Mordialloc in the south east sector are loosely grouped around the Nepean Highway and the Frankston railway line; Kew, Hawthorn, Camberwell, Box Hill, Nunawading and Ringwood in the east are all loosely grouped around the major arterial road of Cotham Road, Whitehorse Road and the Maroondah Highway, and the main Ringwood railway line. All of these municipalities had dual occupancy approvals above 30% of total building approvals, and in these areas the policy has been reasonably successful.

Another major grouping of municipalities is that of Malvern, Caulfield, Oakleigh, Waverley and Dandenong, which are grouped around the Princes Highway and South Eastern Freeway and the Dandenong and Glen Waverley railway lines.

The locational patterns are not as distinct in the northern or western municipalities, although a small pattern exists for the Williamstown and Altona municipalities (where dual occupancies constituted over 30% of all building approvals) and the Brunswick, Coburg, Keilor and Broadmeadows areas where dual occupancies constituted between 10 and 20% of all building approvals.

There appeared to be a more consistent pattern or trend of dual occupancy approvals in the east and south east compared to the north and western areas of Melbourne. This could be because of possible regional groupings, with many being influenced by what their neighbours were doing at the time.

All of the fringe municipalities of Melbourne show that, as far as dual occupancies are concerned, the rate of building approval is lower compared with their neighbours. The two exceptions to this are Pakenham (11.2%) and Werribee (10.3%). The other fringe municipalities vary from Sherbrooke (1.1%), Healesville (0.9%), Flinders (1.6%) and Bulla (2.1%) through to Lilydale and Berwick (both 6.9%).

The other main concentration of dual occupancy as a percentage of the total building approvals rate occurred in the core area of metropolitan Melbourne, in that 5 of the core municipalities are represented in this bracket. These include Collingwood (4.1%), Fitzroy (7.1%), Melbourne (8.5%), Port Melbourne (5.1%) and St. Kilda (9.8%). It should be realised that the total building approvals for these municipalities, when examined in context, are quite low compared to the rest of the metropolitan are of Melbourne. In fact the core municipalities in total only constitute 2027 or 1.97% of all building approvals in Metropolitan Melbourne from 1986/87 through to 1990/91. Land tended to be at an absolute premium in this area and development of standard detached housing is most unlikely in these areas compared to others. In addition, much of the core area is covered by urban conservation zones, which effectively restrict the type of development allowed. Theoretically, a dual occupancy could be built in an urban conservation zone, on land where the existing building had a D or E grading, or where a complete replacement of the housing stock was proposed, but this was most unlikely to have occurred.

All alterations to existing buildings and development of new buildings of any type need to go through the planning approval process in an urban conservation zone, and experience shows that it would most likely end up in and be decided by the Planning Division of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal. (Now Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal). Also, as a general rule, urban conservation zones tend to comprise small residential allotments, so the minimum allotment size standards of 450 square metres was most unlikely to have been met to accommodate a dual occupancy development.

Within the core area, Richmond and Prahran have a higher rate of dual occupancy approvals (15.2% and 13.8% respectively) while South Melbourne has a much higher rate of 23.6% which is almost a quarter of all building

approvals. However, these percentages must be analysed in respect of total building approvals. Some conclusions can be drawn from this data.

The one conclusion to this could be that the State Government's policy of encouraging dual occupancy development is working and it appears to be working well. This is particularly evidenced by the fact that 23 out of 56 municipalities have experienced dual occupancy approvals over 20% of all building approvals between 1986/87 and 1991/92.

In addition, all of these 23 municipalities are located in the inner or middle rings of metropolitan Melbourne, with the exception of South Melbourne (core ring) and Ringwood (outer ring). So the implementation of dual occupancy as one aspect of the urban consolidation policy appears to be achieving its' aim of encouraging consolidation of the inner and middle ring municipalities of Melbourne:

> *The Government's policy of urban consolidation aims to arrest the population losses from established urban areas ... residential consolidation will achieve more intensive development in established urban areas ..... it will reduce population losses in the core and inner ring ..... it will keep the population in the middle ring stable.* Department of Planning and Environment, Shaping Melbourne's Future (1987:35,36).

However, in the light of increases in dual occupancies, there has been a downward trend in medium density housing approvals, which is seen to negate the positive impacts of dual occupancy development. One of the reasons for this is seen to be the ease in which a dual occupancy development could be implemented through the planning system, ie as of right, whereby permits were required for medium density development. In this regard, normal size lots, which might

have accommodated two separate houses, could have been converted to two dual occupancies, or alternatively may have been able to accommodate five or six units. Given the planning system at the time, a potential developer would have found it far simpler to develop dual occupancies.

It was also significant that the economic crisis of the late 1990's tended to dilute any impact dual occupancy might have had, and the time period of this thesis ie 1986 to 1991 coincided with this economic period. Generally property values fell from 10% to 50% in some areas, with interest rates reaching up to 18% before they began to fall.

Flats, units and medium density production particularly for the rental market generally decline in periods of economic downturn and the economic period of this thesis.

In certain key areas, and in particular on Urban Land Authority estate, dual occupancy played a key role in increasing densities of up to 40 to 50%. This mainly occurred on parts of the Broadmeadows estate (Meadow Heights and Tarneit Village) and also the Narre Warren estate. The real effect of these projects was to demonstrate that densities could be increased fairly simply. Subsequently the increased density provisions were built into the subdivision plan - so eventually the real effect was masked. Other developers followed the lead of the Urban Land Authority and some infill occurred in the suburbs.

6.0 POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

6.1 Population Growth

Population data from the 1991 Census of Population and Housing was released as Catalogue No. 2701.2 ''*First Counts for Statistical Local Areas: Victoria*'', and has been used to derive population growth statistics in this section. For the purposes of this thesis, the census data has been compared with 1981 and 1986 census figures for each of the 56 municipalities that comprised the Melbourne Statistical Division, and growth rates (positive and negative) had been calculated for the 1991 and 1986 intercensal periods. This data has been presented in Table 4, and Figure F19. The 1991 preliminary census data highlights the following major characteristics and changes from 1986 to 1991.

- 28 municipalities had a negative growth rate (range of -0.1% for Camberwell and Ringwood, to -7.2% for Port Melbourne)

- 9 municipalities had a growth rate between 0.1% and 5.0% (range of 0.1% for Caulfield and Chelsea to 5.0% for Altona)

- 6 municipalities had a growth rate between 5.1% and 10.0% (range of 5.2% for Sherbrooke to 9.8% for Healesville)

- 5 municipalities had a growth rate between 10.1% and 20.0% (range of 10.2% for Diamond Valley to 17.1% for Knox)

- 8 municipalities had a growth rate of 20.1% or over (range of 20.6% for Melton and Whittlesea to 48.8% for Cranbourne)

The total Melbourne Statistical Division (including the Shire of Upper Yarra) had a population increase of 154,779 from 1986 to 1991, which represents a five year growth rate of 5.4% (1986: 2,867,378; 1991: 3,022,157). However, of this population increase, the largest increases were recorded in the eight municipalities of Cranbourne (23,216: 48.8%), Bulla (10,952: 38.6%), Werribee (19,728: 37.6%), Berwick (17,463: 35.9%), Pakenham (7,947: 35.1%), Hastings (5,530: 23.8%), Whittlesea (16,343: 20.6%) and Melton (5,925: 20.6%). Collectively, these eight municipalities contributed 107,104 people or 69.2% of the total growth of the metropolitan area of Melbourne from 1986 to 1991.

Without exception, all of these municipalities lie in the ''fringe regions'' of metropolitan Melbourne, in the western, northern and southern regions. Of significance, none of the eastern fringe municipalities recorded a growth rate in excess of 10%. This is probably due to the fact that they have all reached their peak population figures, but it is also likely due to the range of sensitive environmental policies and controls in place due to their proximity to, or within the Dandenong Valley and Ranges, and Upper Yarra Valley regions.

In 1981 and 1986, the City of Waverley was Melbourne's most populous municipality; however, in 1991 the City of Knox with a population of 121,995 people became Melbourne's most populous municipality. Other municipalities to record populations over 100,000 people include Broadmeadows (103,018), Doncaster and Templestowe (102,905), Keilor (106,083) and Waverley (118,280). This demonstrated the continued outward growth of Melbourne at this time.

The least populous municipalities include Port Melbourne (7,497), Healesville (11,755), Collingwood (13,398), Fitzroy (17,888) and South Melbourne (17,713), all of which (excluding Healesville) lie within the core area of metropolitan Melbourne. This data is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Total Population, MSD, 1981-1991

