

MELBOURNE WHAT NEXT?

A DISCUSSION ON CREATING
A BETTER FUTURE FOR
MELBOURNE



Edited by Carolyn Whitzman, Brendan Gleeson, and Alexander Sheko



Melbourne:What Next?

A discussion on creating a better future for Melbourne

Research Monograph No. 1, October 2014

The views and opinions contained within MSSI publications are solely those of the author/s and do not reflect those held by MSSI, the University of Melbourne or any other relevant party. While MSSI endeavours to provide reliable analysis and believes the material it presents is accurate, it will not be liable for any claim by any party acting on the information in this paper. © Copyright protects this material.

Production Editor Claire Denby, cdenby@unimelb.edu.au

Images All images, except where otherwise stated, are courtesy of Alexander Sheko, University of Melbourne

Citing this paper

Please cite this paper as Whitzman, C., Gleeson, B. & Sheko, A. (2014). *Melbourne:What Next?*, Research Monograph No. 1, Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, The University of Melbourne.

ISBN: 978 0 7340 4944 5



MELBOURNE SUSTAINABLE
SOCIETY INSTITUTE



MELBOURNE
SOCIAL EQUITY
INSTITUTE

MELBOURNE: WHAT NEXT?

A DISCUSSION ON CREATING A BETTER
FUTURE FOR MELBOURNE

CAROLYN WHITZMAN, BRENDAN GLEESON, ALEXANDER SHEKO (EDS.)

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	iii
Foreword	iv
Contributors.....	vi
Introduction from Editors	I
Chapter 1: Vision	3
A Vision for Metropolitan Melbourne.....	4
<i>Professor Carolyn Whitzman and Professor Chris Ryan</i>	
Melbourne's Foundations: Opportunity for All and Caring for the Vulnerable.....	21
<i>Major Brendan Nottle</i>	
Partnerships and a Shared Vision for a Better Melbourne	24
<i>Cr Micaela Driberg</i>	
Melbourne: Smart, Connected, Self-Sufficient	27
<i>Rob McGauran</i>	
Smart Growth for a Smart City	30
<i>The Hon Robert Doyle</i>	
Chapter 2: Jobs and Housing	33
Making Ends Meet	34
<i>Dr Kate Shaw and Bryn Davies</i>	
Disadvantage in the Sprawling City	47
<i>Tony Nicholson</i>	
Nimble Metropolitan Governance for a Dynamic Metropolis	49
<i>Dr Marcus Spiller</i>	
Neither Up Nor Out: Precinct-Scale Infill for Middle Suburbia.....	52
<i>Professor Shane Murray</i>	
Quality In My Back Yard: Lessons from North America.....	56
<i>Professor Carolyn Whitzman</i>	
Chapter 3: Climate and Design	59
Cool Melbourne: Towards a Sustainable and Resilient Zero Carbon City in a Hotter World	60
<i>Professor John Wiseman, Professor David Karoly and Alexander Sheko</i>	
Sustainable Development: From Global to Local.....	74
<i>Professor Dave Griggs</i>	
Integrative Design to Regenerate Melbourne.....	77
<i>Caroline Pidcock</i>	

People Power for a Renewable Energy Future.....	80
<i>Kirsty Albion</i>	
Green Strategies for a Sustainable Melbourne	83
<i>Professor Rob Adams</i>	
Chapter 4: Transport	86
Building Confidence in the Future of Melbourne’s Public Transport Systems.....	87
<i>Dr John Stone and Dr Jan Scheurer</i>	
Public Transport: Accessible to All?	103
<i>Janine Young</i>	
Improving Public Transport for Greater Productivity and Quality of Life	106
<i>Chris Lowe</i>	
Dealing with the Infrastructure Backlog in Melbourne’s Outer Suburbs.....	109
<i>Griff Davies</i>	
Modern, Radical, Community Campaigning for World Class Public Transport	112
<i>Danae Bosler</i>	
Chapter 5: Implementation.....	115
Implementation: Getting Our Act Together.....	116
<i>Dr Crystal Legacy, Professor Brendan Gleeson and Professor Jago Dodson</i>	
Making, Delivering and Protecting a Plan for Melbourne	132
<i>Kate Roffey</i>	
How can Local Governance be Fit for Purpose?	135
<i>Dr Andrew Hollows</i>	
Integrated, Deliberative Planning: Beyond Sleepwalking Towards Catastrophe.....	138
<i>Professor Brendan Gleeson</i>	
Post-It Notes and Citizens’ Juries: Sharing Decisions About Our Future.....	141
<i>Andrew Holden</i>	

List of Figures

Figure 1: Moderator of the Creating a Better Future for Melbourne seminar series. Michael Short	2
Figure 2: Audience at final seminar in Creating a Better Future for Melbourne series, July 2014	2
Figure 3: Employment levels in the CBD and the City of Melbourne from 1981-2011 (SGS, 2012).....	40
Figure 4: Melbourne's projected expansion by 2051 if growth accommodated solely in city centre and fringes	52
Figure 5: A "Manhattanised" future Melbourne.....	53
Figure 6: Key climate change risks for Victoria over the 21st century (Steffen & Hughes, 2013).....	64
Figure 7: Network resilience map for the Status Quo (2012) public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with urban growth projection scenarios for 2031 (Do-Nothing scenario).....	93
Figure 8: Public transport efficiency change in the Doncaster corridor as a result of frequency improvements along existing rail lines in the vicinity	93
Figure 9: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements along existing rail lines (Build-No-Infrastructure scenario)	94
Figure 10: Public transport efficiency changes in the Doncaster corridor from the isolated insertion of a Doncaster rail branch compared to the existing network with improved rail frequencies	95
Figure 11: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements on existing rail lines and an isolated Doncaster rail branch	96
Figure 12: Public transport efficiency changes in the Doncaster corridor as a result of the insertion of a Doncaster rail branch accompanied by a package of surface network adaptations, compared to the existing network with improved rail frequencies and an isolated Doncaster rail branch	97
Figure 13: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements along existing rail lines, a Doncaster rail branch and surface network adaptations.....	98

List of Tables

Table 1: Major Shared Themes From Eight Organisations' Plan Melbourne Submissions 2012-13.....	12
Table 2: Observed and projected climate changes for Melbourne from 1990	62

Foreword

In December 2013, a group of concerned citizens, myself included, met to discuss how we could engage with the wider community to identify what needed to be done to create a better future for Melbourne. Melbourne is one of the world's great cities but an increasing number of people are facing significant pressures and challenges in their everyday lives. They are asking why these issues are not being properly dealt with by our politicians and decision makers in both the public and private sectors.

These issues include the long travel times taken to get to and from work with less time for family and friends; inadequate community services, particularly in the health and education sectors; rising house prices and rental costs with a growing number of people unable to access affordable housing; lack of choice and diversity in the housing sector as our housing needs change and our population ages; congestion in our transport system, especially public transport, with many residents living on the fringe of Melbourne having no option but to drive to work, the local shops or school; and no firm commitment from government to deal with the adverse impacts of climate change now rather than when it will be too late.

With the prospect of our city accommodating almost eight million people by 2050, all Melburnians face a new and challenging phase in our city's urban development and growth. We run the risk of marginalising whole areas of our great city if we do not think more deeply about the options for our city's future.

In an effort to raise greater community awareness of these and other issues, and identify ways of addressing them in a fair, equitable, and sustainable way, we formed the Future Melbourne Network (FMN). In early 2014, FMN began to organise a seminar series about what we as a community needed to do towards *Creating a Better Future for Melbourne*. We successfully secured sponsors and an impressive list of highly knowledgeable and respected speakers. Michael Short, editor of *The Zone*, a section of *The Age*, kindly offered to chair all five seminars and the Melbourne Social Equity Institute and Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute at the University of Melbourne assisted in funding the establishment of our website and the publication of this ebook.

Held at Deakin Edge in Federation Square between March and July 2014, each seminar attracted 150 to 200 people with many people contributing their big ideas about each of the following seminar topics:

- A Better Future for Melbourne: What's Your Vision?
- Making Ends Meet: Jobs and Housing
- Climate and Design: A Cool Future for Hot Melbourne
- Transport: The Best Way to Get There
- Implementation: Getting Our Act Together

While these seminars were not able to touch on every important issue that needs to be addressed in creating the best possible future for Melbourne, they were able to demonstrate that this process of planning for the future is both complex and multi-faceted. Importantly, they brought hundreds of Melburnians together to publicly learn, share ideas, and help keep up a most important conversation about our future.

Many of us acknowledge that we need to be smarter, more innovative, and more efficient in how we manage future urban development whilst addressing the backlog of planning problems already confronting our everyday lives. We need to rethink the way we plan our city. We must have governance structures that adopt sound, participatory, transparent, and inclusive consultation with Melburnians and ensure the funding to deliver what we need to secure the liveability of our great city and the wellbeing of all citizens.

The culmination of the FMN 2014 seminar series is this highly informative, evidence based, and somewhat provocative ebook. On behalf of the FMN, I wish to convey my sincere thanks to those who participated in the seminars, contributed ideas and commentary online, and wrote and edited this publication. I would also like to acknowledge the generous support of our sponsors, who made the seminar series possible.

As our city gets bigger, we need to ensure that it becomes a better place to live, work, and visit. I hope this ebook provides the big ideas needed to be put into action to make our city an even better city in the years ahead. After all, it is actions that speak much louder than just words.

Professor Roz Hansen

Contributors

Kirsty Albion – National Co-Director, Australian Youth Climate Coalition

Danae Bosler – Campaign Manager, Public Transport Not Traffic

Bryn Davies – Senior Consultant, SGS Economics & Planning

Griff Davies – Director of Advocacy and Communications, City of Whittlesea

Professor Jago Dodson – Professor of Urban Policy, RMIT University

The Hon Robert Doyle – Lord Mayor, City of Melbourne

Cr Micaela Driberg – Councillor, City of Monash

Professor Brendan Gleeson – Director, Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, University of Melbourne

Professor Dave Griggs – CEO, ClimateWorks Australia, and Director, Monash Sustainability Institute, Monash University

Andrew Holden – Editor-in-Chief, The Age

Dr Andrew Hollows – CEO, Victorian Local Governance Association

Professor David Karoly – Professor of Atmospheric Science, School of Earth Sciences and ARC Centre of Excellence for Climate System Science, University of Melbourne

Dr Crystal Legacy – Research Fellow, RMIT University

Chris Lowe – Executive Director, Bus Association Victoria

Rob McGauran – Founding Director, MGS Architects and Urban Designers, and Adjunct Professor, Monash University

Professor Shane Murray – Dean, Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture, Monash University

Tony Nicholson – Executive Director, Brotherhood of St Laurence

Major Brendan Nottle – Salvation Army Project 614

Caroline Pidcock – Director, Pidcock Architecture + Sustainability

Kate Roffey – CEO, Committee for Melbourne

Professor Chris Ryan – Director, Victorian Eco Innovation Lab and Australian Visions and Pathways 2040, University of Melbourne

Dr Jan Scheurer – Honorary Associate, RMIT University

Dr Kate Shaw – Future Fellow in Urban Geography and Planning, University of Melbourne

Alexander Sheko – Research Associate, University of Melbourne

Dr Marcus Spiller – Principal, Partner and Director, SGS Economics & Planning

Dr John Stone – Lecturer in Transport Planning, University of Melbourne

Professor Carolyn Whitzman – Professor of Urban Planning, University of Melbourne

Professor John Wiseman – Deputy Director, Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, University of Melbourne

Janine Young – Public Transport Ombudsman

Introduction from Editors

Universities play an important role in facilitating public conversations, such as those around improving the cities in which we live. It is clear to us that there is passionate desire for such conversations about the future of Melbourne, judging by news coverage and community action around issues such as affordable housing, access to jobs and services, public transportation, and our local approach to climate change.

We also recognise that, while there is widespread public interest in these issues, people are cynical about the actions – or inaction – of governments of all persuasions. There is little faith in political leaders’ proclivity to genuinely engage with and listen to public opinion, let alone leadership towards real improvement in environmental, economic and social outcomes for all Melburnians.

In the context of a new metropolitan planning strategy for Melbourne, *Plan Melbourne*, significant debate around infrastructure funding priorities, and a looming state government election, there has never been a better time to have a serious conversation about what needs to happen to create the best possible future for Melbourne. This conversation must include as wide a segment of our society as possible, and lead to informed, constructive public debate that truly shapes the direction in which our city heads.

We have been pleased to support Future Melbourne Network and the *Creating a Better Future for Melbourne* seminar series, which has aimed to spark such a conversation. It is our hope that those attending and involved in the seminars are increasingly empowered to continue this conversation and help create the change that they want to see in their city. The series has featured speakers from a wide range of professions and backgrounds, and has provided people opportunities to share their ideas for Melbourne’s future, both at the seminars and through online channels.

This ebook draws together what was presented at the seminars, along with perspectives from leading researchers, and ideas shared by the public at the seminars, on the Future Melbourne Network website and on Twitter. The latter have been included in this ebook as “vox pops”, complementing and interacting with what was said at the seminars. The ebook covers a variety of topics from a variety of perspectives, providing a good starting point for anybody interested in the big issues facing our city and wanting to join the conversation on what we might need to do in order to best deal with them.

These urban issues will become increasingly prominent in public discussion, media reporting and political debate as the November election approaches. We hope that the conversation to which we have contributed in putting together this ebook, in partnership with Future Melbourne Network, will assist in ensuring this public discussion is informed, inclusive, and productive. We also hope that this

conversation will continue past the election, whatever the outcome, and lead to positive change being implemented so that our city in the future is the city that we want it to be.

Professor Carolyn Whitzman, Professor Brendan Gleeson, and Alexander Sheko



Figure 1: Moderator of the Creating a Better Future for Melbourne seminar series. Michael Short



Figure 2: Audience at final seminar in Creating a Better Future for Melbourne series, July 2014

Images by Thami Croeser

CHAPTER 1

VISION



A Vision for Metropolitan Melbourne

Professor Carolyn Whitzman and Professor Chris Ryan

Key points

- There is currently wide-spread cynicism in relation to metropolitan strategic planning in Melbourne, in relation to whether it is underpinned by any vision of social or environmental justice, or is simply based on political power-brokering.
- Examples of past positive visions underlying Melbourne strategic planning exist, as do good practices from elsewhere from which to learn.
- There is an emergent alternative vision. However, it has not yet engaged the full range of the public necessary to transcend short-term political goals and engage with challenges around conflicts and trade-offs. Current strategic planning reform actively works against this alternative vision being realised.

Introduction – Failed Strategic Plans and Poor Outcomes

Plan Melbourne (Victorian State Government, 2014) has been launched amidst widespread cynicism shared by local government, business, and civil society in relation to good planning (Green, 2014). Metropolitan Melbourne has endured five supposedly twenty to forty year time frame metropolitan strategies in as many decades (1971, 1980, 1995, 2002, 2014); none, thus far, has outlasted a change in state government (March, 2012). In regards to the three main planks of a good metropolitan strategy – laid out by Mees (2003: 289) as “the shape and form of residential development, transport infrastructure, and the distribution of jobs and retailing” (to which we would add social infrastructure, including education, health and social services, environmental management, and community engagement) - the last two metropolitan strategies have had very poor outcomes indeed. Housing affordability across the state, but particularly in metropolitan Melbourne, which comprises 80% of the state’s population, is at an all-time low (Birrell, Healy, Rapson & Smith, 2012). While Melbourne, and other Australian cities, fare well in international business executive ‘liveability’ ratings, they also have some of the highest ecological footprints in the world (Newton, 2012). This is in large part due to the huge areal expansion of Australian capital cities, with public transport and social infrastructure investment lagging far behind suburban housing development (McDougall & Maharaj, 2011). With a growing gap in access to employment and social and health services, the Ministerial Advisory Committee guiding *Plan Melbourne*’s warned of the emergence of “two Melbournes”, a “choice-rich” central city surrounded by “choice-poor” outer suburbs (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2012: 26).

In this chapter, we ask two questions: first, what is the role of vision in developing an effective metropolitan strategy, and second, is there an emergent vision for a socially and environmentally just metropolitan strategy that could inform Melbourne's future?

Does Strategic Planning Require Vision?

Whether couched as vision, goals, or framing, the notion of an ideal end-state underpinning planning action has a rich heritage. Hall (2002: 2, 8-10) sets out his history of planning in terms of three competing "visions of the good city". The first, dating from the Garden Cities movement in the early 20th century, is to de-concentrate jobs and services into regional sub-centres. This vision was a reaction to disastrous health outcomes for low-income people in cities, and was motivated by a desire for small scale self-governance, piecemeal transformation, and an environmental understanding of respecting local resources. The second was a monumentalist City Beautiful strain, aimed at re-building the central city in a consistent, impressive, and aesthetically pleasing form. The third was a market led suburban sprawl response: individual freedom through infinite transport mobility and mass built housing. All three visions continue to compete in cities like Melbourne, and it should be noted that the last two of these visions are largely bereft of social and environmental justice concerns.

More recently, Newman, Beatley and Boyer (2009: 55) speak of "setting a vision, and developing an implementation strategy" as the first of ten steps for a city more resilient to the impacts of climate change and peak oil. A contrary view is expressed by McCann (2001: 209), who argues that visioning is a tokenistic tool used by the "consultocracy" to disguise increasing privatisation of the planning process.

In reaction to iterative failures of Melbourne's metropolitan strategies, the role of vision as a starting point for strategy development has been fiercely debated. Sandercock and Friedmann (2000: 530), critical of the notion of apolitical facilitation of market-based development implicit in the 1995 Melbourne metropolitan strategy *Living Suburbs*, argue that: "A so-called metropolitan strategy is first and foremost a political, rather than a planning, document. It sets out a new government's long-term vision, intentions and proposals for action." They recognise the inherent contradiction in this statement, however: most metropolitan strategies are intended to last at least twenty years, and few democratically elected governments last that long. Their solution is to involve as many relevant actors as possible from government, the private sector, and civil society. Only through an ongoing process of developing mutual understanding through sharing information and concerns, constructing and debating alternate scenarios, and entertaining new ideas, can a consensual and pro-active vision be achieved that would outlast a particular government's agenda.

A consensual and pro-active vision was the intention of an intensive consultation process behind the successor Melbourne metropolitan strategy *Melbourne 2030*, which commenced almost immediately after the election of a Labour government in 2000. Mees (2003), less than a year after the strategy was launched in 2002, argues that this notion of vision is inherently flawed, through being tied to a new government. How long would it take for a new government to undertake a participatory process and gain consensus before they lost power and were replaced by another new government, anxious to try out its new and improved participatory processes with a new set of actors drawn from those rather large categories of local government, the private sector, and civil society?

Mees also points out that *Living Suburbs* and *Melbourne 2030* provided visions and associated implementation strategies so vague that it would be possible to transpose the two. The vision statement at the start of *Living Suburbs* states: “Melbourne is one of the world’s most liveable cities – a city to celebrate. The Victorian State Government’s aim is to keep it that way.” (Victorian State Government, 1995: 4) The vision statement at the start of *Melbourne 2030* states: “In the next 30 years, Melbourne will grow by up to one million people and will consolidate its reputation as one of the most liveable, attractive and prosperous areas in the world for residents, business and visitors” (Victorian Government Department of Infrastructure, 2002: ii). Both visions are essentially conservative, based on maintaining a largely undefined attribute called “liveability”. Furthermore, the question of how maintaining liveability would be measured, let alone enabled by infrastructure and governance decisions, was left disturbingly vague in both plans.

March (2012), who was using the process behind a third Melbourne metropolitan planning strategy developed in fifteen years to make his theoretical points, acknowledges the tension between consensual inclusivity and decisiveness, arguing that neither has been improved through the strategic planning process in Victoria. He comes to no easy conclusions about what Campbell (1996), Godschalk (2006), and Newton (2012) argue is a three-way debate over planning vision: planning as promoting social justice, planning as promoting economic development, and planning as promoting environmental protection.

However, there are metropolitan strategic plans where vision has been explicitly linked to past and future actions, investment, partnerships with local actors, and clear monitoring strategies. The vision statement of the *London Plan* (Greater London Authority, 2011: 5) explicitly builds on its predecessor strategy and also pays tribute to a rich local history of “innovation in areas like housing, the Green Belt and, more recently, tackling climate change”. There is a major funding stream developed as part of the strategy to assist in realizing the vision, a Community Infrastructure Levy. Progress is measured by an Annual Monitoring Report with twenty four performance indicators (Greater London Authority, 2014: ii). In contrast to recent Melbourne metropolitan strategies, the *London Plan* explicitly acknowledges the tension between economic development, social justice, and

responding to climate change, rather than trying to please everyone and thus accomplishing little. It links its vision to past actions, details infrastructure projects central to achieving its vision of economic development and social justice, and promises transparent monitoring to provide public accountability.

The *Greater Vancouver Regional Growth Strategy's* Vision Statement (2011: foreword) sets out “to achieve what humanity aspires to on a global basis – the highest quality of life embracing cultural vitality, economic prosperity, social justice and compassion, all nurtured in and by a beautiful and healthy natural environment”. The twenty eight local governments and two regional agencies who signed off on the strategy (the *Vancouver Agreement* referred to by Drieberg in this volume) will “achieve this vision by embracing and applying the principles of sustainability [...] in everything we do”. The vision is translated into five goals, which in turn are linked to annual performance measures that are to be monitored by appropriate agencies, including the metropolitan transport authority, and education and health services. In Vancouver, environmental sustainability has become an over-arching goal, with economic, social, and cultural aims achieved through a co-benefits approach. In both Vancouver and London, and in contrast to recent Melbourne plans, the vision determines the partnerships implementing the strategy, and the monitoring mechanisms to measure progress towards goals implicit in the vision.

Can There Be a Successful Vision for Melbourne?

Forty years ago, Leonie Sandercock summarised three major chronic barriers to good planning in metropolitan Melbourne over the 20th century. First, the local level of governance is weak within the Australian constitutional system, and metropolitan governance relatively rare - with the partial exception of Brisbane (see also Gleeson, Dodson & Spiller, 2010). Victorian politics has seen chronic over-representation by rural politicians, and a hundred years of metropolitan governance recommendations have been thwarted by a state legislature concerned about competition from a body representing the majority of the state's population and economy (Sandercock, 1975: 56, 73). Second, an equally chronic “instability” in Victorian politics, a combination of fluctuations between parties and internal factions within parties, has meant that, when growth was strong, there was “no time” for planning, and, when growth was weak, there was “no private development to steer” (ibid: 76). Finally, and as a consequence of these two governance issues, planning has been largely conservative, reactive, and siloed, reluctant to “initiate and control urban development”, and tending to prefer improving “the efficiency of development” (ibid: 59). Planning for housing affordability, transport, employment, and social infrastructure has been siloed off from the land use planning system, which across Australia, since European colonisation, has favoured a fragmented

approach and market-led responses over coordinated action for environmental sustainability and social justice (see also Gleeson & Low, 2000: 218-219).

This is not to say that there have never been bold and successfully implemented visions for Melbourne. The 'Hoddle Grid' setting out Melbourne's first settlement in 1837 included a network of reserves for parkland at cardinal points around the new town, and emphasised "democratic" standard size allotments (Proudfoot, 2000: 6). Nottle (in this volume) also alludes to the social reform origins of Melbourne: the notion that Melbourne would be a rationally planned 'good city', with access to recreation and high quality housing for both rich and poor. This initial plan for the city has shaped development of the central business district since that time, with single site re-development generally triumphing over mega-blocks, at least within the Hoddle Grid.

The notion of Green Wedges, introduced under Liberal premier Henry Bolte in 1971, was intended to preserve non-urban land between development corridors, as close as fifteen kilometres from the central business district. The vision here was to preserve viable agricultural land, including some of the most productive market gardens in Australia, delimit space for essential community infrastructure such as recreational reserves, and protect remnant indigenous vegetation (Buxton & Goodman, 2002). Green wedges have been under attack since their inception, particularly during the eight years of the allegedly sustainable growth strategy *Melbourne 2030*, but their legacy has remained in the north-eastern suburbs of the metropolis.

The successor Liberal premier, Rupert Hamer, is associated with the development of Melbourne's cultural infrastructure, with projects over several decades including the Victorian Arts Centre, the National Gallery of Victoria, the Museum of Melbourne, and Federation Square. He also established the Historic Building Preservation Council in response to destruction of architectural heritage in central Melbourne. The development of both arts and sports precincts in central Melbourne were bold and ultimately successful approaches to de-industrialisation, with jobs and revenue arising from tourist dollars staving off mass unemployment predicted in the wake of the end of tariffs (O'Hanlon, 2009). Concurrent with the re-invention of central Melbourne as an 'events destination' was its transformation from an "empty, useless city centre", in the words of leading architect Norman Day in 1978, to a lively, walkable and mixed use "24 hour city" (Gehl, 2004: 3). While this vision stressed new economic opportunities through innovative approaches, it benefited the central city to the detriment of the outer suburbs, which lost industrial jobs without gaining new economy employment (O'Hanlon, 2009).

These visions are associated with individual (male) leadership: Robert Hoddle the original colonial surveyor, Premiers Henry Bolte and Rupert Hamer, and City of Melbourne Urban Design Director Rob Adams. This notion of visionary leadership appears antithetical to the recent planning mantra of

collaborative planning, where the goal is to build shared conviction across diverse interests and complex problems (Healey, 1997). But the simplified version of Melbourne's history of successful planning visions ignores the capacity of these individual leaders to build on existing advocacy coalitions and ideas, and, in turn, inspire long-term action. There was a Liberal-National coalition government in Victoria from 1955 to 1981, but the successor Labour government of John Cain Jr. from 1982 to 1990 carried on with both the cultural regeneration and heritage focus of Hamer (O'Hanlon, 2009), along with urban containment and preservation of green wedges championed by Bolte (Buxton & Goodman, 2002). Similarly, Rob Adams' bold vision of the residential transformation of the CBD outlasted political vagaries of left and right-leaning councils, and a state-government imposed local government amalgamation and dismissal of elected representatives in 1995.

In conclusion, successful long-term visions are possible for metropolitan Melbourne, despite a dire record of conservative and vague visions within successive plans. Visions cannot be accomplished without courageous leadership, but must also be based in a broader advocacy coalition backing that leadership, which transcends electoral politics. In the following two short case studies, we will first look at how recent metropolitan planning reform has mitigated against the development of a collective vision. We will then look at an experiment in creating a collective long-term vision for Melbourne, which stresses environmental and social justice.

Plan Melbourne 'Consultation': The Lost Chance of a Shared Vision

Even before the Labour state government lost power in November 2010, Michael Buxton, a member of the Implementation Reference Committee for *Melbourne 2030*, was declaring that strategy "stone dead" (The Age, 2009). Indeed, almost immediately after the election of the new Coalition government, *Melbourne 2030* and its successor strategy *Melbourne@5 Million* were abandoned, and development of a new metropolitan strategy announced. It took until May 2012, however, for a Ministerial Advisory Committee to be established to guide the metropolitan planning strategy. Senior planning practitioner Roz Hansen became its chair, and the other members of the committee were four experienced planners, along with a social service representative.

Generally, metropolitan strategy is developed through a consultative process, followed by changes in planning provisions to enable strategies to be implemented at the local government level (March, 2012). However, the new metropolitan strategy was developed within a maelstrom of concurrent consultations and planning legislative changes. These included at least four political inquiries (liveability in outer suburbs, economic development and infrastructure provision in outer suburbs, health and environmental design, and safer design principles), three major planning legislation

changes (new residential zones, a review of development assessment charges, and an overhaul of the state planning policy framework), and the re-zoning of a huge new inner city area (Fishermans Bend).

At least eight separate and concurrent consultation strategies led to frustration for organisations trying to respond to all of these initiatives, according to both the Planning Institute of Australia (2013), and the Committee for Melbourne (2012). More importantly, major implementation mechanisms, such as changes to residential zones and developer contributions, were being made without an underlying metropolitan strategy. Perhaps the most egregious example of the impotence of the new metropolitan strategy process was the announcement of a plan for a hugely significant piece of infrastructure funding (the cross-town underground highway known as the East West Link), before the draft metropolitan strategy was released. The sequencing of metropolitan planning decisions suggests that *Plan Melbourne* was a trivial afterthought to a set of planning decisions that had already been made.

Like its Melbourne predecessors and unlike London or Vancouver, *Plan Melbourne*'s vision is not backed by infrastructure funding commitments (other than the East West Link). Implementation strategies are vague and unmeasurable. The role of local government agreement is barely discussed. The vision is simple, even simplistic, in contrast to the London and Vancouver visions: "Melbourne will be a global city of opportunity and choice" (Victorian State Government, 2014: preface). While there are a dozen "potential performance measures" towards the end of the long document (ibid: 168), the link between these measures and either 'opportunity' and 'choice' are unclear, and the performance measures are not directly linked to planning mechanisms. For instance, the way that the metropolitan strategy would affect "gross regional product per capita per hour worked", the first potential performance measure, is not linked to any policy in the strategy, nor to any strategic investment.

The *Plan Melbourne* website speaks of an "extensive consultation process" following the release of the Ministerial Advisory Committee's discussion paper in October 2012, and leading into the release of *Plan Melbourne* in June 2014. However, public submissions that were previously available on the *Plan Melbourne* website have now been removed. In the absence of this basic information, the authors have focused on eight submissions from a range of organisations, carried on their respective websites, representing the types of key actors discussed in both planning theory and other metropolitan planning processes. Both submissions in relation to the Ministerial Advisory Committee's discussion paper and the draft *Plan Melbourne* have been considered.

The Property Council of Australia describes itself (2013: 8) as "the largest and most influential advocacy organization in the property sector". It represents the business community most affected by planning decisions. The Committee for Melbourne describes itself as "an apolitical, not-for-profit,

member network that unites a cross-section of Melbourne's leaders and organisations to work together and enhance Melbourne's economic, social and environmental future". In 2010, it published a three volume set of propositions for better strategic planning (Committee for Melbourne, 2010) and, in that context, commented on the discussion paper for *Plan Melbourne*.

The Planning Institute of Australia (2013) and Australian Institute of Architects (2013) are the peak bodies representing those professionals who interpret strategies and develop new buildings and public spaces. The Municipal Association of Victoria (2013) is the peak body representing local government, charged with local implementation of metropolitan strategy.

In terms of civil society, some notable absences should be pointed out. Although the Victorian Council of Social Service, the peak body for non-profit social service providers, and the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, who undertake research and provide services towards poverty reduction, collaborated on a "Planning for Melbourne's Future" forum in March 2013, neither organization formally prepared a submission to either the Ministerial Advisory Committee or to the draft *Plan Melbourne*. In the absence of a peak body voice, we have chosen two specific civil society advocacy organisations. The Community Housing Federation of Victoria (2013) is the peak body representing non-profit and non-government social housing providers. The Food Alliance (2013) is a partnership between the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation and Deakin University. We also included a background paper on *Plan Melbourne* posted on the website of Save Our Suburbs (Taaffe, n.d.), a coalition of residents' associations concerned with local amenity and democracy.

	Clear vision, linked to long term infrastructure funding priorities in transport, education and health	Polycentric city based on knowledge and health employment clusters	Melbourne Planning Authority to coordinate action, and be bi-partisan	More specifics on housing affordability options, including local government housing targets, concerns about new zones	Permanent growth boundary, with stronger enforcement mechanism than M2030	Prioritize walking, cycling, public transport investment over roads
Property council	X	X	X (add private sector)	X		X
Committee for Melbourne	X	X	X		X	X
Planning Institute	X	X	X	X	X	X
Architects Institute	X	X	X	X	X	X
Community Housing Federation				X		
Food alliance	X				X	
SOS	X					X
MAV	X		X (add local government)			

Table 1: Major Shared Themes From Eight Organisations' Plan Melbourne Submissions 2012-13

Table I summarises areas of emphasis and potential agreement across these eight organisations. There are some areas of significant potential agreement, particularly between business-associated groups and professional associations, although the agreement was more in the nature of a negative reaction to *Plan Melbourne* than a positive vision. There was a general consensus that *Plan Melbourne* lacks a clear vision linked to long-term physical infrastructure priorities, such as transport, and social infrastructure priorities such as health and education facilities. The Planning Institute comments were particularly astringent, pointing out that not only were major announcements like the East West Link, the new residential and mixed use zones, and new state planning policies released prior to the draft strategy, but they were all seemingly not informed by research on retail and employment needs, travel mode trends, housing requirements, and infrastructure investment and service delivery options. All of these questions could have been investigated in the three years between the announcement of a new metropolitan planning strategy and its release.

Related to this collective critique of a disconnected strategy without a clear vision was the general agreement that, while the announcement of a Metropolitan Planning Authority was a positive step, it was still too aligned with one state government department (the newly badged Department of Planning, Transport and Local Infrastructure), and not enough with other potential actors. The Municipal Association of Victoria stressed the absence of local governments in its composition, while the Property Council stressed the importance of private sector representation. The absence of links to health and education department planning was a particular concern to both the Municipal Association of Victoria and the Architects' Institute. While all organisations discussed the role of local decision-making around planning issues, there was no consensus around the balance between clear rules and code approval by appointed local planning bodies (the option preferred by the Property Council), and a commitment to locally engaged negotiation around growth espoused by both the Committee for Melbourne and Save Our Suburbs.

Four of the organisations – the Property Council, Committee for Melbourne, and the Planning and Architecture Institutes – commended the new plan's emphasis on a polycentric city, based on higher education and health-based employment clusters, instead of earlier metropolitan strategic dependence on retail clusters. All of these organisations, along with the Community Housing Federation, stressed the importance of facilitating affordable housing options near employment clusters, adapting strategies commonly used in other places. Four of these five organisations (with the exception being the Committee for Melbourne) expressed concerns about new residential and mixed use zones, announced before the release of the draft strategy, as limiting housing design innovation at both the large and small project scale.

While four of the eight organisations liked the recycled notion of a permanent growth boundary and enhanced protection of green wedges, all of the organisations that mentioned this feature said that

there were no real mechanisms to avoid the implementation failure of the previous strategy. Lastly, a range of organisations, from the pro-business Property Council and the Committee for Melbourne to the resident-focused Save Our Suburbs, wanted more of a prioritisation of active transport (public transport, walking, and cycling) over road investment.

The consultation process behind *Melbourne 2030* sought consensus around vision from business, built environment professionals, local government, and civil society, but then fumbled the links between vision, actions, funding, partnerships, and monitoring mechanisms (Mees, 2003; 2011). Mees considers this a false consultation strategy because it did not engage with any of the tough questions around funding priorities or development trade-offs. In contrast, the consultation process behind *Plan Melbourne* offered little hope of these actors influencing a set of political decisions. Perhaps it can be considered a more honest process; it certainly can be considered a more cynical one.