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION			NUMERICAL CHANGE	% CHANGE	D.O. AS % OF TOTAL BUILDING APPROVALS
	1981	1986	1991	86-91	86-91	SINCE '86
ALTONA	30909	32838	34491	1653	5.0	30.1
BERWICK	36181	48677	66140	17463	35.9	6.9
BOX HILL	47579	45785	45138	-647	-1.4	37.8
BRIGHTON	33697	33195	32233	-962	-2.9	34.4
BROADMEADOWS	103540	101144	103018	1874	1.9	19.8
BRUNSWICK	44464	41362	39902	-1460	-3.5	19.1
BULLA	18624	28347	39299	10952	38.6	2.1
CAMBERWELL	85883	83792	83787	-5	-.0	36.9
CAULFIELD	69922	67718	67785	67	.1	29.2
CHELSEA	26034	25803	25826	23	.1	27.4
COBURG	55035	52885	50615	-2270	-4.3	19.1
COLLINGWOOD	15089	13340	13398	58	.4	4.1
CRANBOURNE	30924	47619	70835	23216	48.8	4.5
CROYDON	36210	40096	45812	5716	14.3	5.0
DANDENONG	54962	56461	57245	784	1.4	29.2
DIAMOND VALLEY	50503	55122	60734	5612	10.2	3.8
DONC. & TEMP.	90660	99269	102905	3636	3.7	13.7
ELTHAM	34648	39784	42618	2834	7.1	6.6
ESSENDON	56380	53977	52663	-1314	-2.4	38.9
FITZROY	19112	18163	17888	-275	-1.5	7.1
FLINDERS	25300	33065	36510	3445	10.4	1.6
FOOTSCRAY	49756	47330	46852	-478	-1.0	10.3
FRANKSTON	78808	83819	84989	1170	1.4	10.3
HASTINGS	17751	23216	28746	5530	23.8	3.7
HAWTHORN	30689	29623	30019	396	1.3	29.5
HEALESVILLE	7721	10708	11755	1047	9.8	.9
HEIDELBERG	64757	62417	60474	-1943	-3.1	35.3
KEILOR	81762	93327	106083	12756	13.7	12.2
KEW	28870	28162	27297	-865	-3.1	39.5
KNOX	88902	104207	121995	17788	17.1	3.6
LILYDALE	62077	71564	78480	6916	9.7	6.9
MALVERN	43211	41777	41336	-441	-1.1	22.8
MELBOURNE	63388	60828	60485	-343	-.6	8.5
MELTON	20599	28812	34737	5925	20.6	9.6
MOORABBIN	97810	95291	94119	-1172	-1.2	41.9
MORDIALLOC	27869	26817	26310	-507	-1.9	43.5
MORNINGTON	23512	27397	29960	2563	9.4	3.1
NORTHCOTE	51235	48552	46542	-2010	-4.1	20.5
NUNAWADING	97052	93482	91479	-2003	-2.1	32.7
OAKLEIGH	55612	55764	55122	-642	-1.2	23.8
PAKENHAM	5214	22648	30595	7947	35.1	11.2
PORT MELB.	8585	8080	7497	-583	-7.2	5.1
PRAHRAN	45018	43051	42196	-855	-2.0	13.8
PRESTON	84519	80051	76993	-3058	-3.8	30.7
RICHMOND	24506	23275	22792	-483	-2.1	15.2
RINGWOOD	38665	40309	40289	-20	-.0	38.5
ST. KILDA	49366	45889	45497	-392	-.9	9.8
SANDRINGHAM	31175	30416	30310	-106	-.3	34.0
SHERBROOKE	29935	34766	36564	1798	5.2	1.1

MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION			NUMERICAL CHANGE	% CHANGE	D.O. AS % OF TOTAL BUILDING APPROVALS
	1981	1986	1991	86-91	86-91	SINCE '86
STH MELB.	19955	18499	17713	-786	-4.2	23.6
SPRINGVALE	80186	83385	89480	6095	7.3	9.3
SUNSHINE	94419	94413	93998	-415	-.4	24.2
WAVERLEY	122471	122935	118280	-4655	-3.8	29.3
WERRIBEE	40555	52458	72189	19731	37.6	10.3
WHITTLESEA	65657	79182	95525	16343	20.6	4.7
WILLIAMSTOWN	25554	23287	22109	-1178	-5.1	36.2
TOTAL	**2722817**	**2854179**	**3007649**	**153470**	**5.4**	**18.4**

Source: A.B.S. Catalogue 2701.2 Note:1986 data is final counts from the 1986 census, where statistical boundaries have changed, the 1986 data has been adjusted to the 1991 boundaries.

The rate of population change from 1986 to 1991 is also shown on Figure 24.
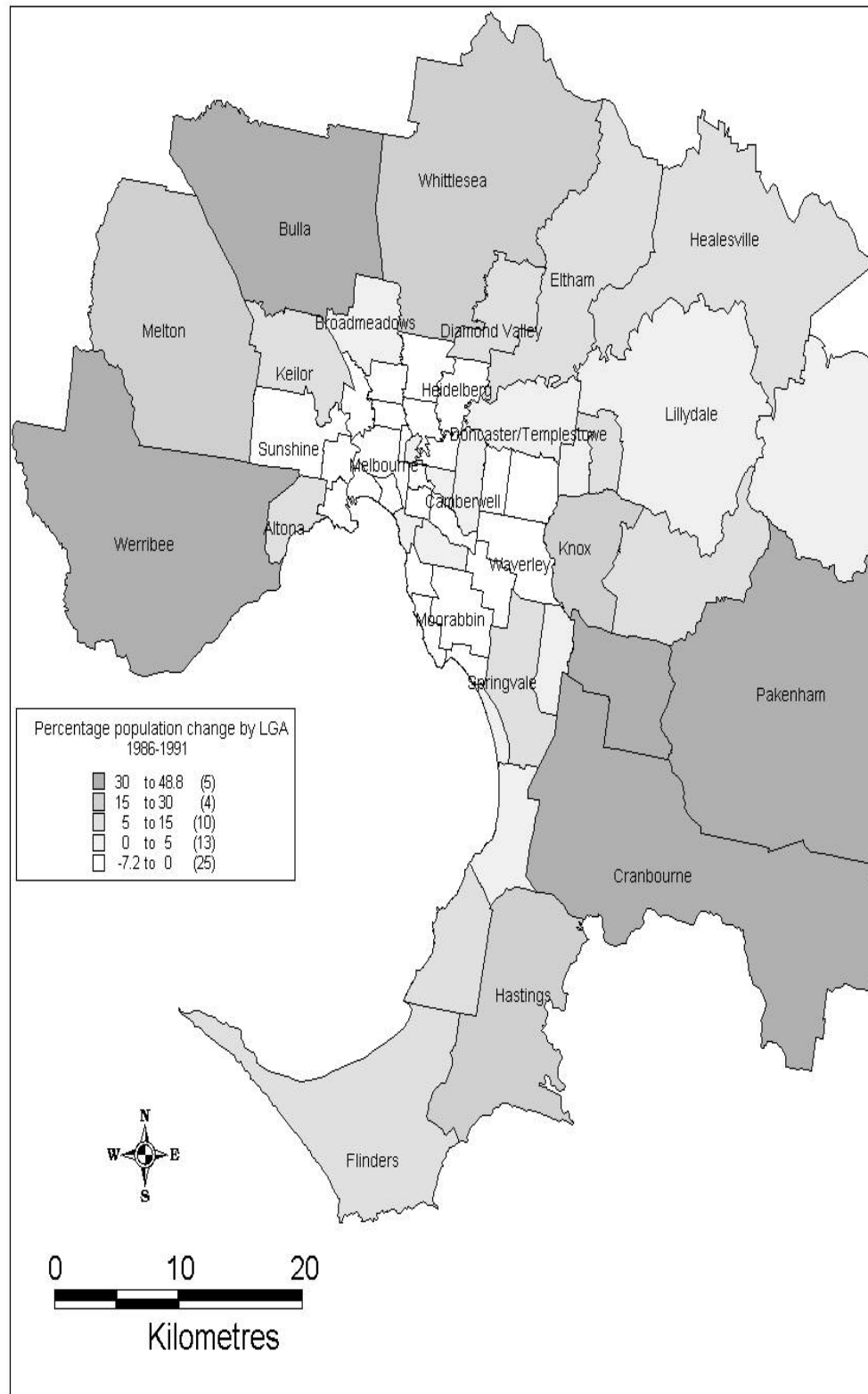
Figure 24: Rate of Population Change 1986 to 1991

6.2 Impact of Dual Occupancy on Population Growth

In Section 5.3 it was noted that there were some 14 outer
and middle municipalities of metropolitan Melbourne for
which dual occupancy development constituted some 30% or
more of total building approvals between 1986 and 1992.
The rates of population growth or decline of these
municipalities show that with the exception of Altona, all
had experienced decline ranging from -0.1% (Ringwood and
Camberwell) to -5.1% (Williamstown) from 1986 to 1991.
During the second intercensal period the percentage of dual
occupancy development increased over the first intercensal
period, and at the same time, population decline slowed.
This may indicate that dual occupancy policy was beginning
to have an effect. This data has been derived from the
earlier Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 and is summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: Dual Occupancy and Building Approvals Compared
with Rate of Population Growth and Decline

Municipality	D.O. as % of Total Building		Rate of Population Growth/Decline	
	1981-86 to 1986-91		1981-86 to 1986-91	
MORDIALLOC	16.2	43.5	-3.8	-1.9
MOORABBIN	16.4	41.9	-2.6	1.2
KEW	25.2	39.5	-2.5	-3.1
ESSENDON	26.9	38.9	-4.3	2.4
RINGWOOD	23.0	38.5	-4.3	-0.1
BOX HILL	46.1	37.8	-3.8	-1.4
CAMBERWELL	19.8	36.9	-2.4	-0.1
WILLIAMSTOWN	20.3	36.2	-8.9	-5.1
HEIDELBERG	28.9	35.3	-3.6	-3.1
BRIGHTON	17.0	34.4	-1.5	-2.9
SANDRINGHAM	20.1	34.0	-2.4	-0.3
NUNAWADING	25.1	32.7	-3.7	-2.1
PRESTON	33.6	30.7	-5.3	-3.8
ALTONA	4.2	30.1	6.2	5.0

With the exception Altona and Ringwood (which are
considered as ''outer'' municipalities), all the above
mentioned municipalities lie within ''inner'' or ''middle''
regions of metropolitan Melbourne.

It must be considered quite significant that only one of 14
municipalities which had a high rate of dual occupancy

approvals has actually experienced population growth over the last inter-censal period, even though the rates of population decline are relatively small, they nevertheless exist.

A further analysis of the rates of population growth and decline has revealed a slight ''slowing down'' of the rate of decline in all of the negative growth municipalities (Altona excepted), when comparing the rates from 1986 to 1991, and from 1981 to 1986. However, this is not true of both Kew and Brighton, where the rate of decline has increased (see Table 6). This data may suggest that dual occupancy was beginning to have an impact on urban consolidation, because there appeared to be a slowing down of the population decline in some areas. However after factors could also affect this, including changes in household structures, household size and other demographic issues.

Of the eight municipalities that had recorded the most significant population increases, dual occupancy, as a percentage of total building approvals, varies from 2.1% in the Shire of Bulla to 11.2% in the Shire of Pakenham.

This data is further mapped as Figures 25 and 26.
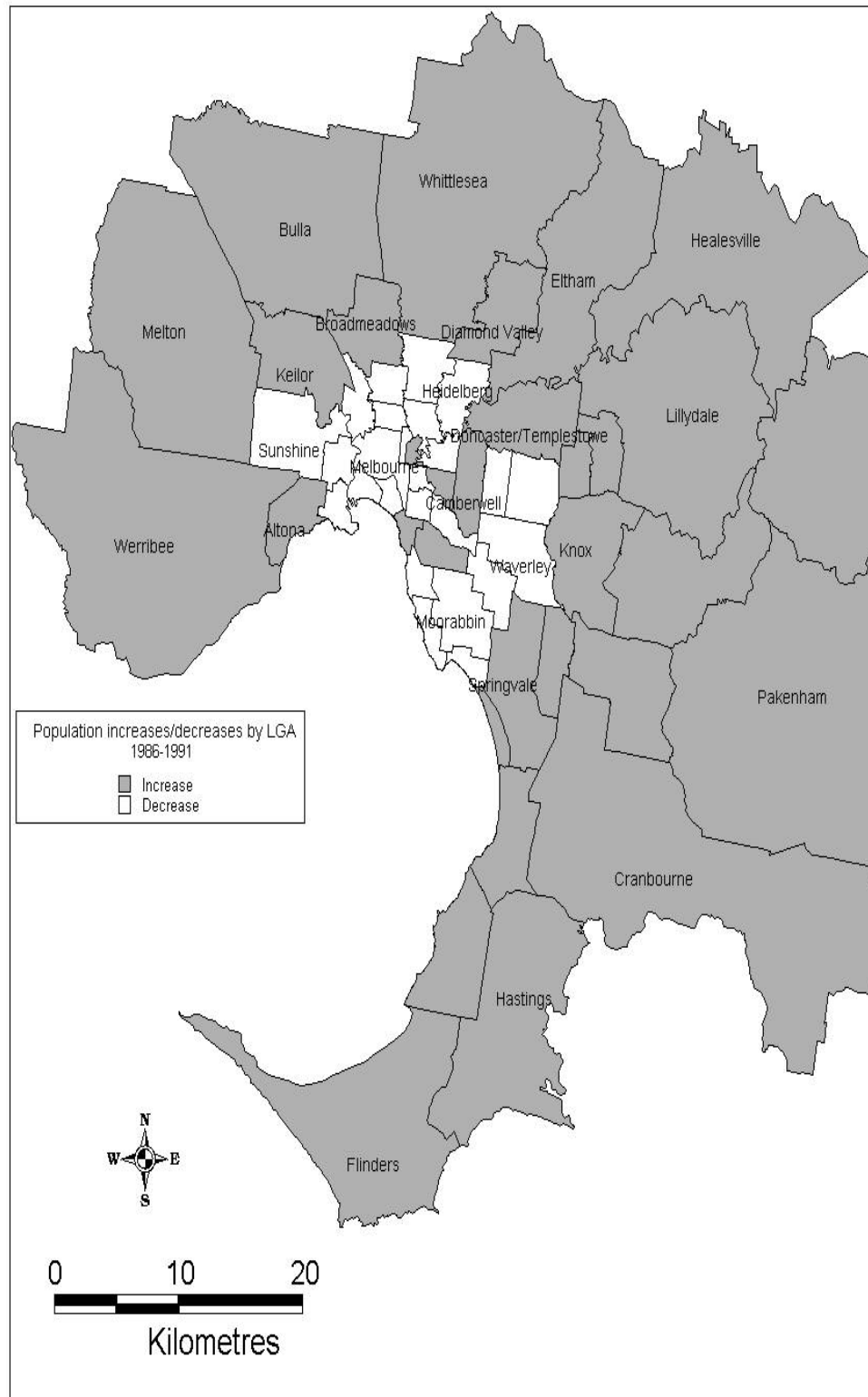
Figure 25: Population Increases and Decreases by LGA 1986 - 1991
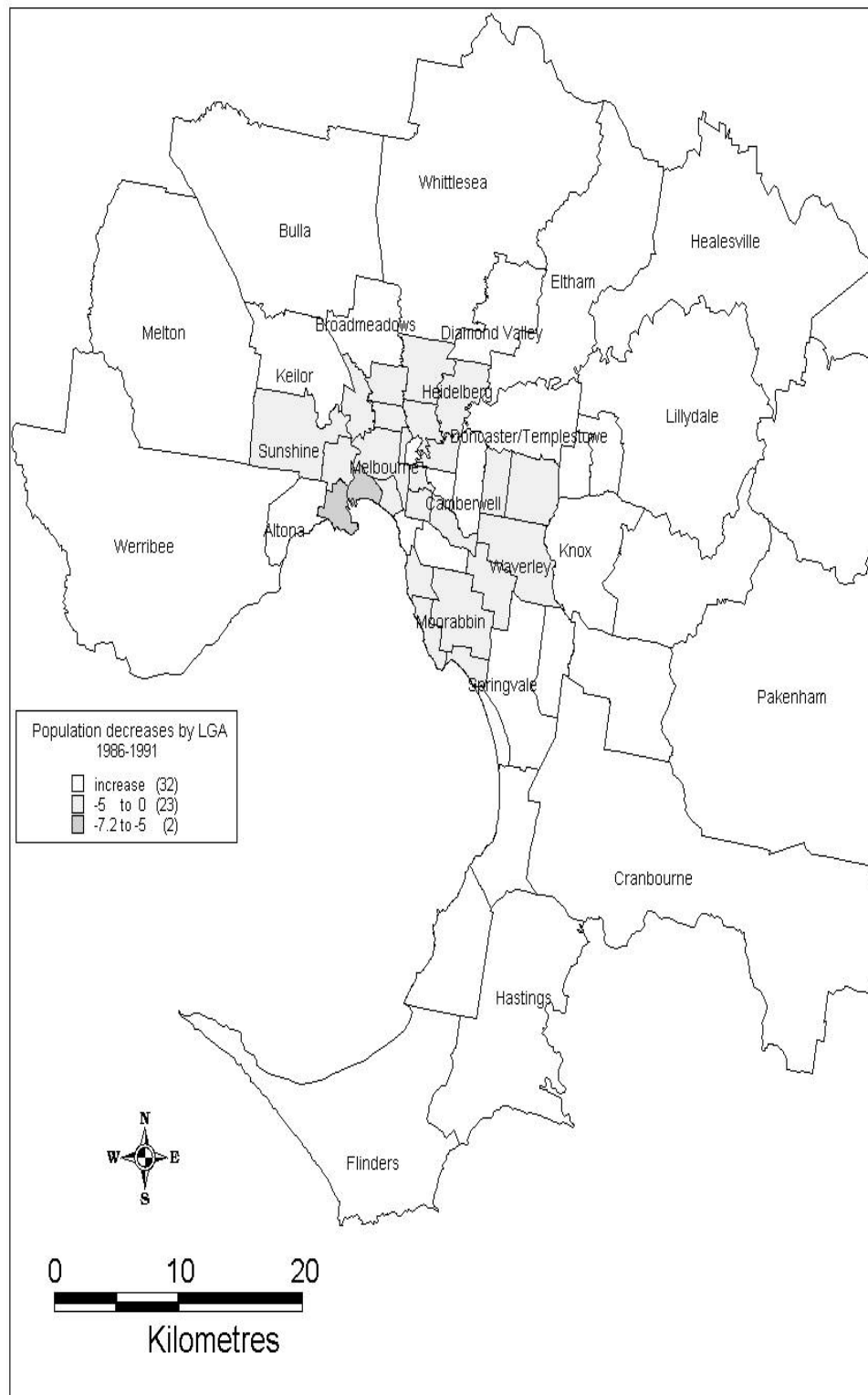
Figure 26: Population Decreases by LGA 1986 - 1991

Table 6: Population Increases Compared with Growth Rates for Selected Municipalities

Municipality	Total Rate of Population Increase 1986-91	D.O. as % of Total Building Approvals 1986-91
CRANBOURNE	48.8	4.5
BULLA	38.6	2.1
WERRIBEE	37.6	10.3
BERWICK	35.9	6.9
PAKENHAM	35.1	11.2
HASTINGS	23.8	3.7
WHITTLESEA	20.6	4.7
MELTON	20.6	9.6

It could appear that dual occupancy development as a form of housing was either more popular or promoted more vigorously in some municipalities such as Werribee, Pakenham and Melton where land may be considered to be less expensive when compared to municipalities such as Bulla, Keilor and Cranbourne. It could also be because of redevelopment of existing subdivisions rather than due to a real change. Dual occupancy, in this time period was often considered to be the ''easiest way''.

The Urban Land Authority (U.L.A.) was quite active in developing in the outer and fringe municipalities for residential purposes and in some areas, it had to place covenants on its allotments prohibiting dual occupancies so that they are protected from developers who wish to make a quick profit. In addition, the covenants then assumed that the land would remain ''affordable'' to first homebuyers (Groves).

Referring back to Figure 19 and Table 4, it can be seen that most of the decline in population had occurred in the inner and middle ring municipalities with the exception of Collingwood, Hawthorn and Caulfield. When this data is correlated with the reasonably high percentage of dual occupancy approvals, significant observations can be drawn.

It is considered that although dual occupancies have had an impact on the type of housing development, or redevelopment

in many municipalities, the expected pattern of stabilisation or increase in population has not occurred to nearly the same extent as the increase in the diversity of housing. This must be of some concern to government policy planners, because some authors considered that dual occupancy has contributed to population decline, rather than increases due to the fact that dual occupancy development is seen to be a ''better alternative'' to medium density development, and municipalities have conceded such. (Burke 1990).

In the light of the data presented in this chapter, dual occupancy appears to have had an impact on municipal population growth rates since 1985. High rate of dual occupancy approvals would have contributed to a slowing down of the population decline in the municipalities previously mentioned. But the arrest of this population decline could have been far greater if medium density development had occurred, given the same type of planning provisions and opportunities.

One of the shortcomings of social policy research compared to scientific research in that it is impossible to hold everything constant to determine what effect, if any, a new policy would have on a targeted area. It would be impossible to determine what it would have been like if there was no dual occupancy policy, and there is no way in which the full impact of the dual occupancy policy can be determined.

However, based on all the evidence and data presented, it seems to be the case that dual occupancy has had a reasonable effect on the morphology and growth of metropolitan Melbourne, but it is considered that this effect is not overly significant.