Vision 2040: A ‘Counter-Vision’ that Stresses Environmental and Social Justice

Even the face of apathy, if not overt hostility, to deliberative planning, there is an intriguing counter-vision that could bring together business, social sector, and professional associations, emerging from a range of bottom-up ‘design the future’ projects that grapple with issues of affordable housing, active transport, and future jobs and services. This counter-vision is driven by the need to address the unprecedented challenge for the future of the city from the multiple impacts of global climate change, the scale of which is clear from Wiseman, Karoly and Sheko in this volume, as well as vision-related comments in this volume from City of Melbourne Mayor Robert Doyle and prominent architect Rob McGauran.

This counter-vision has been led by the Victorian Eco-Innovation Lab (VEIL), a design-based research program based at the University of Melbourne that, since 2009, has sought to identify and promote emerging technical, social, and organisational innovations that could form part of future sustainable systems.

One program led by VEIL is called *Eco-Acupuncture*. Graduate students in architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and planning work in collaboration with local governments and local institutions in the struggling middle suburbs of Melbourne such as Broadmeadows (Ryan et al., 2010). Together, the design studios work to enable localised interventions that can make these suburbs more self-sufficient, with very low (or zero) carbon emissions, and greater access to jobs, services, food, and urban green space.

A second program, *Visions and Pathways 2040*, has three universities (Melbourne, University of New South Wales and Swinburne) collaborating with more than fifty business, government, and civil

society partners to create visions for Melbourne and Sydney in the year 2040, as 'super-low carbon' (80% reduction in current emissions) urban environments. It involves a research program investigating 'disruptive' social and technical innovations that could contribute to the realisation of the future, and an extensive workshop process to consider a thirty year time-frame across domains of metabolism (energy inputs and outputs), morphology and infrastructure, cultural and social interaction, flows, and objects such as buildings.

These future 'glimpses' can be summarised as having four critical characteristics. They should suggest diverse possibilities that are plausible and desirable – options for futures that break away from the deterministic projection of current realities – and they should be informed by a growing body of work on grassroots niche innovations for transition to a post-carbon future (Seyfang & Haxeltine, 2012).

Following on the tradition of planning for social and environmental justice, the shared vision of *Eco-Acupuncture* studios and *Visions and Pathways* workshops focus on a 'city of short distances', self-sufficiency and small scale transformation. The vision supports the '20 minute' city concept espoused in *Plan Melbourne*, with most services and more jobs available for everyone via easy walking and bicycling commutes. They assume significant increases in residential density, and new and retrofitted local mobility infrastructure, focused on walking and bicycling supplemented by diverse forms of reliable and frequent public transport systems. Past trends in public-private space allocation and usage are reversed, with significant reductions in average private space traded for increased amenity in the public realm.

In this vision for Melbourne, there is also a paradigm shift towards a new structural relationship between production and consumption, reversing the pattern of the last half-century or more. Renewable energy, food, and water are produced and consumed across the city, involving fundamental changes to land-use and physical infrastructure and an equally transformative shift in social infrastructure and information. Existing peri-urban agricultural land is preserved through an enforced 'no-growth' boundary. There is a substantial greening of the city, involving massive tree planting along roads and public spaces and using 'green roofs' and 'green walls' on buildings. This helps mitigate the impacts of heatwaves, extends the use of land for the production of urban food and helps make Melbourne a 'distributed farm'. Water production is distributed across the city as a catchment, wherein existing potable supply is augmented by investment at multiple scales in rainwater/stormwater storage, and also greater use of recycled waste water. Renewable energy is also produced across the city, principally in the form of solar photo-voltaic systems and ground source heat-pumps, supplemented with wind in some of the low-rise suburbs, the peri-urban countryside, and in Port Phillip Bay. Photo-voltaics are widely used as a surface material, for buildings and bike lanes, and some roads. Many communities or precincts have their own local electricity grid,

balancing demand and renewable electricity supply to minimise draw-down from main grid. Freed-up vehicle transport infrastructure spaces (roads and car-parks) provide new land for public amenity and for food production.

In this emergent 2040 vision, the traditional Australian middle suburb is seen as the easiest to evolve. Older suburban configurations, with gardens front and back, are able to accommodate increases in residential density through subdivision of existing houses and/or through extension (particularly adding upper-story apartments). Garages can be re-purposed as local business services and provide land for trees and food production, particularly if back yards become substantial shared growing space for market gardens through the removal of fences. Increasing the total number of residents allows for some existing properties to be converted to local services or replaced by small parks.

If this vision was to be realised, metropolitan Melbourne would become considerably a more diverse mosaic of different local cultural and economic identities. In the context of major reductions in carbon emissions, patterns of consumption would be considerably reduced, to the extent that many people would trade full-time engagement in the mainstream economy for some involvement in a localised sharing/productive economy. The extent to which this would be dependent on technology would be under question, as would the attraction to being actively involved in producing commodities, with a clear preference by some for a 'fully serviced life' with no involvement in growing food or producing energy.

This nascent vision is far more radical than any consultation around *Plan Melbourne* has produced. Although *Vision 2040* has engaged a small group of local and state governments, developers, and residents, it is still far from scaling up to a large-scale and inclusive process that might bring in greater levels of dissent, resistance and trade-offs. It should also be noted that this vision is in direct contradiction to current strategic planning directions in Melbourne. For instance, the new residential zones actively prohibit small scale intensification efforts in most suburbs, such as residential subdivision, adding extra storeys, and converting residences to businesses.

Conclusion

George Bush Sr. was once urged to spend one weekend thinking about his goals for the US presidency before he successfully ran to succeed Ronald Reagan in 1988. He allegedly dismissed "that vision thing" as a waste of his time, since political power was the real goal (Ajemian, 1987). More recently, the Victorian Auditor General's Office has criticised the Victorian State Government for not clearly articulating the benefits of major infrastructure projects, including road and rail infrastructure, within its strategic planning process (2014: viii). As the submissions to *Plan Melbourne* has made clear, there is a growing concern, expressed by local governments, business, and civil

society, that there is no real vision in Victorian state planning. It is possible that Victorian state planning has by this point simply become a matter of winning and wielding political power.

The two previous metropolitan strategies articulated an essentially conservative vision around maintaining Melbourne's 'liveability'. But without a genuine commitment to engaging with local governments, business, and civil society around conflicts and trade-offs, with no real implementation mechanisms such as funding key transport and infrastructure improvements or a solid urban growth boundary, and an absence of transparent monitoring mechanism, these strategic plans with a shared vision can easily be dismissed as tokenistic efforts, disguising ever more dependence on a market-based suburban sprawl approach to planning.

A nascent 'counter-vision' in Melbourne is developing, based on a long planning tradition of small-scale self-governance, piecemeal transformation, and environmental preservation. However, *Plan Melbourne* and concurrent strategic planning initiatives such as new residential zones work against this environmental and social justice vision being realized.

So where to find hope? There are good practices elsewhere, including in Vancouver and London, two market-based metropolises in similar planning regimes, where vision informs infrastructure investment and transparent monitoring mechanisms, and is in turn informed by some agreement amongst key actors. There are also examples from Melbourne's past of visions that promote environmental sustainability and social inclusion outlasting changes in government. The question is how to build a broad-based political movement that is able to outlast a change in government, and collaboratively build a vision that can address Melbourne's existing and future challenges.

References

- Ajemian, R. (1987, January 27). Where is the real George Bush? *Time Magazine*.
- Australian Institute of Architects. (2013). Metropolitan planning strategy discussion paper – Submission to the Ministerial Advisory Committee. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Architects.
- Birrell, B., Healy, E., Rapson, V. & Smith, F. (2012). *The end of affordable housing in Melbourne?* Melbourne: Monash University Centre for Population and Urban Research.
- Buxton, M. & Goodman, R. (2002). Maintaining Melbourne's green wedges: Planning policy and the future of Melbourne's green belt. Melbourne: RMIT.
- Campbell, S. (1996). Green cities, growing cities, just cities? Urban planning and the contradictions of sustainable development. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 62(3), 292-312.
- Committee for Melbourne. (2010). *Melbourne beyond 5 million*. Melbourne: Committee for Melbourne
- Committee for Melbourne (2012). Committee for Melbourne pre-submission – Melbourne let's talk about the future. Melbourne: Committee for Melbourne.
- Community Housing Federation of Victoria. (2013). *Plan Melbourne - A submission from the Community Housing Federation of Victoria*. Melbourne: Community Housing Federation of Victoria.
- Food Alliance. (2013). Plan Melbourne – Metropolitan planning strategy. Melbourne: Food Alliance.
- Gehl, J. (2004). *Places for People*. Melbourne: City of Melbourne.
- Gleeson, B., Dodson, J. & Spiller, M. (2010). *Metropolitan governance for the Australian city: The case for reform* (Issues Paper 12). Brisbane: Griffith University Urban Research Program.
- Gleeson, B. & Low, N. (2000). *Australian urban planning: New challenges, new agendas*. Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin.
- Godschalk, D. (2004). Land use planning challenges: Coping with conflicts in visions of sustainable development and liveable communities. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(1): 5-13.
- Greater London Authority. (2011). *The London Plan: Spatial development strategy for Greater London*. London: Greater London Authority.
- Greater London Authority. (2014). *London Plan: Annual monitoring report 2012-13*. London: Greater London Authority.
- Greater Vancouver Regional District. (2011). *Metro Vancouver 2040: Sharing our vision*. Vancouver: Greater Vancouver Regional District.
- Green, S. (2014, March 26). Plan Melbourne: Wrong way, go back. *The Age*.

- Hall, P. (2002). *Cities of tomorrow: An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. Houndsmills: Palgrave.
- March, A. (2012). *The democratic plan: Analysis and diagnosis*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- McCann, E. (2001). Collaborative visioning or urban planning as therapy? The politics of public-private decision-making. *Professional Geographer*, 52(2), 207-218.
- McDougall, A. & Maharaj, V. (2011). Closing gaps on the urban fringe of Australian capital cities: An investment worth making. *Australian Planner*, 48(2): 131-140.
- Mees, P. (2003). Paterson's curse: The attempt to revive metropolitan planning in Melbourne. *Urban Policy and Research*, 21(3), 287-299.
- Mees, P. (2011). Proceedings of the 5th State of Australian Cities National Conference: *Who killed Melbourne 2030?* Melbourne.
- Ministerial Advisory Committee for the Metropolitan Planning Strategy for Melbourne. (2012). *Melbourne – Let's talk about the future discussion paper*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.
- Municipal Association of Victoria. (2013). *Submission to Plan Melbourne – Metropolitan planning strategy*. Melbourne: Municipal Association of Victoria.
- Newman, P., Beatley, T. & Boyer, H. (2009). *Resilient cities: Responding to peak oil and climate change*. Washington: Island Press.
- Newton, P. (2012). Liveable and sustainable? Socio-technical challenges for twenty-first-century cities. *Journal of Urban Technology*, 19(1), 81-102.
- O'Hanlon, S. (2009). The events city: Sports, culture and the transformation of inner Melbourne, 1977-2006. *Urban History Review*, 37(2), 30-39.
- Planning Institute of Australia (Victorian Division). (2013). *PIA submission: Plan Melbourne*. Melbourne: Planning Institute of Australia (Victorian Division).
- Property Council of Australia (Victorian Division). (2013). *Submission to the state government discussion paper: Plan Melbourne*. Melbourne: Property Council of Australia (Victorian Division).
- Proudfoot, H. (2000). Founding cities in nineteenth century Australia. In S. Hamnett & R. Freestone (Eds.), *The Australian metropolis: A planning history* (11-26). London: Taylor and Francis.
- Ryan, C., Moy, D., Archdeacon, K. & Trudgeon, M. (2010). *Vision: Broadmeadows 2032*. Parkville, Victoria: The University of Melbourne.

- Sandercock, L. (1975). *Cities for sale: Property, politics and urban planning in Australia*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Sandercock, L. & Friedmann, J. (2000). Strategizing the metropolis in a global era. *Urban Policy and Research*, 18(4), 529-533.
- Seyfang, G. & Haxeltine, A. (2012). Growing grassroots innovations: Exploring the role of community-based initiatives in governing sustainable energy transitions. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 30(3), 381-400.
- Taaffe, M. (n.d.). *Review of Plan Melbourne*. Melbourne: Save Our Suburbs.
- The Age editorial. (2009, June 9). Melbourne's 2030 plan will be dead on arrival. *The Age*.
- Victorian Auditor General. (2014). *Impact of increased scrutiny of high value high risk projects*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.
- Victorian Government Department of Infrastructure. (2002). *Melbourne 2030: Planning for sustainable growth*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.
- Victorian State Government. (2014). *Plan Melbourne: Metropolitan planning strategy*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.
- Victorian State Government. (1995). *Living suburbs: A policy for metropolitan Melbourne into the 21st century*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.

Melbourne's Foundations: Opportunity for All and Caring for the Vulnerable

Major Brendan Nottle

My ideas for Melbourne are about addressing the questions of how to end homelessness, and who is responsible for this.

In 1835, when the city and its founding principles were established, John Batman came on the ship *Rebecca* and declared that this would be a good place for a village. Later that year, James Pascoe Fawkner arrived on *The Enterprise*, driven by commercial reasons, looking for fertile pastoral land to expand his wealth.

Fawkner spoke to a man called Henry Reed, also excited about the founding of a new settlement, but for different reasons. Reed was a devout Methodist with two philosophies driving him: creating opportunity that would enable the social uplift of all, and bringing people together to care for each other, particularly the most vulnerable.

By 1865, Reed had amassed significant wealth and travelled back to London, where he met William and Catherine Booth, the founders of the Salvation Army. He recognised their work in London's East End as fitting with his philosophy for life. The Salvation Army commenced working in Melbourne in the 1880s. John Horsley, another Methodist, and Dr John Singleton were two men who worked with the Salvation Army from this time. They were incredibly entrepreneurial and found ways to deal with significant social issues, no matter the cost.

The person who was running the Salvation Army at 69 Bourke Street would drag his desk down from the first floor of that building out onto Bourke Street and he would lobby politicians as they walked past. He would talk about the significant social issues of the day and tell the politicians that they must do something. He told them that they must be entrepreneurial and creative to deal with these significant social issues.

The Salvation Army and other social welfare organisations, including the Melbourne City Mission and the YMCA, operated in Melbourne to bring about social reform, all driven by the philosophies of creating social uplift for all and bringing people together to care for the most vulnerable.

If we look at Melbourne today, we see there has been a significant shift in non-profits, including the one that I work for, from being social reformists, full of zeal, to being focused on service delivery. This is important work, but I feel we've lost that edge. The reason for this, I think, is that we've

tended to be concerned about taking risks, fearing we may lose our funding from our public and private supporters. The consequence is that we withdraw from the risk.

Another significant change is that we've moved from being a compassionate society to taking on a different attitude. When we look at vulnerable people, particularly the homeless, we tend to think, "I'm sorry about your plight but there's nothing we can do to help you". I say we need to return to the original heart, the founding principles of our city.

Sadly, on January 5th this year, a homeless man was murdered at Enterprise Park, the very location where James Pascoe Fawkner and John Batman disembarked from their ships, and where Henry Reed gathered people around to talk about the principles of the city.

"What I would like to see is a city that takes social equity, inclusion, and justice for all seriously. It should also form a series of plans towards those goals, being clear as to how these are to be implemented. This also means much greater transparency and appropriate community involvement in city building decisions, not just using the phrase "extensive community consultation" but genuinely involving the community in meaningful discussion where it is important." – Comment on website.

Fortunately, because of *The Age* and other media outlets, Melburnians have started to shift their outlook. Instead of homelessness being a peripheral issue, it's started to become a mainstream issue, with Melburnians asking why, in the world's 'most liveable city', people are sleeping rough in very vulnerable environments. It's time to do something.

Homelessness is a complex issue with no simple answers, but we can do something. We need to do focus, not only on the long term, but what is happening tonight. We need to safe spaces available to those sleeping rough, not only in the City of Melbourne, but right across the metropolitan area. We need safe spaces where these people can rest, knowing they won't be stabbed or bashed during the night.

Secondly, in addressing this issue of homelessness, we need to consider that all of us need to strengthen our resolve – corporations, all levels of government, individuals, philanthropists, not-for-profits – we all have to start taking risk and be innovative. I'm encouraged that this has started to happen.

Collingwood Football Club told us they wanted to be engaged in significant social change in the city. They were sick of hearing that people had been bashed in terrible rooming houses. They wanted to lift the risk from us, to start to rent houses in their name and furnish those houses, so we could put homeless people into those houses and care for them. These homeless people, in time, would ~~scap~~ pay rent, so the model is self-supporting.

We now have ten houses, with Collingwood Football Club passionate about getting to fifty houses in the future. They know they are in the business of reducing homelessness in the city through that model. We need other organisations to step up and engage in this as well, to work together to end homelessness.

Thirdly, if we're going to resolve homelessness, we need to understand that many homeless people are suffering from very significant, complex issues. It's not just a matter of getting a bed for them, but also surrounding them with the support that they need – health, mental health, employment, training, legal, social – on it goes. Those services currently exist, so when we think about building accommodation for homeless people, rather than trying to build the whole thing, perhaps we need to find locations where the services are already provided and look for innovative ways to build the accommodation next to the supports that already exist.

Finally, when it comes to the issue of homelessness, it's the responsibility of all of us. As Melburnians, with the foundation principles of creating social uplift and coming together to support the most vulnerable, we need to look for opportunities to engage with homeless people. If you see somebody who is sleeping rough, go and have a conversation with them. It doesn't have to be too long. It's just a matter of saying some positive and encouraging words to a homeless person. And in doing that you will be sending a very profound message to that person that they are no longer invisible and that people do care. In sharing those positive and encouraging words, you're sowing hope within them. For homeless people, that's probably their greatest need.

Together, if we strengthen our resolve, I really firmly believe we can achieve this vision of ending homelessness here in Melbourne.

Partnerships and a Shared Vision for a Better Melbourne

Cr Micaela Driberg

How do you start articulating your vision for Melbourne? I started by speaking to family, friends, and colleagues to see what they wanted. When I tried to pull out some common themes, there were two ideas that emerged. I want to discuss these from a suburban perspective.

The first idea is that planning is not about cities or even places, but about people. In Melbourne, there are many different people with a variety of wants and needs. We have different interests, live in different places, and want different opportunities and choices in life. The big question is how to accommodate all this. These challenges go across many different areas in the Melbourne metropolis, including our suburbia, which is very diverse.

I'm from the City of Monash, in the south east of metropolitan Melbourne. We are fairly unique because geographically we aren't that large – about eighty two square kilometres – but we do have many different activities centres. We have a major university campus, hospital campuses, other educational facilities, train lines – the list goes on. We're also obviously a big attraction for business. How can we accommodate all these varying needs and wants?

“Visions should be co-created and deliberated if we want them to act as strong anchors for future direction, especially when visioning the future of large socio-ecologic-technical systems like cities.” – Comment on website.

My response to this question is that it's about having a vision – a shared vision. I've taken a look at some visions from various council plans across metropolitan Melbourne. There are commonalities, but also differences. There is often a focus on cities, communities, and the places in which we live. One of my favourites is from the City of Wyndham, which starts off with its people and their future. If we don't focus on our people, and their needs and wants, and we don't think about the future, then we're going to be in a little bit of trouble.

The other reason why I mention Monash is that we are a middle ring area. We often get caught up, when talking about a vision for Melbourne, in talking about the inner city and the outer suburbs. However, there's a whole middle ring, which is fairly well serviced and has access to good infrastructure, but with a variety of wants and needs. How do we balance these, and respond to the diverse needs of various people?

I often hear, in my role at the City of Monash, concerns about amenity around activity centres. There's a big focus on adding urbanism to suburbia – adding all the different elements we love about

the Melbourne CBD to where we live in the suburbs. However, there are also concerns about how these changes will impact on people and the types of houses that are immediately adjacent to these activity centres. We have the quarter acre block, which some people revere. How do we give other options, such as apartment living, while still accommodating those who still want to live in a detached house? With so many different people, and with this changing every day across metropolitan Melbourne, we need to be constantly revisiting that question.

Another common theme that emerged was about being outcome focused in thinking about the future. This is nothing ground-breaking or new, but something that can be easily forgotten. I like to think that if you know where you're heading, you'll know when you've arrived. When we focus on the outcome we want to achieve, we'll start to see some positive changes.

An example that I like to use is related to our sporting infrastructure. I hear often from our sporting clubs that they aren't able to meet the needs of their current and future members. The urinal is a very typical facility you'll see in sporting clubs across Melbourne, including in the middle ring and inner suburbs which are arguably well served by infrastructure, but by that which is ageing. Female participation is growing in sports, but some of the clubs can't meet their needs because the change room facilities are urinals, which are not appropriate for females wanting to participate in our sporting clubs.

One common image of the new suburbs is of a lot of new dwellings and a big empty space in the middle, often earmarked for a school. However, the provision of the school is reliant on quotas. This happens not only in education, but in sectors such as health as well. While we would all agree that we need more health and education services, policies are in place right now requiring us to have a certain amount of people living in an area before these services eventuate.

Could this be different? How amazing would it be if the school was already there before the people came? How amazing would it be if the high school was already there before those children were old enough to need it?

"What will it take to reverse the mindset of "residential first, infrastructure, community and connectivity later"? To build engaged, happy, healthy and prosperous neighbourhoods, should this not be the other way around? Build for people; the people will come." – Comment made at seminar

Another aspect of many suburbs is of having to jump in your car to go where you need to go. My vision for Melbourne, however, is making the healthiest choice the easiest choice. The easiest option for me to come to the city today was to walk to my train station and jump on the train. Wouldn't it be fantastic if that was everybody's easiest option, rather than having to get in the car every time

they needed to go somewhere? I think this is something most people would aspire to and would love to see happen in the places where they live.

Another example of having being outcome focused is the *Vancouver Agreement* in Canada. The *Vancouver Agreement* was a partnership between three levels of government that was focused on outcomes and partnerships. Again, this is nothing ground-breaking but something that would be so wonderful to have here in Victoria. I would love to see something similar here in Melbourne – agreements between our federal, state, and local governments in terms of the outcomes we want and how we can achieve these.

We have some fantastic visions for Melbourne, but we don't have the legislation to back these up. The words "vision" and "engagement" don't appear once in our Planning and Environment Act, which is almost thirty years old, while "health" and "people" appear only once. I'd like to see this change.

My vision for Melbourne is pretty simple. Let's remember it's all about the people and the outcomes we can achieve. At the end of the day, I think we can all agree we want happy, healthy people. We want to live in an environment that facilitates that. Often we get caught up in the methodology and the process of achieving this, but if we all work together and try to transcend politics, we might just do it.

Melbourne: Smart, Connected, Self-Sufficient

Rob McGauran

When we look out at central Melbourne, we see the incredible legacy which our forefathers left this city: a fabulous parkland environment with an adjacent train station. If we look up Swanston Street, we see the magnificent edifices of the library, the town hall, and places of worship and coming together as a community.

But in the post war age of mobility and cheap energy, there seems to have been a shift to a city framed more around the individual and the corporation. Our challenge is to ask: what is the ambition with which we want to write the future city? I want to present three propositions to this end.

The first proposition is one of Melbourne as a network of university towns and cities. We are already a great university and research city. We have some of the greatest faculties in the world today and the wonderful advantages of a cohesive, multicultural society to which students come. You can see this in Parkville and Carlton, which have seen extraordinary change, driven by the conjunction of health institutions and frameworks laid down by a visionary council to support a higher quality environment conducive to its student population.

What's even more interesting is what's happening in the suburbs. When I started the master planning for Monash University, I was surprised to see that the visits, money generated, and number of people employed there were only slightly less than that of Chadstone Shopping Centre. But when I looked at the planning framework for our city, I saw a great emphasis on activity centres, such as Chadstone, while nobody knew quite what to do with Monash.

These universities are, however, changing and engaging with the places in which they are located. At Monash, there are about 600 major corporations within a kilometre, Monash Medical Centre is growing, and the university itself is investing millions of dollars each year to improve the quality of its research and teaching spaces.

The university and educational system is a larger export than our wheat industry. So when I hear about our industrial organisations falling down by the wayside, I'm encouraged by the potential of university cities - for example, La Trobe in the northern corridor and Victorian University in the western corridor, along with the hospital and the new regional rail.

The second proposition is that we must deal with the liveability crisis we are facing. We are seeing a huge loss in affordable rental and housing in the inner suburbs where the 21st century jobs are being

created. Meanwhile, access to transport choices have gotten worse and worse as the city disperses, so that, while somebody in Carlton has access to around 700,000 jobs within an hour on public transport, somebody in Cranbourne East can access fewer than 10,000.

So how do we provide affordable housing with access to work and active transport? One answer involves developing above the commuter carparks located all across metropolitan Melbourne. Why don't we use the space above those carparks to house the people who don't want to have a car?

We can get the land for nothing, as we own it as a community in Victoria already. All our government has to do is agree to apply National Rental Affordability Scheme (NRAS) places to the project and engage with the institutions who will deliver it and hand it back to the state in between twenty five and forty years, providing accommodation to groups such as the homeless and key workers.

This is possible – we've done it with the City of Port Phillip above their public car parks as a demonstration. We've delivered housing for \$160,000 a unit in Port Melbourne – that's pretty affordable by any stretch of the imagination. Why do we need this in these places? Well, research by SGS Economics shows that the highest concentration of jobs just happens to be where there is good public transport.

Another example of how this has been achieved is the student housing at Monash University. I know the student housing sector has been lambasted recently, but that housing will be there for the community in perpetuity. It won't be sold off by the private sector ten years after they get an NRAS license. Yet another example is a project we did with the City of Melbourne putting affordable housing above a heritage asset and then giving that asset as a community hub to the community of Melbourne on a \$1 a year lease for ninety nine years.

We've been very good in the last half of the 20th century at building freeways, and also have a very good tram and train network in inner Melbourne. I'd like to suggest that, with the redevelopment of large areas in inner Melbourne – Docklands, E-Gate, Fishermans Bend, and so forth – we should connect them up in a way that allows quick travel by bicycle, rather than dependence on car, or a congested train or train. It's the cheapest way we can deliver increased mobility to Melburnians. We have a city culture that loves cycling, we have a topography suited to it, and we have the juxtaposition of these growth areas in such close proximity – we should be doing it.

The final proposition I'd like to discuss is about feeding the city. This sounds pretty simple, but we are currently covering much of our best arable land with housing, rather than thinking about where we have natural synergies between locations. Some parts of Melbourne meet the performance parameters for solar farms, while others have basically unlimited access to recycled water. We have

some of the best people in the area of agriculture in the nation, and even the world, in the research areas here.

The Dutch are the second largest food exporters in Europe, in a country only four times the size of Melbourne. The opportunity exists for us to be much more strategic about the edge of our city. At the moment, this is not being discussed enough. We don't have good policies about this. I'm not just talking about what we eat, but what we use. We need to think about the unique elements of that part of our city which will provide employment, opportunities for research, and sustain us in a resilient way into the future.

These are my propositions for the city. They're simple but require us to think more deeply about how we can work together and write a positive legacy for the future of our city.

Smart Growth for a Smart City

The Hon Robert Doyle

I believe that the issue that is most going to shape our society and public policy over the next ten years is planning for sustainable future growth. For the first time in history, more than half of the world's population lives in cities. This is unsurprising to us as the most highly urbanised nation on Earth, excluding some small city-states. We're used to that concentration, but we haven't always done it terribly well.

I believe that growth is not something to be frightened of, but to be embraced and done in a smart way. In the 1970s, Melbourne's population was two million. It has now grown to double that size and is projected to grow to between five and seven million by 2040. I would argue that we are a more prosperous, diverse, and sustainable city now than when our population was two million. We have made some mistakes, but we must also have gotten something right, unless you want to return to the days when Norman Day described us as a doughnut city with a dead empty heart.

There are some dangers to this growth, which I feel passionately about. We have got to stop spreading at the edge like some sort of stain. I hear with concern that a whole new suburb of 40,000 people is going to be put down in the western suburbs. There will be insufficient employment, so these people will jump in their cars and drive onto the West Gate Freeway and there will be calls for a new multibillion dollar bridge to accommodate these people. Perhaps we need to think about where we're putting these people first. Are they connected by means other than the car and are they close to employment nodes?

I look at outer suburbs like Clyde where we grow lettuce and a variety of other vegetables. This isn't the 'highest and best use' so, instead of growing in good soil with proximity and access to market, we are going to roll out houses over that wonderful arable land. These are examples of dumb growth, not smart growth.

My contention is that I think we'll continue growing and that's a good thing for us. I believe in a big Melbourne, but a big, smart Melbourne. The question is how to achieve this. How are we going to grow in a way which generates prosperity while keeping us sustainable and accommodating our people?

We're in the middle of one of the great social and urban experiments of the world. In Sydney, they talk about Barangaroo, their urban development of twenty two hectares. If you add up the area of Southbank, Docklands, Fishermans Bend and E-Gate, that's 605 hectares – five times the size of the central city. We've got to make sure what we're doing there over the next forty years adds to the

prosperity, liveability, and way of life of our city in a way that we're comfortable with. If we get it wrong, this is not going to be the city we love for our grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

It's actually not affordable to build houses out on the edge of Melbourne. It's not just about building housing but the soft and hard infrastructure that goes with it – schools, childcare, hospitals, and so forth. If you build a thousand housing units on the edge of the city, it costs you about \$640 million to provide the infrastructure that's simply not there, but it would cost only \$300 million per thousand housing units in the inner city to upgrade existing infrastructure there.

This gets people worried about their streets and their communities. However, according to research at the City of Melbourne, we could fit an extra 3.3 million people into our city if we intensified development on just 6% of our land. This could be achieved without touching the vast bulk of neighbourhoods that people quite rightly prize as their own. We do, however, need to think about allowing greater intensity along transport corridors and at activity hubs – not enormous development, but typically four to eight storeys.

I recently released a report, called *Smart Growth*, which the City of Melbourne and the other capital city municipalities had been working on, along with Urbis. This outlined the principles of smart growth – not well understood here in Australia, but very well understood in Europe, and some North American cities like Vancouver. These principles are not ground-breaking, but it's very rare that you'll find them all happening together: mixed use, affordability and diversity of housing stock, access to transport and employment, and a high quality public realm. You also need a coherent and consistent vision to deliver this across the city.

"Let's 'retweak' the planning system to encourage meaningful and positive community contribution and engagement, rather than just opposition." – Comment on Twitter.

On the issue of jobs, there's been a lot of concern about the losses of Ford, Toyota, and GMH. However, there are 24,500 automotive jobs in Victoria, including both direct manufacturing and in downstream componentry. On the other hand, we have generated 77,500 jobs in the central city over the past five years. These aren't just people making coffee, but being employed in construction, biotech, clean tech, education, and professional services. These are the jobs of the knowledge economy that we want to generate. The problem for metropolitan Melbourne is that they're being generated here in the core city.

The City of Melbourne has a flag with four quadrants, with a fleece, an ox, and a whale, the primary products that were the source of our wealth, and a sailing ship, the method by which we got them to market. This is emblematic of the first wave of our city's prosperity. You can see the next wave of prosperity as you wander around in our beautiful Victorian buildings, built on our gold rush. The

third wave was through manufacturing, particularly built on cheap and dirty coal from the La Trobe Valley. When I look at where our city is going, the central question is where people will be employed in our next wave of prosperity. The answer is exactly where those 77,500 jobs are being created: the knowledge economy, in advanced manufacturing, biotechnology, and education. These are things we do very, very well.

I feel that, when you look at the very best of what we do, we can grow smart, not only in the built environment, but also the social and employment environments. The part that disappoints and worries me is, not that we can't do smart growth, but that we choose dumb growth, either through ignoring it or through laziness. This will lead to a dumb Melbourne, not a smart Melbourne, and I'm all for a smart Melbourne.

CHAPTER 2

JOB + HOUSING



Making Ends Meet

Dr Kate Shaw and Bryn Davies

Key Points

- Affordable housing in Melbourne will never be delivered simply through increasing supply – government regulation and an understanding of housing sub-markets is essential if a range of housing options is to be provided.
- The rezoning of industrial lands to residential and mixed use under the banner of increasing housing affordability will displace contemporary manufacturing practices that derive competitive advantage from their location in dense urban environments.
- Providing a wider spatial distribution of affordable housing, and retaining and promoting the growth of manufacturing in the inner and middle as well as the outer suburbs, will go a long way to not only improving equality but also building a more economically resilient and productive city.

Introduction

Like most cities in the rich world, Melbourne's industrial economy underwent a dramatic shift in the late 20th century. From the mid-19th to the mid-20th centuries, Melbourne was one of the world's great metropolises, with the largest docks in Australia, extensive train and tram networks, and many fine public and private buildings. These included factories, warehouses and goods sheds in what are now the inner and middle suburbs, housing the plant, equipment, and products of a diverse manufacturing sector. The relocation of much of this industry to the suburban fringe in the 1970s and 80s where land values were cheaper, and eventually off-shore where labour costs were lower, left the grand but deindustrialised city depleted of jobs and, in time, ripe for gentrification.

The switch of investment capital from manufacturing into the built environment in the 1980s and 90s and the rise of the global financial services sector in the context of an increasingly deregulated world economy led to a proliferation of high-rise office blocks in the central and inner city. In an effort to create more jobs and bring a residential population into the city, state and local government stimulatory strategies resulted in 16,000 new and converted dwellings in the CBD alone (City of Melbourne, 2013). Most of this new housing was high-end for private purchase. The redevelopment of the docks in the 2000s produced another 6,000 apartments, with median rents almost triple the metropolitan Melbourne median (Real Estate Institute of Victoria, 2013).

Very little low-cost private housing was built in that time in the inner or middle suburbs. There was no increase in public housing, and only a small increase in community housing managed by not-for-

profit housing associations. Australia's growing problem of housing affordability, in Melbourne and Sydney in particular, was exacerbated, perhaps counter-intuitively, by the 2008 global financial crisis, in no small part because of the type of housing being built in these cities. Most Australian financial institutions were not highly exposed to the crisis, and the economy was buoyed by the country's mining boom and federal government spending through a range of economic stimulus packages. Several of these stimuli were also in the construction sector – a home insulation scheme, a program for new buildings in schools, and a package for building new social housing, which brought the amount of housing for those on the lowest incomes up to around 5% of the total housing stock.

The upshot was that the Australian dollar remained strong, and house prices in all Australian cities did not significantly waver. In the post-GFC world, Australian property is very attractive as an international investment prospect. This, combined with a high level of local demand for investment properties encouraged by generous tax incentives, has created what is in effect an infinite level of demand for housing in Australia.

Beyond the very limited amount of social housing, the most affordable housing options in Melbourne are now on the ever-expanding urban fringe in poorly serviced estates with little if any public transport and, because of large distances between the houses and shops and other services, total reliance on car travel. Under pressure to increase housing affordability, the Victorian government is encouraging the construction of more housing. To limit urban expansion into valuable agricultural lands, the planning and policy emphasis is on increasing densities, with the areas identified for the most intense new development being the well-serviced former industrial lands in the inner and middle city. This superficially sensible approach raises a whole other set of problems.