6.3 Household Occupancy Rates

One of the general assumptions made by planners with regard to urban consolidation is that increases in population and households would be achieved in inner and middle ring municipalities if various policy mechanisms such as dual occupancy had high success rates. (MMBW: 1971, MPE: 1987) To support this, the data presented to date in this thesis certainly supports the theory that dual occupancy has contributed to new housing stock, and that the percentage of dual occupancy development as part of total building approvals is quite high (over 20%) in some municipalities (see Chapter 5).

However, one aspect of urban population and demographic studies that needed to be further explored is that of household occupancy rates and the relationship of such data with households and populations within municipalities, and whether or not residential densities and population increases in older established municipalities were in fact able to be increased in line with government policies.

McLoughlin was very critical of the planning assumption that urban consolidation will increase existing and new residential densities, and he did not believe that 'public-service professionals' have thought such issues through.

> *There is no evidence at all of attempts to quantify just how much sprawl might be reduced, how much virgin land would be saved, or how many people could be housed within the existing built up area of Melbourne.* (McLoughlin, 1992:144)

He in fact questioned the whole concept of density and its use as a tool in which to achieve urban consolidation and further stated that:

> *increasing net densities is one of the least effective ways to do it.* (McLoughlin, 1992:144).

This research confirms McLoughlin's view and demonstrates how unlikely it is that population numbers in inner and core areas would increase by any great amount, particularly in view of the earlier peak population levels and existing household occupancy rates.

In 1954, the average household occupancy rate for the total Melbourne Statistical Division was 3.61 persons per household. By 1971 this had decreased to 3.38, and by 1991 this had further decreased to 2.87 persons per household. As a summary, the total percentage decrease from 1954 to 1991 was 20.5% (see Table 7, Household Occupancy Rates).

Table 7: Household Occupancy Rates:1954 - 1991

MUNICIPALITY	1954			1971			1991		
	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size
ALTONA				30589	7688	3.98	34491	11383	3.03
BERWICK	12412	3364	3.69	23460	5800	4.04	66140	21269	3.11
BOX HILL	35554	9657	3.68	54635	15687	3.48	45138	17404	2.59
BRIGHTON	40458	11909	3.40	39109	12945	3.02	32233	12195	2.64
BROADMEADOWS	24075	5976	4.03	101100	24125	4.19	103018	32561	3.16
BRUNSWICK	53620	14566	3.68	51560	15635	3.30	39902	16173	2.46
BULLA	3232	478	6.76	8243	1839	4.48	39299	11420	3.44
CAMBERWELL	90397	26190	3.45	98302	31591	3.11	83787	31230	2.68
CAULFIELD	75217	22510	3.34	81865	29481	2.78	67785	29064	2.33
CHELSEA	16857	4777	3.53	26372	7995	3.30	25826	10434	2.48
COBURG	62077	16380	3.79	65662	18890	3.48	50615	18237	2.76
COLLINGWOOD	27155	7281	3.73	21022	6148	3.42	13398	5496	2.44
CRANBOURNE	8201	1018	8.06	12511	3428	3.65	70835	22613	3.13
CROYDON				28708	7844	3.66	45812	15337	2.99
DANDENONG	27748	7273	3.82	40883	10971	3.73	57245	18897	3.03
DIAMOND VALLEY				36245	9217	3.9	60734	18621	3.2

MUNICIPALITY	1954			1971			1991		
	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size
						3			6
DONCASTER & TEMP	6814	1901	3.58	64286	16966	3.79	102905	31840	3.23
ELTHAM	11447	3239	3.53	24140	6742	3.58	42618	13227	3.22
ESSENDON	57873	16282	3.55	57583	18282	3.15	52663	20553	2.56
FITZROY	30312	8305	3.65	25708	7451	3.45	17888	7093	2.52
FLINDERS	12072	3266	3.70	15481	5592	2.77	36510	14847	2.45
FOOTSCRAY	57915	15456	3.75	57810	17306	3.34	46852	17955	2.61
FRANKSTON	18100	5242	3.45	59410	16514	3.60	84989	29538	2.89
HASTINGS				8927	2380	3.75	28746	9061	3.17
HAWTHORN	37188	11488	3.24	35571	14453	2.46	30019	12952	2.32
HEALESVILLE	5168	1392	3.71	5223	1482	3.52	11755	3983	2.95
HEIDELBERG	60007	15096	3.98	68013	18509	3.67	60474	21387	2.83
KEILOR	10681	2797	3.82	55616	14184	3.92	106083	31878	3.33
KEW	31518	8503	3.71	32564	9625	3.38	27297	9816	2.78
KNOX	25446	7577	3.36	56786	15102	3.76	121995	37736	3.23
LILYDALE	21107	6108	3.46	36162	10026	3.61	78480	24622	3.19
MALVERN	46910	14292	3.28	50560	17166	2.94	41336	16348	2.53
MELBOURNE	93172	22345	4.17	75830	22572	3.36	60485	20951	2.89
MELTON	1424	400	3.56	5974	1580	3.78	34737	10308	3.37
MOORABBIN	65332	17488	3.74	109588	31472	3.48	94119	34961	2.69
MORDIALLOC	21025	5748	3.66	29753	9470	3.14	26310	10800	2.43
MORNINGTON	5793	1611	3.60	14289	4223	3.38	29960	10850	2.76
NORTHCOTE	43604	12322	3.54	59303	18709	3.17	46542	19003	2.44
NUNAWADING	23855	6362	3.75	90702	24726	3.67	91479	31626	2.89
OAKLEIGH	24305	6586	3.69	57284	15595	3.67	55122	18628	2.96
PAKENHAM							30595	8842	3.46
PORT MELBOURNE	13104	3461	3.7	11705	3322	3.5	7497	3202	2.3

MUNICIPALITY	1954			1971			1991		
	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size	Popn. No.	No. of Dwells.	H/hold Size
			9			2			4
PRAHRAN	54009	18036	2.99	56766	22219	2.55	42196	20111	2.10
PRESTON	63868	16242	3.96	91584	24485	3.74	76993	26966	2.86
RICHMOND	35213	9919	3.55	28341	8877	3.19	22792	9459	2.41
RINGWOOD	12951	3619	3.58	34751	9631	3.61	40289	14415	2.79
ST. KILDA	53301	17749	3.00	61203	24839	2.46	45497	22714	2.00
SANDRINGHAM	31758	9003	3.53	35460	11184	3.17	30310	11413	2.66
SHERBROOKE				20484	6330	3.24	36564	12048	3.03
SOUTH MELBOURNE	37995	11326	3.35	26995	8858	3.05	17713	7724	2.29
SPRINGVALE				58374	15502	3.77	89480	28574	3.13
SUNSHINE	41332	9413	4.39	76427	19463	3.93	93998	29466	3.19
WAVERLEY	20293	5127	3.95	97033	25164	3.87	118280	38160	3.10
WERRIBEE	16114	3552	4.54	25116	5800	4.33	72189	22038	3.27
WHITTLESEA	5724	1488	3.85	30327	7680	3.95	95525	27769	3.43
WILLIAMSTOWN	29313	7902	3.71	30055	8922	3.37	22109	8815	2.51
TOTAL	1603046	442022	3.61	2501450	731687	3.38	3007649	1044013	2.87

Source: ABS

The range of household occupancy rates was significantly greater in 1954 than for 1971 and 1991, and in 1954 it ranged from 2.99 persons per household in Prahran to 8.06 persons per household in Cranbourne. In addition several Local Government Areas recorded occupancy rates of over 4 persons, including Broadmeadows (4.03), Bulla (6.76), Melbourne (4.17), Sunshine (4.39) Werribee (4.54). Only the one municipality (Prahran) had recorded less than 3 people per household in 1954.

However, in 1971 six municipalities recorded household occupancy rates of less than 3, including Caulfield (2.78), Flinders (2.77), Hawthorn (2.46), Malvern (2.94), Prahran

(2.55) and St. Kilda (2.46). Only three municipalities
recorded occupancy rates of over 3.4 persons per dwelling,
with the outer fringe municipality of Pakenham recording
the highest rate of 3.46.