Melbourne's Affordable Housing Crisis

Metropolitan Melbourne now has four million people, and the sustained influx in the last decade looks set to continue. Though the city's population has swelled, its public transport network has seen little change over the last sixty years. Most of the investment in Melbourne's physical expansion has gone into an increasingly congested road network. The inner metropolitan region, where those with greatest wealth enjoy excellent access to public transport, jobs and other services, is a far cry from the sprawling low-density, car-dominated outer suburbs that occupy much of the metropolitan area now measuring a hundred kilometres from west to east. Melbourne has become a profoundly divided city, and nowhere is the divide more obvious than in the housing market.

The growth rate in Australian property prices over the last fifteen years is the biggest sustained increase recorded anywhere in the world (Bennet, 2014). Encouraged by negative gearing and low capital gains taxes on investment properties, the nation has one of the highest levels of household

debt in the OECD due to borrowings for property purchases (Burke, 2012). One in seven Australian taxpayers owns one or more investment properties. As more households commit more of their incomes to mortgage repayments, fierce competition at sale means property prices continue to rise. It is worth noting that 90% of negatively geared properties are existing dwellings, which challenges the policy justification that the tax incentive increases rental housing stock (James, 2014). In fact, rental vacancy rates in inner Melbourne sit below 3% (Real Estate Institute of Victoria, 2014), and most of the activity in the real estate sector is the churn of existing investment properties being bought and sold as they continue to deliver large capital gains to vendors.

The cost of housing in Australian cities is among the highest in the world, with Melbourne just behind Sydney. For most of the last century, house price increases, while they were sometimes substantial, broadly kept pace with wage increases; the median house price remained fairly constantly around three times the median annual income. In the last two decades, the median price has leapt to more than nine times the median income (James, 2014). Home-ownership is becoming increasingly unattainable for middle-income young people and the number of people left homeless is growing (Victorian Council of Social Service, 2013). There are 35,000 people on Victoria's public housing waiting list, with waiting periods of up to ten years (Department of Human Services, 2014).

Those on the urban fringe, in the most affordable private housing available, are bearing the highest costs in terms of travel times and fuel consumption, and, because of distance and education, are increasingly shut out from the higher order employment opportunities of the inner and middle suburbs. Better distribution throughout the city of affordable housing should be a policy ideal.

Can Metropolitan Planning Address the Affordable Housing Problem?

Plan Melbourne (Victorian State Government, 2014) recognises the need to increase housing affordability in the city. It recognises too that urban planning has a role to play in shaping the housing market. It does not recommend an increase in public housing stock, however, nor does it require social housing in new developments. Neither does it attempt to regulate the type or location of market-built housing. In the pursuit of delivering the objective of more affordable housing, the metropolitan plan's sole strategy is to build more housing.

This matter needs serious policy focus. Affordability will not be delivered in any of Australia's capital cities by simply increasing supply. The current response is propagated mainly by housing and development industry associations such as the HIA and the UDIA in the interests of their members, with no more evidence than there is for the argument that inadequate land supply is responsible for the high prices. Land has always been available within Melbourne's urban growth boundary for

development. *Plan Melbourne* itself allows that there is “at least 30 years supply of urban-zoned land” for new housing (Victorian State Government, 2014: 61).

The key issue is the type of housing being built. Housing markets in all cities consist of submarkets in price, type, and location. The more than 22,000 new dwellings provided in central Melbourne alone in the last two decades – the vast majority of which cater to high-income purchasers – have not brought median sale prices down in central Melbourne, let alone had an impact on prices on the urban fringe. Increasing the supply of high-end apartments does not increase affordability for people on low to moderate incomes. It may minimally affect prices within the high-end apartment submarket, but the idea that this will spill into other submarkets is no different to discredited trickle-down economic theory. Whenever there is anything approaching an oversupply, even within the one housing submarket, the property industry signals ‘glut’ and developers stage their building schedules to keep prices steady or increasing.

Simple supply-demand economics in the housing field also neglect the fact of the essentially infinite demand for investment properties in Melbourne. As there is no limit to how many properties a local investor can negatively gear, and as global investors are increasingly looking to Australian cities in the face of volatile share markets and unstable national economies elsewhere, minimum sale prices are set at levels attractive to developers. No amount of increase in supply can satisfy infinite demand; indeed, the building of yet more high-end investment housing can increase demand for that product.

An often used argument for continuing to build for the investor market is that this housing comes onto the rental market with consequent alleviation of rents and vacancy rates. Evidence from cities popular with global investors in Australia and Canada (the other remarkably stable post-GFC economy) suggests, however, that the massive increase in new-build apartments is having little impact on local rents, other than some movement within the high-end market, or vacancy rates. Official occupancy figures are not kept in either country and estimates vary on how many of these apartments are kept vacant and out of the rental market on a long term basis, but the very object of their construction is beginning to be called into question (Soos & Egan, 2013; Surowiecki, 2014; Shaw, 2014).

In the main, the global investor demand is for high-rise, high-security, high-cost apartments in the inner and middle suburbs. This housing product very clearly does not meet the main housing need in Australia, which is overwhelmingly for low to moderate-income housing for purchase or rent. Nevertheless, this is the product developers have greatest interest in providing, and it is on the well-located, well-serviced sites in the inner and middle suburbs – currently zoned industrial and identified for urban renewal – that *Plan Melbourne* encourages them to build.

Melbourne's Job Market

In pursuit of “delivering jobs and investment”, *Plan Melbourne* has the objective of creating “a city structure that drives productivity, supports investment through certainty and creates jobs” (Victorian State Government, 2014: 21). It describes a new geography for jobs and productivity in which the central city expands dramatically to become Australia’s largest commercial and residential centre by 2040, while also promoting national employment centres throughout the suburbs that focus on ‘knowledge-based’ businesses.

Plan Melbourne concentrates on industries that have competitive advantage. It notes that an adequate supply of land for commercial and industrial development in “well-located and appropriately serviced” areas is critical to maintaining competitiveness (ibid: 22). The strategic plan considers well-located and appropriately serviced sites to be those that have sufficient land area, good access for customers and suppliers, and access to main roads. On this basis, the strategic plan encourages the location of manufacturing in the outer suburbs. When it comes to inner and middle suburban industrial zones, the plan observes that they “no longer fulfil their function” and marks them for urban renewal (ibid: 49). These areas include the very large and still highly industrialised area of Fishermans Bend, along with parts of Footscray, West Melbourne, Kensington, North Melbourne, Flemington, Brunswick, Collingwood, North Richmond, East Richmond, Oakleigh, Sunshine and, Tottenham (ibid: 48).

Plan Melbourne displays a limited understanding of the role played by the industrial areas in the inner and middle suburbs. As they are indeed well-served by public transport and other facilities, they remain important to residual manufacturing enterprises in the city and are the location of a growing field of contemporary urban manufacturers. The imperative of increasing housing supply at any cost has eclipsed recognition of an important range of emerging industries in existing industrial zones.

This selective blindness, and the persistent emphasis on the renewal of former industrial areas, is the outcome of a somewhat outdated narrative of economic and social restructuring. The areas identified are considered greyfield sites, not contaminated but underutilised, surplus to the requirements of the ‘post-industrial’ city and *tabula rasa* for development. The narrative draws from the highly visible and prolonged retreat of large scale manufacturing from inner and middle Melbourne, most recently the textiles, footwear, and automobile industries that employ labour, practices, and technology now considered redundant. These old jobs were replaced by new jobs, of course, most obviously in the rich world in managing and capitalising on the deregulated finance sector – what is known as ‘the knowledge sector’ (as though the people making clothes, shoes and cars somehow have less knowledge). In Melbourne, this sector is highly diverse and consists of jobs in education and research along with the usual advanced business services in finance, brokerage, insurance, law, planning, design, engineering, and so on.

It is these businesses that occupy government attention, especially given their significant spatial implications, with the inner city again seen as the crucible of enterprise. High-end office space is the 'highest and best' land use along with high-end residential, and both have serious potential to boost public revenues through rates, land tax, and payroll tax (if these are not counter-balanced by financial incentives and waivers). Those corporate offices that choose to locate in central Melbourne do so also because they profit from the agglomeration, with synergies created with other firms and access to a deep pool of related skills producing substantial benefits (Rawnsley & Szafraniec, 2010). As a result, these businesses have rising productivity, rising profitability, and are able to support a legion of high-paid professional workers. Former industrial sites do not fit in this bright new world, in part because their land value is around a quarter of what it would be if rezoned to Residential, Capital City or Mixed Use Zones. They are designated in *Plan Melbourne* as new sites for "housing, economic activity and mixed-use development" (Victorian State Government, 2014: 49).

This new economy also contains a burgeoning sector in retail, hospitality, leisure, and health services, as well as growing demand for cleaners and security personnel. These lower-paid servicing jobs feature casualised employment structures, often offering poor working conditions and few prospects of advancement (Sassen, 2008; Moretti, 2013). Most are what is known as 'population serving', meaning they don't have export capacity, are relatively low in terms of 'productivity', and, as a result, do not have the earning potential of the inner-city finance service jobs. The result is a profound polarisation in the labour market typified by high-earning, highly-educated advanced business sector work and low-paying, low-skilled servicing work.

On the back of these two sectors, the central city municipality of Melbourne has gained approximately 300,000 jobs since the early 1990s, as shown in the below figure. These are concentrated in the CBD and the redeveloped areas of Southbank, Docklands, St Kilda Road, and (to a lesser extent) Carlton. High-rise commercial development has been matched by equally dramatic intensification in low-paid hospitality jobs, with the central city home to 1,179 cafes and restaurants and 168 bars in 2013 – representing a 500% increase in jobs of this type since the early 1990s (City of Melbourne, 2013).

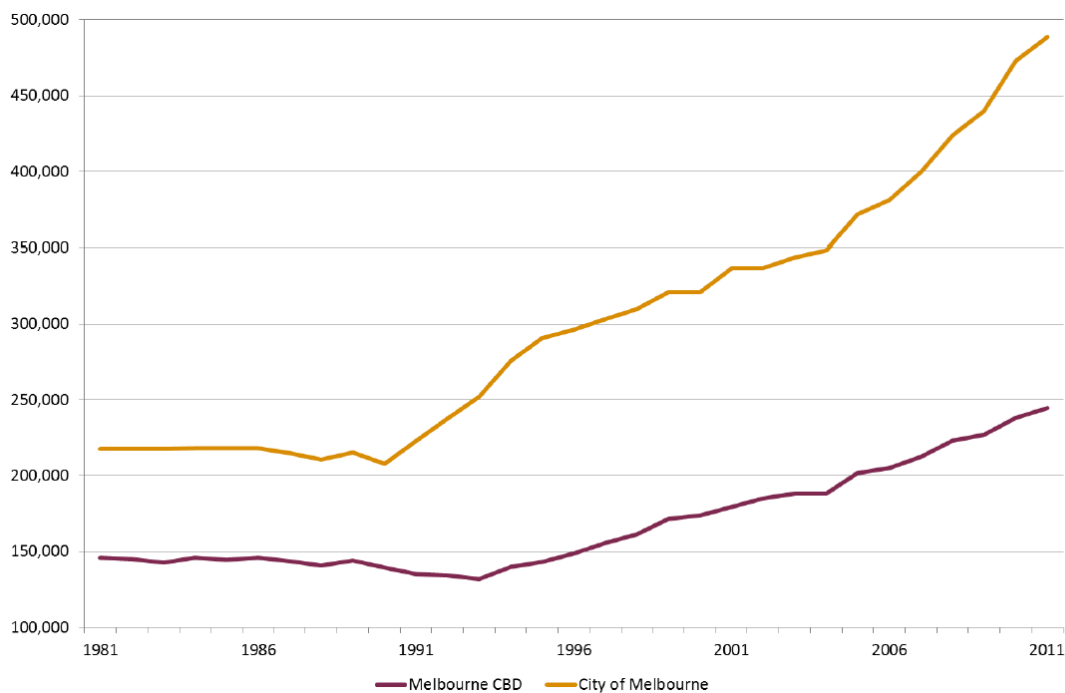


Figure 3: Employment levels in the CBD and the City of Melbourne from 1981-2011 (SGS, 2012)

In the narrative of Melbourne's transition from an economy dominated by manufacturing to one driven by the advanced financial and business sectors and associated servicing industries, manufacturing is a relic of the 'old economy', with little role to play in the new except perhaps in the very outer suburbs. The characterisation of manufacturing invokes traditional activities, infrastructure, and products – large factories, heavy machinery, production lines, unionised workforces – and feeds the conception of inner and middle suburban industrial lands as redundant, abandoned, and decaying. *Plan Melbourne* focuses on the new economy, concentrated in the inner and middle suburbs on high-value land, and makes no attempt to reduce the social and spatial polarisation, either in the housing market or in the jobs market. Most surprisingly, it fails to see new forms of production that occupy a middle ground both economically and spatially.

A Resurgence in Urban Manufacturing?

Against the headlines of traditional manufacturing's decline, many cities in the developed world, particularly in the United States, are seeing the resurgence of small scale, specifically urban manufacturing. In inner and middle Melbourne, the vacancies left by the old economy – the factories, warehouses, and goods sheds – are being absorbed by new productive uses including niche manufacturers, social and environmental enterprises, not-for-profits, start-ups, and other structures that require low overheads and relatively low-cost space. Melbourne's industrial zones increasingly contain a very wide range of job types, resulting in a wide range of employment options. Contemporary urban manufacturers most closely resemble their productive counterparts prior to

the industrial revolution, offering high value-add design-orientated products, often with an artisanal bent. They include bakeries, preserving factories and micro-breweries, textile printing and weaving, jewellery making, furniture design and carpentry, print and media studios, auto and bike customisation, musical equipment, niche electronics, and so on. The diversity and hybridity of products and practices makes them difficult to categorise in existing planning land use classes and challenging for policy makers who seek single entities for the focus of government assistance.

Observations and research on the growth of this new urban manufacturing is more advanced in the United States than in Australia. In the US, a number of macro and micro forces appear to be driving supply and demand. Research literature is still developing (e.g. Mistry, 2013; Hagerty, 2013; Pratt Centre, 2013; Sassen, 2013), but the growth in this new sector is variously attributed to:

- Changing global cost structures – the rising costs of energy, transport, and overseas labour and risks in these supply chains are making outsourcing less competitive in some circumstances;
- Fears over protection of intellectual rights;
- Local linkages to advanced business service industries (for example, in the high end garment trade); and
- Changing consumer preferences, with growing interest in one or more of fair trade, sustainability, local product orientation, health of the local economy, and product customisation.

With these underlying drivers, contemporary urban manufacturers derive competitive advantage from their specific location in the city. Location within dense urban networks allows them to capitalise on sophisticated design and market insights, and adjust quickly to shifts in demand (Friedman & Byron, 2012). Taking advantage of these competitive edges, they prefer and prosper in inner city locations. Contemporary urban manufacturers tend to be small (generally employing fewer than twenty people), provide highly specialised or niche products, have fast turnarounds, and be horizontally integrated in networks of numerous clients, suppliers, distributors, and subcontractors (Pratt Center, 2013). This embeds these manufacturers in place, as does the nature of their work, which due to its often customised nature, requires frequent face-to-face contact.

The resurgent urban manufacturing sector observed in the US and underway in Australia operates and prospers on many of the same spatial attributes central to the success of the advanced business sector, namely the benefits gained through agglomeration economies. For many of these manufacturers, their location in the inner city is central to their viability and success. Their distribution through the inner and middle suburbs with good public transport means also that they are accessible to workers, associates, and customers who are not car-dependent. To presume that

such manufactures could or would relocate to the urban fringe is to profoundly misunderstand the character that underpins their viability and competitive advantage in the urban and, indeed, global economy.

Many of these production processes emit sounds and smells at times that would not be acceptable in Melbourne's residential, mixed use, and even commercial zones. It is important that these manufacturers have the freedom to produce, and also that they are allowed a creative culture of experimentation to gain or maintain their competitive advantage in the global marketplace. Much of this advantage comes from an ability to read the local market, innovate, customise, and adapt in relatively short time frames. When they get it right, the broader economy benefits and developments in intellectual property add to the city's total capital stock. Minimising cost barriers to entry is critical, as is keeping costs low so that the consequences of product failure are not so immense as to discourage experimentation.

By far the largest cost barrier for urban manufacturers is land. Affordable and suitable land in Melbourne's inner and middle suburbs, where residential and office developments are so much more lucrative for property owners and investors, is really only available in industrial zones where these competing uses are not allowed. The rezoning of these areas for mixed use, where urban manufacturers can theoretically remain, raises land values and rents, and ultimately destroys business viability. At some point, increases in rent will render all but the strongest and fittest unviable, irrespective of the success of the product in the marketplace. This puts mixed use zones on a one-way trajectory to high-end residential and commercial (Crean, 2011), inevitably displacing lower than 'highest and best' uses that, while they may not make the same profits for their owners, create a greater range of job types, skills, and products. The broader benefits of such middle-ground land uses, including improvements in human capital, employment and productivity, intellectual property development, economic robustness, and social equity, are given too little consideration in Melbourne's strategic plan.

For example, the disastrous rezoning of Fishermans Bend from Industrial to Capital City Zone in 2012, before any planning controls or requirements were put in place, quadrupled land values overnight (Shaw, 2012). This put multiple small enterprises at risk of displacement from the location that nurtured them, and destroyed the capacity of the area to maintain an industrial base in the long term. The additional failure to capture any of the value uplift from the many private freeholds there greatly diminished the government's capacity to designate and fund different parts of this very large precinct for what could have been a very wide range of uses.

While *Plan Melbourne* refers to "a city structure that drives productivity, supports investment through certainty and creates jobs" (Victorian State Government, 2014: 21), its commitment to

redeveloping inner and middle suburban industrial lands for high-end housing and office development, and its emphasis on the advanced finance and business sectors, will see a wholesale loss of genuinely productive spaces and increase the city's social and economic polarisation.

Just as there is a need for better distribution throughout the city of affordable housing, so too should there be distribution of a wide range of job types. In addition to supporting industrial uses of all kinds on the cheaper lands on the urban fringe, long-term security and certainty for contemporary urban manufacturers in the inner and middle suburbs must be provided if these are to continue to prosper in Melbourne.

What Next, Then?

Plan Melbourne looks set to deliver more high-end housing and an expansion of offices for the advanced finance and business services sectors. As it stands, the strategic plan has no capacity to deliver a good distribution of affordable housing or a range of job types.

The identification of inner and middle suburban industrial lands for urban renewal – meaning, inevitably, ‘highest and best’ residential and commercial uses – will eradicate the remaining industrially zoned precincts in the inner city forever. This acts counter to broad job creation, economic diversity, and resilience. This also limits Melbourne's land use options in the future, and exacerbates the divide into two cities: the inner city rich with resources and services, with high-paying jobs close to high-cost housing, and the outer suburbs utterly car-dependent, the relatively affordable housing often a long drive from relatively low-paying jobs.

Urban planning can address the challenges of providing affordable housing and productive space, to a degree. Neither is easy, and both require coordination of state departments for planning, housing, transport, and finance (see Legacy et al. in this volume). Federal taxation laws must also come into play. A metropolitan plan, especially under the guidance of an independent metropolitan planning authority, provides the opportunity to engage with state and national departments in a whole-of-government strategy.

Relatively straight-forward strategies for affordable housing include inclusionary zoning (or, more appropriately in the Victorian planning system, an inclusionary overlay) which mandates a minimum percentage of social housing (the global standard is 20%) in new residential developments, to be managed by not-for-profit housing associations. Significant funding commitments to public and community housing construction also have precedent in Australia and elsewhere. More complex in the Australian political environment is the exercise of regulatory control over the type, location, and price of privately-built housing. Various combinations of transparency in the development economics, planning leverage, and willingness and capacity for negotiation are usually sufficient in jurisdictions

such as Canada and Germany to ensure a range of housing options. It may also be worth considering a tightening of Foreign Investment Review Board constraints on global investors in the housing market, as Canada has recently done.

Enabling a wider distribution of a wider range of jobs is really quite simple. Primarily, it requires not rezoning areas currently zoned industrial. A review of land use definitions to bring them into the 21st century and accommodate the increasing diversity and hybridity of productive uses would enable as-of-right use designations for contemporary urban manufacturers, arts and cultural uses, social enterprises, small business start-ups, and so on.

These actions would provide long-term certainty around industrial zones, minimise land speculation, and encourage re-investment in productive use premises and equipment. With zoning certainty provided, the next step could be to gain a better understanding of the requirements of contemporary uses in order to develop policy that promotes business formation and viability, and identify locations where new industrial zones could be located.

There is a lot of space in metropolitan Melbourne and, even with protection of existing industrial zones, there will for some years yet be areas available for rezoning to mixed use, including along major transit routes and on infill sites that could sustain medium-density and moderately-priced housing. Revenue from land sales in Melbourne will continue to grow and *Plan Melbourne* recognises that opportunities for value capture – routinely used in other jurisdictions – will continue to present themselves. This land use planning intervention could enable the funding and wide distribution of more affordable housing, and community and cultural facilities throughout the metropolitan area. Judicious collection and expenditure of taxes at the same time would allow the expansion of the public transport system so that, even as a greater range of housing and job options permeate through the metropolitan region, so do people's opportunities to travel cheaply and environmentally sustainably.

But all this would involve government willingness to regulate the market – to shape the type, location, and price of housing, to protect industrial spaces for the advancement of jobs, to capture value, and to tax and spend. *Plan Melbourne* does not show any capacity in any of these matters. This is, however, the role of planning.

References

- Bennet, M. (2014, January 23). Australian homes 'among world's most dear': Fitch report. *The Australian*.
- Burke, T. (2012). The Australian residential housing market: Institutions and actions. In R. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Australia's unintended cities* (pp. 35-50). Melbourne: CSIRO Publishing.
- City of Melbourne. (2013). *Postcode 3000: A city transformed?* Melbourne: City of Melbourne.
- Crean, S. (2011, January 3). Did city's industrial policy manufacture defeat? *City Limits*. Retrieved from <http://www.citylimits.org/conversations/125/industrial-policy-in-new-york>.
- Department of Human Services. (2014). *Public housing waiting and transfer list, June 2014*. Melbourne: Department of Human Services.
- Friedman, A. & Byron, J. (2012). High-tech, high-touch, and manufacturing's triple bottom line. *Pratt Centre*. Retrieved from <http://prattcenter.net/research/high-tech-high-touch>.
- Hagerty, J. (2013, September 24). More manufacturers moving operations back to the U.S. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.wsj.com/economics/2013/09/24/more-manufacturers-moving-operations-back-to-u-s>.
- James, D. (2014, May 15). Blessed are the moneymakers. *Eureka Street*. Retrieved from <http://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article.aspx?aeid=40418>.
- Mistry, N. (2013). Newark's manufacturing competitiveness: Finding and strategies. *Brookings Institute*. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/05/28-newark-manufacturing-mistry-vey-shearer>.
- Moretti, E. (2013). Real wage inequality. *American Economic Journal, Applied Economies*, American Economic Association, 5(1), 65-103.
- Pratt Center. (2013). *New York City is at the forefront of a national urban manufacturing renaissance*. Pratt Centre. Retrieved from: <http://prattcenter.net/issues-expertise/urban-manufacturing>.
- Rawnsly, T. & Szafraniec, J. (2010). *Agglomeration and labour productivity in Australian cities*. Melbourne: SGS Economics and Planning.
- Real Estate Institute of Victoria. (2013). *Real Estate Institute of Victoria Property Data*. Melbourne: Real Estate Institute of Victoria.
- Real Estate Institute of Victoria. (2014). *Real Estate Institute of Victoria Property Data*. Melbourne: Real Estate Institute of Victoria.
- Sassen, S. (2008) Two stops in today's new global geographies: Shaping novel labor supplies and employment regimes. Santiago, Chile: United Nations Publications.

Sassen, S. (2013). Urban economics: When places have deep economic histories. *The Cities' Café*. Retrieved from http://www.thecitiescafe.com/?page_id=47.

SGS Economics and Planning. (2012). *Long run economic and land use impacts of major infrastructure projects*. Melbourne: SGS Economics and Planning.

Shaw, K. (2012, August 14). The ministry of silly plans. *The Age*.

Shaw, K. (2014, March 25). Housing blame game here to stay in world of infinite demand. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/housing-blame-game-here-to-stay-in-world-of-infinite-demand-24716>.

Soos, P. & Egan, P. (2013). *Speculative vacancies in Melbourne: 2013 report*. Melbourne: Prosper Australia.

Surowiecki, J. (2014, May 26). Real estate goes global. *New Yorker*.

Yeates, C. (2013, November 18). Generation Rent left out in the cold. *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Victorian Council of Social Service. (2013). *Housing crisis forcing families into homelessness*. Melbourne: Victorian Council of Social Service.

Disadvantage in the Sprawling City

Tony Nicholson

For a long time, we at the Brotherhood of St Laurence have spent a lot of time expressing our concerns about the way our public policies, particularly our social policies, have lagged inordinately behind the major changes we've seen in our society and economy over the past thirty years.

During this time, there have been massive shifts in society such as changes to household formations, gender roles, and the distribution of caring responsibilities, relating both to children and the elderly. There have also been changes in our life course patterns, with people spending longer at each life stage. As Federal Treasurer Joe Hockey has pointed out, people are going to spend a lot longer phasing into retirement in the future. At the same time, there have been major changes in our economy. In particular, employers in the modern internationalised, knowledge-based economy are increasingly placing a premium on education, skills, and flexibility, especially flexibility in the location and hours of work.

I spend a lot of time at the Brotherhood of St Laurence documenting how the failure of our social policies to keep up with these social and economic changes has left large number of people in our community struggling and left behind. This failure is despite the fact that the past thirty years have represented an unprecedented period of prosperity that most of us have enjoyed.

"I value living close to the city, my university, my job, the places I like to visit (restaurants, bars, cinemas, parks and open space), essential services, and public transport. I like living in a vibrant area where I can get around on foot or on bike. I fear that, as house prices rise, I'm going to be priced out of inner Melbourne and may have to live in a poorly serviced area further out where I won't have access to these things that I value." – Comment on website.

I want to make the argument that our urban planning policies are also lagging behind the economic and social changes described above. Increasingly, this lag in planning policies is to blame for some of the social ills that are emerging in our great city of Melbourne. The reality of our modern, sprawling city is that heightened risk of poverty and disadvantage of all types is increasingly found in the fringe areas of our great metropolis. The outskirts, where housing is cheapest, are also often located a long way from any great density of jobs.

We know that if you have a decent place to live in and a decent job, you have a good chance of building a good life for yourself in Melbourne. However, in the fringe areas, there is little public transport, minimal

health and welfare infrastructure, and struggling, overloaded schools and kindergartens. In the City of Wyndham, for example, two Prep classes' worth of babies are being born each week; this is a massive rate of population growth, and one with which the municipality is struggling to keep up.

Also on the outskirts, we see increasingly low levels of educational attainment in young people, some of the highest rates of domestic violence reported, and some of the highest rates of child protection being required. In modern suburbs such as Caroline Springs, we are seeing the emergence of youth homelessness. In these same places, particularly in the north and west of the city, youth unemployment rates are around 15% - three times the adult rates - while the outer eastern suburbs of the city have the fastest growing rates of youth unemployment. The conclusion that I draw from all of this is that the way we shape our city has a huge impact on people's life chances and opportunities. Unfortunately, for all too many people, this is for the worst.

Another important point is that these policies, and their effect on opportunities and disadvantage, are a key determinant of economic productivity. We are facing an ageing population in the decades ahead, with a declining proportion of people in the workforce. This means that the quality of our human capital - one of Victoria's and Melbourne's economic advantages over the past decades - and efficient use thereof will become a critical challenge to the wellbeing of our economy.

In the decades ahead, we simply won't be able to afford to have large number of people unable to fully participate in our economy. This has the potential to be bad news for all of us. But here's the rub - the quality and utilisation of our human capital will largely depend on how our city facilitates citizens being healthy, educated, and able to participate in the labour market, and in social and civic life. This means that, if our children are to prosper, the way in which we plan our city must reflect the realities of societal change that I've discussed here, such as household formation, gender roles, distribution of caring responsibilities, and the life course itself.

Melbourne, in the decades ahead, will need to enable good transitions from unemployment to employment, in and out of caring roles, in and out of education and training, and into retirement. How this is to be reflected spatially across the city is of the highest importance. Policymakers right around the world are beginning to realise the inter-dependency between social and economic policies, and the implications of this in the decades ahead. Therefore, I would contend, the overarching challenge for Melbourne is the way in which it will facilitate this type of integration. This simply won't be achieved if we continue the pattern of recent decades of adding onto a car-dependent, sprawling city.

Nimble Metropolitan Governance for a Dynamic Metropolis

Dr Marcus Spiller

Cities change much faster than you'd think, and this change can occur very abruptly. Two generations ago, when I was growing up in Carlton, the suburb was regarded as an out-and-out slum, suited only to newly-arrived migrants. Today, it vies for one of the most sought-after addresses in the country, dare I say.

Twenty five years ago, property market experts were confidently condemning the City of Melbourne for encouraging downtown housing, arguing Australia just didn't want to live that way. Today, the City of Melbourne is one of the fastest growing municipalities in absolute terms. Twenty years ago, the state government attempted to close the Upfield, Williamstown, and Alamein railway lines due to dwindling patronage. Try getting a seat on those trains today.

While these shifts and trends have become more dynamic, we have managed to lumber ourselves with institutional structures and a development industry which are painfully slow to respond, putting our shared aspirations for a prosperous, sustainable, and inclusive city at risk.

The biggest shift that we have struggled to come to terms with is that the suburban growth areas are no longer the land of opportunity. At the height of our post-war boom, most of the best jobs were being created in the new suburbs, with the likes of GMH, Ford, and International Harvester. This was the time of vertically integrated manufacturing, with managerial and problem solving jobs located in or near the factories. Widespread access to the car expanded and lubricated the labour market, making it prodigiously more efficient.

As soon as they could, and it didn't take long, workers who saw themselves trapped in sub-standard inner-city terraces made for the suburbs. Many of our Italian neighbours in Carlton gleefully accepted the opportunity to escape to brand-new and more commodious homes in the then growth areas of Reservoir, Doncaster, and Bulleen.

This all changed in the 1970s, when Australian firms began to face a barrage of intense competition from Asia, especially Japan, and the terms of trade turned against us as a nation dependent on commodity exports. Victorian enterprises, like those the world over, had to outsource production to lower cost regions and outsource the non-core aspects of their business to specialist companies. This shift geographically uncoupled the thinking part of the value chain from the making part.

While population-serving jobs like health, education, and retail continue to locate near their customers, today, in sharp contrast to the past, the outsourced thinking jobs are overwhelmingly

drawn to the inner city. From 1961 to 1991, the total employment in the City of Melbourne declined steadily to about 200,000 jobs; today, the same area has around half a million jobs, all fuelled by this dramatic restructuring of the economy under our feet.

The linkages to other firms and access to talent offered by the inner city enables these high-value problem-solving companies to prosper in a way that could not be achieved elsewhere in the metropolis or the state. Meantime, the jobs to housing ratio in the outer areas continues to deteriorate. Imagine a marketing and communications firm located in the CBD or Fitzroy, with a staff of skilled professionals, and a turnover of around \$2 million. To get the firm to move to Dandenong would require an inducement of around \$200,000 per year; such is the value of the productivity loss in this new suburban location. To get it to move to Werribee, you'd have to pay \$250,000 a year.

"I think we need a mix of approaches to address this issue. We can move the jobs to the people by creating employment opportunities in existing and emerging residential areas. We can move the people to the jobs through urban renewal precincts such as Fishermans Bend and E-Gate. We can also investigate alternative ways of working so that the location of jobs and housing matter less. It's this third approach that I think has a huge potential while also perhaps being the easiest and quickest to achieve. We are seeing it happen already with more flexible working from home arrangements (though we might have a way to go with that), and also through emerging co-working organisations like HUB Melbourne and Nest Coworking in Thornbury." – Comment on website.

The same goes for households, which gain an income boost for locating in accessible, well-connected areas. This explains the fierce competition for inner and middle suburban housing, and the fact that it is virtually impossible for a lower or moderate income household to buy a house within fifteen kilometres of the CBD. The inbound rush of knowledge-intensive jobs threatens a generation of stranded, outer-suburban households. While the suburbs were once a force for inclusion, they now teeter on being the agents of exclusion.

If our metropolis is to cope with these dynamic forces, we need institutional change. The citizens of greater Melbourne need to take charge of the metropolis because neither the state nor the federal government are competent or mandated to do so. They do not stand unequivocally for Melbourne; nor does local government, which is only concerned with parts of the city. Ultimately, we need some form of metropolitan governance, similar to the Greater London Authority, to take care of issues such as planning, water, transport, and the local economy. Like the GLA, this body must be more than a

functionary of the state and have democratic legitimacy in its own right.

To its credit, the Victorian Government has taken a step by establishing the Metropolitan Planning Authority (MPA) as an arms-length implementation agency for *Plan Melbourne*. We now need to take the next baby step and make the MPA more accountable to the metropolitan constituency, which could be achieved by broadening its governing board to include elected representatives from the five sub-regional areas of Melbourne.

This would mean the state government would have to share power over the destiny of Melbourne, but the payoff would be bipartisan commitment to an agreed plan for the metropolis and greater chance of nimble, high-impact policy around the important issues, just as has been observed in London since the restitution of the GLA by the Blair Government in the 1990s.

An expanded and democratically mandated MPA would give us a better chance to tackle perhaps the biggest barrier to a prosperous, inclusive, and sustainable Melbourne: tax reform. As one of the richest countries and cities, we should not meekly accept that we can't muster the funds to make the infrastructure investments required to transform our city. We certainly pay enough taxes to fund these projects but the Commonwealth takes too large a share - about 80% - which is generally spent on transfer programs rather than infrastructure.

In Victoria, we could contemplate a revenue neutral switch between payroll tax and broad-based land taxes with a significant proportion of the latter under the control of a metropolitan jurisdiction. The state and metropolitan government would need to strike a new deal with the Commonwealth on untied transfers to our state and city. This deal should be performance based and a partnership of peers, not the Commonwealth abusing its excessive fiscal power.

The Commonwealth would make untied transfers based on the achievement of mutually-agreed targets of national significance, such as greenhouse gas emissions, housing stress, and access to employment. This is how our country was transformed under national competition laws; we could do the same with our city if we really wanted to.

Neither Up Nor Out: Precinct-Scale Infill for Middle Suburbia

Professor Shane Murray

By 2050, Melbourne's population is projected to reach around eight million, almost of a quarter of which will be sixty five years or older. This means we will need more than a million new dwellings to accommodate population growth over this time. However, current housing is not meeting demand and we have one of the lowest levels of housing affordability in the developed world. In addition, current trends suggest that, even if we can meet housing demand, we may not be able to house our communities appropriately.

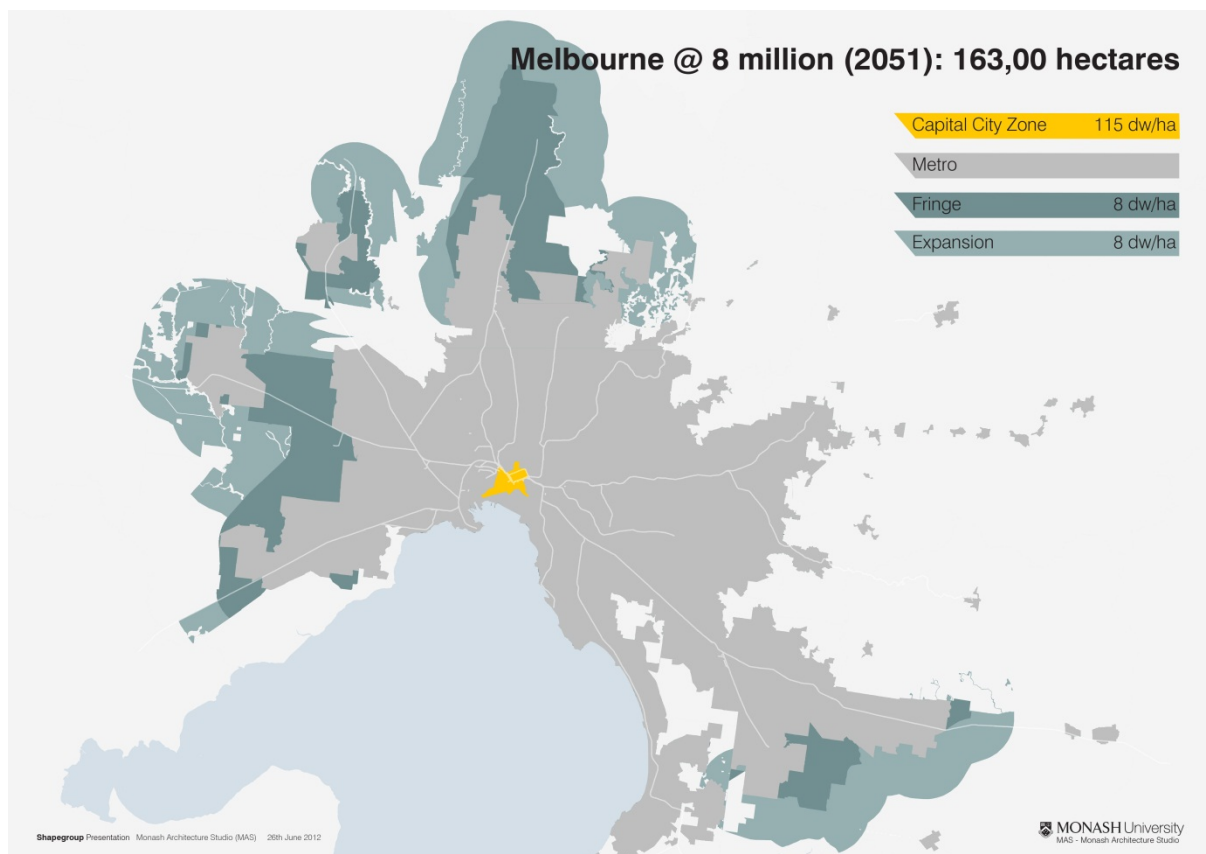


Figure 4: Melbourne's projected expansion by 2051 if growth accommodated solely in city centre and fringes

Figure 4 above depicts what might happen if we try to accommodate this population growth entirely within the central city and on the fringes; it's really a remarkable encroachment of our urban area. So how should we be thinking about our housing? What we need is a greater variety of dwelling alternatives that are able to accommodate the diversity of households constituting our

contemporary communities. We need a greater number of smaller, more affordable, and more flexible dwellings in the right locations in our city.

Inner city high rise housing development still represents a relatively small proportion of new housing and, while it contributes significantly to the vibrancy of our inner urban areas, is neither an affordable nor a suitable alternative for many people in our communities. High rise apartment construction is approximately three times more expensive to deliver per square metre than conventional housing or low rise walk-up housing. Figure 5 below is a provocation that represents an extreme possibility for the Manhattanisation of Melbourne. I think it would be a rather fantastic outcome but it's unlikely that we can house our entire population growth in the central city.



Figure 5: A "Manhattanised" future Melbourne

Greenfield detached housing, while the only affordable option for many, is provided at very low densities, which leads to detrimental socio-economic consequences in the long term. One significant area in which we could begin to achieve socially and environmentally sustainable, affordable housing is in our middle suburbs. Small scale infill housing in these areas represents a considerable portion of current residential building activity in Australian cities - a surprising 37% of residential development in

"I want to see communities working with local governments and developers toward increasing density while preserving neighbourhood characteristics." – Comment on Twitter.

Melbourne - and it plays an important role in the supply of affordable housing. However, the quality and performance of typical infill outcomes is inadequate for the sustainable transitioning of our cities.

The middle suburbs have the capacity to accommodate significant increases in population, but very few appropriate redevelopment strategies have been realised. Two principal factors contribute to the current lack of effective outcome in these areas: the individual ownership of middle suburban land titles, which inhibits the assembly of suitable development sites, and an absence of design expertise within the projects that are completed.

Infill redevelopment are completed on a lot-by-lot basis, resulting in the repetition of services, building types, car parking, and open space provision, amongst many other things. If the renewal of these lots could be coordinated and strategically redeveloped as a precinct, these provisions could be more effectively distributed across the project to enhance the quality, diversity, and density of dwellings delivered. These construction and management efficiencies, as well as opportunities for district-wide sustainable infrastructure and public realm upgrades, mean this precinct scale approach would also make for an excellent model for the inevitable greenfield expansion we must endure.

*“We need innovative urban design and architecture to make density more appealing without people losing backyards and a sense of private space.” –
Comment made at seminar.*

This approach would also consume much less land than the business as usual sprawl shown above.

Low rise, medium density redevelopment of three to four storeys is a much more cost effective way of achieving high density development, and one that is much more readily accommodated in middle suburban contexts. However, the current community concern around these developments is understandable, as they are currently inserted piecemeal into existing contexts on a site by site basis with little overall

coordination or precinct level consultation. The state government’s new residential redevelopment zones, with significant scope to apply local character considerations in the General Residential and Neighbourhood Residential Zones, has, if we’re not careful, the potential to significantly restrain medium density development in existing suburbs and continue the atomised two-for-one redevelopment.

Research at Monash University has demonstrated that, to date, policies to contain redevelopment in designated development areas around transport nodes have not been effective in a number of suburban contexts. If we are to avoid the scenario of extensive greenfield expansion which I indicated earlier, and provide housing alternatives in locations with relatively good services, we really do need to engage with transformation of significant areas in our middle suburbs, and to move to a denser, more diverse range of housing typologies.

We have the technical means and knowledge to do this. However, as with many of the challenges we face in the built environment, we lack the overarching governance, coordination, and consultative processes to achieve such an outcome. This would involve a whole-of-community consultation process where realistic and often challenging scenarios for redevelopment would be agreed to at a whole-of-precinct scale.

Precinct regeneration offers an opportunity to engage with citizens, both owner-occupiers and owner-investors, as partners in development. Results of the do-nothing approach would need to be discussed, stressing to our communities the implicit community building elements that appropriate precinct transitioning would deliver. We would need a brokerage mechanism where available sites could be assembled and land-banked in a way that would benefit both owners and developers.

Smart market principles have demonstrated the possibility of achieving this in other domains. New tenancy and ownership models would need to be developed to expand access to these new housing precincts - partial mortgaging, housing market shares, and housing bonds are some of the models we might consider. We would also need to develop new finance models. Banks would need to consider how their restrictions on development finance might be reconsidered and other vehicles such as regeneration bonds might be introduced.

Current planning is structured to manage impacts, rather than to develop visionary outcomes. We need new types of urban policy that involves government, community, and industry in innovative models for the coordination of planning and investment in our city. I have no simple answer to how we achieve this but I do believe that, if we were able to achieve such an outcome, we would bequeath a remarkable city for future generations.

Quality In My Back Yard: Lessons from North America

Professor Carolyn Whitzman

It's sometime difficult to be positive about planning in Melbourne, but one of the good aspects of *Plan Melbourne* - albeit, a baby step - is a greater recognition of how housing and employment policy might be linked to land use policy. In the past, housing policy has generally been dumbed-down to focus almost exclusively on housing supply as an answer to affordability, no matter where it is. Little attention has been paid to social housing to meet the needs of households in the lowest 5-10% of incomes. Social housing is only 3-4% of Melbourne's housing stock, which is much lower than in other OECD nations.

As the report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee to *Plan Melbourne* made clear, there is no part of metropolitan Melbourne where the median price or rent of housing is affordable - less than 30% of gross household income - to the poorest 50% of households. This means that at least half of households are locked out of affordable housing.

This housing affordability failure has huge impacts on Melbourne's liveability, productivity, and environmental sustainability. It means that families have been forced beyond where it is viable to use public transport, far from where most jobs and services are located. These people aren't getting the housing they'd choose, as there is unmet demand for larger and more affordable apartments and townhouses in inner and middle suburbs, particularly near train stations and tram lines.

The good news is that innovation in affordable housing could lead to a lot of jobs being created. Housing needs to be planned, designed, financed, constructed, sold or rented, repaired, and renewed. If we find new ways of doing this in an affordable manner, we could create innovation for domestic consumption and export of housing, at the same time creating jobs in the knowledge economy.

"Do not introduce the new residential zones without a metropolitan housing strategy!" – Comment made at seminar.

Getting To Yes is an innovative research project in which I've been involved, one that is funded by developers, the University of Melbourne, and local and state government. Our research team - not only planners, but also designers and property researchers - has been working with these organisations and many others, carrying out a number of projects involving surveys, inter-disciplinary studios, and the like. One of the things we found out from our survey of developers, planners, and social housing

providers is that there isn't much knowledge about good practices in similarly economically booming cities with similar planning regimes. We therefore conducted a study tour of three North American cities: San Francisco, Vancouver, and Portland.

Two of those cities - San Francisco and Vancouver - have similar housing affordability issues, but what all three cities have in common is that they have managed to provide more oases of innovative affordable housing in a sea of rising prices than Melbourne. So how have they done this?

Firstly, the two US cities have had a consistent federal funding stream through the low-income housing tax credit, which was introduced by Ronald Reagan in 1988. This tax credit has provided a relatively stable source of investment finance, which in turn has led to hundreds of thousands of affordable housing units.

Secondly, all three cities have much more effective forms of capturing development charges than Melbourne does. Through methods such as community amenity charges, density bonuses, and inclusionary zoning, they have been able to get more money from new development for affordable housing, as well as other vital social infrastructure, such as community centres, libraries, and improved public transport.

Thirdly, these cities have systems to recover additional funding through setting a base level tax rate for areas about to undergo urban renewal, accruing a proportion of the increased land value as these areas improve. This could potentially be applicable in Melbourne's urban renewal areas such as Fishermans Bend and E-Gate. As is the case with direct development charges, a proportion of the uplift in value goes to affordable housing. This is all really quite simple!

Fourthly, local, state, and federal government recognise that land is the single largest component of housing cost in these places, and therefore have systems to provide at least some of this land at no or low cost for social and affordable housing. Particularly in Vancouver and Portland, there are clear community planning processes that link additional population to additional social infrastructure, such as community centres and schools. Vancouver and Portland also have family friendly housing guidelines that mandate a minimum number of two and three bedroom units and have other design provisions, such as community rooms in apartments, minimum sizes, and minimum storage spaces, all of which help families that want to live in the central city.

Finally, all three cities support partnerships between charitable organisations, developers, and social housing providers to help simplify the complicated grants realms and help scale up affordable housing. We met with private developers, banks, and construction companies in all three cities that were champions for affordable housing. They see advantages in meeting the housing needs of the majority of households, recognising that investment in social housing is particularly important when there is

the potential for market slowdowns, such as the Global Financial Crisis. These cities are providing 'Quality In My Back Yard': affordable housing that is built to a higher environmental and social standard, lowering energy and maintenance costs in the long run. There, social housing is seen as a bridgehead for urban renewal, rather than something to be stigmatised.

The question is not what to do about affordable housing and jobs, but how to get there from where we are now. There are considerable local innovations in Melbourne in the form of design, construction, and management models. What we need to figure out is how state and local government can support the necessary industrial transformation of affordable housing to build on these innovations to deliver both good quality jobs and more affordable housing for all of Melbourne.

CHAPTER 3

CLIMATE + DESIGN



Cool Melbourne: Towards a Sustainable and Resilient Zero Carbon City in a Hotter World

Professor John Wiseman, Professor David Karoly and Alexander Sheko

Key Points

- The latest and most reliable scientific evidence indicates that global climate change is unequivocal, and will continue in the absence of substantial reductions to greenhouse gas emissions. In Melbourne, projected changes include rises in average temperatures, increases in the number of extremely hot days, and rises in sea levels.
- Climate change is expected to cause a number of significant impacts, both globally and in Melbourne. These include impacts on both human health and infrastructure, in the form of increased heat stress and related illnesses, disruptions to transportation infrastructure, and disruptions to electricity supply.
- A variety of policies relevant to climate change exist at the local and state government levels in Victoria. While state government policies such as *Plan Melbourne* appear unlikely to ensure effective action on climate change, more promising directions are taken by local governments such as the City of Melbourne. This chapter provides some recommendations for how Victoria can transition towards a resilient, zero emissions city.

Introduction

As former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg recently noted, city level leadership and action on emissions reduction, adaptation, and resilience is an increasingly crucial foundation for reducing the risks and impacts of dangerous climate change. “Those actions,” he argued, “will save lives, they’ll strengthen and protect the national economies, they’ll make cities more healthy and economically vibrant and together they’ll make a difference in the global fight against climate change” (cited in Skelley, 2014).

In Australia, among the most urbanised countries in the developed world, cities account for the vast majority of population, economic productivity, and greenhouse gas emissions. The management of our cities, especially major cities like Melbourne which are moving beyond a manufacturing-based economy and experiencing rapid growth, presents a major opportunity to take significant and necessary action on climate change.

This chapter aims to strengthen understanding of climate change mitigation and resilience challenges and opportunities facing Melbourne. The chapter commences with an updated analysis of climate change trends and risks for Melbourne, informed by recent observational data. The second half of

the chapter outlines key emissions reduction, adaptation, and resilience priorities which could enable Melbourne to accelerate the transition to becoming a just and resilient zero carbon city.

Climate Change Trends for Melbourne: Updated Evidence

The latest scientific assessment of climate change by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was released in 2013, after a five-year writing, review, and approval process (IPCC, 2013). The main conclusions are even stronger than previous assessments, including that warming of the climate system is both “unequivocal” and “unprecedented over decades to millennia”, and that it is “extremely likely” that human activity has been the dominant cause of this warming since the mid 20th century. High concentrations of greenhouse gases, unprecedented in the past 800,000 years, have been attributed to fossil fuel emissions, but also land use changes. The report stressed that continued emissions would cause further warming and that action on climate change would require “substantial and sustained reductions of greenhouse gas emissions” (IPCC, 2013: 3-32).

Following the release of this assessment, the Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO released their evaluation of climate change science within an Australian context (Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO, 2014). Average temperatures across Australia have increased by 0.9°C since 1910, with most of this warming since 1950. This has been associated with more hot extremes and fewer cold extremes in most areas, and an increase in extreme fire weather over large parts of Australia. These trends are projected to continue into the future (CSIRO, 2007).

Projections of climate change for Victoria and for Melbourne were presented by CSIRO (2007) and the Department of Sustainability and Environment (2008). They provide projections for a number of different climate variables for all states and major cities across Australia, including Melbourne, based on analysis from more than thirty different climate models, accounting for different future greenhouse gas emission scenarios, natural variability, and uncertainties in the climate response to a specific emissions scenario (CSIRO, 2007).

Table 2 below shows projected changes in some key climate variables for the decades centred on 2030 and 2070, relative to 1980-99, from CSIRO (2007). Shown are the best estimates of the projected changes and, in parentheses, the 10th and 90th percentiles of the ranges of projected changes. Also shown are the observed changes for the decade 2004-2013 for the central Melbourne weather station from Bureau of Meteorology data.

	Season	Observed 2004-2013	2030	2070 low emissions	2070 high emissions
Average temperature (°C)	Annual	1.0	0.9 (0.6 to 1.2)	1.4 (1.0 to 2.0)	2.8 (1.9 to 3.8)
Days over 35°C (9.1 in 1980-99)	Annual	12.0	11.4 (10.6 to 12.8)	13.6 (11.9 to 16.8)	19.8 (15.4 to 25.9)
Rainfall (% change)	Summer	+4	-1 (-11 to +9)	-2 (-17 to +14)	-4 (-30 to +27)
Rainfall (% change)	Winter	-12	-4 (-10 to +2)	-7 (-17 to +3)	-12 (-30 to +5)

Table 2: Observed and projected climate changes for Melbourne from 1990

By 2070, the magnitudes of the changes are about twice as large for the high emission scenario as for the low emission scenario. Average temperature in Melbourne is expected to rise for all emission scenarios. By 2070, average temperatures in Melbourne will be around 1.0 to 2.5°C hotter than the 1990s, double to five times more warming than occurred from 1910 to 1990 (CSIRO, 2007). These seemingly modest increases are associated with much larger changes in the number of hot days in Melbourne. The number of days above 35°C in Melbourne is projected to more than double by 2070 for high greenhouse gas emissions.

The projected changes in rainfall are much less certain than the changes in temperature, due to factors such as the greater natural decadal variability of rainfall and the greater differences of rainfall changes simulated by climate models. However, there is greater confidence in the projected decline in rainfall in winter and spring, with a best estimate of a 12% decline in winter rainfall by 2070. Winter rainfall is key to replenishing water resources and filling reservoirs, so these projected reductions in rainfall lead to reductions in average annual streamflow by 7 to 35% by 2050, with potential for significant impacts to Melbourne, particularly in the context of strong population growth.

It is important to note there has been very good agreement between projected and observed increase in global average temperature from 1900 to 1990, which has been more than 0.5°C, although in some cases projected changes may be underestimates. The observed warming in

Melbourne of 1.0°C from 1990 to the current decade is already greater than the best estimate of the change projected for 2030. The number of hot days has already increased from 9.1 in the 1990s to 12.0 in 2004-13, an increase of about 30%, and already greater than the best estimate for 2030. For rainfall, the observed increase in summer in the recent decade is well within the range of model projections for 2030. However, the substantial winter decline of 12% in the recent decade is larger than the model-projected decline for 2030.

There is high confidence that increases in sea level are occurring and are due to human-caused climate change. The projected increase in global sea level relative to 1995 is 0.52 to 0.92 metres in 2100 for the high emission scenario, plus the increase of nearly 0.2 metres observed to 1995 (IPCC, 2013). Sea level rise along the coasts of southeastern Australia is expected to be similar to global sea level rise (DSE, 2008).

Extreme weather events, such as heat waves, frosts, floods, and droughts, have the greatest impacts on society and on the environment. While changes in mean climate are important, changes in the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events associated with the changes in mean climate are even more important. Projected changes in extreme events for Melbourne include more hot days and fewer cold nights, as well as a larger proportion of days with very heavy rainfall (CSIRO, 2007; DSE, 2008; IPCC, 2013).

While there are still significant climate changes projected for Melbourne even for much lower emissions of greenhouse gases (CSIRO, 2007), the climate changes for high emissions are typically twice as large in 2070 as those for low emissions, and will continue to grow even more by 2100. Recent observed global greenhouse gas emissions have been at or above the high emission scenario used in those climate model simulations and have grown by about 50% since 1990 (IPCC, 2013), despite global agreements to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Climate Change Impacts

Following its assessment of climate change science, the IPCC released its Fifth Assessment Report on impacts, adaptation, and vulnerabilities to climate change (IPCC, 2014). Its key conclusions include that climate change in recent decades has caused impacts on natural and human systems across the world, that there is significant vulnerability in these systems to extreme weather events such as heat waves, droughts, and floods, and that these impacts are likely to become more severe if warming continues. Urban areas are singled out as places where climate change risks are concentrated, but also as sites of opportunity for greater resilience and sustainability in development.

The impacts of climate change for Victoria and the Melbourne region have been assessed recently by the Climate Commission (Steffen & Hughes, 2013) and DSE (2008), respectively, and are illustrated

in Figure 6. Increases in the frequency and intensity of heat waves in Melbourne have impacts on human health and on infrastructure. They lead to increased hospital admissions for heat stress and associated illnesses, as well as increased mortality, such as was experienced in late January and early February 2009, associated with the heat waves leading up to the Black Saturday bushfires in Victoria. Research from the National Climate Change Adaptation Research Facility (Loughnan, Tapper, Phan, Lynch & McInnes, 2013) has found that suburban areas in Melbourne's western and south-eastern regions are particularly vulnerable to heat stress, especially where there are many people who are elderly or do not speak English as a first language. This research stressed that heat extremes are projected to increase significantly and action is needed now to mitigate these adverse health impacts.

Impacts on infrastructure due to warming include speed restrictions on the metropolitan railway lines due to bending of tracks, cancellations of trains because of failure of cooling systems, and reductions of electrical power transmission from Tasmania through BassLink. These types of infrastructure may also be vulnerable to flash flooding caused by extreme rainfall events, as well as damage caused by storms and heavy winds. In addition, impacts on individual types of infrastructure, such as power, roads, and public transport, have the potential to cause systemic knock-on effects; for example, disruption to power due to extreme heat can cause cancellation of public transport services which in turn places stress on the road network.

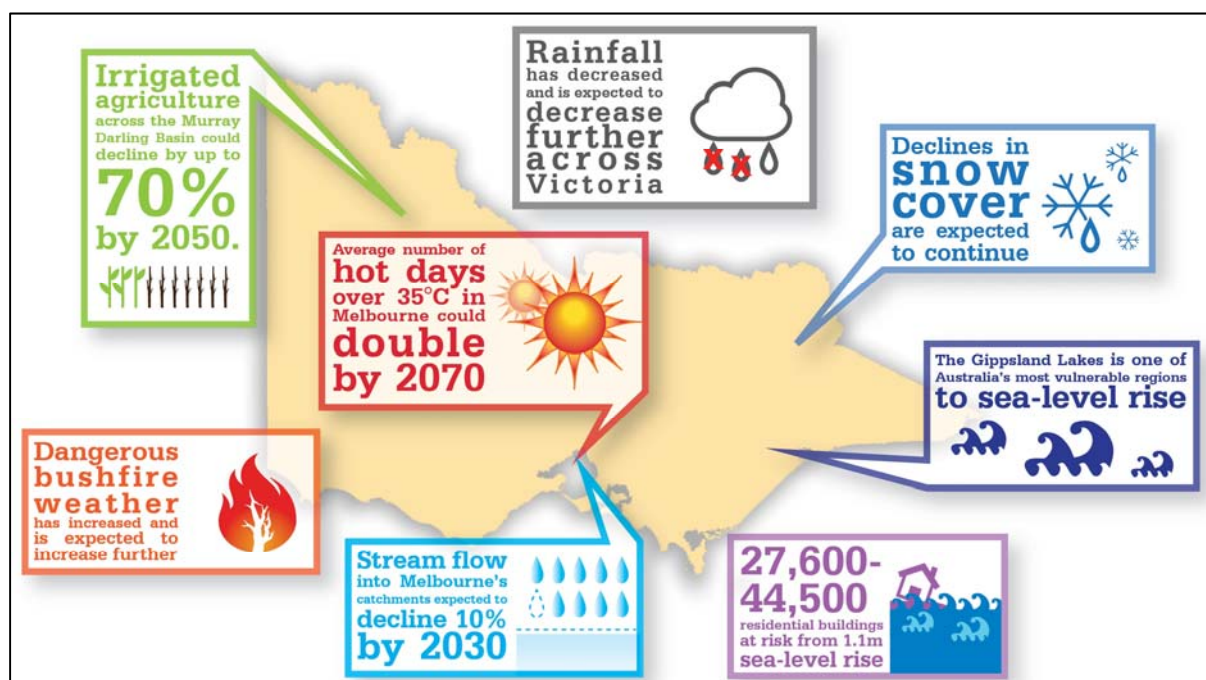


Figure 6: Key climate change risks for Victoria over the 21st century (Steffen & Hughes, 2013)

Extreme heat and low rainfall are associated with extreme fire weather conditions, which have become more frequent over the last three decades around Melbourne and are projected to double

in frequency by 2050. These extreme fire danger conditions were experienced in the Black Saturday fires in 2009 in regions around Melbourne and have major impacts on the urban fringe.

Reductions in rainfall in winter and hotter temperatures in summer are likely to lead to greater demand for water resources in Melbourne. Projected increases in heavy rain events are also likely to increase the frequency of flash flooding in Melbourne as the city's storm water drainage systems are likely to be unable to cope with the increased runoff.

Sea-level rise is expected to be the most significant climate change issue for the City of Port Phillip and coastal suburbs of Melbourne, due to the associated impacts of coastal erosion and storm surge (DSE, 2008). The frequency of extreme storm surge associated with a 1-in-100 year storm today potentially will become a 1-in-20 year annual storm surge event by 2070 due to sea level rise. By 2070, inundation from a 1-in-100 year storm could affect more than 1,000 existing dwellings and property to a value of approximately \$780 million (Department of Climate Change, 2009). This would have impacts on high density urban renewal areas such as Docklands and Fishermans Bend, which are only a few metres above sea level. It is therefore vital that resilience and climate change adaptation be key principles in planning for these areas.

Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation Priorities

The speed with which the probabilities and risks of dangerous climate change are accelerating for Melbourne (as in many other cities) further strengthens the case for the rapid implementation of an integrated suite of emissions reduction, adaptation, and resilience initiatives.

The overall mix of actions required to drive a swift transition to a resilient zero carbon economy is now widely understood (see Wiseman, Edwards & Luckins 2013; IPCC, 2014) and consist of:

- A rapid transition from reliance on fossil fuels to renewable energy
- A significant and rapid increase in energy efficiency
- A significant and rapid decrease in the consumption of energy and resources
- Rapid reduction of emissions from agriculture and land use
- Draw down and sequestration of carbon

There is also increasing evidence that the biggest obstacles preventing rapid implementation of large scale de-carbonisation strategies are political and social, rather than technological. Key political roadblocks preventing rapid implementation of post carbon economy transition strategies include denial of the necessity and urgency of action, the influence of the fossil fuel industry and its allies, political 'short-termism', and governance constraints (Wiseman, Edwards & Luckins, 2013).

On the other hand, there is also broad agreement on the core elements of an integrated climate change adaptation and resilience strategy capable of dealing effectively with the key climate change risks outlined above. These include high quality risk and vulnerability assessment, early warning systems, strategically co-ordinated emergency services, strategic investment in and design of physical infrastructure, and creating more resilient cities and communities.

An extensive body of research (e.g. Canadian Centre for Community Renewal, 2000; Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche & Pfefferbaum, 2008) has identified general features of such resilience, which include diverse and robust sources of economic prosperity with reasonably equitable distribution of income and assets, high levels of citizen engagement and community networks, access to accurate and up-to-date information, and governance systems that facilitate effective and responsive community organisations.

As Andrew Zoll and Marie Healy (2014: 19) note, “the resilience frame suggests a different, complementary effort to mitigation: to redesign our institutions, embolden our communities, encourage innovation and experimentation, and support our people in ways that will help them to be prepared and cope with surprises and disruptions, even as we work to fend them off”.

Current State of Climate Mitigation, Adaptation, and Resilience Planning For Melbourne

The Victorian Government, along with the City of Melbourne and the other twenty seven Melbourne metropolitan councils, has developed a variety of climate change plans and strategies. The Victorian Government’s *Climate Adaptation Strategy* (2013), for example, begins by identifying a number of guiding adaptation principles including informed and integrated decision making and risk management, complementarity with other levels of government, equity, and community engagement. It also identifies a range of adaptation priorities: managing risks to public assets and services, managing risks to natural assets and resource based industries, building disaster risk and integrated emergency management, improving access to research and information for decision making supporting private sector adaptation, and strengthening partnerships.

Plan Melbourne identifies “a changing climate” as one of the key “pressures” facing Melbourne (Victorian State Government, 2014: 5). It is important however to note the cautious and ambivalent language employed in *Plan Melbourne* to refer to the sources and implications of climate change. “Our climate is constantly changing, due to a wide range of human and natural factors. Over its history, Melbourne has seen frequent bushfires, heatwaves, flooding and storms.” (ibid: 10) It is therefore not surprising that, while *Plan Melbourne* does include discussion of key urban resilience challenges such as energy efficiency and supply, waste management, water, and food security, it falls

well short of providing a comprehensive or strategic program for a rapid transition to a resilient, zero carbon urban future for Melbourne.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of *Plan Melbourne* with regards to climate change is that this, along with other environmental sustainability issues, is treated as a discrete area of the plan, rather than a key principle running through other areas, such as the need to plan for population growth, economic productivity, and transport infrastructure. In all these areas, especially transport, which is a major contributor to the city's greenhouse gas emissions, the need to reduce these emissions and address vulnerability to climate change risks should be enshrined from the top down in the decision making process, from the vision for the city's future to objectives guiding key planning initiatives, and ultimately to implementation.

Referring again to the example of transport planning initiatives in *Plan Melbourne*, objectives driving these are largely centred around mobility and economic productivity, rather than the potential to radically decrease the city's greenhouse gas emissions and transition to renewable energy. The fact that notions of economic productivity and growth are prevalent as organising principles throughout the entire plan, rather than being treated as a discrete area as is the environment, is testament to the plan's insufficient emphasis and action on climate change as a key issue and challenge for Melbourne's future.

This tendency to downplay the link between climate change and extreme weather events is consistent with the ongoing reluctance of Victorian governments to fully and explicitly address these linkages - see for example the critique by Whittaker, Handmer and Karoly (2013) of the failure of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into the 2009 Black Saturday Bushfires to explicitly address climate change risks.

The City of Melbourne's approach to climate mitigation and adaption planning provides a significantly more promising basis for a strategic response more closely aligned with the speed with which urban climate change risks are accelerating. The City of Melbourne emissions reduction strategy, *Zero Net Emissions Target by 2020: Update 2014*, provides a comprehensive overview of opportunities and priorities for reducing emissions across the full range of Council operations, commercial and residential buildings, stationary energy supply, transport and freight, and waste management systems. *Update 2014* notes that a "game changing" combination of initiatives driving a rapid transition to a zero emissions CBD could comprise the following: 50% from renewable energy, 40% reduction in energy used by city buildings, and 10% from reducing energy lost from the grid (City of Melbourne, 2014: 3).

The *City of Melbourne Adaptation Strategy* (2009), informed by a comprehensive climate risk analysis, identifies high value adaptation strategies such as expanding storm water harvesting and re-use,

tackling the urban heat island effect through heatwave response action plans, actively planning to control the consequences of sea level rise, and developing sophisticated communication and warning systems to respond to extreme weather events.

The City of Melbourne has also recently been selected to be a member of the Rockefeller Foundation's *100 Resilient Cities* programme. This programme will fund the creation of a Chief Resilience Officer position and provide other support to develop a resilience strategy, not only for the municipality but the entirety of metropolitan Melbourne.

Other municipalities are also taking positive steps towards climate change mitigation and adaptation. For example, the Cities of Moreland and Yarra have established and provide funding to the Moreland Energy Foundation and the Yarra Energy Foundation, respectively. These independent not-for-profit organisations support local residents and businesses in transitioning towards a zero carbon society, such as through advising on and assisting in the installation of solar panels or improving the energy efficiency of buildings.

Initial consultations with leading urban design experts and stakeholders for the *Visions and Pathways 2040* research project (Visions and Pathways, 2014) provide a number of further social and technological innovations which might help drive a rapid transition to a resilient zero carbon Melbourne:

- A city-wide shift to more localized, distributed systems for producing and supplying energy, food and water
- The creation of a 'city of short distances' in which the amount of travel between residential, workplace, and recreational locations is sharply reduced
- The role of energy storage breakthroughs in further accelerating the take up of solar PV and other household level renewable energy technologies
- The potential contribution of new 'smart city' information technologies, manufacturing systems (such as additive manufacturing and 3D printing), and 'sharing economy' entrepreneurial and business models

While *Plan Melbourne* identifies the need to take action in some of these areas, such as creating the 'city of short distances' ('the 20 minute city', in *Plan Melbourne*), there are still significant shortcomings, such as the lack of climate change mitigation and adaptation as a key plank in the plan's vision and the subsequent marginalisation of these principles as priorities for planning for the future. Nevertheless, many initiatives in the plan, such as limiting the amount of population growth to be absorbed in low-density outer-suburban growth areas, improving conditions for public transport and active transport users, and encouraging service-rich mixed-use suburbs to minimise trip distances, show considerable promise in working towards a resilient, zero emissions city as

envisioned in this chapter. What must occur is the prioritisation, by present and future governments, of action on climate change as an organising principle in the implementation of the plan, with a key role to be played by the new Metropolitan Planning Authority in supporting and scaling up the work that is already being done by some local governments.

Towards an Integrated Strategy for a Zero Carbon, Adaptive ‘Cool Melbourne’

Having briefly identified the climate change risks facing Melbourne and initiatives that are required to address these in the areas of mitigation, adaptation and resilience, this chapter concludes with suggestions on how governments at the state and local levels can take action to plan for a city capable of delivering both emergency speed emissions reductions, and resilient, adaptive social and technological systems.