Of the remaining 55 municipalities 21 recorded occupancy
rates ranging from 3.03 (Altona, Dandenong, Sherbrooke) to
3.46, while 34 municipalities recorded occupancy rates
ranging from 2.00 (St. Kilda) to 2.99 (Croydon). Over a
period of less than 40 years, household occupancy rates
have fallen significantly in all areas, including the
established areas, and the developing growth areas. Figure
27 shows the household occupancy rates for all
municipalities in 1991, while Figure 28 shows the change in
occupancy rates for municipalities from 1954 to 1991.
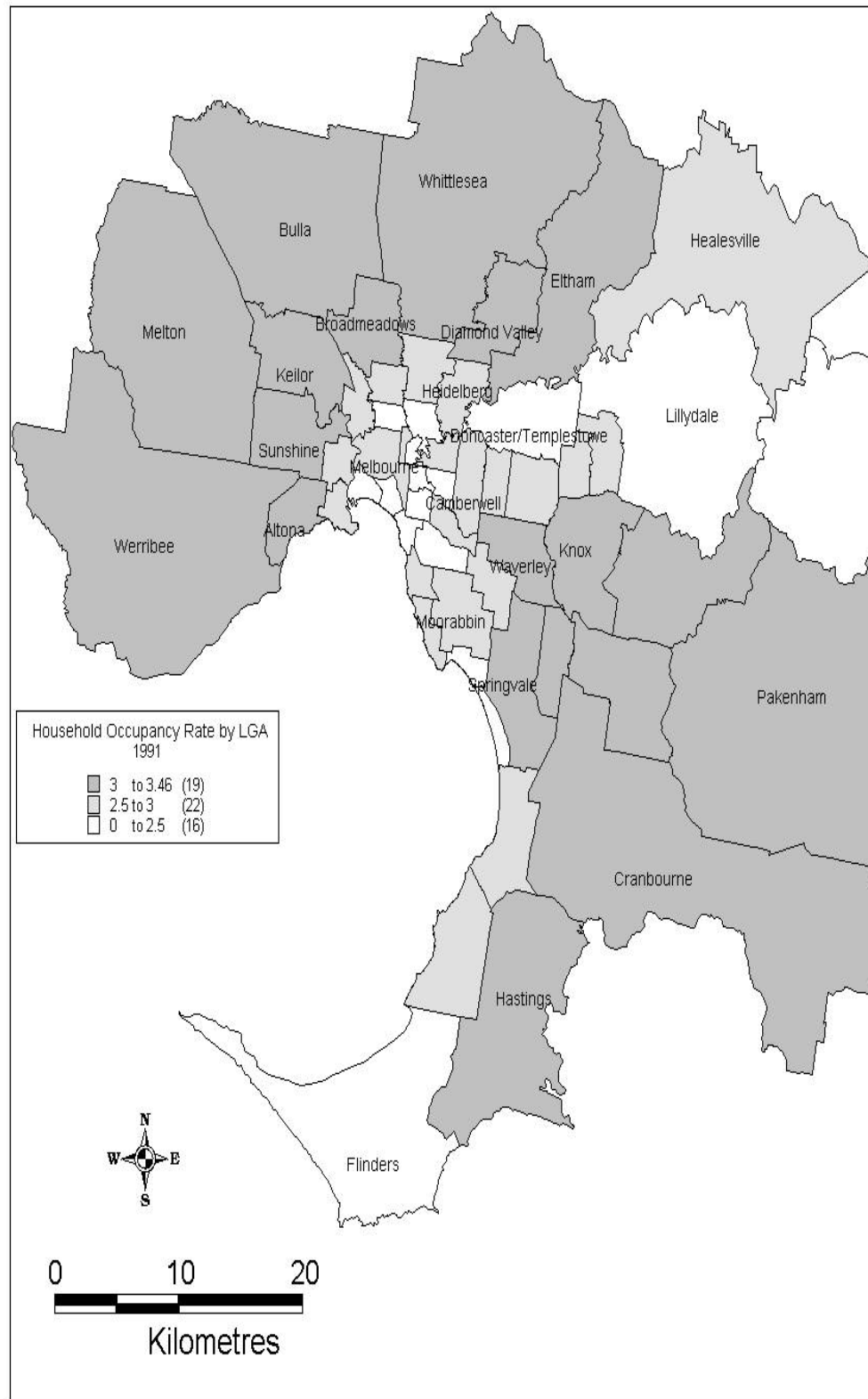
Figure 27: Household Occupancy Rates for Metropolitan Area, 1991
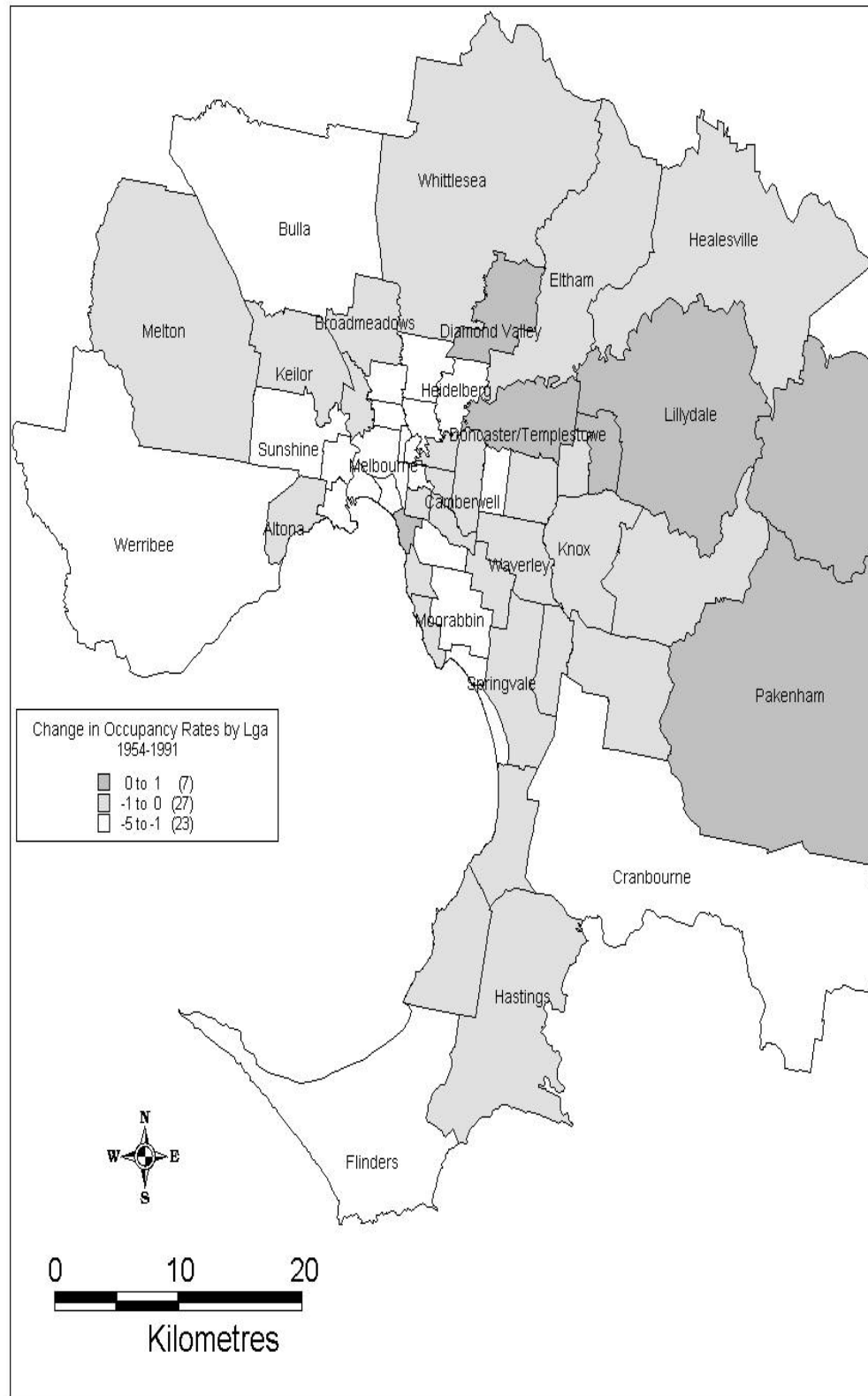
Figure 28: Change in Occupancy Rates 1954 - 1991

Figure 27 shows a distinct pattern, with some noticeable characteristics. All of the core and inner municipalities have household occupancy rates of less than 3.0 persons, and it demonstrates a consistent locational trend. Two other interesting patterns emerge from this map; firstly, there are two district lineal correlations of lower occupancy rates. This first one extends all the way along the bayside municipalities along the Nepean Highway right through to the Shire of Flinders and Portsea. Even though the municipalities of Frankston, Mornington and Flinders were still developing at this stage, one of the reasons they would exhibit a lower occupancy rate than other comparable developing municipalities would be because of their dual roles as an urban housing area and as a popular holiday home and retirement area. The second trend is the low occupancy rates in the outer eastern municipalities such as Doncaster and Templestowe, the Lilydale area and the Healesville area.

The data in Table 7 shows a comparison of average household occupancy rates for all municipalities within the Melbourne Statistical Division for three census periods 1954, 1971, 1991. In 1954 the municipalities of Altona (then part of Werribee), Croydon (Lilydale), Diamond Valley (non-metropolitan) Hastings (Frankston), Pakenham (Berwick), Sherbrooke (non-metropolitan) and Springvale (Dandenong) did not exist in their own right at this census period, however with the exception of Pakenham, they had all been incorporated by the 1971 census period.

By the 1954 census period, a total of eleven municipalities had already achieved their peak population many of whom had reached new peak population earlier than 1954 and all of these municipalities have experienced population decline since then. These are shown on the following Table 8.

Table 8: Peak Population Rate for 1954

Municipality	Population	Region
BRIGHTON	40458	Inner
BRUNSWICK	53620	Inner
COLLINGWOOD	27155	Core
ESSENDON	57873	Inner
FITZROY	30312	Core
FOOTSCRAY	57915	Inner
HAWTHORN	37189	Inner
MELBOURNE	93172	Core
PORT MELBOURNE	13104	Core
RICHMOND	35213	Core
SOUTH MELBOURNE	37995	Core

By 1971, peak populations had also been achieved for a further seventeen municipalities, as shown on Table 9.

Table 9: Peak Population Rate for 1971

Municipality	Population	Region
BOX HILL	54635	Middle
CAMBERWELL	98302	Inner
CAULFIELD	81865	Inner
CHELSEA	26372	Outer
COBURG	65662	Inner
HEIDELBERG	68013	Middle
KEW	32564	Inner
MALVERN	50560	Inner
MOORABBIN	109588	Middle
MORDIALLOC	29753	Middle
NORTHCOTE	59303	Inner
OAKLEIGH	57284	Middle
PRAHRAN	56766	Core
PRESTON	91584	Middle
ST. KILDA	61203	Core
SANDRINGHAM	35460	Inner
WILLIAMSTOWN	30055	Inner

The data shows that all core and inner municipalities have reached their peak population levels by 1971, as had all middle ring municipalities, with the exception of Doncaster and Templestowe, Waverley and Nunawading, all of which are located in the eastern region of Metropolitan Melbourne. In addition one outer municipality, Chelsea had already reached its peak population level. From this information, it can be concluded that the achievement of population levels at this time was heavily weighted towards the south eastern lineal corridors of Nepean Highway and Dandenong

Road, which is also indicative of the general pattern of metropolitan growth in Melbourne. Twenty eight or exactly half of the total number of municipalities in metropolitan Melbourne had achieved peak population levels at the time of the 1991 census.

In addition to decreases in population levels in the inner and core municipalities, a total of fourteen municipalities also recorded a decrease in the total number of occupied private dwellings from 1971 to 1991. Such decreases occurred in the following municipalities.

o South Melbourne	• St Kilda
o Port Melbourne	• Coburg
o Melbourne	• Hawthorn
o Fitzroy	• Camberwell
o Collingwood	• Malvern
o Prahran	• Caulfield
o Brighton	• Williamstown

6.4 Peak Population Levels

Following on from the data which examined population numbers, household numbers and household occupancy rates some further analysis can be carried out which determines how many households would be required in both the core and inner municipalities, and some of the middle ring municipalities to achieve populations close to previous levels of the 1954 or 1971 census periods. This data is represented in Table 10.