1. A clear and unequivocal public commitment by the Premier of Victoria and the mayors of Melbourne’s municipalities to achieve a swift transition to a just and resilient zero carbon economy, including setting emissions reduction targets informed by the most robust and up to date climate science. Such science should also be taken into account in climate change adaptation planning, for example using the heat stress vulnerability mapping conducted by Loughnan et al. (2013). The statement would also call on all levels of government, business, trade unions, and community organisations to enter into partnership with these governments to achieve these targets.
2. The prioritisation of climate change action as a key objective in the implementation of *Plan Melbourne*’s initiatives, especially those relating to accommodation of population growth, transport planning, infrastructure provision, and building design. This must include the commitment that this objective is not to be considered secondary to maintaining population growth, economic productivity, and private investment, and set out how conflicts between economic and environmental goals should be resolved, recognising that inaction on climate change carries a high level of risk to the city’s productivity and assets. Other priorities should include scaling up successful initiatives currently being undertaken at the municipal level and allocating responsibilities and targets to relevant state agencies. This could be enshrined in the passage of a new *Melbourne Climate Solutions Act* setting a legislated 2020 target of zero emissions and tasking the Metropolitan Planning Authority with ensuring swift and integrated implementation of the key policy and program priorities.
3. The development of an integrated transport system implementation plan to achieve the transport objectives of *Plan Melbourne* but with a greater emphasis on environmental goals, rather than only mobility and economic goals. Key elements of this plan would include achieving mode shift away from private car travel by making public transport more attractive and improving conditions for active travel (i.e. cycling and walking), as well as transitioning petrol- and gas-fuelled vehicles (cars, buses and trucks) to electric vehicles.
4. A *Melbourne Renewable Energy Plan* to be developed by a newly established Melbourne Energy Foundation, based on the goal of achieving 100% renewable energy within ten years. The Melbourne Energy Foundation would achieve buy-in from all metropolitan local governments and scale up the types of activities already being conducted by some

municipalities to the metropolitan level, providing efficiencies of scale. Key features of the plan would include:

- A firm timetable and resource allocation for a rapid phase out of all Victorian coal fired power stations and coal mining, and an immediate end to all public subsidies and tax concessions to fossil fuel industries.
 - The establishment of a *Climate Solutions Transition Fund* to support communities affected by the phase out of fossil fuel based industries including income support, education, training, and financial support to establish new industry and employment opportunities.
 - Mobilisation of the investment to fund the stationary energy and distribution systems required for a swift transition to a 100% renewable energy based economy with key priorities being wind power, solar PV, and solar thermal, along with a significant national expansion and interconnection of Victoria's electricity grid infrastructure.
 - Strong encouragement and financial support for the expansion of investment and innovation in decentralised renewable energy supply systems.
 - In addition to an appropriately robust national carbon price, strategies for mobilising the necessary investment could include direct public sector investment, a significantly higher feed in tariff, tax incentives, low interest loans, loan guarantees, and enhanced support for community based co-operative and social enterprise initiatives.
 - Accelerating the electrification of household and industrial heating and cooling.
5. A Melbourne *Efficient Buildings Plan* identifying the regulatory, planning, educational, and financial initiatives which, along with an increased carbon price, could achieve the overall goal of a rapid transition to a zero waste economy. Key initiatives could include the following:
- Carbon emissions standards for all new buildings, taking into account both emissions generated in the construction of the building (including those embodied in the building materials), and the efficiency of the building with regard to heating, cooling, and other energy use throughout its lifetime.
 - Retrofitting of existing buildings including through energy efficient heating and cooling (particularly passive solar and combined heat and power), lighting, appliances and insulation.
 - Expansion of investment in energy efficient industrial and agricultural processes and equipment, such as upgrading inefficient electric motors, lighting, and heating systems, recycling heat energy from electricity generation through co-generation, and improving efficiency of on-farm energy and fuel use.
6. A coordinated campaign of partnership and advocacy to work collaboratively with other levels of government, and the private and community sectors. This would involve including these sectors in the development of policy and targets to achieve 'buy-in' from these stakeholders. The Metropolitan Planning Authority would play a principal coordinating role

in this respect, particularly in supporting and scaling up the work of local governments. Another feature would be a broad conversation with households, communities, and businesses about the necessity, possibility, and desirability of reducing energy and resource consumption. Initial topics for this public conversation might include the importance and benefits of reducing airline and car based travel, increasing consumption of locally produced food, and increasing the time available to be with family and friends, and for creative and recreational interests. Where other levels of government, particularly the Commonwealth Government, have a significant role to play, such as in the transition to renewable energy and setting national carbon emissions targets, there should be a particular focus on advocacy in order to ensure the implementation of the state's climate change goals.

References

- Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO. (2014). *State of the climate 2014*. Melbourne: Bureau of Meteorology and CSIRO.
- Canadian Centre for Community Renewal. (2000). *The community resilience manual: A resource for rural recovery and renewal*. Canadian Centre for Community Renewal. Retrieved from:
http://communityrenewal.ca/sites/all/files/resource/P200_0.pdf
- City of Melbourne. (2009). *Climate change adaptation strategy*. Melbourne: City of Melbourne.
- City of Melbourne. (2014). *Zero net emissions target by 2020: Update 2014*. Melbourne: City of Melbourne.
- CSIRO. (2007). *Climate change in Australia – Technical report 2007*. CSIRO.
- Department of Climate Change. (2009). *Climate change risks to Australia's coast: A first pass national assessment*. Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Sustainability and Environment. (2008). *Climate change in Port Phillip and Westernport*. The State of Victoria Department of Sustainability and Environment.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (2013). *Climate change 2013: The physical science basis*. In T. Stocker, D. Qin, G.-K. Plattner, M. Tignor, S. Allen, J. Boschung, A. Nauels, Y. Xia, V. Bex & P. Midgley (Eds.), *The fifth assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge, UK & New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (2014). *Summary for policymakers*. In C. Field, V. Barros, J. Dokken, K. Mach, M. Mastrandrea, T. Bilir, M. Chatterjee, K. Ebi, Y. Estrada, R. Genova, B. Girma, E. Kissel, A. Levy, S. MacCracken, P. Mastrandrea & L. White (Eds.), *Climate change 2014: Impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability* (pp. 1-32). Cambridge, UK & New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Loughnan, M., Tapper, N., Phan, T., Lynch, K. & McInnes, J. (2013). *A spatial vulnerability analysis of urban populations during extreme heat events in Australian capital cities*. Gold Coast: National Climate Change Adaptation Research Facility.
- Norris, F., Stevens, S., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. & Pfefferbaum, R. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41, 127-150.
- Skelley, J. (2014, June 4). Cities take the heat for global warming. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jack-skelley/cities-take-the-heat-for-_b_5442980.html
- Steffen, W. & Hughes, L. (2013). *The critical decade 2031: Climate change science, risks and response*. Commonwealth of Australia Climate Commission.

Victorian State Government. (2013). *Victorian Government Climate Adaptation Plan*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.

Victorian State Government. (2014). *Plan Melbourne: Metropolitan planning strategy*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.

Visions and Pathways 2040. (2014). *V&P 2040: Visions, scenarios and pathways for low-carbon resilient futures in Australian cities*. Melbourne: Visions and Pathways. Retrieved from: <http://www.visionsandpathways.com/>.

Whittaker, J., Handmer, J. & Karoly, D. (2014). After 'Black Saturday': Adapting to bushfires in a changing climate. In S. Bouler, J. Palutikoff, D. Karoly & D. Guitart (Eds.), *Natural disasters and adaptation to climate change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wiseman, J., Edwards, T. & Luckins, K. (2013). *Post carbon pathways: Towards a just and resilient post carbon future*. Melbourne: Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute and Centre for Policy Development.

Zolli, A. & Healy, A. (2013). *Resilience: Why things bounce back*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Sustainable Development: From Global to Local

Professor Dave Griggs

Human beings are now impacting on the natural systems of the planet at a global scale. If you look at graphs of things such as population, Gross Domestic Product, foreign direct investment, water use and even the number of McDonalds restaurants, you notice their shapes are all the time. They've all exponentially increased in the past hundred years. Not surprisingly, the Earth's natural systems are responding in exactly the same way. If you look at graphs of greenhouse gas concentrations, ozone depletion, and surface temperature increases, to name a few, they look very similar to that first group of graphs.

We human beings are exponentially driving the natural processes of the planet, and these natural processes are responding in exactly the same way. If you look at global human impact, taking into account population, affluence and technology, you see that it was a bit larger in 1950 than in 1900 but it is enormously larger than 1950. This is basically an explosion in human impact.

While in the past century cities have become powerful engines of creativity and the wellbeing of millions globally has improved beyond measure - in terms of health, wealth, security and longevity - one billion people are still malnourished, and greenhouse gas levels are the highest in over a million years. There is a hole in the ozone layer, we are losing biodiversity and sea levels are rising. We are in a new geological epoch dominated by humanity, the anthropocene, where we are altering Earth's natural cycles.

The challenge that we face is how to continue to develop our cities and our society whilst not doing that at the expense of the global natural environment. At the Rio+20 Conference on sustainable development, the global situation was summarised as unacceptable. I think that many of the issues identified at the global level apply in a city like Melbourne, even though we are in one of the richest developed countries in the world. These issues include unacceptable levels of poverty and income inequality, significant increases in population, unsustainable production and consumption patterns, unsustainable economic systems, and ineffective governance systems. In addition there are a range of rapid environmental changes, such as climate change, loss of biodiversity, ecosystem and land degradation and pollution of the air and water.

At the Rio+20 Conference, a group of highly eminent Blue Planet Prize winners also set out their vision for what the future should look like. Again, this is applicable to a city like Melbourne - simply replace "world" with "city". This vision is of a world - in our case, city - without poverty, one that is equitable and respects human rights, one that's environmentally, socially and economically

sustainable, and one where challenges such as climate change and loss of biodiversity have been successfully addressed. All this could be a manifesto for Melbourne just as much as one for the world.

These environmentalists articulated that this is an achievable vision, but that the current system is flawed and our current pathway will not realise it. What they said is simple - the time to act is now. So what's the situation a bit closer to home, at the Australian level? A report produced by the National Sustainability Council - rather, the former National Sustainability Council, since the last federal election - found that Australia was in a pretty good position. Australia has made great progress in areas such as rising incomes, lower unemployment, longer life expectancy, increased levels of educational attainment and performance, relatively low crime levels, increasing levels of community participation, improvements in water efficiency and good air quality. Of course, Australia is also ranked second in the world on the Human Development Index and first on the OECD's Better Life Index, and Melbourne is considered by some measures to be the world's most liveable city.

However, the report says that these achievements can mask key issues. While we have made great progress, there are some worrying trends. There is still too strong a link between educational performance and economic disadvantage. We need to boost innovation and connectivity in Australian businesses. We need to plan for an ageing population. We need to plan for more sustainable cities, reduce greenhouse gas emissions, adapt to climate change, reduce the environmental impact of economic growth, protect our ecosystems and biodiversity, make agriculture more sustainable and tackle inequality and disadvantage. Again, although this is a picture of the nation, it easily applies to Melbourne.

"In the current political environment, where direct action is the climate policy we must work within, I think there are some opportunities. A policy which rewards cooperation between building material manufacturers, forest managers, and construction industry could surely attract carbon sequestration credits. We really should be running our forests and buildings as a carbon capture and storage scheme. Maybe we could introduce lower stamp duty or rates on buildings with over 60% of materials sourced from approved forest and manufacture techniques." – Comment on website.

There is currently an international process going on towards agreeing on what are called Sustainable Development Goals. This has been set up by the UN out of the Rio+20 Conference and a high level panel and a UN Open Working Group will report to the UN General Assembly in September 2014 - time is very short. The draft goals touch on a range of environmental, social and economic issues.

They include ending poverty and hunger in all its forms everywhere; improving nutrition for all through sustainable agriculture and improved food systems; enabling a healthy life for all at all ages; providing quality education and life-long learning; attaining gender equality and women's empowerment; providing water and sanitation; ensuring access to affordable and sustainable energy; promoting sustainable and inclusive economic growth with decent jobs for all; promoting sustainable industrialisation and equality among nations; building inclusive, safe and sustainable cities and settlements; promoting sustainable consumption and production patterns; taking urgent and significant action to mitigate and adapt to climate change, taking urgent and significant actions for the conservation and sustainable use of terrestrial and marine ecosystems and resources; halting all biodiversity loss; strengthening global partnerships for sustainable development and the means of implementing this; and creating peaceful and inclusive societies. Many of these goals are applicable also to Australia and even Melbourne.

I believe that, ultimately, if the world's government are able to agree to these goals, it will put us on the right globally, it will put us on the right track nationally, and it will put us on the right track here in Melbourne.

Integrative Design to Regenerate Melbourne

Caroline Pidcock

Australia's big cities are very concerned about sustainability - this is great to see. When it comes to the notion of a cool future for a hot Melbourne, I think to remind ourselves of Richard Buckminster Fuller's notion that we need a new model to replace the old one, as it's not enough to change the current one. This means we've really got to have big dreams - seriously big and important dreams to make our future better. In light of that, I think the Living Building Challenge (LBC), a framework for sustainable building, is very important. It's a program of the International Living Future Institute which is a philosophy, an advocacy tool and a certification program that addresses development at all scales. It's really exciting as it's a different way of thinking about development.

The underlying principle of the LBC is that all developments should be positive and regenerative - they should do good rather than be less bad. It strives for a culturally rich, socially just and ecological restorative society, suggesting that we use nature as the ultimate measurement stick for performance. It uses the metaphor of the flower to illustrate this principle. A flower has place-based solutions to meet all of its energy, water and resource needs, and to maintain balance with its surroundings. Like a flower, all elements of the built environment are rooted in place. Imagine a building, site or infrastructure project that is informed by its ecoregion's characteristics, and generates all of its own energy with renewable resources, captures and treats all its water and operates efficiently for maximum beauty. This idea can also be scaled up to the neighbourhood level. The LBC aims to provide a rich and inspiring narrative that we need to fuel accelerated change. I believe that storytelling and narratives are very important in helping us formulate our ideas and take them forward. This approach uses both technical and philosophical considerations.

All aspects of the program are guided by identifying an ideal - what is a sustainable project? - and positioning that ideal as the indicator of success. In this way, decisions are steered by restorative principles in achieving that ideal, rather than code minimum requirements or point scoring. They serve as constant reminders of what we are trying to achieve. It's hoped that this process will generate truly transformative approaches to design and construction. The program is made up of seven thematic "petals", which include twenty imperatives that apply to four building types. I believe this approach is really helpful because such dreams need to be approached in a really holistic manner rather than being tackled piecemeal.

*“We need more universal design in housing. This leads to huge savings and better sustainability by not retrofitting for accessibility.” –
Comment made at seminar*

The first petal is concerned with site, focusing on re-establishing a balance between nature and the built environment. Implicitly, this means re-evaluating the current trend of urban sprawl, which diffuses communities, increases transportation impacts and pollution and consumes too much land. The second, water, treats this as the precious resource that it is, avoiding the wasteful nature of conventional practices while ensuring the local water systems are restored. The third relates to energy, consisting

of only one imperative: net zero energy. It's critical that projects are designed to be super-efficient, eliminating as much energy demand as possible (typically 60-80%) and using renewable energy to provide what need remains. The fourth petal, health, is less extreme, focusing on making physically and psychologically healthy places and improving our relationship with nature. The fifth, material selection, is perhaps most challenging. This petal requires projects to use non-toxic materials and chemicals, account for their lifetime carbon footprint, use materials that are third-party certified as being sustainably harvested, use materials that are locally sourced to support local traditions, people and economies, and to design and build to conserve and re-use resources. The sixth petal addresses equality, focusing on creating a built environment that upholds the dignity of all members of society regardless of their physical abilities or economic situation. This includes ensuring accessibility and the right to natural systems regardless of property ownership and protection from negative impacts caused by adjacent properties. The final is beauty, recognising the need for this as a precursor for caring enough to look after and conserve our places.

From this framework, I've come up with two ideas on how we can improve the future for Melbourne. The first is based on the LBC's first imperative - limits to growth. I would like to suggest that there are no further greenfield development in Melbourne and that all new development need to occur on previously disturbed land. This would be done with the aim of using these developments to enhance and regenerate these sites, rather than taking land away at the expense of food production, biodiversity and enjoyment. This is an approach that's been used in Vancouver, where a controversial waste water treatment site project brought the community on board through a process of integrative design. The result was the complete support from the community and a really positive outcome. I believe that integrative design where all aspects are considered is absolutely pivotal in achieving such ambitious things in the city. This is just one example that shows that when you concentrate on taking previously damaged sites, you can create resilient and fabulous places that can provide places of refuge in difficult climate change times. A great example of what we should be doing.

My second idea is based on the seventh imperative, net zero energy. I think that all developments need to be net zero energy, which will be achieved by being super energy efficient with all energy that is required supplied by on- or near-site renewable energy. If you think this can't be done, look at the many examples of buildings around the world achieving this in tougher and less resource-rich climates than ours. This creates buildings that are not only naturally more comfortable in these difficult climates, but which draw much less on energy systems. They can also form part of a smart local grid, providing resilience and keeping cities functioning when times are tough.

I believe these ideas, based on the framework of the LBC, can help achieve a better future for Melbourne.

People Power for a Renewable Energy Future

Kirsty Albion

Our mission at the Australian Youth Climate Coalition (AYCC), where I am a National Director, is to build a generation-wide movement to stop the climate crisis before it's too late. We see this as the biggest threat facing young people today, as we will inherit the decisions made today on climate change. We have only a few years to turn this around. The AYCC has young people all over the country working to move Australia beyond coal and gas to 100% renewable energy, having grown in the past few years from a handful of students to over 120,000 young people.

I want to focus, not on how to design the city to respond to a hot climate, but on how to avoid that happening altogether. Last summer, we broke 156 records for extreme heat, weather and rainfall. This occurred with just one degree of warming; if we don't turn climate change around in the next decade, we could face up to six degrees of warming over my lifetime. The impacts of this would be staggering. 40% of species globally would face extinction. Billions of people would have inadequate access to food and water. Australia would face more extreme weather events such as heatwaves, flooding, droughts and bushfires. Melbourne would face huge impacts on health, public transport, food security and so on.

I think it's important, not to spread doom and gloom, but to focus on the solutions; the good news is that we have them already! Australia is one of the sunniest and windiest countries on Earth. We have huge potential to transition our economy to renewable energy and have everything we need to do so within the next ten years. This transition has already begun, not just in Australia but overseas as well. Last year saw more investment in renewable energy than in fossil fuels. Over a million Australians have put solar panels on their roofs. This transition also brings with it huge potential for new jobs.

However, the energy for our big cities in Australia is coming from large coal-fired power stations located well away from these cities. When we think about the design of our cities and their transition to renewable energy, I really believe we also have a responsibility to support regional coal and gas towns in this transition, especially when it comes to jobs. Port Augusta, a town about 300 kilometres north of Adelaide has been a kind of blueprint for this process. It has two of the oldest coal-fired power stations in the country, located only a kilometre from the town centre. As a result, people have their houses frequently covered in coal dust, and face health issues such as increased risk of cancer and respiratory diseases. These power stations are in the process of shutting down; one is entirely shut down and the other only operates six months a year. As a result, there is huge job stress and a 40% unemployment rate.

The AYCC got involved with this town because we believed it had the potential to be the home of one of Australia's first solar thermal plants, and that this could bring more than a thousand new jobs to the community. We started talking to local residents and supported the community to hold a vote between gas and solar power for the town's future. More people voted in this process than in the local council election with a 99% vote for solar over gas. The problem was that building a solar thermal plant requires significant federal and state government support, and both state and federal energy ministers loved gas and coal, and weren't interested in this. So we wanted to make this an issue that the politicians would care about.

We put out the call to young people across the country and got a hundred people to walk 328 kilometres from Port Augusta to Adelaide. We started with a rally in Port Augusta, were sent off by the community there and walked over two weeks to Adelaide where we were met by a rally of thousands. The result was massive media coverage; more importantly, the state energy minister came out to see what we were up to. Ultimately, the past twelve months has seen the government, as well as other parties, completely change their stance on this issue. We also flew a couple of the local coal workers and nurses from Port Augusta to Canberra to meet with the federal ministers. In the end, thanks to this campaign, the community received three million dollars for a feasibility study into solar thermal energy in Port Augusta.

*"People need local projects they can invest in, on their streets, for visible improvements as positive, symbolic motivation." –
Comment on Twitter*

It's not all positive, however. Although we have huge potential for renewable energy, we are a massive part of the climate change problem, being one of the biggest polluters per capita in the developed world, and one of the biggest exporters of coal and gas, with plans to triple these over the next few years. There are currently plans for such expansion 600 kilometres west of the Great Barrier Reef, where a huge amount of coal - enough to produce the pollution of Canada each year - is to be dug up, transported to near the Reef and shipped out of half a dozen new coal ports.

The AYCC thought this was ridiculous and ran a campaign to try to stop this happening. We heard that Lend Lease, a company that prides itself on sustainable building, proposed to build one of the biggest of these ports, completely at odds with their apparent values. We lobbied them to change their mind by coming to their Annual General Meeting dressed like fish, driving a big truck with a video message around the block, and asking staff working there to raise this issue with their bosses. Within a couple of months, the majority of staff we spoke to said they had heard about our campaign and had spoken with their bosses; the result was that Lend Lease announced they were

not going ahead with the project. Other major companies, Anglo-American, HSBC and Deutsche Bank have since followed suit.

While we're having a lot of progress on the issue, there are still big companies looking for investment for such projects from the big four Australian banks. What we need to do in Melbourne is call on these banks not to invest in coal export expansion and similar projects. It makes no sense that these brands, which try to project an image of sustainability, are trying to do things that would not only damage environments such as the Great Barrier Reef but also threaten the future of young people and the environment across Australia.

Green Strategies for a Sustainable Melbourne

Professor Rob Adams

The solution to climate change - one of the biggest problems facing us today - is in the cities. As we move from three billion people globally living in cities to seven billion, it is clear the cities contain most of the wealth and economy, but also the majority of greenhouse gas emissions. I believe we don't talk enough about this; certainly, the federal government has shown no intention of solving this problem. So we need to go about transforming the city ourselves.

We can start by looking at the simple solutions. For example, planting trees is one of the easiest ways to cool the city and address other environmental problems. Since 1993, the number of trees in Melbourne's CBD has skyrocketed and the City is currently planting 3000 trees per annum as part of its Urban Forest Strategy. Another solution is taking away the asphalt and turning it into footpaths and parks that can cool the city down. Recently, in North Melbourne, a 500 square metre traffic island was turned into a 5000 square metre park. The City has removed over thirty five hectares of asphalt and other redundant infrastructure over the last thirty years and turned it into places for people. Other cities have done this as well; Seoul took down a freeway and created a river to green its city and bring people back to that space. Melbourne has some magnificent parks, which have fourteen million visitors annually and are valued at \$21 billion; they're worth looking after. Another idea is to expand them. In 1986, we at Melbourne City Council looked at how to link up the parks to the east of the CBD to create one of the biggest parks in an Australian city. The result was Birrarung Marr: an eight hectare events park.

In about 2000, we realised that these small things alone weren't going to be enough, and looked at setting more ambitious targets. We looked at reducing water use and greenhouse gas emissions, looking at how this could be achieved through direct action. We put solar panels on the north-facing roofs of Queen Victoria Market, which made a huge impact. We also constructed low energy buildings such as the libraries in East Melbourne and Docklands. At the Venny adventure playground in Kensington's JJ Holland Park - recently defunded by the federal government - children can actually see green roofs, work with sustainable agriculture and experience what a sustainable future might be like.

*“We need more trees,
fewer concrete surfaces,
and more permeable
surfaces.” – Comment
made at seminar*

Another well-known example is Council House 2, which was an experiment in designing a building for the climate of Melbourne that looks at the outside temperature and how the cooling at night can be captured during the summer to naturally cool the building. Existing buildings can also be retrofitted to improve their environmental performance; the *1200 Buildings Program* provides financing for this purpose.

The climate issue became more crucial in 2009, where even more people died from heat stress than in the tragic Black Saturday bushfires. We can see in the statistics that we have less water, that our city is heating up and it's only going to get hotter. So we've put in place strategies to put an urban forest in the city and look at how to improve open space. Over the past four years, we've invested \$40 million in improving the environment of the inner city and cooling it through good landscaping. Sadly, we're about to lose a lot of these trees through old age and climate change. So we've set targets for countering this, such as moving from 22% canopy cover in the CBD to 40% by 2040. We've made our Urban Forest project accessible online, so people can find an individual tree and see its species, age and health, and thus engage with the community on this issue.

Temperature isn't the only issue, as water is very important. It's better to have stormwater running across the surface and purified by trees than piping it into the bay, as the trees can act as sinks to hold the moisture. We're doing a lot of water projects, running water into tree plots or through permeable asphalt. An example of this is in Collins Street, where we are retrofitting the pavement so that the city can be a sponge. While we can build storage tanks the best way to hold water is in the soil, we have five large tanks, such as in the Carlton Gardens and Fitzroy Gardens, which can provide up to 80% of those parks' water needs. We're doing this also in places like Darling Street in East Melbourne, where a rain garden in the middle of the street purifies the water and puts it back into the gardens. The biggest such project is the Royal Park Wetlands. With this and the tanks we now collect 25% of our park's water needs. This also has the benefit of saving the City over \$600,000 a year in water charges.

More broadly, we need to look at where we will accommodate future population growth in an environmentally sustainable way. Our research shows that, as Melbourne grows from four million to eight million people, you can put that increase onto just 7.5% of the city's land. You can locate a million more people in and around railway stations, and another 2.4 million along the bus and tram corridors where we already have infrastructure, much of which is underutilised, and would benefit from increased populations. This is already occurring. Developers have figured out that this is the right approach and there are some very good buildings being constructed. For example, in Brunswick Street in Fitzroy, where there was previously a carpark, there is now affordable housing with a

supermarket, childcare and community facilities. It's also improved the local streetscape. The remainder of the population growth can be accommodated in known redevelopment sites like Docklands, which are new areas of our central city that are slowly growing into good pieces of city.

The result is that we don't have to touch the suburbs, which can become the urban forest I've been talking about. We can have the best of both worlds here, something I consider to be very doable and not very difficult. But, importantly, we have to set some targets. One of the weaknesses with *Plan Melbourne*, the new metropolitan planning strategy, is that it doesn't specify how many people each municipality should absorb. If it did so, I would be confident the community would place the population growth in the right places, and both preserve the suburbs and get development in the right places. So what we have to do is adopt strategies, such as I've discussed - urban forest, open space, zero net emissions, *1200 Buildings* - and set targets. We are good at hitting targets here in Melbourne, so we need to do so and, as a community, achieve a more sustainable future for the city.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSPORT



Building Confidence in the Future of Melbourne's Public Transport Systems

Dr John Stone and Dr Jan Scheurer

Key points

- Many Melbournians want to drive less, but generations of planners have argued that there is no alternative to the car and have delivered more roads, and therefore, more traffic. Despite this, public transport use is growing and, with new approaches, there is no reason that this growth should stop.
- International experience shows that the key to effective and efficient public transport is to organise services into networks. By linking trains, buses, and trams effectively and by making transfers easy, paths to many more origins and destinations can be connected.
- Building networks needs new approaches by transport planning professionals, and this change is already beginning in Melbourne.

Introduction

In Melbourne, with our population growing towards five million and beyond, strong public transport networks, built around high-capacity suburban rail lines and effective bus connections, are the essential core of a transport system that will meet our social and economic needs. The evidence from around the world shows that the cities that build their transport systems around public transport find that transport costs are less of a drain on the regional economy than those that put the car at the centre of their transport plans (Kenworthy & Laube, 2001). This is in part because of the huge public cost of building and maintaining roads, combined with the private costs of owning and running the family fleet of cars. It is also because of the high cost of the social isolation endured by the young, the old, and the increasing number of people who are cut off from jobs, hospitals, and social networks. Public transport, along with cycling and walking, is part of the solution to transport's contribution to the climate emergency, the reality of which we are experiencing with increasing frequency.

There are signs that growing congestion is eroding the apparent convenience of the car and creating a mood for change. The University of Sydney's regular Transport Opinion Survey showed that, in February 2014, 45% of Victorians regarded public transport improvements as the highest priority transport issue, with road improvement the highest priority for less than 20% of the population (Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies, 2014). There is a striking difference between recent poll support of only 28% for the East West Link project (Campbell, 2014) and the majority support for

construction of City Link in the 1990s. The vote for promises of better public transport in the marginal seats along the Frankston train line at the 2010 State election is further indication of this new public disposition. Sadly, senior Government and Opposition politicians in Victoria are lagging behind: they pay lip service to the mood for change while, overtly or covertly, pursuing the construction of insanely expensive road projects.

Since the 1960s, planners have assumed that the vast majority of passenger and freight movement around the Melbourne urban region will be by car and truck, and we have built the roads to try to make this possible. We have also allowed the political influence of developers to weaken land-use controls so that the city no longer has an effective residential growth boundary and, perhaps even more significantly, the locations of suburban commercial and service destinations are now widely scattered.

Growth in road freight is a major cause of urban congestion. This is the explicit result of official plans that have co-opted the language of 'integrated transport and land-use'. 'Integration' in the plans of the 1980s and 1990s did not mean schools close to railway stations. Instead, it meant the encouragement of road-based logistics and industrial development around the circumferential freeway and arterial road network (Department of Infrastructure, 1996: 12). At the same time, these new roads were sold to the public at successive elections as the ultimate cure for congestion.

Plan Melbourne (Victorian State Government, 2014) takes us further along this path. It uses the latest progressive urban planning buzzwords such as the '20-minute city', while committing us to more trucks and more suburban sprawl.

We do not have space here for a full analysis of the alternatives to *Plan Melbourne*. However, we can provide some directions for changes, both politically and in practical assessment techniques, that are needed to rebuild confidence in transport planning in Melbourne. Such change is necessary to set us on the path to significant growth in the use of public transport, and, in turn, to better returns for the economy, the environment, and our social well-being than building more and more expensive roads.

Putting the User at the Centre: Planning for New Public Transport Networks

The first step to a sustainable transport solution for Melbourne is to understand that we can provide effective and efficient alternatives to the car without rebuilding the city at higher residential densities. For an articulate and well-researched argument for this, every aspiring activist or planner should read Paul Mees' *Transport for Suburbia* (2010b). This analysis is supported by work by Ewing and Cervero (2010) who show that, rather than residential density, the major land-use requirement for greater public transport use is the concentration of commercial and social destinations around transport nodes. This is an aspiration of *Plan Melbourne*, and one supported by other authors in this

volume. It is also one that, to succeed, will need stronger land-use regulations to curtail the desire of developers to build more and more apartments near stations.

Next, if public transport is to become a realistic alternative for people in the middle and outer suburbs, we will need reliable, fast, and frequent services linking destinations in circumferential, as well as radial, directions. As many previous analyses have shown, the obstacles are largely political and institutional (Davison, 2004; Low & Astle, 2009; Stone, 2009). Change will require the emergence of political entrepreneurs who can harness the public mood for change. However, the big shift will need to come from within the agencies that plan and deliver our transport systems. We will need to throw off the deeply embedded assumptions that public transport is only for the inner city and for commuter journeys to jobs in the Central Business District.

Public transport performance in Europe and Canada demonstrates that it is possible to approach the ideal of 'go anywhere, anytime' public transport at a cost that is acceptable to politicians and the wider public (Stone, Mees & Imran, 2012).

Transport planners have several measures of the efficiency of a public transport system; one of the most important is trips per service-km: a measure of relationship between use and supply of public transport (the latter expressed as the number of operating public transport vehicles multiplied by the distance they travel). One might expect that there would be a direct relationship between patronage and the level of service supply. In fact, this is not the case. To take just one example, in the post-war urban region of Munich (which covers an area twice the size of metropolitan area of Melbourne), the 'supply' of public transport per head of population is almost identical to that of greater Melbourne. Remarkably, in greater Munich, each resident makes, on average, twice as many trips by public transport than in Melbourne, and the cost to the taxpayer for each of these journeys is less (Stone, 2011).

This same pattern is seen in almost every city where public transport offers a realistic alternative to the car. The key to understanding how some cities can get such good returns from their investment in public transport is the 'network'. The quality of a network depends on the planners' skills in using available budgets to create fast and frequent connections between bus, tram, and train lines to link the largest number of possible origins and destinations within a travel time that competes well with the car (Dodson, Mees, Stone & Burke, 2011).

In Melbourne, this will mean making better use of the existing arterial road network, with on-road priority for buses. It will also mean re-organising existing bus routes into more logical and better-connected lines. Some change in this direction is anticipated following the re-tendering of around 30% of metropolitan bus services to the international operator Transdev. However, this is a central part of public transport reform, which will need greater political attention in future.

An effective and efficient public transport network will mean that passengers will need to transfer between services. Therefore, a key planning objective must be the removal of obstacles to easy movement between bus, train and tram. Such a change will challenge many of our current practices. For example, the current operational focus on revenue protection, which leads to suburban stations typically having only a single entrance, is just one policy that works against easy transfers. Compare this to the approach to ticketing in German-speaking Europe, where, through heavily discounted monthly and annual tickets and the deployment of many low-cost validating machines, station platforms in suburban and central locations can be completely open. Passengers can easily reach connecting buses or and walk into surrounding streets and open space, and, with appropriate deployment of ticket inspectors, revenue losses are of the same order as in Melbourne.

Tools for Transport Decision-Making

Decisions about how and where to invest to build strong networks into the suburbs will require new planning tools. This is because the task of building public transport networks is quite different to planning freeways, but it is also because the credibility of the formal processes for assessment of the economic benefits of major transport projects in Australian cities is in tatters after a decade of scandal and political manipulation.

In Sydney and Brisbane, modelling used to justify private financing of in inner-city road tunnels exaggerated traffic volumes to levels beyond the physical capacity of local road networks, and the consequent litigation by aggrieved investors is working through the courts (Samuel, 2012). In Melbourne, the Napthine Government's refusal to release the detailed business case for the East-West Link tunnel, almost certainly because it would fail any reasonable test of its integrity, is a significant factor behind community opposition to the project.

Future planning processes will need to be able to compare, for example, the relative impacts of putting greater effort into improving accessibility for lower-income outer urban residents by improving bus networks compared with major rail infrastructure. While it is beyond the scope of this essay to provide a full analysis of transport project assessment, we can introduce a new technique developed specifically to analyse the relative impacts of different public transport supply scenarios on the opportunities for making trips by public transport. In short, this model, known as the Spatial Network Analysis for Multimodal Urban Transport Systems (SNAMUTS), can evaluate the changes made to the strength of the public transport network from any a proposed service alteration.

The following case study of the use of SNAMUTS offers no conclusion about the merits of rail construction in the Doncaster corridor when compared with other uses of the same investment, but

it illustrates one approach that can be used as part of a wider effort to re-build confidence in transport planning in Melbourne.

Case Study: Assessing Accessibility Changes from New Public Transport in the Doncaster Corridor

A radial rail line to Doncaster was first proposed in 1969, but, while the associated freeway now runs to Ringwood and beyond, the train has never arrived. To honour an election promise, Victoria's current state government commissioned a feasibility study in 2011. However, there was suspicion that the study would exclude a vital component of the rail line's potential viability, namely its integration into a multi-directional and multi-modal public transport network consisting of bus and tram extensions and reconfigurations to maximise public transport connectivity and performance.

In this section, we will discuss the results of a project undertaken by local governments in and around the Doncaster corridor to use the SNAMUTS accessibility-modelling tool to test the potential impact of such a scenario. This exercise could be repeated for any public transport improvement project.

SNAMUTS employs multiple indicators to capture different aspects of spatial accessibility and transport system performance. You can find all the details of its inner workings in Curtis and Scheurer (2010); Curtis and Scheurer (forthcoming); and at www.snamuts.com.

Here, we illustrate its value through the comparison of results obtained for two SNAMUTS indicators in the Doncaster analysis.

First, the 'efficiency change' index quantifies changes in the ease of movement by public transport following hypothetical alterations to network structure and service level. Ease of movement is understood in terms of travel impediment, which includes travel time and service frequency during the weekday inter-peak period. The results are represented for the network as a whole, the Doncaster corridor specifically, as well as individually for each activity centre within its catchment.

Second, the 'network resilience' index traces the spatial distribution of travel opportunities derived from the public transport network layout and service levels, and from residential and employment catchments. It quantifies these concentrations or 'channels' of public transport movement and expresses them in relation to the actual carrying capacity of the public transport service, pinpointing mismatches between supply and potential demand and localised occurrences of pressure.