Table 10: Increase In Households to Achieve Peak Populations Levels (1954)

MUNICIPALITY	PEAK POP (TO NEAREST 100)	YEAR (19)	1991 H/HOLD SIZE	PEAK 1991 H'HOLD SIZE	ADDITIONAL DWELLING REQUIRED	% INCREASE IN CURRENT DWELL STOCK
CORE						
COLLINGWOOD	27200	54	2.44	11148 – 5496	5652	102.8
FITZROY	30300	54	2.52	12024 – 7093	4931	69.5
MELBOURNE	93200	54	2,89	32249 – 20951	11298	53.9
PORT MELB	13100	54	2.34	5598 – 3202	2396	74.8
PRAHRAN	56800	71	2.10	27048 – 20111	6937	34.5
RICHMOND	35200	54	2.41	14665 – 9459	5147	54.4
ST. KILDA	61200	71	2.00	30600 – 22714	7886	34.7
STH. MELB	38000	54	2.29	16593 – 7724	8870	114.8
TOTAL	**355000**				**53117**	
INNER						
BRIGHTON	40500	54	2.64	15241 – 12195	3146	25.8
BRUNSWICK	53600	54	2.46	21789 – 16173	5616	34.7
CAMBERWELL	98300	71	2.68	36679 – 31230	5449	17.4
CAULFIELD	81900	71	2.33	35150 – 29064	6086	20.9
COBURG	65700	71	2.76	23804 – 18237	5567	30.5
ESSENDON	57900	54	2.56	22617 – 2064	2064	10.0
FOOTSCRAY	58000	54	2.61	22222 – 17955	4267	23.8
HAWTHORN	37200	54	2.32	16034 – 12952	3082	23.8
KEW	32600	71	2.78	11727 – 9816	1910	19.5
MALVERN	50600	71	2.53	2000 – 16348	3652	22.3
NORTHCOTE	59300	71	2.44	24303 – 19003	5300	27.9
SANDRINGHAM	35500	71	2.66	13346 – 11413	1933	16.9
WILLIAMSTOWN	30100	71	2.51	11992 – 8815	3177	36.0
TOTAL	**701200**				**51249**	
MIDDLE						
BOX HILL	56400	71	2.59	21081 – 17404	3677	21.1
HEIDELBERG	68000	71	2.83	24028 – 21387	2641	12.3
MOORABBIN	109700	71	2.69	40739 – 34961	5778	16.5
MORDIALLOC	29800	71	2.43	12263 – 10800	1463	13.5
OAKLEIGH	57300	71	2.96	19358 – 18628	730	3.9
PRESTON	91600	71	2.86	32028 – 26966	5061	18.7
TOTAL	**410900**				**19350**	
TOTAL OF ALL 3 REGIONS	**1467000**				**123716**	

For each municipality listed, its peak population from either the 1954 or 1971 census has been shown to the nearest 100 persons. The population has then been divided by the 1991 household size to show how many dwellings would be required to accommodate that population number. The actual number of dwellings from the 1991 census was then subtracted from this number, which then gives the number of dwellings required to be built to accommodate the 1954 or 1971 peak level population at the 1991 household occupancy

rate.   This number has been converted to an actual percentage of current dwelling stock.

Using Brunswick as an example, it had a population of 53,600 people at the time of the 1954 census. In 1991, Brunswick had a household occupancy rate of 2.46 persons, which divided by the population of 53600 (of 1954) gives a total of 21789 dwelling households. In 1991, Brunswick had 16173 households, leaving a shortfall of 5616 households. So therefore, in order for Brunswick to achieve its previous peak population level of 53600 people, it would need an additional 5616 households, which represent an increase of 34.7% on its existing 1991 household stock.

Referring back to Table 2, from 1986/87 to 1990/91, Brunswick had a total of 324 building approvals of which 62 or 19% were for dual occupancies. This represents 0.5% of all building approvals for the metropolitan area for that same time period. It falls a long way short of the 5616 new households that would be required for Brunswick to reach its former peak population levels. If assuming the average allotment size in Brunswick were 400m^2, a total area of over 2000 hectares of land would need to be made available for new development if this objective was to be achieved. Considering that Brunswick has a total area of land of 1075 hectares and which accommodates 16173 households, the addition of housing of this proportion is obviously quite out of the question.

This type of scenario would be applicable to most, if not all of the core and inner municipalities, and it is an unrealistic scenario to consider that the inner municipalities would be likely to achieve former high population levels. It is recognised that the data in the previous Table 10 represents an over simplification of the problem, however it is also recognised that real populations in inner and core areas of Melbourne will continue to fall due to ever decreasing occupancy rates. This will also occur in the middle ring municipalities, and

unless some major new residential developments of substantial proportions occur in the older established municipalities; population increases of significance will not eventuate.

In the core region, the percentage increase is current dwelling stock required to achieve previous peak population levels ranges from 34.5% in Prahran to 102.8% in Collingwood and 114.8% in South Melbourne. In real terms this represents an increase of at least one third to a doubling of existing housing stock, or a total of over 53000 additional dwellings to that which is already existing. The highest absolute increase occurs in the City of Melbourne, where over 11,000 new dwellings would be required. In the early 1990s, the City of Melbourne promoted its ''Postcode 3000'' programme, which aimed to increase housing stock in the city area by encouraging developers and prospective owners and tenants to develop land for residential accommodation.

The percentage increase of dwelling stock required in the inner municipalities was not as great as in the core, and it ranged from 10.0% in Essendon to 36.0% in Williamstown. The highest absolute increase was 6086 dwellings in Caulfield.

In the Middle ring municipalities, population peaks were all achieved in 1971 and consequently the rate of decline was not as great as in the core municipalities. The increase in current dwelling stock required to achieve former peak population levels ranged from 3.9% in Oakleigh to 18.7% in Preston. Based on existing trends it could be expected that other municipalities in the middle region would also be experiencing population and household decline over the next ten years.

In 1966, only 10% of households were single person households and 24% were two person households. By 1996 the proportion of one person households had increased to 23%

and two person households to 31%. In contrast households with five or more people dropped from 26% to 12%. During this time the numbers of one person households increased more than fourfold and two person households by two and a half fold. Three and four person households increased by two thirds while the numbers of households with five or more people declined.

Average household size fell from 3.46 in 1966 to 2.66 in 1996. The decline in household size may seem insignificant, but its effect is anything but that. If household sizes had not declined, Melbourne would have needed 270,000 less dwellings to house its population in 1996. This is more than the total number of dwellings built in Melbourne between 1978 and 1992 and is greater than the total dwelling stock of the south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne.

The reasons for this were many. There had been declining fertility rates, the population had aged, there were more older couples and widows, people were marrying later and having fewer children, and many more were choosing not to marry, or partner or have children. The numbers of children had declined since the early 1970s and with lower fertility rates and fewer women in the reproductive age groups, it is destined to decline even more severely over the next thirty years. In the 1990s the two parent and children is the only type of households that is not increasing in numbers. In contrast, the fastest growing households are those without children - singles and couples.

7. CONCLUSIONS

McLoughlin was one of the first housing and planning commentators to express serious concerns about whether there would be any effect on growth patterns in the developing areas as a result of consolidation strategies and questioned:

> *What is the effect on the total developed area of a large city when net densities are increased? How much land in total is saved by different increases? To what extent is the outward march of fringe suburban growth slowed down?* (McLoughlin, 1991)

This thesis has explored one aspect of the Government's urban consolidation strategies in the form of dual occupancy policy and has attempted to determine whether there has been any effect on arresting population decline in metropolitan Melbourne as a result of the implementation of the policy. The development of dual occupancy as a housing option was seen by various arms of Government to provide a number of benefits to the Victorian community but particularly in the metropolitan area of Melbourne.

Dual occupancy was initially pursued and promoted by the Ministry of Housing, who considered it to be a viable housing option and alternative to high rise development in established residential areas. It was then pursued by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works as a planning function, it introduced dual occupancy into metropolitan Planning Schemes in 1985 as a means of providing statutory control over its implementation. This met with mixed

success, with some municipalities actively promoting dual occupancy for housing while others saw it as a threat to their urban amenity and thus introduced specific policies to try and make it difficult to achieve dual occupancy in certain areas.

Towards the middle and by the end of the 1980s, the economy was feeling the effects of a global recession and development of new forms of housing suffered to the extent that the housing market was on the verge of collapse. Interest rates reached record highs (up to 18% at its peak in the early 1990s) and builders were very cautious about undertaking speculative or innovative housing projects.

Dual occupancy would assist in achieving urban consolidation of the metropolitan area as it would provide a cost efficient increase in housing density in the inner and middle ring suburbs to take advantage of existing infrastructure services such as transport, physical services (sewerage, water etc), health and education. It would assist to slow down the urban sprawl of Melbourne and its consequential high financial costs in terms of the provision of infrastructure services and social costs such as isolation, lack of employment opportunities, lack of accessibility options and a lack of social and family networks.

Structural changes in the population of Melbourne where it is comprised of an increasing number of smaller households due to an ageing population, more single person households and a declining number of children or dependents per household.

It was anticipated that dual occupancy would make better use of existing urban infrastructure. In this regard Melbourne is recognised as being one of the lowest density cities in the world and continuous development of new suburbs with its associated infrastructure places enormous costs burden on developing areas.

Dual occupancy was seen as providing an opportunity for people to live in established urban areas using existing facilities and with good access to employment, social and cultural services. It was promoted as being able to provide more choice in existing neighbourhoods, with less land and garden area to maintain.

From the early 1990s there has been some major shifts in government policy and direction, and there is no doubt that while this thesis suggests that dual occupancy made a limited a contribution to urban consolidation in metropolitan Melbourne, together with subsequent policies and initiatives, it has resulted in a halt in decline and in some instances a reversal of decline in population in the traditional inner and middle ring municipalities of Melbourne. In some cases there has been population increases in some of these areas and in this regard this could be seen as an indicator of the success of dual occupancy policy. The impact of government and private organisations on policy and urban consolidation since the early 1990s is deserving of further investigation.

Dual occupancy developed as a key plank in the government's urban consolidation policy of the 1980s, as a result of increased awareness by various government departments and authorities, municipalities and developers that the greater metropolitan area of Melbourne could not continue to develop outward without incurring enormous infrastructure and social costs.

The time frame of this thesis (1985 to 1992) was a difficult period to explore, as the housing market declined dramatically, and starts on dual occupancy were perhaps slower than they would have been given a different market scenario, particularly in the inner and middle region municipalities. It would appear that development in the outer or growth municipalities seemed to hold up however and one of the reasons dual occupancy development may have

been more popular in these areas was because it could have been seen as a more affordable housing option.

Dual occupancy, in theory was quite a good policy and it represented a diversification of the traditional housing market, particularly in the established residential areas of metropolitan Melbourne. It was an innovative policy and its formal introduction into Planning Schemes ensured that it would be accessible to a wide sector of the housing market. However, dual occupancy development was subsequently taken over by the medium density housing market and the totally planned estates of the Urban Land Authority.

For the time period of this thesis, dual occupancy met with limited success - partly because of the economic cycle at the time and partly because of the time it took to have a real effect on the housing market. Coupled with the reduction in household occupancy rates, the ageing of the population and the development of affordable planned estates in the outer municipalities, there appears to be little conclusive evidence that dual occupancy had any real impact on metropolitan growth in Melbourne. However, dual occupancy paved the way for later policy initiatives which had a more conclusive effect on urban consolidation, so in this regard, dual occupancy was significant.

At best it could be concluded that dual occupancy development assisted in reversing the trend of population decline in the established residential areas of Melbourne, and it perhaps contributed to a stabilisation of the population decline. It provided an alternative housing option that was readily taken up, but it did not contribute significantly to increasing the growth rates in the established metropolitan area.

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APPENDIX 1: CHANGES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARIES IN METROPOLITAN MELBOURNE

The following is a summary of the new Local Government areas for the Melbourne metropolitan area, as described in Patterns in Local Government, Department of Infrastructure, August 1998, pages 17 to 163.

BANYULE CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Heidelberg** less the Mont Park/Bundoora Health Precinct, the Montmorency and Lower Plenty districts of the former **Shire of Eltham** and the Greensborough, Watsonia and Bundoora districts of the former **Shire of Diamond Valley.**

BAYSIDE CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former C**ities of Brighton and Sandringham**, the Beaumaris district of the former **City of Mordialloc** and part of the Highett and Cheltenham districts of the former **City of Moorabbin.**

BOORONDARA CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Cities of Camberwell, Hawthorn and Kew.**

CARDINIA SHIRE COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shire of Pakenham**, the Emerald, Cockatoo, Clematis and Avonsleigh districts of the former **Shire of Sherbrooke** and the Koo-Wee-Rup district and part of the Lang Lang district of the former **City of Cranbourne.**

CASEY CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Berwick** less the Doveton industrial district, the Churchill Park Drive residential district of the former **City of Knox** and the Cranbourne, Cranbourne North and Hampton Park districts of the former **City of Cranbourne.**

DAREBIN CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Preston**, and the former **City of Northcote** less the Alphington district, the West Preston and Reservoir districts of the former **City of Coburg** and the Mont Park/Bundoora Health Precinct of the former City of Heidelberg and the former **Shire of Diamond Valley**.

FRANKSTON CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Frankston** less the Mt Eliza and Baxter districts, the Carrum Downs of the former **City of Springvale** and the Carrum Downs, Langwarrin and Skye districts of the former **City of Cranbourne**.

GLEN EIRA CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Caulfield** and the Bentleigh, Bentleigh East and McKinnon districts of the former **City of Moorabbin**.

GREATER DANDENONG CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Dandenong**, the Springvale, Keysborough and Noble Park districts of the former **City of Springvale**, the Doveton industrial district of the former **City of Berwick** and the Dandenong South and Lyndhurst districts of the former **City of Cranbourne**.

HOBSONS BAY CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Cities of Altona and Williamstown**, the Laverton residential area of the former **City of Werribee** and the Kingsville South district and Francis Street Wharf area of the former **City of Footscray**.

HUME CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shire of Bulla** less the Diggers Rest area, the Broadmeadows, Campbellfield, Coolaroo, Tullamarine and Westmeadows districts of the former **City of Broadmeadows**, the Somerton district of the former **City of Whittlesea** and the Tullamarine district of the former **City of Keilor**.

KINGSTON CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Chelsea**, the former **City of Mordialloc** less the Beaumaris district, the Moorabbin, Clayton South and Heatherton districts and parts of the Cheltenham and Highett districts of the former **City of Moorabbin**, the Clayton South district of the former **City of Oakleigh** and the Dingley, Braeside, Chelsea Heights and Aspendale Gardens districts of the former **City of Springvale**.

KNOX CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Knox** less the Churchill Park Drive residential estate and the Upper Ferntree Gully and Lysterfield districts of the former **Shire of Sherbrooke**.

MANNINGHAM CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Doncaster & Templestowe** less the North Ringwood district and the Wonga Park district of the former **Shire of Lilydale**.

MARIBYRNONG CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Footscray** less the Kingsville South district and the Francis Street Wharf area and the Braybrook, Maidstone, Maribyrnong and Tottenham districts of the former **City of Sunshine**.

MAROONDAH CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Cities of Croydon and Ringwood**, the North Ringwood district of the former **City of**

Doncaster & Templestowe and the Kilsyth South district of the former **Shire of Lilydale**.

MELBOURNE CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Melbourne** less the North Carlton and Flemington and Kensington districts, part of the Melbourne Showgrounds of the former City of Essendon, the Southbank district of the former **City of South Melbourne** and the Docklands district of the former **City of Port Melbourne**.

MELTON SHIRE COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shire of Melton**, the Diggers Rest district of the former **Shire of Bulla** and the Exford district of the former **City of Werribee**.

MONASH CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Waverley** and the former **City of Oakleigh** less the Clayton South district.

MOONEE VALLEY CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Essendon** and the Avondale Heights, East Keilor, Airport West, Niddrie and West Essendon districts of the former **City of Keilor**.

MORELAND CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Brunswick**, the former **City of Coburg** less the West Preston and Reservoir districts and the Fawkner, Hadfield, Glenroy and Pascoe Vale districts of the former **City of Broadmeadows**.

MORNINGTON PENINSULA SHIRE COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shires of Flinders, Hastings and Mornington** and the Mt Eliza and Baxter districts of the former **City of Frankston** and a small part in the vicinity of Pearcedale of the former **City of Cranbourne**.

NILLUMBIK SHIRE COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shire of Eltham** less the Montmorency, Lower Plenty and Kinglake districts, the former **Shire of Diamond Valley** less the Greensborough, Watsonia and Bundoora districts, the Doreen and Arthurs Creek districts of the former **City of Whittlesea** and the Christmas Hills and Watsons Creek districts of the former **Shire of Healesville**.

PORT PHILLIP CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of St Kilda**, the former **City of Port Melbourne** less the Docklands district, and the former **City of South Melbourne** less the Southbank district and a minor adjustment in the Wellington Street area of the former **City of Prahran.**

STONNINGTON CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Malvern** and the former **City of Prahran** less a minor adjustment in the Wellington Street area.

WHITEHORSE CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Cities of Box Hill and Nunawading**.

WHITTLESEA CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Whittlesea** less the Somerton, Arthurs Creek, Doreen and Kinglake West districts.

WYNDHAM CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **City of Werribee** less the Balliang East, Exford and Laverton residential districts.

YARRA CITY COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Cities of Collingwood and Richmond**, the former City of Fitzroy and the Alphington district of the former **City of Northcote**.

YARRA RANGES SHIRE COUNCIL

- Consists of the former **Shire of Upper Yarra** less the Baw Baw alpine district, the former **Shire of Healesville** less the Toolangi, Castella, Christmas Hills and Watsons Creek districts, the former **Shire of Lilydale** less the Wonga Park and Kilsyth South districts and the former **Shire of Sherbrooke** less the Emerald, Cockatoo, Clematis, Avonsleigh, Upper Ferntree Gully and Lysterfield districts.

This information has also been mapped on the following Figure No. 28

Figure 28: Local Government Boundaries as a Result of Amalgamation

APPENDIX 2: AN EXAMPLE OF A TYPICAL OLD FORMAT PLANNING SCHEME SHOWING THE ''5 COLUMN'' FORMAT

TABLE TO CLAUSE 7 (Continued)

COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2	COLUMN 3		COLUMN 4	COLUMN 5
		PURPOSE	CONDITIONS		
Section 6 RESIDENTIAL "C" ZONE	Detached Cluster House Detached House Home Occupation (other than where carried on in a flat) Passive Recreation Pensioner Relative Unit Railway Road Tramway Women's Refuge	Community Residential Unit Dual Occupancy	Provided that no more than 6 persons (not including any resident staff or their related family) reside in the residence. Provided that the provisions of Clause 13M are complied with.	Apartment House Attached Cluster House Cafe Consulting Rooms Dual Occupancy if the condition set forth opposite such purpose specified in Column 3 of this Section of this Table are not complied with Educational Establishment Flat Health Centre Home Occupation (where carried on in a flat) Minor Sports Ground Motel Place of Assembly Place of Worship Plant Nursery - Retail Residential Building Retired Persons Residential Community Service Premises Work Release Hostel Any purpose not specified or included in any other Column of this Section of this Table. Any purpose specified in Column 3 of this Section of this Table if the condition or conditions set forth opposite such purpose are not complied with.	Adult Sex Book and Sex Aid Establishment Amusement Parlour Animal Boarding Establishment Animal Hospital Apiary (other than Resident Bee Keeping) Attendance Centre Bank Boat Sales Brothel Cabaret Car Sales Cemetery Commercial Vehicle Park (other than in conjunction with any purpose specified or included in Column 4 of this Section) Crematorium Dangerous Industry Dog Coursing Track Extractive Industry Film Studio Freezing and Cool Storage Works Fuel Depot General Industry Generating Works Greyhound Training Hospital for Infectious Diseases Junk Yard Light Industry Liquid Fuel Depot Major Utility Installation Manufacturing Sales Market Mechanical Car Wash Milk Depot Mining Motor Repair Station

(Continued)

TABLE TO CLAUSE 7 (Continued)

COLUMN 1	COLUMN 2	COLUMN 3		COLUMN 4	COLUMN 5
		PURPOSE	CONDITIONS		
Section 6 RESIDENTIAL "C" ZONE (Continued)					Motor Vehicle Racing Track Occupational Store Offensive Industry Office Open-Air Cinema Outdoor Recreation Park Panel Beating Works Peripheral Sales Pig Raising Poultry Farming Primary Produce Store Private Rubbish Tip Racing Stables Radio Station Radio Studio Reformative Institution Research and Development Enterprise Rural Industry Service Industry Shop (other than Service Premises) Stock Saleyard Store Television Station Television Studio Timber Yard Totalizator Agency Tourist Establishment Transport Depot Transport Interchange Trash and Treasure Market Warehouse Youth Welfare Service

APPENDIX 3: CLAUSES 14.1 AND 14.2 OF THE REGIONAL SECTION OF THE METROPOLITAN PLANNING SCHEME

METROPOLITAN REGIONAL SECTION   3   23 NOV 1990

14   **REGIONAL PLANNING POLICIES**
A planning authority preparing amendments to this scheme, or a responsible authority administering this scheme, must consider the following regional planning policies.