Two control scenarios form the basis of the analysis. The first scenario consists of Melbourne's status quo public transport network and service levels in 2012 but utilises a population and

employment projection for 2031, until when metropolitan Melbourne is expected to grow by some 35%. This scenario can be understood as a 'Do-Nothing' case: where can we expect pressure to mount if the public transport network remains frozen in its current state for twenty years? The network resilience map is presented in Figure 7.

The second scenario is a 'Build-No-Infrastructure' scenario: it leaves the 2012 network structure unchanged but increases the daytime service frequency on the surrounding rail corridors (to South Morang, Eltham/Hurstbridge and Ringwood), usually to ten minutes or even better compared to fifteen or twenty minutes today. This target has been flagged by the rail operator as well as by Public Transport Victoria (2013).

What improvement in accessibility can be achieved by such 'soft' measures alone, and how does this redistribute or modify network pressures?

The SNAMUTS efficiency change index demonstrates a corridor-wide improvement in ease-of-movement in the order of 10%, with local results for the nodes along the rail corridors with increased service frequencies generally exceeding 20% (Figure 8). The frequency boost measures have a predictable beneficial effect on network resilience along these rail lines, but only a small one – and in some cases a negative one – on bus lines that already experience some of the highest stress levels on the network. These include the express bus routes from Doncaster to central Melbourne, which the proposed rail line is seeking to replace (Figure 9).

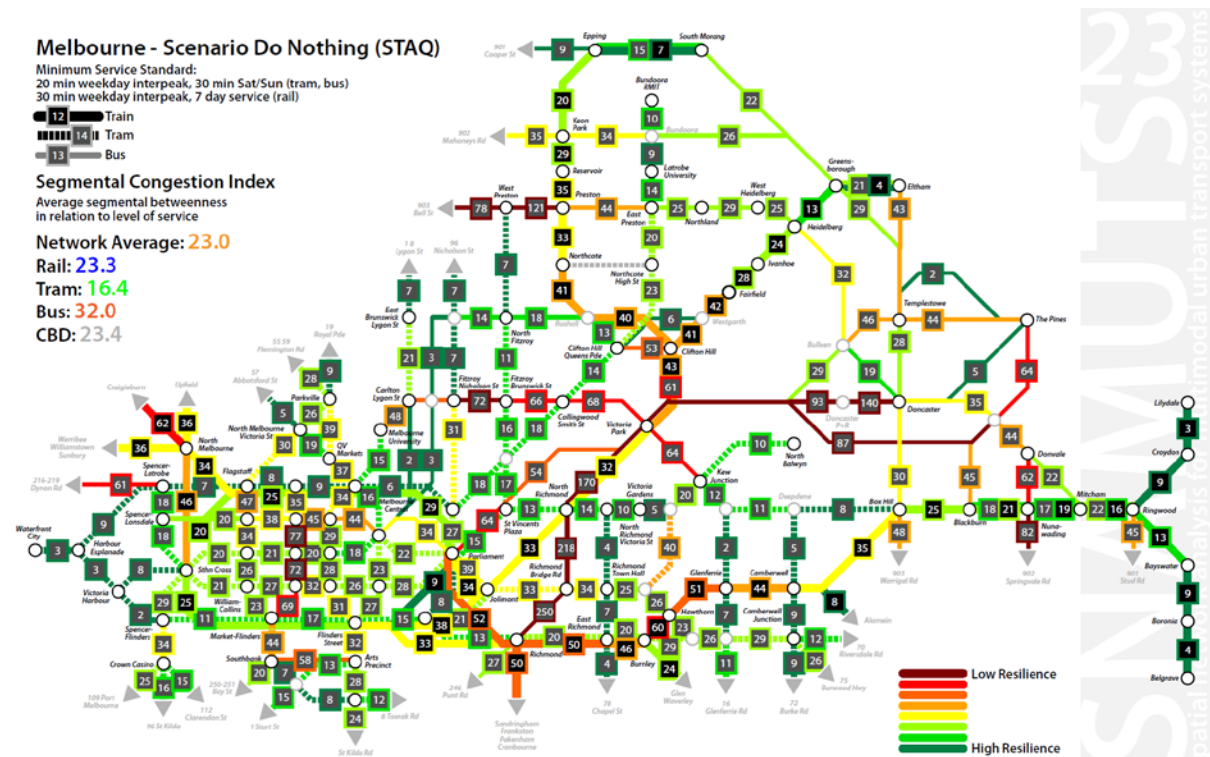


Figure 7: Network resilience map for the Status Quo (2012) public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with urban growth projection scenarios for 2031 (Do-Nothing scenario)

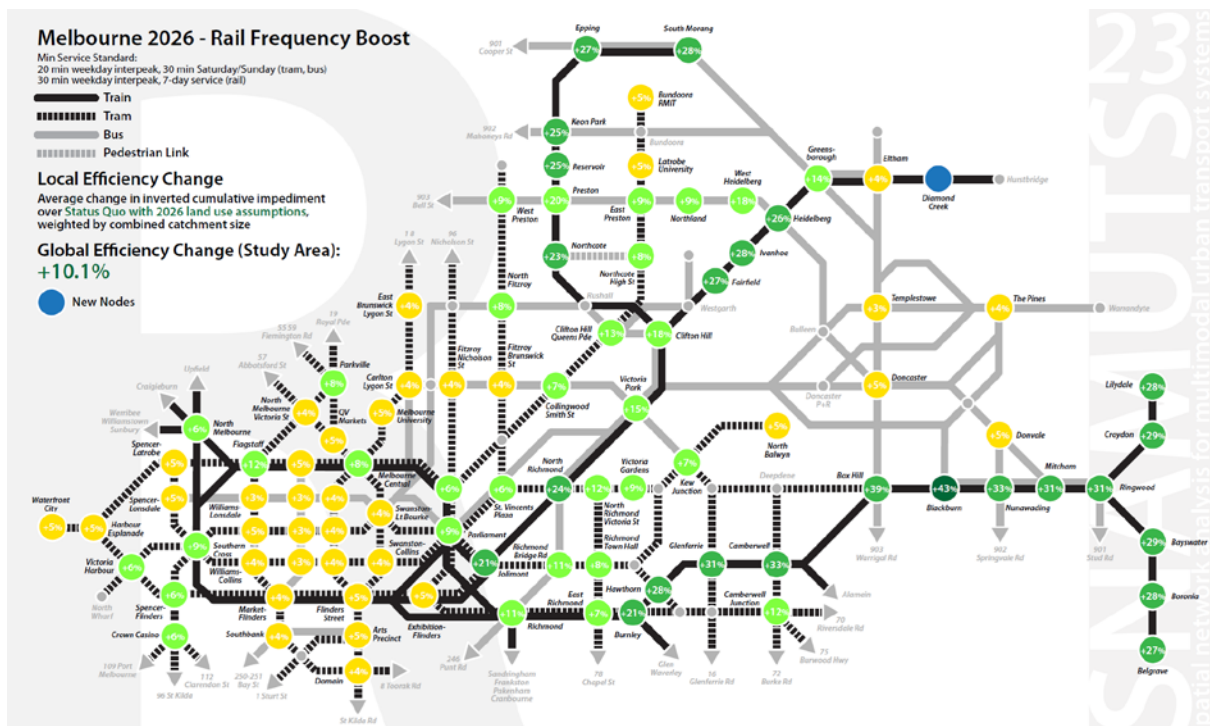


Figure 8: Public transport efficiency change in the Doncaster corridor as a result of frequency improvements along existing rail lines in the vicinity

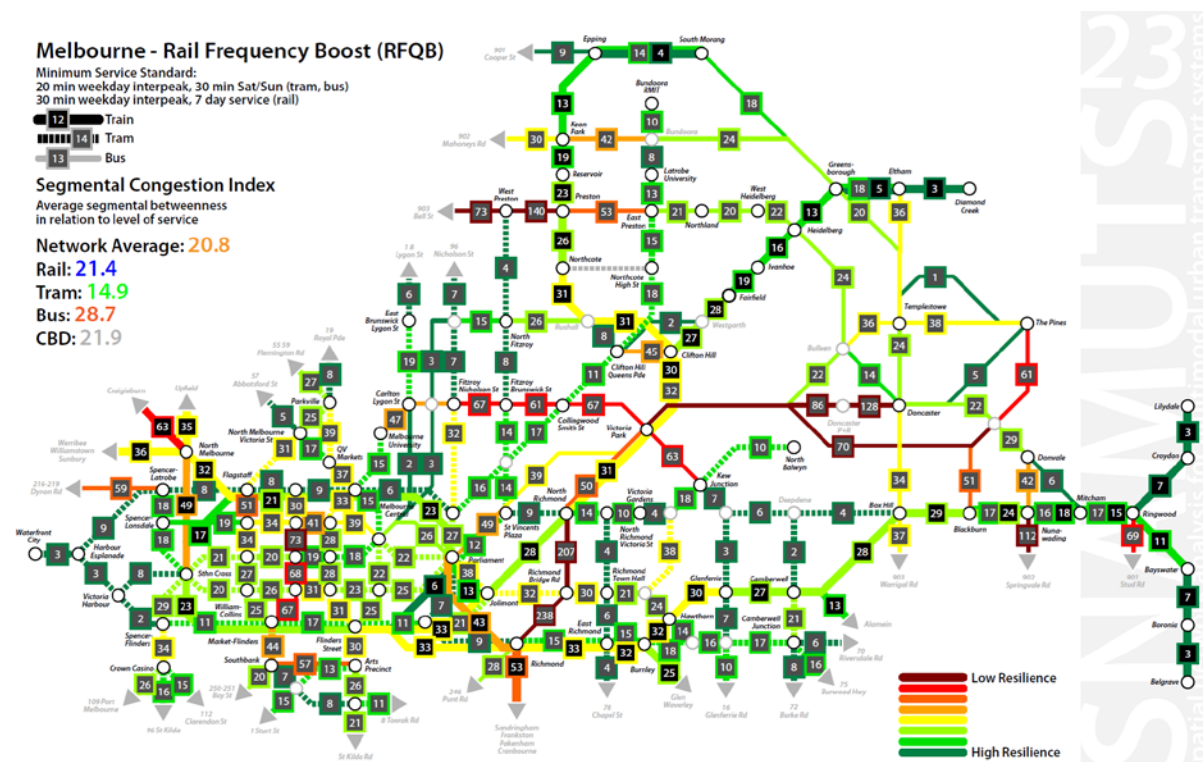


Figure 9: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements along existing rail lines (Build-No-Infrastructure scenario)

In a further step, the analysis included the Doncaster rail branch as it appears in the state government recommendation, without accompanying measures in the surface public transport network apart from the truncation of the current express bus routes and their conversion into rail feeder services (Doncaster Rail Study, 2013). The efficiency change map shows that the ease-of-movement improvement of this measure is miniscule at 0.2% and only discernible at the three new rail stations in Bulleen, West Doncaster, and Doncaster, as well as the stations along the existing rail trunk line where Doncaster trains will increase the combined service frequency by 50% (North Richmond and Jolimont). Critically, no significant efficiency improvements are proposed for the feeder bus nodes north and east of Doncaster (Templestowe, The Pines, and Donvale), where the travel time and reliability improvements achieved by the rail line are partially neutralised by the loss of the current transfer-free connections into the CBD by express bus (Figure 10). Conversely, the rail corridor eliminates the disturbingly poor resilience figures of the express bus system, suggesting a substantial potential for rail to pick up additional patronage for public transport in this corridor (Figure 11).

The critical policy implication of this finding is that a rail line built in isolation, without integration into an improved corridor-wide multimodal network, fails to build a case for its implementation if accessibility gains are the principal object, and requires a leap of faith if it is predominantly justified on capacity grounds. This is because the poor resilience figures on the current express bus system

are not necessarily a reflection of overcrowding, but rather of a low public transport mode share in relation to comparable rail corridors elsewhere in the city. Morton (2014), in reviewing 2011 census data, notes that only 12% of residents in the City of Manningham, where the proposed Doncaster rail terminus is located, commuted to work on public transport, compared to 20% in Whitehorse, a neighbouring municipality with a strong existing rail spine. In technical terms, we could speak of 'latent demand' in Manningham. For decision makers, it remains a serious consideration whether the isolated rail project has the ability to mobilise such demand, or, whether there are other transport projects elsewhere in Melbourne whose potential to mobilise latent demand may be no worse, and in some cases vastly superior, to that of the Doncaster line.

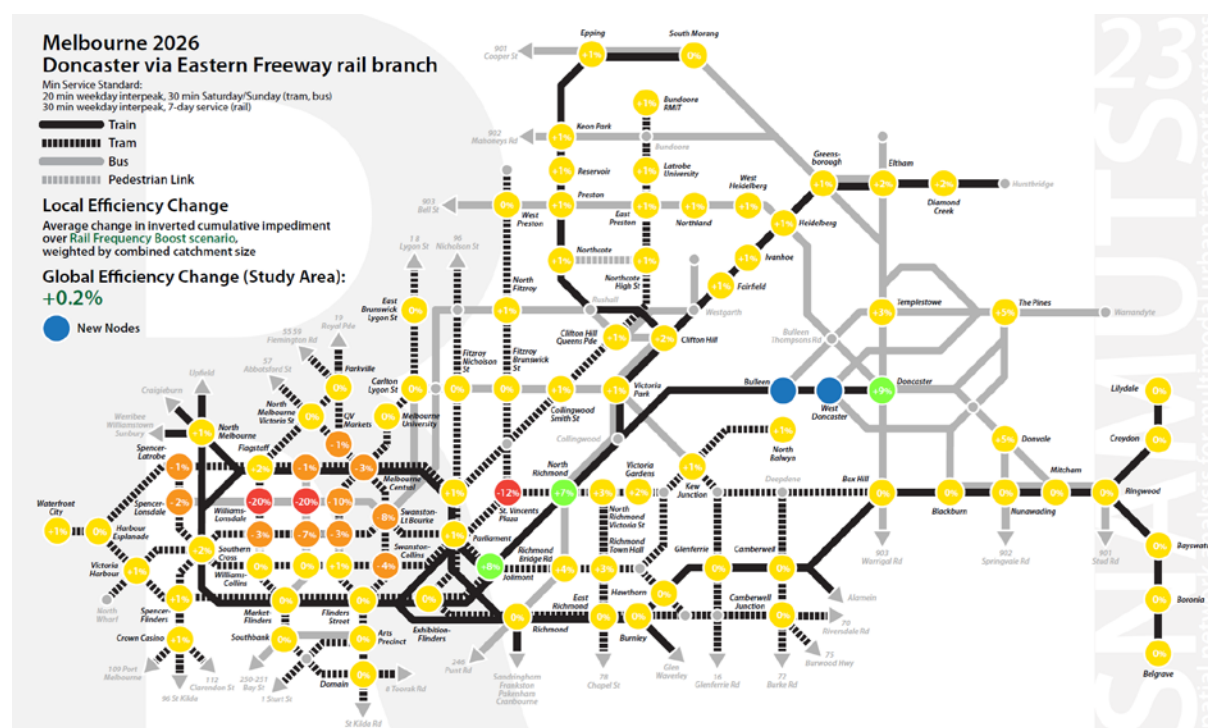


Figure 10: Public transport efficiency changes in the Doncaster corridor from the isolated insertion of a Doncaster rail branch compared to the existing network with improved rail frequencies

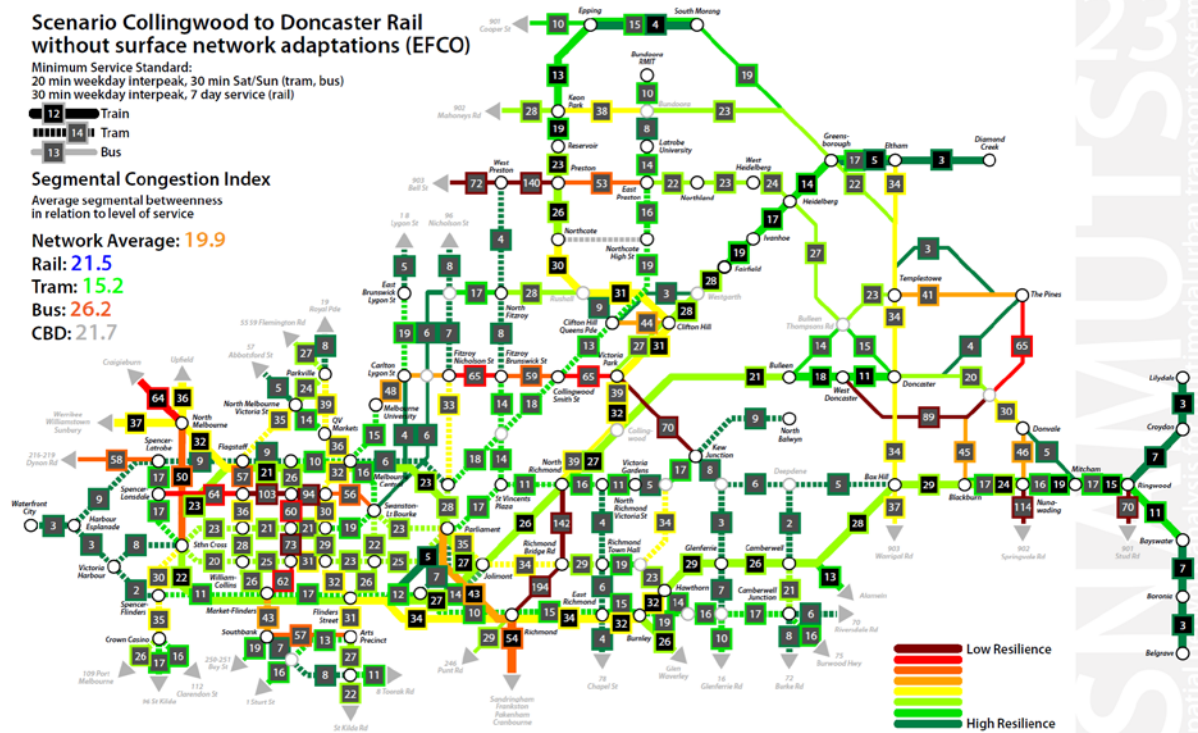
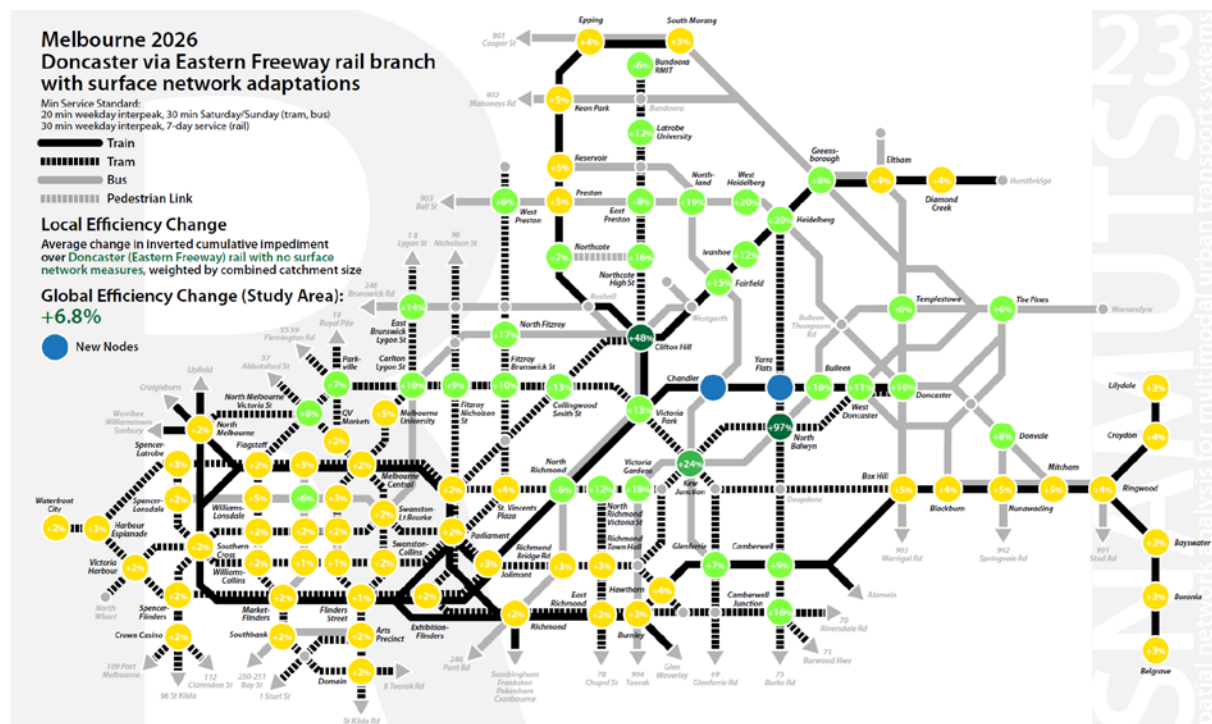


Figure 11: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements on existing rail lines and an isolated Doncaster rail branch

To address this, the final scenario examines the effects of a range of adaptations to surface routes to connect with the new rail line and form a fine-grained and multi-directional public transport network along the corridor. For this purpose, a further two rail stations are added in the freeway median at Chandler and Yarra Flats to accommodate interchanges to buses and trams, respectively. The junction with the existing Clifton Hill rail line is shifted from Collingwood to Victoria Park to enable the establishment of a rail-tram-bus interchange in this location. Two orbital tram lines and one radial extension, and the introduction of two new orbital bus lines, create intersections with the rail branch. A consolidation also takes place at Clifton Hill on the existing South Morang/Hurstbridge rail lines, where rail, trams and buses converge at a common interchange.

The results of these measures become obvious in the efficiency change map, which in comparison to rail-only scenario shows an ease-of-movement improvement across the corridor of nearly 7%, distributed widely beyond the immediate Doncaster rail catchment across a large triangle between Parkville, Greensborough, and Camberwell (Figure 12). Remarkably, the greatest beneficiaries on this index can be found away from the rail line in the neighbouring suburbs of North Balwyn and Clifton Hill. Here, connectivity improvements have a vast multiplier effect on movement opportunities. Network resilience improves further over the previous scenario, and disproportionately so in the central area as well as across the bus system. The network integration measures around the

In this context, the ‘resilience’ of some of the suggested tram extensions points to the need for such orbital connections as well as for the higher passenger capacity that trams can provide over buses (Figure 13). In much of inner and middle suburban Melbourne, the public transport network is currently deficient in multi-directionality and thus curbs the ability of passengers to travel along geographical desire lines and to complete their journeys in time frames that are remotely competitive with the car, or even the bicycle. A more complete, lattice or spider web-shaped network in inner Melbourne would go a long way to emulate the density and typology of the most successful public transport systems in Europe, and contribute to a significant mobilisation of latent demand for patronage in its own right.



97

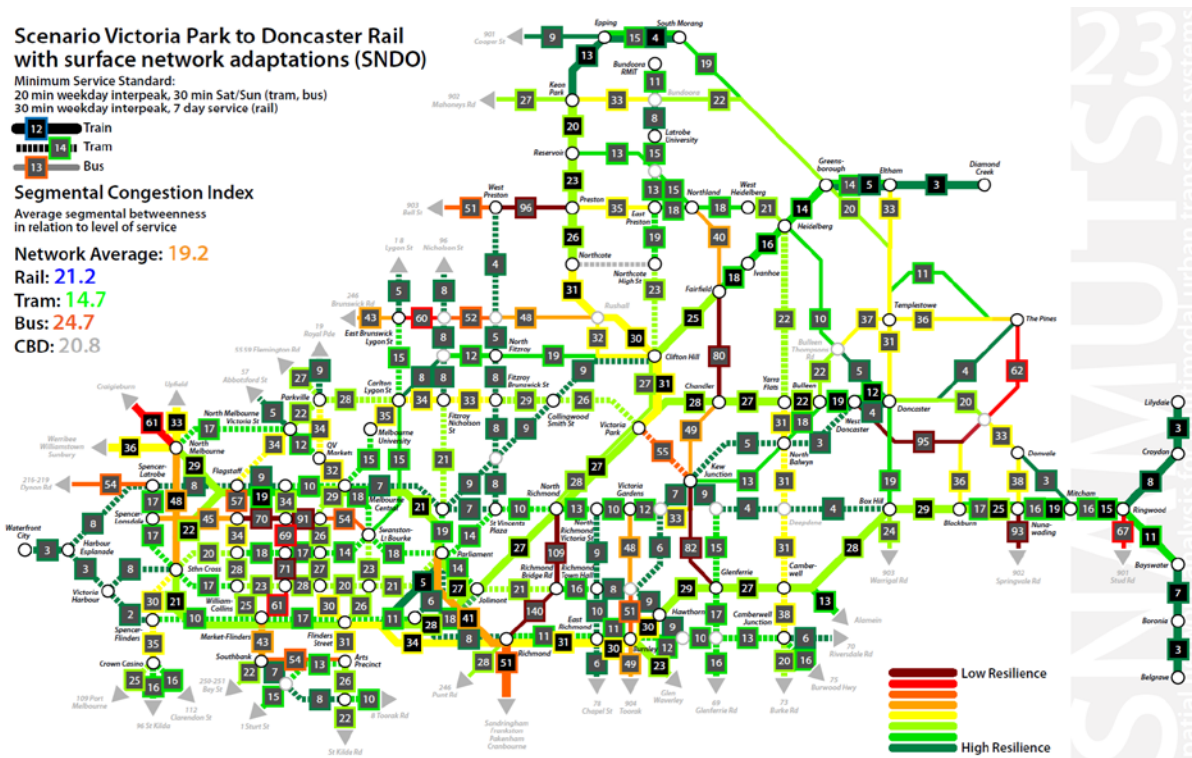


Figure 13: Network resilience map for the public transport network in the Doncaster corridor with frequency improvements along existing rail lines, a Doncaster rail branch and surface network adaptations

On the Path to Change?

The Doncaster scenarios underscore the need to make decisions about public transport investment in the context of network thinking. To build Melbourne's public transport system for the 21st century, we must move beyond incremental service improvements or the isolated insertion of additional infrastructure. We will need to transform public transport planning to create 'user-oriented' networks. And, we must put public transport, not road construction, at the centre of 'city-shaping' development agendas.

The transition to a user-oriented approach requires considerable effort to overcome the intrinsic resistance to change in the operation of something as complex as a large urban public transport system. However, there appear to be common elements in the ways in which good service planning, marketing, and governance are conceptualised and practiced. Policy-makers in 'successful' regions exhibit a sophisticated awareness of the complex processes through which improvements to public transport can be achieved. These include building political support, securing long-term funding, finding practical mechanisms to integrate land-use and transport planning, and assigning institutional responsibility for measures to give priority to public transport.

In Melbourne, the new structure of Public Transport Victoria has allowed some positive change towards network thinking. However, it emerged after the hasty adoption of a Greens policy initiative

by the Coalition before the 2010 election and it has little of the real independence and political support that it requires to lead effective change.

In the past, public transport planning processes have been driven by a combination of political expediency and a focus on major infrastructure rather than the creation of effective networks for the middle and outer suburbs. The resulting inefficient use of public investment has sapped the confidence of politicians and the community.

The creation of new user-oriented service patterns was not central to the planning of the soon-to-open Regional Rail Link to Geelong. It emerged, almost from nowhere, in Rod Eddington's review of potential solutions east-west traffic congestion (2008). Hastily proposed as a solution to competition between regional and suburban trains in the Werribee corridor after operators were surprised by a steep rise in patronage after 2005 (Stone, 2010), it was never publicly evaluated against other options (Mees, 2010a). It won federal funding after a rare conjunction of political events following the GFC, but it is unlikely to reap as many benefits as would be hoped given its \$5 billion price tag. Developers' desire to capitalise on its green-field route provided a catalyst for the collapse of the urban growth boundary in 2008, and retrofits are almost certain to be required to allow the new line to carry suburban traffic between the major growth centres of Werribee and Sunshine.

The potential to create a clear and popular agenda for public transport investment has been further muddled by the saga of what is now called the 'Melbourne Rail Link'. After almost a decade of planning for a rail tunnel through Parkville and under Swanston Street, the State Government, in its May 2014 budget, promised to build a rail line to Tullamarine and connect this to a central tunnel on a radical new alignment taking in Southern Cross and Fishermans Bend on its way to South Yarra. This would serve a completely different set of development interests to those with land along the original route. The budget papers predict a start to construction before the 2018 election. However, the complexity of tunnelling in the Coode Island silt, and the many unresolved issues relating to its connections with the existing network, make this timetable patently unrealistic. Again, public transport would be pushed behind the major road construction projects favoured by the government and the construction industry.

In any case, the now-superseded PTV Rail Network Plan was always compromised by the insistence that long-promised suburban rail extensions to Doncaster and the Airport must wait until after the completion of the central rail tunnel. This insistence was part of the pitch for Commonwealth funding: an option currently off the table as long as the Abbott Government continues to ignore the economic and social imperatives for the renewal of urban public transport. A careful reading of the feasibility studies for Doncaster and Rowville and Airport Rail shows that suburban signal upgrades and a serious maintenance program to remove the root causes of daily service delays are the keys to

increasing capacity in the medium term. Successfully implemented, such a program would create the political momentum that would make the funding of huge projects like the Melbourne Metro a much more realistic proposition.

The next big public transport investment will need to be more than just a piece of headline-grabbing infrastructure. It will need to be a total package that builds the platform for the transformation of the operation of the whole network from the old industrial model into a 21st century 'user-oriented' service. It will also need to deliver a quantum shift in public transport accessibility in the middle and outer suburbs beyond the current rail system. This focus on the middle suburbs is vital because, as many other contributors have argued, it is here that an equitable and sustainable future for Melbourne must be created.

After generations of decline and failed promises, successful pursuit of these new directions will require not just new and transparent assessment processes, but also professionals and politicians willing to work with the community to re-build public confidence in public transport.

References

- Campbell, J. (2014, August 18). Herald Sun/Galaxy poll shows ALP would defeat the Coalition at the next election, just 100 days away. *Herald Sun*.
- Curtis, C. & Scheurer, J. (2010). Planning for sustainable accessibility: Developing tools to aid decision-making and discussion. *Progress in Planning*, 74(2), 53-106.
- Curtis, C. & Scheurer, J. (forthcoming). *Planning for public transport accessibility*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Davison, G. (2044). *Car wars: How the car won our hearts and conquered our cities*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Dodson, J., Mees, P., Stone, J. & Burke, M. (2011). *The principles of public transport network planning: A review of the emerging literature with select examples*. Issues Paper 15. Brisbane: Griffith Urban Research Program.
- Department of Infrastructure. (1996). *Transporting Melbourne: A summary for public consultation*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government Department of Infrastructure.
- Doncaster Rail Study. (2013). *Phase one draft recommendations report*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.
- Eddington, R. (2008). *Investing in transport*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government Department of Transport.
- Ewing, R. & Cervero, R. (2010). Travel and the built environment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 76(3), 265-294.
- Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies. (2014). *Transport Opinion Survey, Quarter 1, March 2014*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Kenworthy, J. & Laube, F. (2001). *The millennium cities database for sustainable transport*. Brussels: UITP.
- Low, N. & Astle, R. (2009). Path dependence in urban transport: An institutional analysis of urban passenger transport in Melbourne, Australia, 1956-2006. *Transport Policy*, 16(2), 47-58.
- Mees, P. (2010a). Proceedings of the 33rd Australasian Transport Research Forum: *Planning for major rail projects: The Melbourne Metro and Regional Rail Link*. Canberra.
- Mees, P. (2010b). *Transport for suburbia: Beyond the automobile age*. London: Earthscan.
- Morton, A. (2014). Neat, plausible and wrong: Melbourne's East-West Link. *World Transport Policy and Practice*, 20(2), 15-32.
- Public Transport Victoria. (2013). *Network development plan – Metropolitan rail*. Melbourne: Public Transport Victoria.
- Samuel, P. (2012, June 1). Pie-in-sky traffic and revenue forecasts for Australian tunnel pike hit with class action suits. *TollRoadsNews*. Retrieved from: <http://tollroadsnews.com/news/pie-in-sky-traffic-and-revenue-forecasts-for-australian-tunnel-pike-hit-with-class-action-suits>.

- Stone, J. (2009). Contrasts in reform: How the Cain and Burke years shaped public transport in Melbourne and Perth. *Urban Policy and Research*, 27(4), 419-434.
- Stone, J. (2010). Proceedings of the 33rd Australasian Transport Research Forum: Turning over a new franchise: Assessing the health of public transport management in Melbourne. Canberra.
- Stone, J. (2011). Proceedings of the 5th State of Australian Cities Conference: Can successful European models of public transport governance help to save Australian cities? Melbourne.
- Stone, J., Mees, P. & Imran, M. (2012). Benchmarking the efficiency and effectiveness of public transport in New Zealand cities. *Urban Policy and Research*, 30(2), 207-224.

Public Transport: Accessible to All?

Janine Young

Picture this. You are catching the train and you are only able to board at the front carriage with help from the driver. It is pouring with rain, so you wait under the shelter on the platform, waiting for the train to arrive. As the train pulls into the station, you quickly move along the platform to get to the designated boarding point for people requiring boarding assistance. You're confident that you will get there by the time the driver deploys the ramp for you to board. It is the middle of the day, the platform is not crowded, and you know the driver will see you moving along the platform as the train pulls in past you. But before you reach the right spot, the train takes off, leaving you sitting in your motorised wheelchair in the rain.

You wait in the rain for the next train, and your experience isn't much better. You have to knock on the driver's window to get his attention, and he threatens not to take you unless you give him a piece of paper with your destination written on it. You finally get to Flinders Street Station and ask where you can register a complaint. You are pointed towards a flight of stairs. When you eventually manage to contact the train operator to complain about your treatment, you are told that what has occurred was in accordance with company policy. The first driver was not required to wait because you were not in the designated position when the train came to a stop.

This is what happened to John, a consumer who complained to the Public Transport Ombudsman's office - my office - in 2011. My office is an independent, industry-based ombudsman scheme, established in 2004 to receive, investigate and resolve complaints about Metro Trains, V/Line, Yarra Trams, Transdev and the other bus operators, as well as myki, Public Transport Victoria, VicTrack and Southern Cross Station. It has extensive experience in handling customer complaints and also plays a vital role in the identification and resolution of systemic issues facing the public transport industry.

Things have changed a bit since 2011. Staff training about accessibility and disability has increased, and the building of shelters on train platforms that would help prevent experiences such as John's has occurred. As a result of my office's investigation, John received a written apology from the train operator and from the second driver. As a result, John's confidence in using public transport was restored. John's complaint is a good illustration of how a service that may be technically compliant with disability standards can still throw up barriers to accessible trips, and how poor customer service can make that experience even worse. I know that there are many positive train, tram and bus trips that people like John complete every day, but they must be carefully planned and not taken for granted. Equitable access to public transport is a significant issue for many Victorians.

It's my view that we need to look at the experiences of individuals such as John to improve access to public transport now and in the future. In its 2012 survey of disability, ageing and carers, the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated that 4.2 million Australians - 18.5% of the population - had some form of disability. Accessibility is also a key issue for the elderly, the young, parents with prams, people in regional and rural Victoria, and people from non-English speaking backgrounds. This is an issue that's relevant to all of us, no matter our situation. After all, we are all ageing.

The public transport journey begins at a person's home and ends at their destination, and then there is the matter of the return trip. It involves not only formal modes of transport - being trains, trams and buses - but also walking paths, taxis, car parks and road crossings, as well as accessing ticketing systems and information. Without ongoing substantive improvement, barriers to accessible public transport will continue to disconnect people from their family, friends and communities, reducing their confidence in participating in daily life, and diminishing their independence and dignity.

In September 2013, I released a report called *Closing the Accessibility Gap*, which argued the accessibility of public transport can be improved through innovation in customer service standards and information provision. The report was based on complaints about accessibility made to my office over a two year period. What we found was that poor customer service and inadequate information provision can be as great a barrier to accessibility as outdated infrastructure.

The report made fourteen recommendations for change, based on the experience that my office has gained through investigation of individual complaints and systemic issues, and regular contact with commuters, advocates and representatives across the public transport sector. Ultimately, five fundamental elements arose, underpinning what accessibility public transport should look like:

- Positive staff interactions and good customer service provide commuters with the support they need to retain confidence in their ability to travel independently.
- Adequately, timely and effective information provision ensures commuters know where they are, where they are going, and, importantly, what to do when delays, cancellations and disruptions affect the public transport system.
- Integrated services, timetables and advice between public transport operators and other services, such as taxis, are required to enable consumers to get where they need to be on time.
- Infrastructure that is safe, usable and in working order creates assurance for commuters.
- Compliance with legislation, standards and regulations needs to be balanced with proactive and flexible customer-centric actions.

Innovations in technology mean that public transport operators can now offer information in new ways, such as directly to a consumer's smartphone. However, these innovations do not displace the

responsibility to provide information through traditional channels, such as accurate on-board displays and station announcements. Not everybody is tech-savvy. Another innovation could be the provision of customised public transport services for people with accessibility challenges, using under-utilised resources, such as school buses. Trials of these kinds of services are currently underway.

Accessibility is a whole-of-journey issue that requires a whole-of-community response. Public transport operators are now working on the implementation of disability action plans and it's pleasing to see the increasing role that consultation with advocacy groups plays in this process. As a community, we all have a role to play in implementing initiatives that improve the accessibility of public transport for all Victorians. What I want to see in the future is accessibility built and planned into new buildings and infrastructure, rather than being treated as an after-thought.

Improving Public Transport for Greater Productivity and Quality of Life

Chris Lowe

Since 1944, the Bus Association of Victoria has been working hand in hand with the community and successive governments to improve our transport, with two key strategic objectives: to improve the productivity of our cities, and to contribute to our quality of life. With these in mind, the transport system can be understood as allowing blood to flow freely through the body. Rail level crossings can be seen as a blocked artery, clogging up the system, increasing time and cost, and decreasing productivity. A dedicated bus lane, on the other hand, takes cars off the road - up to sixty in some cases - and allows people to get where they need to be. It's like the city taking an aspirin pill, thinning the blood and allowing it to move more freely around the body.

At the moment, there are a number of constraints on our productivity and quality of life. Road congestion costs us \$10 billion a year nationally, and this figure is estimated to reach \$20 billion by around 2020. The proportion of greenhouse gases from the transport sector is increasing. 30,000 people are injured on the roads each year nationally, with about 1,300 deaths. Obesity is a major health issue, with 52% of women, 67% of men and 25% of children now classified as overweight or obese, adding to our public health costs. I believe these issues are directly connected to reduced investment in transport infrastructure and, to some extent, could have been prevented or reduced in severity. I propose four ideas on what we can do about this.

Firstly, we need to improve the service levels and coverage of public transport in metropolitan growth areas and the interface regions or outer suburbs. Melbourne is growing by an average of 36,000 households a year; more than half of this growth will occur in the outer suburbs where there are few public transport services. We're just perpetuating a private car culture, and a lack of

*"We need better integration of bus and tram services at railway stations." –
Comment made at seminar.*

substantial investment in public transport will lead to unsustainable growth in traffic volumes. If we wanted to provide at least one service per hour between 6am and 9pm across the whole city, an additional \$23 million a year would be required, while providing a service every twenty minutes during this span would cost about \$120 million.

Secondly, I believe we should embrace Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), which is a demand-responsive and cost-effective alternative to rail that has been embraced all over the world, although not so much here in Australia. The only real BRT we have here in Australia is between Brisbane and the Gold

Coast. For just under \$2 billion capital investment, we could have ten transformational BRT projects underway, making BRT one fifth the cost of rail. These could also be delivered very quickly - it takes only three months to get a bus on the road and two years to get the road ready, as opposed to the five to ten years we wait for rail line extensions. BRT systems involve less disruption and are more flexible - the same vehicle can run on exclusive busway systems and regular road-based routes. BRT can also lay a great foundation for dedicated road space to be turned into a rail line when future demand warrants this.

While we're at it, let's expand the SmartBus network. We propose adding about another twenty services. We've put the idea to government and just need to find the funding for this project. Similarly, we could give the SkyBus service to the airport greater frequencies and on-road priority. An airport rail link might be built some time, but it's a way off; meanwhile, there's a lot we can do in the short and medium term. We could also get double articulated buses on the road, which can carry a hundred people. While they're a little longer and wider than allowed by our current regulations, we're determined to get an exemption to trial them in 2015.

Thirdly, we need to depoliticise the infrastructure spend. One of the biggest impediments to getting things done in Australia is politics. There are many examples throughout Australia where the timing and delivery of major projects have been fought and won on the degree of marginality of the area in which they're located, and the importance of winning votes there to the political parties. This process, "pork barrelling", may be hard to move away from, as it's long been a habit of politicians of all parties. We could make a start by moving towards a merits-based assessment process with decisions based on achieving productivity gains. Ultimately, depoliticising the strategic planning relating to infrastructure would allow this process to reflect the needs of the people, rather than the government's political agenda. This process needs to be independent, based on rigorous cost benefit evaluation, and we need to get on with it.

Fourthly, we need to be more courageous with funding. A business-as-usual approach will not deliver the level of capital and recurrent investment in transport that is needed. Governments often release transport or land use plans that outline what they want to do, but not how they will be funded or when they will be achieved. This approach only leads to the infrastructure backlog growing longer. There's some discussion at the moment on funding mechanisms, such as bonds, public private partnerships, value capture, road pricing and so on. While I can't offer the solution to this question, I would suggest that continuing to defer a universal road user charge is just deferring the benefits that would come from this, as it would be highly effective in the long run. Embracing hypothecation and

"How about a consistent set of rules regarding the preparation of business cases so that projects can be prioritised and compared?" – Comment made at seminar.

putting aside all the money raised from these charges to transport projects would also see more capital and recurrent investments funded. What we need is a public discussion to engage the community on their level of preparedness to pay. Doing all these things takes a lot of courage because they're unconventional, but unless we're prepared to do so, we're simply not going to see the improvements that we're after.

If we were able to achieve all these things and get more people on public transport, we would save money, generate jobs and improve our liveability. Buses carry about 145 million passengers a year, translating directly into lower private vehicle trip generation and direct savings for households. Research we undertook in 2010 showed that existing bus services had a benefit cost ratio of 3.5 to 1, which is a huge benefit for the Victorian economy. So let's get on with it and make the system better in order to improve our productivity and our quality of life.

Dealing with the Infrastructure Backlog in Melbourne's Outer Suburbs

Griff Davies

The City of Whittlesea, where I work, is growing at about 8,500 people a year - the size of a city like Swan Hill. We currently have a population of 186,000 people, while twenty or so years ago, this figure was only 100,000. In another twenty years, we're expecting to have more than 300,000 and, ultimately, about 450,000. Many other interface councils in the outer suburbs are in the same boat, growing by 7,000 to 10,000 people a year. That's an awful lot of people coming into those areas and this is likely to be the case for the foreseeable future.

We have a massive problem in these areas with a \$11 billion infrastructure gap, as assessed by the Auditor-General. Although that seems like a huge amount of money, we've managed to find \$23 billion to spend on the north-south pipeline and desalination plant, and the planned East West Link and Melbourne Rail Link. How is it that we can find the funds for these major projects, but not to provide essential services such as transport in the growth areas?

In these areas with high population growth, we have a low jobs-to-population ratio, low levels of education, high unemployment, increasing mortgage stress and increasing family violence rates. Lack of transport options is causing negative health outcomes, such as obesity and diabetes, as well as social problems, with people sometimes spending an hour each way commuting. However, these areas are receiving a disproportionately small amount of funding. While rural and regional areas are growing at about 0.6% per annum, they receive 35% of the infrastructure spend. The interface areas are growing by up to 3.4% per annum - 50% over the past decade - but have received only 20% of the investment. The problem is that there is no political will to invest there.

The City of Whittlesea has been advocating the community's needs to state government, but has had pushback from both major parties, who feel these are not important issues for them to worry about. So what we've looked at is getting the community more involved in articulating what their concerns are. Fortunately, there been a growing trend of other independent experts and organisations getting involved in this area. For example, the Outer Suburban Interface Parliamentary Committee carried out an assessment of the outer suburbs' infrastructure needs and confirmed a lot of what we've been saying to government for the past decade and a half, including on poor access to transport.

We've also been active in facilitating local communities to become directly involved in advocacy. The South Morang Rail Alliance were operating through the early 2000s, but were relatively unsophisticated at that stage. With Council's assistance in terms of resources, capacity to undertake

research and so forth, we enabled them to have a far more sophisticated message to take to the politicians. Importantly, this ensures the messages of the community and the council were aligned so there was no disjunct the politicians could exploit. Mottos such as “Cut Out The Crap, Give Us Our Track” actually resonated with the politicians, even though some people might think they are corny or crass.

Another recent community campaign has been *Access Denied*. The Cities of Wyndham and Casey have similar campaigns, called *Get Wyndham Moving* and *Make Your Voice Count*, respectively. These campaigns increase awareness in our communities of the need to pressure government directly. We have over 5,000 postcards ready to dump on Parliament House, and an email service that the community can use to generate emails to the Premier, the transport minister, and their counterparts in the Opposition. Within the *Access Denied* campaign, our community is asking for a road and a rail extension, and asking for a straight yes or no answer from the politicians. Unfortunately, that’s not something we’re getting at the moment, just excuses about funding.

The funding issue is really quite important, given the amount of investment in infrastructure that is needed. *Plan Melbourne* outlines what needs to happen, but there’s little in terms of mechanisms to ensure the implementation. What we need is a governance framework to make sure this happens. There are many examples we can look at around Australia and the world where good governance frameworks have ensured money will come in and be invested where it is needed. For example, the Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas (JESSICA) has all member countries contributing to a central fund which is then reinvested in infrastructure. A local example is *Low Carbon Australia*, which enables the funding of projects at the national level. In the UK, a program called *City Deals* involves creating a combined authority including the federal government and local councils, and giving this authority real power to make decisions and investment. Importantly, this depoliticises the process to some extent, as opposed to our current situation where politicians interfere in decision making, often not really based on a great deal of rational thinking, and delaying the things we need to achieve. These approaches are much more logical and oriented towards making decisions on the basis of businesses cases. While we’re got this happening here to some extent with Infrastructure Australia and similar bodies at the state level, the current arrangements don’t go far enough.

Another idea is breaking away from our business as usual approach to come up with some city shaping projects. For example, what if we had an outer orbital transit system linking many of the metropolitan activity centres identified in *Plan Melbourne*? Depending on how much further Melbourne grows outwards, we might even need a second one. This would capitalise on the true potential of the development in those activity centres and reduce the amount of commuter traffic going into the central area of Melbourne. The cost of a project like this would be fairly significant,

but at the same time it would bring benefits in changing the shape of our city, which is currently configured for radial travel. We can look at examples of visionary infrastructure, such as the multitude of rail lines that were built in Melbourne's early history and, more recently, the City Loop. If these projects were realised back then, there's no reason we can't make similar progress today.

Basically, what we have is a situation where infrastructure-poor outer suburbs are crying out for investment, but our current ways of doing things, including funding and the politics of it all, are standing in the way of the progress that we need. We need to find a way to implement governance frameworks that will enable good decision making and the funding of essential projects in order to meet the needs of Melbourne's growth areas.

"Demand management is currently overlooked (as noted in the Auditor General's report on managing traffic congestion). We need to re-think designing for peak-periods, which is hugely inefficient. This might involve "non-transport" ideas such as having different school starting times (or two sessions per school day such as in Singapore). Road pricing is another obvious mechanism. We need to achieve mode shift to active and public transport, not just to address "congestion" but for health, amenity, and so forth. Of course, we also need a range of measures to get mode shift away from cars, such as by making cycling more attractive, convenient, and faster than driving, through reducing speed limits, implementing other legal changes, using road pricing, reallocating road space reallocation, and so forth." – Comment on website.

Modern, Radical, Community Campaigning for World Class Public Transport

Danae Bosler

I represent the *Public Transport Not Traffic Campaign*, a coalition of community groups across Melbourne and Victoria opposed to the East West Link and demanding real, immediate and significant investment in public transport. When I was considering what big deals I'd offer here to create a better future for Melbourne, I realised what I wanted to present were big and radical ideas.

I had the pleasure of completing the final year of my undergraduate degree at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. This university had a student transit ticketing system, modelled on a system at the University of Washington, and adopted by a vote of the study body. It involved compulsory transit cards, meaning everybody had to purchase one but got a discounted rate on it. Supported by an impressive, frequent bus service, that card enabled me to travel anywhere, even up to the slopes and my favourite ski field. This model is currently being adopted by universities across Northern America.

Why can't have we something similar here for Melbourne's universities? Or, thinking at a larger scale, why not implement it at the city scale, with cost determined by the quality of public transport supply where each individual lives - those with the greatest access to public transport would pay a greater rate, and those with poorer access would pay less. Imagine if all four million of us were required to buy a myki card which might cost, say, \$20 if you were in an area poorly served by public transport, and \$50 if you were well served. Based on some preliminary calculations, and assuming that the majority of Melburnians currently don't have good access to public transport, this could net an addition \$120 million a year into our system. This might sound a little communist, but if we're looking for some radical change, I think we need to think radically.

*"We need some form of participatory budgeting for transport infrastructure" –
Comment made at seminar.*

You may well say that compulsory transit cards are useless if the system is rubbish. This brings me to my second idea, which is achieving a better system through real political activism. Melbourne has been crying out for a modern, effective and highly organised community campaign on public transport for some time now - and cry no more, I say. My second idea, in fact, is you, me and us.

We recently went doorknocking in the marginal, Liberal party-held seat of Bentleigh. Of the people we spoke to, 70% used public transport regularly and only 6% supported the construction of the

East West Link. This is the kind of engagement that feeds into a modern and strategic campaign - one that thinks big. Such campaigns include the Obama campaign, *Your Rights At Work* and *Lock The Gate*. These are political and community campaigns on the most sophisticated level, combining online and offline organising as well as a dead serious political strategic. This is 21st century coalition building and it's happening in cities across the world, including in London, New York and even in Sydney. The latter, the Sydney Alliance, involves a hugely diverse collection of community groups, including unions and religious groups. Guess what they've picked as their first big issue to tackle? Public transport, of course!

Our campaign is building on all this. We have thirty five community groups involved and this year have been running training for our activists jointly with Environment Victoria and the Victorian Trades Hall. I think this is an amazing start. History tells us that these movements require a little window, a moment in time when the opportunity is ripe for the taking. I think the moment is now with the \$18 billion black hole that is the East West Link and with public transport being the number one issue for our state election this year in 2014. I think the moment is now for Melbourne.

An example of the type of modern community engagement we're undertaking is our online interactive map, using the Crowdsport tool, where commuters can mark their desired public transport spot improvements. With a lack of real public transport planning from government, we're actively encouraging a form of crowdsourcing of our own public transport plan for Melbourne. There are over 650 spots on our map currently, with over 1000 user votes on their favourite ideas, showing community participation on an unprecedented level. The data on the map is easily communicated through visualisation which shows where people want improvements and, through the size of the spots, how popular these ideas are; currently, building a rail line to the airport has the most support.

We can use this information to inform our own public transport policy platform and take this to meeting with politicians, who really love data in an election year. This also raises some really interesting ideas about our communities and the public transport they want, and how we can lobby and campaign for it. This approach might freak out some bureaucrats or academics who think that they know what's best, but social movement theory tells us that people are so much more likely to take action if they have directly contributed to and feel they have ownership over the policy for which they are campaigning.

I've often been asked if we should take transport policy out of the hands of politicians who live for the election cycle and for vote winning. My answer is that we absolutely should, but only if we can put it in the hands of the community which is active, informed and engaged. I'm not talking about some quasi-representative body that meets four times a year and puts out a glossy brochure every

two years. I want to see an awesome decision making structure that has real community leaders and is accountable to the people. It's critical to note that successful community campaigns and coalitions don't just grow on trees. They require highly skilled staff with skills in IT, fundraising, media and communications, alliance building and community organising, as well as money, resources and time. It astounds me what we've achieved so far on this campaign when we're surviving on the smell of an oily rag.

To quote from a recent essay on public transport advocacy by Crystal Legacy and John Stone: "It's hard work but the evidence shows there's no easy way anyway". It's going to take years of concentrated pressure on our political leaders, ongoing network development with academics, bureaucrats and other decision makers, as well as coalition building with organisations such as unions and environmental groups, in order for us to win a world class public transport system. But that, my radical friends, is the only way to win.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLEMENTATION



Implementation: Getting Our Act Together

Dr Crystal Legacy, Professor Brendan Gleeson and Professor Jago Dodson

Introduction

The previous metropolitan plan, *Melbourne 2030* (Victorian State Government, 2002) vowed to reduce car dependency, improve housing choice, restrict urban expansion as part of a shift to greater environmental sustainability, and create a polycentric and ‘compact’ city with employment sub-centres. Twelve years on, Melbourne’s housing affordability has reached crisis levels (see Chapter 2), jobs growth remains concentrated in the city centre (see Chapter 2), the State Government’s response to climate mitigation and adaptation remains locked in denial (see Chapter 3), and metropolitan transport investments continue to be biased towards private cars (see Chapter 4). New planning efforts, such as inner city urban renewal projects in Docklands, have struggled to advance housing affordability and sustainability goals (Shaw, 2013). In addition, land use decisions have not been consistently integrated with infrastructure planning, especially around major transport projects (Dodson, 2009). The commentary provided in this book, and the empirical evidence provided by others (e.g. Mees, 2010; Delbosc & Currie, 2011; Whitzman & Mizrachi, 2012), emphatically shows that the ‘liveable’ Melbourne envisioned has not been delivered to the city’s residents. This is a failure of implementation.

An audit review of *Melbourne 2030* conducted in 2008 identified three key reasons for implementation failure. It noted that plan implementation was frustrated by unclear channels of accountability and responsibility, inadequate funding, and a lack of a ‘whole of government’ approach which could tie the plan to Treasury. The report also acknowledged that there were few experts proficient in implementing plans in Melbourne and, critically, that a lack of broad-based support for the plan’s direction has hampered implementation (Moodie, Whitney, Wright & McAfee, 2008). Six years after the publication of this audit, the release of *Plan Melbourne* is cause to reflect again on what prevented the implementation of *Melbourne 2030* and how to implement more effectively this time around.

To begin, this chapter argues that to deliver a bold vision for Melbourne (see Chapter 1) we must understand and overcome two general failures. The first is failed horizontal integration across government agencies which inhibit consistent delivery of sustainability and equity imperatives prescribed in plans. Secondly, senior Government officials tend to make decisions without any transparent evaluation procedures in place. We see this as a failure to vertically integrate decision making processes which, in turn, prevents local government and communities from engaging in the on-going formation of their city.

The first problem is revealed in a failure to align infrastructure spending with clear targets set out in the plan. Better and sustained budget coordination would enable an appropriate mix of infrastructure - not only public transport, but also education and health facilities - to be delivered equitably across the metropolis in accordance with targets. Evidence shows that a gap is opening up between those sub-regions with a concentration of high quality services and jobs that are accessible by foot, bicycle, or public transport, and those areas marked by poor servicing, uneven employment distribution, and long journey times to access amenities (see Currie et al., 2009). In a study by Delbosc and Currie (2011: 1137) on transport disadvantage and well-being, their research showed that “despite high car ownership levels [for people living on the fringe of Melbourne], 20% reported they could not do activities because of transport problems”. Greater coordination, transparency, and clear steering at the metropolitan scale in both planning preparation and implementation are needed. The recently introduced Metropolitan Planning Authority can achieve this, but it must be supplied with adequate financial resourcing from Treasury, and be equipped to actually lead the delivery process of transport and social service infrastructure.

The second general failure is a lack of deliberative and transparent urban governance across local government authorities in Melbourne. This absence creates and can continue to perpetuate a ‘closed-circuit’ decision making environment into implementation. Research by Ruming and Gurrin (2014) summates that planning reforms across Australia tend to support public engagement at the early stages of plan making, but then favour fast-tracked implementation with little public engagement in the latter phases. While open public deliberation is essential to establishing a vision, as described in Chapter 1, there has been a recent focus on streamlining planning approvals in Melbourne and across Australia (Productivity Commission, 2011) pursued ostensibly to create certainty for developers by reducing interruption from dissenting bodies (Hurley, Taylor, Cook & Colic-Peisker, 2011). Examples of closed circuit decision making abound, including the use of public-private partnerships to finance projects. Partnership arrangements of this kind can reduce the project’s transparency, and strictly confine public engagement to only some aspects of the project’s design (Sturup, 2010). Managerial governance arrangements found in urban renewal agencies such as Places Victoria have precluded possibilities for institutional innovation for urban equity and sustainability (Shaw, 2013; Davison & Legacy, 2014), while the frequent exercise of Ministerial ‘call in’ powers erodes the openness and the probity of approval processes (Buxton & Goodman, 2014). In almost all cases decisions are delegated to independent ‘experts’ outside of formal democratically representative or deliberative processes leading to a strong ‘top-down’ dimension that creates popular distrust in planning.

The remainder of this chapter examines the two major planning weaknesses of inadequate adherence to key strategic principles of equity and sustainability, and closed circuit decision making.

Our discussion will focus on the implications for planning implementation when governments depart from or neglect the planning objectives set out in the plan, particularly via processes that are weakly articulated to democratic influence. The chapter concludes by examining the role of the recently established Metropolitan Planning Authority (MPA). In presenting our discussion we wish to welcome the creation of the MPA as a potential ‘circuit breaker’ that can provide the institutional mechanisms to overcome many of the weaknesses in plan preparation, integration, and implementation that we identify above. If it was suitably configured and organised, the MPA could transform the governance and implementation of planning by creating a platform to openly deliberate and equitably distribute metropolitan objectives and infrastructure investment. The Victorian State Government’s recent confirmation of substantial revenue-based resourcing for the MPA is cause for some confidence in the new structure. However much is yet to be determined in the MPA’s purpose and scope as well as its financial and political freedom to actively plan, implement, and update the proposals contained in the current *Plan Melbourne* scheme.

Horizontal Integration: Coherence and Coordination Questions

Despite *Melbourne 2030*’s stated ambition to reduce car dependence and achieve a more socially equitable distribution of jobs and services across the metropolitan area, very little has been done to deliver the infrastructure needed to achieve these worthy aims. A recent report by the Victorian Auditor General (2013) highlights the emerging infrastructure shortfall in Melbourne’s burgeoning western and northern suburbs, a concern that reflects wider metropolitan infrastructure deficits (NorthLink, 2014). For instance, the Auditor General (2013: viii) states that a \$6.2 billion shortfall exists to fund rail projects that could service growth areas. The weak ability of Melbourne’s planning institutions to coordinate metropolitan growth, service provision, and infrastructure delivery has meant that the objectives of a more socially equitable city, as expressed in Melbourne’s strategies, have been largely unrealised in many areas of the city.

The reality of urban development in Melbourne reveals a pronounced rhetorical gap between the content of metropolitan strategic plans and the actual outcomes. For example, in the twelve years since *Melbourne 2030* called for the establishment of a growth boundary, the city’s urban zone has been expanded on three occasions – in 2003 by 1,610 hectares, 2005 by 11,132 hectares, and 2010 by 43,000 hectares – allegedly to support housing affordability (Buxton, 2014; Buxton & Taylor, 2011). Yet if adequate investment is not made in services for these new growth areas, or in efforts undertaken to improve local access to employment and education opportunities, spatial disadvantage will increase (Currie et al., 2009). This research shows that considerable effort is still required to find innovative solutions that will allow Melbourne to sustain metropolitan economic development

and meet community needs, including fostering a diverse and inclusive city, promoting housing affordability, and providing equitable access to educational and health services.

In addressing Melbourne's growing infrastructure deficit in middle and outer suburbs, the question may be asked: what is inhibiting the capacity of Melbourne's planning system to adhere to its plans and effectively pursue their social and environmental objectives? Urban scholars (Versteeg & Hajer, 2010; Curtis & Low, 2012) describe infrastructure shortfalls as a product of an implementation deficit arising from a combination of social, institutional, and political impediments to change. In Australia, this problem has been the subject of much urban research, the findings of which raise questions about the management and governance of planning implementation. From a planning institutional perspective, deeply embedded tendencies to bureaucratic inertia reinforce traditional ways of addressing problems and suppressing innovation (Low & Astone, 2009; Curtis & Low, 2012). The result is too often a system marked by 'path dependency', which can be unresponsive to the emergent and contemporary challenges that confront growing cities. Additionally, there is an inability to manage local change processes around urban form (Taylor, 2013), a reliance upon private delivery mechanisms of public services (Mees, 2000; 2010), deficiencies in the Victorian statutory planning system (Woodcock, Dovey, Wollan & Robertson, 2011), excessive Ministerial intervention in local planning decisions (Buxton & Goodman, 2014), and an inability of planning tools and discretionary planning to realise strategic goals (Shaw, 2003). Moreover, ad-hoc and fragmented planning and delivery of infrastructure occurring outside of planning has led to incoherence in the overall structure and form of the city while consuming large sums of scarce capital (Dodson, 2009). This ad-hoc planning and delivery can lead to community opposition exacerbated by fears that negative externalities arising from infrastructure investment will be unevenly shared. The seriousness of these externalities is not to be discounted; they include lowering of property values, new imbalances of access, and damage to neighbourhood character. This has the effect of reflecting and compounding wider social anxieties about growth (Davison et al., 2013). Planning capacity can be further undermined where political focus is on major infrastructure investment to inflate short-term political capital rather than realising long term social outcomes.

The contradictions between the need for long term planning over the lure of short term political fixes are manifest in the weak implementation of Melbourne's planning schemes. Melbourne has not lacked for identification of these problems, nor suggestions for their resolution. Institutional reform at the metropolitan scale has been a consistently identified solution to ongoing planning failure (Gleeson, Dodson & Spiller, 2010; 2012; Dodson & Gleeson, 2002; Mees, 2000; Sandercock & Friedman, 2000; Buxton & Goodman, 2003). In a current climate of State fiscal conservatism, little apparent political commitment exists to explore alternative funding arrangements to support basic transport, community, and social infrastructure in neighbourhoods that need it (e.g. social housing,

see Chapter 2). In such a context, it is important that State infrastructure investments are carefully considered including critical scrutiny of funding decisions taken by State and Federal governments around large infrastructure projects. Infrastructure Australia could again play a key role in setting this criteria and using it to determine the efficacy of projects subject to federal funding.

Vertical Integration: Democratic Deficits

Implementation failure is amplified by a planning process that focuses discussion around the 'public good' during early visioning stages of plan-making, often generating considerable goodwill and engagement, but which is then transferred to a closed circuit process of decision making and evaluation at the final planning stages. This erosion of the public legitimacy of metropolitan plans in turn impedes effective implementation especially by local governments who are often closely attuned to their local community's aspirations. The weak legitimacy of final stage planning can lead, perversely, to greater community engagement in the implementation phase, but that which is often vigorously oppositional, driven by opacity of process. A reactive community is then confronted with an implementation process comprising rigid public notification and constrained third party appeal rights (March, 2012). A compounding consequence is political efforts to reduce citizen engagement in implementation processes via democratic short-circuits such as centralised fast tracking of planning decisions around major infrastructure projects. Attempts to resolve infrastructure deficits this way can in turn weaken democratic processes in planning to its greater detriment.

Across Australia a trend to depoliticise plan implementation creates an overreliance upon the plan making stage as the focus of community engagement (Ruming & Gurran, 2014). The importance of up front community engagement that informs the plan was addressed at length in Chapter 1. During implementation, however, governments feel authorised to exercise Ministerial call-in powers to expedite infrastructure implementation based on the (shaky) rationale that this supports economic development and intra-city competitiveness (Searle & Bunker, 2010). This can be seen with the recent exercise of Ministerial call-in powers to expedite apartment construction in the CBD (Lucas, 2014) and the recent political announcement to fund the controversial East West Link road tunnel in advance of the 2014 state election (Abbott & Napthine, 2014). The absence of transparent participatory or representative processes at this stage in planning impedes scrutiny of project decision-making and budget allocations.

Delivery authorities such as Places Victoria, the Growth Areas Authority, VicRoads, and now the MPA are set up to be independent from political interference. Yet, the institutional set up of the MPA departs significantly from lauded metropolitan planning models in cities such as Vancouver, Canada and Portland, USA. In both cities urban growth boundaries have been proposed and adhered to. In the case of Vancouver, this growth boundary (known in Vancouver as the agricultural land

reserve) has existed since the 1970s. Most impressive however is the fact that these two cities have long standing Metropolitan Plans that have withstood changes in government. Portland's plan, called the *2040 Growth Concept* (Metro Portland, 1995), was released almost twenty years ago in 1995, while Metro Vancouver's *Livable Region Strategic Plan* (Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1996) was only updated recently. Research into these best practice metropolitan planning models continues to show the importance of ongoing shared ownership of the planning process which is grounded to the community and local government levels. This model tends to prevent emergence of a cycle of political intervention at each election (Legacy, 2012).

An environment where a new plan is created every five years tends to generate cynicism amongst residents, spurred with every new plan making effort. While these new processes present opportunities to talk about the future city, the implementation of this future is frustrated by political interruptions - a new government means a new plan. Incoherent implementation mechanisms also distort citizen opportunities to engage with decision makers in the pursuit of community objectives in implementation. The political capture of planning under generally depoliticised conditions means that institutional vehicles and mechanisms to keep planning imperatives on the long-term agenda are lost. In Melbourne, the 'closed circuit' mode of delivery is frequently justified by the mantra that rapid growth is good for economic prosperity. This, however, risks the domination of planning processes by narrowly conceived economic interests that may not accord with wider public preferences or needs (see Buxton & Goodman, 2014).

In many western urban contexts, including Melbourne, planning has become a vehicle for untrammelled urban growth and development. Writing about Australian urban planning, Gleeson, Dodson and Spiller (2012: 117) describe a "governance deficit" resulting from an absence of "clear and effective institutional arrangements for the planning of urban development, guiding the investment of property developers and the coordination of urban services, including infrastructure". Could the challenges Melbourne faces reflect a governance deficit? We argue that the inadequacy of Melbourne's metropolitan governance arrangements has been an important factor in the prolonged weakness of metropolitan planning.

To address this deficit, government must provide innovative and well-deliberated delivery mechanisms and these mechanisms must align with the metropolitan vision. Such mechanisms may include innovative ways to fund infrastructure including market instruments to support the inclusion of affordable housing. Also required is a supportive regional/sub-regional governance arrangement to coordinate the delivery and funding of infrastructure and, legislation, and tax reform that gives local government the capacity to implement changes at the local scale. Together, these mechanisms, when delivered jointly by the MPA and local government, can realise the strategic aims of a shared vision. In particular, they can provide ongoing emphasis to the social and environmental dimensions

of planning policy. A platform is created when plans are jointly implemented to explore novel ways to fund infrastructure, including via new taxation or levy mechanisms.

Throughout this book, alternative ways to fund critical infrastructure have been mooted. Tax reform, perhaps the most difficult to implement given that it requires strong leadership, could see land-based taxes recouped for infrastructure funding. The success of this scheme would rely on the efficient and effective transfer of funds from the Commonwealth to State authorities, including the MPA. Value capture could see well-located land such as Fishermans Bend generate revenue that could then be used to deliver critical infrastructure such as affordable and social housing, community facilities, and public transport. The necessary (if undervalued) goal of providing well planned and well located affordable housing can be financed through housing and regeneration bonds (see Murray, Chapter 2) and low income tax credit used in conjunction with planning instruments, such as community amenity charges, density bonuses and inclusionary zoning (see Whitzman, also Chapter 2). In March 2014 the Productivity Commission (2014) released a comprehensive report supplying different ideas to fund public infrastructure. These suggestions included congestion charging, access pricing, and the development of a metropolitan infrastructure fund. Not all measures will be necessarily consistent with social objectives, especially equity, and it should be the task of a properly enabled MPA to engender public deliberation about various means for enhancing infrastructure provision – and for not discounting the necessity of social and environmental infrastructure.

There is no shortage of funding mechanisms that could be applied to plan implementation, including infrastructure and service provision. Instead, what is missing is political willingness to identify and apply them, based on careful public consideration of alternatives. Public deliberation and debate is needed to not only unlock and generate innovative and alternative ways to deliver necessary infrastructure, but to seek civic acceptance for more radical and effective approaches. Also, and of equal measure, are evaluative processes and governance systems of the kinds proposed in this chapter. These can be used to help avoid poor project selection, a point made both by the Productivity Commission (2014: 6) and within the international literature on ‘mega’ urban projects (Flyvbjerg, 2009). To support debate, a governance arrangement can facilitate the airing of difficult questions and mechanisms without their immediate politicisation and provide a space that enables democratic thinking.

A number of historical and contemporary examples of urban governance arrangements offer guidance on the democratic re-politicisation of planning decision-making, founded on an institutional commitment to deliberation. Some examples include the metropolitan urban governance of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) between 1891 and 1992, and, more recently, the federated, local government-led Metro Vancouver model noted above (Mees, 2011). Neither should be seen as a simple exemplar. Each has faults but also strengths of design that are worth

considering. These governance arrangements are based on an Electoral College model in which local governments provide nominated representatives to a metropolitan-level decision-making forum. Both place elected local government representatives at the centre of metropolitan decision-making, but require them to take a responsible perspective on planning at the metropolitan scale and beyond local parochial interest. There is thus a direct democratic line between the metropolitan-level decision-making and the local geography of municipal representation. Such models further engender a collaborative ethos among the local governments from which they are drawn, with no municipality able to dominate or absent itself from planning processes. Provided there is a commitment toward deliberation and debate, a metropolitan governance arrangement can offer a platform from which planning challenges and potential solutions can be explored, discussed, and negotiated. In addition, such a model can remove strategic planning from intrusions of the State electoral cycle, placing it beyond 'political temptation'. Instead of plans and planning projects being determined and owned by State Government political leaders, responsibility and accountability for plan delivery is shared genuinely by local governments who enjoy largely equivalent input into the decision making frame.