The policy region is shown in Figure 1.

14-1*   : **Pattern of future metropolitan development**
It is metropolitan policy to:

* Enhance and consolidate residential and employment opportunities in the established urban area and promote higher household densities in both existing and future residential areas.

* Concentrate Melbourne's outward expansion in nominated prime urban growth corridors, with emphasis on the Plenty Valley, South Eastern and Werribee corridors, but also encouraging growth in parts of the Melton Corridor and the Melton area.

* Reinforce the established pattern of activity centres in which shops, offices, public and community services and entertainment facilities are grouped.

* Strengthen the role of Central Melbourne (Central City and Southbank as shown in Figure 1) as the major Victorian focus of activity in finance, retail, commerce, tourism, culture and entertainment.

* Concentrate major suburban retail, commercial, administrative, entertainment and cultural developments in and around District Centres.

* Provide infrastructure, services and suitably zoned land to encourage employment growth throughout the metropolitan region, with emphasis on Outer Strategic District Centres.

* Provide for development levies to be charged for new development as a contribution to infrastructure costs.

* Create a linked parkland and open space system across the metropolitan region and protect valuable wedges of prime agricultural land, open landscapes and native vegetation between the urban corridors.

* Protect environmentally sensitive areas such as the Dandenong and Macedon Ranges, Port Phillip Bay and its foreshore, the Mornington Peninsula, the Yarra and Maribyrnong Rivers and the Merri Creek, as well as nominated urban conservation areas, historic buildings and precincts.

* Co-ordinate improvements in the metropolitan transport system to maximise opportunities for economic growth, residential development, employment increase and accessibility for the community.

METROPOLITAN REGIONAL SECTION   9   16 DEC 1993

14-2   Housing and urban consolidation
           It is metropolitan policy that:

*   A range of housing opportunities to meet the diverse housing
    needs of the community are provided and that principles of
    choice and affordability are promoted.

*   Residential standards ensure adequate daylight, open space
    and privacy.

*   Subdivision achieves an efficient and cost effective use of
    land.

*   A range of lot sizes, multi-dwelling development and dual
    occupancy housing in all appropriate residential areas are
    developed as key components of urban consolidation.

*   Opportunities are provided for increased dwelling densities
    to reduce population losses in established areas.

*   The Victorian Code for Residential Development -
    Multi-dwellings, November 1993, is used in the assessment of
    applications for multi-dwellings and residential buildings,
    and for dual occupancy under Clause 20A-2.

*   Under-used non-residential land or buildings are considered
    for residential development if appropriate services and
    facilities are available.

*   Housing stock is retained to reflect community needs and
    urban consolidation objectives.

*   Proposals to reduce housing stock or land zoned for
    residential use are supported only if provision is made to
    replace losses or in exceptional circumstances.

*   Land is rezoned for residential development if appropriate
    infrastructure and services can be provided.

*   Supply of residential land is maintained so that lot prices
    are not influenced by a shortage of residentially zoned land.

APPENDIX 4: CONDITIONS FOR AS OF RIGHT DUAL OCCUPANCY
PROVISIONS AS A RESULT OF AMENDMENT 367

13M. Except as hereinafter provided the use of land for the purpose "dual occupancy" as specified in Column 3 of Section 6 of the Table to Clause 7 shall be subject to the following conditions -   *Inserted by AM. No. 367*

(a) the site has an area of not less than 450 square metres and prior to 1 July 1985 comprised a single allotment on a plan of subdivision approved by the Registrar of Titles, or a Crown Allotment or part thereof, or a Crown Portion or part thereof and was on such date and has since continued to subsist as a separate tenement provided that such tenement shall be deemed to continue to exist where the area thereof is increased;

(b) no building constructed after the approval date hereof shall exceed 2 storeys (not including a basement);

(c) where the development comprises 2 detached houses no building constructed at the rear of the site after the approval date hereof shall exceed one storey;

(d) one of the dwellings shall have a floor area (excluding that of any outbuilding) of not more than 100 square metres;

(e) not more than 60 per centum of the site shall be covered by buildings;

(f) no window of a habitable room which has a sill height less than 1.7 metres above floor level, and no garden or light court opening off such window shall be directly overlooked by any window of the other dwelling on the allotment which has a sill height of less than 1.7 metres above floor level unless a visual barrier is constructed to prevent such overlooking;

(g) no wall of a habitable room contained within a new building shall be located -

    (i) closer to the frontage than a distance equal to the least setback from the frontage of any wall of a dwelling on an adjacent allotment with frontage to the same street;

    (ii) closer to a side boundary than 1.2 metres where such wall is 3.6 metres or less in height, or 1.2 metres plus 100 millimetres for every 300 millimetres or part thereof by which the height of such wall exceeds 3.6 metres;

(h) each dwelling shall be provided with open space at ground level free of buildings which -

    (i) shall have a total area of not less than 50 square metres;

    (ii) shall have a minimum dimension of 2.4 metres; and

    (iii) shall comprise not more than 2 separate parts and no such part shall have an area of less than 16 square metres;

(i) provision shall be made on the site for the accommodation of not less than 2 stationary vehicles on land other than that set aside pursuant to condition (h) hereof; and

(j) land set aside for the accommodation of stationary vehicles pursuant to paragraph (i) hereof shall be so arranged that at any time not less than 2 car spaces are provided with access to or from any abutting street or lane.

MMPS Ord. No. 13   202

APPENDIX 5: SUMMARY OF DWELLING UNIT COMMENCEMENT DATA FROM 1985/86 TO 1991/92

Table 11: Dwelling Unit Commencements for Houses in the MSD (1984/85 - 1991/92)

YEAR	NO. OF COMMENCEMENTS	NO. CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR	% CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR	% OF TOTAL FOR ALL CO/MENTS

	YEAR			
84/85	19052			80.1
85/86	18205	−1297	−6.7	82.7
86/87	17144	−1061	−5.8	83.4
87/88	17968	824	4.8	85.3
88/89	23031	5063	28.2	90.0
89/90	16315	−6716	−29.2	89.9
90/91	12235	−4080	−25.0	87.5
91/92	14220	1985	16.2	87.8
Change from 84/85 to 91/92		−4832	−25.4	
Change from 88/89 to 90/91		−8811	−38.3	

Source: ABS (8741/2)

Table 12: Dwelling Unit Commencements for Other Residential Buildings in the MSD (1984/85 - 1991/92)

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER CHANGE	% CHANGE	% OF TOTAL
84/85	4843			19.9
85/86	3796	−1047	−21.6	17.3
86/87	2407	−389	−10.2	16.6
87/88	3106	−301	−8.8	14.7
88/89	2569	−537	−17.3	10.0
89/90	1837	−732	−28.5	10.1
90/91	1752	−85	−4.6	12.5
91/92	1981	229	13.1	12.2
Change from 84/85 to 91/92		−2862	−59.1	
Change from 88/89 to 90/91		−588	−22.9	

Source: ABS (8741/2)

Table 13: Dwelling Unit Commencements for Houses and Other Residential Buildings in the MSD (1984/85 - 1991/92)

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER CHANGE	% CHANGE
84/85	24345		
85/86	22001	−2344	−9.6
86/87	20551	−1450	−9.6
87/88	21074	523	2.5
88/89	25600	4526	21.5
89/90	18152	−7448	−29.1

90/91	13987	-4165	-22.9
91/92	16201	2214	15.8
Change from 84/85 to 91/92		-8144	-33.5
Change from 88/89 to 90/91		-9399	-36.7

Source: ABS (8741/2)

APPENDIX 6: SUMMARY OF BUILDING APPROVALS DATA

FROM 1986/87 TO 1991/92

Table 14: Building Approvals for Houses in the MSD (1986/87
- 1991/92)

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER CHANGE	% CHANGE	% OF TOTAL
86/87	17648			83.5
87/88	19202	1554	8.8	85.4
88/89	23812	4610	24.0	89.5
89/90	16368	-7444	-31.3	90.4
90/91	12598	-3770	-23.0	88.1
91/92	14862	2264	18.0	87.3
Change from 86/87 to 91/92		-2786	-15.8	

Source: ABS and Dept Planning and Development

Table 15: Building Approvals for Other Residential Buildings in the MSD (1986/87 - 1991/92)

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER CHANGE	% CHANGE	% OF TOTAL
86/87	3498			16.5
87/88	3286	-212	-6.1	14.6
88/89	2789	-497	-15.1	10.5
89/90	1735	-1054	-37.8	9.6
90/91	1704	-31	-1.8	11.9
91/92	2170	466	27.3	12.7
Change from 86/87 to 91/92		-1328	-38.0	

Source: ABS

Table 16: Building Approvals for Dual Occupancy in the MSD (1986/87 - 1991/92)

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER CHANGE	% CHANGE	% OF TOTAL
86/87	1660			
87/88	2180	520	31.3	9.7
88/89	3574	1394	63.9	13.4

89/90	2960	-614	-17.2	16.4
90/91	2331	-629	-21.3	16.3
91/92	2203	-128	-5.5	12.9
Change from 86/87 to 91/92		543	32.7	

Source: Dept of Planning & Development