The MMBW had the capacity to both coordinate growth across the metropolis and offer a forum for democratic determination of metropolitan planning by drawing directly on local body representation (Stone, 2009). This model fostered a participatory ethos that was deliberative, representative, and accountable, though not without its own difficulties and weaknesses, including a tendency toward technocratic decision-making. By the 1980s, the MMBW was the subject of critique within reformist circuits of public sector management which advocated the retrieval of various government functions – including planning - from quasi-non government organisations (QANGOs) back into departmental agencies under public statutes. Under the new public sector management model this approach was presumed to offer greater ministerial responsibility for decision-making by clarifying the principal-agent relationship in policy advice and delivery. However, Melbourne's planning currently falls short of a greater metropolitan democratic purpose and the exercise of 'ministerial responsibility' has become a contentious issue. New governance is urgently needed that enables planning to draw upon multi-tiered metropolitan governance, without the disruptions of the state electoral cycle and the intrusions of ministerial fiat.

The Role and Potential of a Deliberative MPA

In the lead up to the release of the draft *Plan Melbourne* in late 2013, the Victorian Government announced the establishment of a metropolitan-wide planning agency in the form of the MPA. This is the first agency dedicated to metropolitan scale planning oversight since the MMBW. In the wake of this announcement, the Municipal Association of Victoria (MAV) and SGS Economics & Planning released a short document reporting on a workshop with MAV Council stakeholders in May 2013

on a “preferred ‘operational model’ for the MPA” (2013: 1). The report identified a list of governance, operational, and delivery mechanisms for the new authority including coordinating and working with local government and other relevant agencies to coordinate infrastructure delivery. It was suggested that infrastructure agency heads, local government delegates from each sub region, and an independent chairperson would make up the MPA structure. It would be the responsibility of the MPA to perform the role of approving development applications for areas of metropolitan significance, but would not exist as a development authority.

At present, the MPA model consists of a non-elected, independent statutory Board made up of a mix of planning, economics, financial management, local government, and housing professionals and sectoral representatives tasked with implementing the metropolitan plan (Melbourne Planning Authority, 2013). The MPA’s purpose is to:

...create greater certainty, faster decisions and better coordination for all parties involved in planning and development of strategically important areas throughout Melbourne’s inner and outer suburbs as well as regional centres.

Formed “from the recently expanded legislative basis of the Growth Areas Authority (GAA)” (Melbourne Planning Authority, 2013), the MPA is organised around an executive team with a CEO and four Directors who have expertise in planning, urban development, and policy. This team is overseen by a Board composed of professionals from the development and business communities, government, and representatives from peak bodies. This institutional design contrasts with the spatial founding and collective ownership suggested by the joint SGS and MAV document, and understood to be possible through a federated governance model. Such a federated model has supported successful metropolitan planning and good governance in Vancouver, Canada (Legacy, 2012). A likely tendency of the MPA model will be to reinforce a centralised and technocratic planning framework with limited scope for collective and deliberative decision-making. This in turn reflects a division in the overall planning process whereby the MPA is a planning implementation agency, rather than a plan preparation agency. The MPA will nonetheless be the main agency involved in managing growth and steering investment decisions within the context of the plan. Given the strategic nature of the *Plan Melbourne* scheme, the MPA will invariably have some discretion in decision making as implementation questions emerge. The MPA should also surely advocate and facilitate the achievement of *Plan Melbourne*’s social and environmental outcomes, rather than being largely a vehicle for steering private investment in urban development. However, given its technocratic managerialist governance, concerns may be raised that economic considerations, potentially short-term or ad-hoc, will form the primary drivers of metropolitan decision making. The agency’s structure does not yet project strong accountability, transparency, or participatory dimensions. The MPA thus has a task to demonstrate that its decisions are democratically supported

in an ongoing form, and it cannot rely on the plan development phase for the sum of its democratic input. This is particularly so where contingent imperatives direct development in ways not envisaged by the plan (Falleth, Sandjkaer & Saglie, 2010). Within a neo-liberal political and institutional context emphasising certainty, efficiency, and fast-tracked implementation (Shaw, 2013), there is a risk that a non-elected metropolitan governance body like the MPA will compound the waning ability of planning to prioritise public values over vested interests (Gleeson, Dodson & Spiller, 2012).

The current structure of the MPA also risks entrenching closed circuit decision making as its *modus operandi*. Ostensibly, consultation with relevant local government authorities will occur, but the focus remains squarely upon the delivery of the plan through fast-tracked delivery mechanisms. Critically, the MPA will act as the conduit between the plan and project implementation; it will be the nexus between local government interests, political aspirations of the state planning minister, and the interests of developers. Similar opaqueness veils land development authorities and public-private-partnerships. The inclusive decision making needed to implement a metropolitan plan that can meet growing community needs would call upon a kind of 'mega collaboration' (Sullivan, Williams & Knight, 2013) unseen before in Melbourne's planning. A genuinely collaborative metropolitan planning agency would be a significant step towards this end. This agency would strengthen democratic accountability, embrace coordination across public agencies and tiers of government, provide a renewal of political legitimacy for planning as a democratic process, and ultimately improve collective urban welfare (Gleeson, Dodson & Spiller, 2012: 131). The establishment of the present MPA is a promising start in addressing Melbourne's longstanding metropolitan planning governance deficit, but more will need to be done to evolve the MPA in ways that can strengthen metropolitan democracy and planning capability.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that metropolitan planning in Melbourne has been inhibited by two key failures: the failure to act in accordance with strategic targets (horizontal integration) and the failure brought forth through closed circuit decision making (vertical integration). These failures have meant that planning investment decisions and growth allocations have limited opportunity to be carefully considered and appraised, particularly in light of wider concerns about social equity and environmental sustainability. It has been argued that fulsome community engagement in plan making is unrealised, and at best the content of plans remains in the abstract. It is not until priorities have been set by authorities who then present planning proposals to the public that the implications of these proposals are recognised by the community. At this point the latter can be 'ignited' into engagement and opposition where the content is at odds with their values and interests (Inch, 2014). Recent research into a controversial development project in St Kilda has also revealed that broad

principles articulated in a plan can be translated differently by stakeholders at the point of development approval, causing further unrest within affected communities (Legacy, March & Mouat, 2014). If the new planning arrangements fail to align development proposals with strategic social and ecological aims and limit opportunity for resident and local government deliberation, Melbourne may risk growing in unsustainable, undemocratic ways.

Melburnians are increasingly demanding a bold vision for their city (see Chapter 1). To realise this vision, fundamental change is necessary in the processes through which the Victorian Government determines and implements its planning priorities. Overcoming deficits in Melbourne's planning processes will require an orientation toward deliberative models of both plan-making *and* implementation. Urban governance that is multi-scalar (i.e. local-metropolitan) could draw from and deepen the recent innovations in collaborative municipal governance in Victoria. Examples include participatory budgeting recently proposed in the City of Melbourne, and the Coburg Better Block, a program undertaken in 2013 by a Coburg community to improve their neighbourhood. Greater participation would enable more critical, and potentially creative, public debate on substantive planning challenges beyond the orthodoxy of closed circuit decision-making. It is the processes involved in addressing these challenges and formulating solutions that will identify which outcomes are possible and desirable. It is critical to understand that coordinated delivery of urban development and infrastructure is necessarily a deliberative process involving local governments and requires opportunities for ongoing resident engagement. Deliberative governance can support and draw from civic ingenuity through realising the opportunities that inevitably emerge in collaborative decision-making.

In conclusion to this chapter, it's worth noting that it has been twenty two years since Brian McLoughlin, former professor of urban planning at the University of Melbourne, published *Shaping Melbourne's Future* in which he provocatively argued that "A fundamental reform of town planning for Victoria and Melbourne is needed" (1992: 248). His own investigations found a large gap between expression of strategic intent and the reality of urban development in Melbourne. The deficits we have described are thus the latest manifestation of a long entrenched problem in Melbourne's planning and not the creation or fault of any particular state government administration. It is a deeply embedded weakness within metropolitan institutional arrangements, as much as it is failing of political will in any instance.

Melbourne has recently taken a critical step towards improved metropolitan planning via the introduction of the MPA. This reform is surely welcome and hopefully the first step towards closing the planning and democratic deficits that have long plagued metropolitan purpose and governance. There are, of course, risks that the MPA will continue along the same paths as previous regimes, and will continue to prioritise economic goals above social and environmental imperatives. Community-

led engagement in planning of the kind seen recently through the introduction of the Future Melbourne Network and the Inner Melbourne Planning Alliance continues to prosecute the cause of a more inclusive, and thus more effective, model of urban governance. The MPA has the potential, if it decides to embrace an open, deliberative model, to facilitate a similar kind of 'new' thinking about Melbourne's future. We commit to working with it, in both critical and constructive conversation, to realising better planning for Melbourne.

References

- Abbott, T. & Napthine, D. (2014, April 10). *Melbourne's East West Link to become reality*. Retrieved from: <https://www.liberal.org.au/latest-news/2014/04/29/melbournes-east-west-link-become-reality>.
- Buxton, M. (2014). The expanding urban fringe: Impacts on peri-urban areas. In B. Maheshwari, R. Purohit, H. Malano, V. Singh & P. Amerasinghe (Eds.), *The security of water, food, energy and liveability of cities: Challenges and opportunities for peri-urban futures* (55-70). Springer.
- Buxton, M. & Goodman, R. (2003). Protecting Melbourne's green belt. *Urban Policy and Research*, 21(2), 205-9.
- Buxton, M. & Taylor, E. (2011). Urban land supply, governance and the pricing of land. *Urban Policy and Research*, 29(1), 5-22.
- Buxton, M. & Goodman, R. (2014). The impact of planning 'reform' on the Victorian land use planning system. *Australian Planner*, 51(2), 132-140.
- Currie, G., Richardson, T., Smyth, P., Vella-Brodick, D., Hine, J., Lucas, K. ... Stanley, J. (2009). Investigating links between transport disadvantage, social exclusion and well-being in Melbourne – Preliminary results. *Transport Policy*, 16(3), 97-105.
- Curtis, C. & Low, N. (2012). *Institutional barriers to sustainable transport*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.
- Davison, G., Legacy, C., Liu, E., Han, H., Phibbs, P., van den Nouwelant, R. ... Piracha, A. (2013). *Understanding and addressing community opposition to affordable housing development* (AHURI Final Report No. 211). Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.
- Davison, G. & Legacy, C. (2014). Positive planning and sustainable brownfield regeneration: The role and potential of government land development agencies. *International Planning Studies*, 19(2), 1-19.
- Delbosc, A. & Currie, G. (2011). The spatial context of transport disadvantage, social exclusion and well-being. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 19, 1130-7.
- Dodson, J. (2009). The 'infrastructure turn' in Australian metropolitan spatial planning. *International Planning Studies*, 14(2), 109-23.
- Dodson, J. & Gleeson, B. (2002). *Regional planning governance: A select review of Australian and international experience* (Research Paper 10). Sydney: Urban Frontiers Program, University of Western Sydney.
- Falleth, E., Sandkjaer, H. & Saglie, I. (2010). Challenges to democracy in market-oriented urban planning in Norway. *European Planning Studies*, 18(5), 737-53.
- Flyvberg, B. (2009). Survival of the unfittest: Why the worst infrastructure gets built – and what we can do about it. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 25(3), 344-67.

- Gleeson, B., Dodson, J. & Spiller, M. (2010). *Metropolitan governance for the Australian city: The case for reform* (Issues Paper 12). Nathan, Queensland: Urban Research Program, Griffith University.
- Gleeson, B., Dodson, J. & Spiller, M. (2012). Governance, metropolitan planning and city-building: The case for reform. In R. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Australia's unintended cities: The impact of housing on urban development* (117-34). Melbourne: CSIRO.
- Greater Vancouver Regional District. (1996). *Livable Region Strategic Plan*. Burnaby, Canada: Greater Vancouver Regional District.
- Hurley, J., Taylor, E., Cook, N. & Colic-Peisker, V. (2011). Proceedings of the 5th State of Australian Cities Conference: *In the fast lane: Bypassing third party objections and appeals in planning approval processes*. Melbourne.
- Inch, A. (2014). Ordinary citizens and the political cultures of planning: In search of the subject of a new democratic ethos. *Planning Theory*, 1-21. doi:10.1177/1473095214536172
- Legacy, C. (2012). Achieving legitimacy through deliberative plan-making processes – Lessons for metropolitan strategic planning. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 13(1), 71-87.
- Legacy, C., March, A. & Mouat, C. (2014). Limits and potentials to deliberative engagement in highly regulated planning systems: Norm development within fixed rules. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 15(1), 26-40.
- Low, N. & Astle, R. (2009). Path dependence in urban transport: An institutional analysis of urban passenger transport in Melbourne, Australia. *Transport Policy*, 16(2), 47-58.
- Lucas, C. (2014, June 26). Matthew Guy approves thousands more apartments for Melbourne CBD. *The Age*. Retrieved from: <http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/matthew-guy-approves-thousands-more-apartments-for-melbourne-cbd-20140626-zsm1p.html>.
- March, A. (2012). *The democratic plan: Analysis and diagnosis*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.
- McLoughlin, B. (1992). *Shaping Melbourne's future: Town planning, and the State and civil society*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Melbourne Planning Authority. (2013). *Our Role*. Retrieved from: <http://www.mpa.vic.gov.au/about/our-role/>.
- Mees, P. (2000). From philosopher king to municipal dog catcher – and beyond. *Urban Policy and Research*, 18(3), 387-400.
- Mees, P. (2010). *Transport for suburbia: Beyond the automobile age*. London: Earthscan.
- Mees, P. (2011). Proceedings of the 5th State of Australian Cities Conference: *Who killed Melbourne 2030?* Melbourne.
- Metro Portland. (1995). *2040 growth*. Portland, Oregon: Metro Portland.

- Moodie, R., Whitney, D., Wright, M., McAfee, A. (2008). *Melbourne 2030 audit expert group report*. Melbourne: Melbourne 2030 Audit Expert Group.
- NORTH Link. (2014). *Northern horizons: 50 year infrastructure strategy for Melbourne's north*. Bundoora, Victoria: NORTH Link. Retrieved from: <http://melbournenorth.com.au/northern-horizons-50-year-infrastructure-strategy-for-melbournes-north/>.
- Productivity Commission. (2011). *Performance benchmarking of Australian business regulation: Planning, zoning and development assessments*. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Productivity Commission. (2014). *Public infrastructure – Productivity Commission Inquiry Report Volume 1 No 71*. Melbourne: Australian Government.
- Ruming, K. & Gurran, N. (2014). Australian planning systems reform. *Australian Planning*, 51(2), 102-7.
- Sandercock, L. & Friedmann, J. (2000). Strategising the metropolis in a global era. *Urban Policy and Research*, 18(4), 529-33.
- Shaw, K. (2003). Discretion vs regulation and the sorry state of Melbourne city plan 2010. *Urban Policy and Research*, 21(4), 441-7.
- Shaw, K. (2013). Docklands dreaming: Illusions of sustainability in the Melbourne Docks redevelopment. *Urban Studies*, 50(11), 2158-77.
- Searle, G. & Bunker, R. (2010). New century Australian spatial planning: Recentralization under Labor. *Planning Practice & Research*, 25(4), 517-29.
- SGS Economics & Planning & Municipal Association of Victoria. (2013). *The Metropolitan Planning Authority: Towards a preferred model*. Melbourne: SGS Economics & Planning & Municipal Association of Victoria.
- Stone, J. (2009). Contrasts in reform: How the Cain and Burke years shaped public transport in Melbourne and Perth. *Urban Policy and Research*, 27(4), 419-34.
- Sturup, S. (2010). *Managing mentalities of mega projects* (PhD Thesis). The University of Melbourne, Australia.
- Sullivan, H., Williams, P. & Knight, L. (2013). Collaborative futures: Discursive realignments in austere times. *Public Money & Management*, 33(2), 123-30.
- Taylor, E. (2013). Do house values influence resistance to development? A spatial analysis of planning objection and appeals in Melbourne. *Urban Policy and Research*, 31(1), 5-26.
- Versteeg, W. & Hajer, M. (2010). Is this how it is, or is this how it is here? Making sense of politics in planning. In J. Hillier & P. Healey (Eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to planning theory: Conceptual challenges for spatial planning* (159-82). Surrey, UK: Ashgate.

Victorian Auditor General. (2013). Developing transport infrastructure and services for population growth areas. Melbourne: Victorian Auditor General.

Victorian State Government. (2002). *Melbourne 2030: Planning for sustainable growth*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.

Victorian State Government. (2014). *Plan Melbourne: Metropolitan planning strategy*. Melbourne: Victorian State Government.

Whitzman, C. & Mizrachi, D. (2012). Creating child-friendly high-rise environments: Beyond wasteland and glasshouses. *Urban Policy and Research*, 30(3), 233-49.

Woodcock, I., Dovey, K., Wollan, S. & Robertson, I. (2011). Speculation and resistance: Constraints on compact city policy implementation in Melbourne. *Urban Policy and Research*, 29(4), 343-62.

Making, Delivering and Protecting a Plan for Melbourne

Kate Roffey

In thinking about how we can implement some big ideas to create a better future for Melbourne, we need to consider how to develop a plan, how to deliver that plan, and how to protect it. I don't think that any one of those three works in isolation, and unless we have all three working together, we're not going to have a visionary plan to drive this city forward into the future. I don't think that we've really managed to grasp this yet. We need a long term plan - I'm talking forty years or more - and a multi-faceted plan, not simply a spatial one.

I think that employment is one of the biggest issues that we need to consider, and we need to do so much more seriously, taking a look at what sorts of jobs are going to drive the city in the future. We need to sit down and pick some winners in this respect. Governments hate doing this, and this is one of the reasons why the *Committee for Melbourne*, of which I am CEO, exists. We can't help to energise and innovate key sectors of the economy if we don't start to pick ones that will drive our economic growth.

This is not a job for government, but a job for business. That being said, government has a very important job to do in enabling business to get the job done. Governments tend not to be great visionary thinkers but they do have control over legislation. A good example of the role government can play here can be found in Singapore, where there was a vision to become one of the best accounting countries in the world and government played a vital role in changing the legislation to enable this and in opening up doors in an international sense to make this happen.

Another thing we really need to consider is the fact that we're heading towards a city of eight million people, and we're going to need to consider how to fit these people in, how to house them, employ them and move them around. If we're not careful, our urban boundary will end up on the doorstep of Ballarat, all because we don't like the idea of densification. We really have to get over this and start to infill in order to make best use of the services and infrastructure in our existing urban areas. We can't have people continuing to move into the outer suburbs if they can't be provided with the infrastructure, connectivity and employment they need.

Any conversation about Melbourne's future invariably will involve talking about transport, particularly public transport, which we find very difficult to fund. Somehow we have to start to be more innovative with funding public transport. At the same time, we can't forget about roads, given their vital role in moving freight around. It's all very well to say that all the money should go to public transport, but unless we're prepared to get our fresh fruit and vegetables three or four days

late, we have to acknowledge the role played by roads, and somehow balance out what is a very limited funding pool between public transport and roads.

Liveability is another very important issue, as remaining one of the world's most liveable cities is very important to us in a branding sense and for our economy. It's one of the things that attract international headquarters to Melbourne. It's the reason why BHP is a Melbourne-based company even though most of their work happens in Western Australia. They want to be here, with our arts and culture, sports and laneways. These sorts of things are why GM Holden keep their research and design innovation centre here in Fishermans Bend, even though their manufacturing centre has closed down. It's because people will come to live in Melbourne and they want the best minds in the world working here for them.

At the same time, we can't forget how important equity is. We cannot be the world's most liveable city for only half the people who live here. If we have a strong economy, that means we can share this wealth, but we have to remember to do so. We also must not forget to incorporate the experience of those around us. We have a lot of great city planners, architects and transport planners, but there are also many others with very good ideas. We can learn from those who are living and working in the city about their experience and what we can do better. The City of Melbourne is currently doing this with the People's Panel, a representative group taken from the municipality's businesses and residents. These people will sit down with Councillors and council staff to try to deliver a strategic plan and, in particular, spending. This will likely generate some good ideas that the decision makers haven't thought about, but it will also result in the people on the panel walking away with a greater understanding of the difficulties faced by government, and the trade-offs that are necessary when a multitude of issues are competing for limited funding.

*"Vote-based democracy
creates only 2 options.
Participatory processes create
many, many options." –
Comment on Twitter.*

That's how we can develop a plan, but now there's the issue of delivering the plan. The main issue here is coming up with a funding mechanism that works, as this is often lacking. We also need to protect the plan and transcend the political cycle. We need to be able to independently assess our priorities and avoid things like pork barrelling. This has been achieved in places such as Manchester in the UK, where the politicians recognised they might not be the best people to

make some of these big decisions and gave this power to an independent group of people who were experts in relevant fields.

People often tell me that this can't occur because we're a democracy and governments have the right to make decisions on our behalf once elected. I say that this isn't the case as we are the people

who live here; this is our city. We need to take more of a stand and ensure that governments aren't able to change things that have been sitting on the priority list for years or decades. We need to take responsibility for making sure they stick to the plan.

We haven't got the luxury of sitting here and letting this city grow by chance. We will not become a great city and we will not remain a globally competitive city if this occurs. We're already starting to see cities like Singapore overtake us in areas where we could be international powerhouses. It's time for us to sit down and have a say as the people who live and work here, and decide how our city will move forward.

How can Local Governance be Fit for Purpose?

Dr Andrew Hollows

As the CEO of the Victorian Local Governance Association, I want to present my ideas about the planning, governance and financing of Melbourne's development through the prism of local governance and about how we can make these arrangements fit for purpose. The work of the VLGA is about building local governance - how local councils and communities govern together. We are especially interested in what needs to be done to support the work of councils and communities to build strong, inclusive and resilient neighbourhoods.

For us, local governance has the following attributes. It needs to be responsive to community needs and aspirations, effective in the division of services and functions, efficient in the use of public resources and, fundamentally, democratic in participation and how decisions are made locally about issues that affect local communities. Central to such understanding of local governance is the important role of local government and how it can advance the needs and interests of its municipality. This is a role particularly important when talking about planning and the governance needed to drive strategic schemes such as *Plan Melbourne*.

Equally important to the delivery of local governance, however, is the active participation of local communities on issues that affect their lives and activities. It is clear that people are increasingly interested in being involved in decisions that directly affect where they live and work. This means connecting with the issues that matter to people in their daily lives, and at the same time connecting these issues to the big picture of policy and planning.

This is why at the VLGA we focus our work on councils and communities. To solely address one aspect without the other is not sufficient - both are required. To govern effectively, the different groups responsible for governance at a community level need to work in collaboration with each other. This includes councils, higher tiers of government, NGOs and other entities which influence local governance. This also means developing local governance arrangements that support a collaborative approach between local councils and community to determine local priorities and how to deliver these.

But the circumstances within which local governance is exercised are both changing and confronting. Indeed, the current period is one of uncertainty for effective local governance. These circumstances include demographic shifts such as population ageing. Population growth and decline and increasingly mobility are placing pressure on councils to ensure services are responsive to community needs and are within the capacity of local government to deliver.

How to maintain the liveability and amenity of neighbourhoods and the vibrancy of civic life are ongoing concerns, given new urgency by problems of environmental degradation and seemingly intractable social disadvantage – of the wicked problem variety. Councils are contending with these changes through fostering local economic activity, social connectedness and through planning and providing for infrastructure.

However, the capacity to fully address issues and implement solutions is constrained. In particular, financial sustainability is an immediate pressure on local governance, affecting some councils much more than others. Without the ability to deliver on community needs, local government's capacity to work together with communities is compromised. Effective local governance requires councils to be financially sustainable.

In an increasingly complex public sphere, councils are also called on to collaborate with each other and with both State and Federal Government. Councils also need to respond to emerging innovations in community-level governance (such as in community banking) and new governance bodies such as the Metropolitan Planning Authority (MPA). All of these changes demand clear cooperation and partnerships.

A final, fundamental challenge for local governance and for public perceptions of councils in general, is the persistence of a “democratic deficit”. Community expectations are changing, and answering these requires democratic processes that are transparent and inclusive and support wide participation.

Without effective engagement with local communities, levels of cynicism about local government will persist. Community support and active participation in the activities of local government is needed if local governance is to be vibrant and strong

Meeting this challenge brings me to my second main point. Local governance must be fit for purpose in dealing with the planning of Melbourne. The key challenge is: how do we support local governance that remains democratic, whilst supporting the equitable development of Melbourne as a metropolitan city?

In order to think these matters through, I have identified a number of questions for consideration:

- How can we balance the needs of metropolitan-wide planning with local community interests? In other words, how do we strike a balance between metropolitan, sub-regional and municipal level governance?
- How to encourage and support local councils in ongoing collaboration on shared planning issues especially at a sub-regional level?

- How to ensure a legitimate role for local government that is respected by and works in effective partnership with the State Government and, where relevant, with the Federal Government?
- How to preserve the legitimacy of local government, as the immediate tier of government, in context of the work of other governance bodies such as the Metropolitan Planning Authority?
- How to foster trust between local councils and communities about planning issues, service design and delivery?
- How to tap into the views and perspectives of the silent majority as opposed to the so-called noisy minority?
- How to raise the tone of the conversation about planning, boosting the skills and confidence of councillors, and using local mechanisms to support an informed discussion with community?
- How to balance, at a local level, the legitimate but sometimes divergent interests of residents, rate-payers and local citizens?
- And how to ensure outcomes that do not simply reinforce the current spatial, economic and social divide that characterises metropolitan Melbourne?

It is clear that local governance is no longer the sole preserve of local government. There is a wide range of different organisations and networks coming together with different but hopefully complementary perspectives. There is a key role here for councils in enabling and promoting local governance.

If we are to adequately respond to the big picture issues outlined in *Plan Melbourne*; this requires governance arrangements that are fit for purpose. Namely, fit for the task of supporting local governance but also meeting the overarching needs of good planning at a metropolitan level. Critically, any governance arrangements must deliver local outcomes that are responsive to community needs, effective in the delivery of services, efficient in the use of public resources; and, most importantly, are democratic by supporting local decision-making.

Integrated, Deliberative Planning: Beyond Sleepwalking Towards Catastrophe

Professor Brendan Gleeson

The influential French public intellectual Bruno Latour recently invoked Australia in a widely discussed address to the Royal Academy in Copenhagen, speaking of the “Australian syndrome”, a national disorder described as “voluntarily sleepwalking towards catastrophe”. Is this description unfair? Surely it doesn’t apply to our planning efforts, by definition opposed to the idea of sleepwalking to change. Does *Plan Melbourne* betray this alleged Australian syndrome? From the perspective of climate threat, the answer regrettably must be yes.

I recently shared a train journey from Frankfurt to Heidelberg with a private consultant playing a leading role in the national effort Germany is undertaking to transition to renewable energy. He shared Latour’s view, asking me why Australia was so intransigent on climate change. This was not coming from a strongly progressive perspective – this person was quite conservative in many ways, but was certainly evoking a different national mindset. From the German perspective, climate change is a matter of national security and they consider it highly important to anticipate and respond to the manifest threats and failures of our current energy sources and systems.

The leading edge of potential human catastrophe is the climate emergency, and we must acknowledge that it is now manifesting in our cities. Can we say that we’re doing better than sleepwalking in metropolitan planning? Are we getting our act together for this dramatic play that’s already breaking on us? I don’t think we are. We do, however, have plenty of analytical resources to draw upon; perhaps more than we think. We have the excellent work by my Monash University colleagues, led by Nigel Tapper, in modelling and mapping urban heat stress at the local scale in Australian cities. CSIRO has also done a lot of work on this and in similar areas. This type of work should be used as decision support and planning material. It must be integral to our metropolitan planning for change, but sadly is not.

Another thing we should be using is public participation, which is *not* an enemy of, or a cost to, the planning system. The cities in Australia and overseas that have been most successful in plan implementation are those which saw civic participation as a system plus not a system negative. This is not a new point; the cause of participatory planning has been debated for decades with varying success. But the matter is particularly relevant in our contemporary times, overshadowed as they are by community anxiety about social and economic change, as well as by the disconcerting scales of ecological risk.

In these troubled times, I think any major expression of social direction, such as a metropolitan plan, which discounts the necessity of democratic deliberation, is very likely to fail, probably after much costly conflict and push-back. In these complex, fluid, cosmopolitan times, the ideal of community consensus has never at once been so difficult but, at the same time, so necessary to obtain.

State elections are certainly important moments in the macro policy cycle where broad alternatives are put to the public and decided upon but they are not a substitute for public deliberation and participation in planning. I think that our metropolitan planning system has long been driven by the vagaries and short term outlook of the electoral process. The planning system needs its own dedicated circuit of civic conservation and decision making, particularly in setting the planning vision for Melbourne and making fundamental decisions about its structure.

Therefore, no major urban project should be conceived and decided upon outside the core processes of planning. As the late Paul Mees argued persuasively, planning by road agencies is not metropolitan planning. We're not alone in having too many examples of planning decisions being made outside what should be a planning process. Any major public policy decision that affects the fundamental shaping of Melbourne should be included in and central to the mechanisms and deliberations of the planning system.

I believe that comprehensive planning, while a bit of a careworn concept, is still an ideal worth holding to. This means committing to civic deliberation of metropolitan visions and the pathways to the realisation of these. It also means integrated planning across the full urban management spectrum, necessitating collaboration between the agencies responsible for the social, environmental and physical development of Melbourne.

"The Victorian Government should have the courage to borrow money to build public transport!" – Comment made at seminar

We've had a series of experiments with integrated planning in Victoria, as have had other jurisdictions, and we simply need to recommit to the cause of this rather difficult but necessary approach to planning. I think that comprehensive planning also means the full realisation of the metropolitan vision, whatever that may be, rather than only the select parts that reflect state funding priorities or the preferences of powerful lobbies.

Environmental and social goals are typically included as leading metropolitan objects but are too often left without meaningful commitment or mechanisms for implementation. Social and spatial equity outcomes of urban development have also been similarly present, but I would argue that commitment to equity in Melbourne's planning system has been diminished and should be restored in its various dimensions and forms. One issue particularly

deserving of attention is the huge and largely unsupported burden that our outer municipalities are bearing in the face of record population growth.

*“Thorough evaluation and transparent implementation needs to be statutorily and institutionally integrated.” –
Comment made at seminar.*

We need to think about positive, rather than regulatory, planning. This means considering how various agencies, vehicles and mechanisms can be used to achieve our objectives, rather than simply trying to plan for Melbourne through regulation (necessary as it is). Some of the more successful vehicles that have been employed in other jurisdictions include the Brisbane Housing

Company, which is jointly owned by the Queensland state government and Brisbane City Council. It has proved very effective as a creative mechanism for achieving specific metropolitan housing outcomes.

The creation of the Metropolitan Planning Authority is a very welcome development and the state government is to be congratulated for this. It is to be further applauded for hypothecating a funding stream to this body, based on development levies. The challenge will be to further the development of this agency in a variety of ways. Firstly, it should be given carriage for plan making and empowered to ensure integrated planning by state agencies. Secondly, it should be tasked to foster and maintain a meaningful civic conversation about planning objectives and strategies. In short, its participatory and deliberative functions need to be better defined and strengthened. If this can be achieved, it may be possible to move beyond “sleepwalking towards catastrophe” and effectively plan for the future of Melbourne.

Post-It Notes and Citizens' Juries: Sharing Decisions About Our Future

Andrew Holden

The question of implementing a plan for Melbourne's future is a massive topic, but in the end we need to focus on people and how they fit within this process. How can we get Jack and Jill from Wheeler's Hill involved in the planning for Melbourne's future?

In Christchurch, it took a crisis - the 2011 earthquake - to bring the community together to think about the planning for its future and the city they would want rebuilt. Hopefully Melbourne won't need a crisis to go through this process! Bob Parker, the then Mayor of Christchurch, launched an extraordinary event where the council effectively took over a building the size of a stadium and turned it into an opportunity for the community to come along and look at maps of the city, read about various issues - for example, transport, and where things could or could not be rebuilt - and put their ideas on a board on a whole lot of Post-It notes.

The power of doing something in this manner is that it gave great power to the city council and national government to make some remarkably bold decisions. One of them was to take a series of city blocks, buy them from the owners, and turn them into a park on the edge of town. Imagine taking the area bounded by Spring, La Trobe, Spencer and Lonsdale Streets and bulldozing it for a park. That's exactly what is happening in Christchurch in terms of the scale of that city. This kind of process enables public buy-in and the ability to look into the long term at the city we want, all energised by something as simple as writing on Post-It notes.

I would like to make three proposals here. The first is that Melbourne's municipal councils be required to hold at least one such session every two years, or alternatively, hold more frequent events focusing on a particular issue or a particular part of their community. This would involve people and get them to come along and propose their ideas.

*"Participatory processes create broader, strategic, transparent, intelligent decision making that serves wider communities." –
Comment on Twitter.*

My second proposal is that we share the decisions on how our money gets spent. I think it's fascinating what the City of Melbourne is doing in terms of the citizens' jury they are setting up to come along and help the city council decide what should happen. Darebin City Council is also looking at adopting the same idea. You might think that councillors should be making these decisions - after all, isn't that why we elect them? However, I would argue that it's a great way to

bring more perspectives into the process and ultimately achieve buy-in to implement the big decisions.

I would also like to reiterate the opinion of *The Age*, of which I am Editor-In-Chief, that Melbourne has far too many councils. For once, we actually agree with Jeff Kennett - an extreme rarity! While Kennett reduced the number of municipalities during his time as Victorian Premier, we in fact believe this should be taken further. I personally believe Melbourne should be reduced to just six councils. That would be plenty and we could have citizens' juries working with these much larger municipalities to drive through the spending of their funds. I think we would have far more effective planning across the city if we were to do that.

My third proposal is that we take a look at who gets the credit for getting things done. If you look at any public building, you will see plaques acknowledging all sorts of Sirs and Honourables. It's always the top worthies, not the people whose taxes paid for the building. You can walk around town, across bridges and through parks and see acknowledgements of Premiers, Ministers and Mayors, but you and I never get on there, and we're never asked to cut a ribbon.

When my child's primary school in Christchurch needed to raise a lot of money to build a new activity centre they sought donations from parents - reasonable amounts such as \$200 to \$500 - offering them a little plaque with their names to give them credit for having been part of making it happen. So here's an idea: what if we made it so that our citizens could identify projects that they wanted to fund, get the land from the council, decide how to make it happen, and then get the credit for it. For all of that family's future, they could see what Grandpa or Grandma did in that particular community. While public private partnerships are currently all the rage, innovative mechanisms such as crowd funding are emerging and could be part of the solution. They're a dynamic way of raising funds for ideas that might not be supported by governments or businesses, an opportunity for people to put a proposal up to the world, ask who will help fund it, and then give those people the credit.

In these ways - by getting people involved, sharing decision making and finding innovative ways to let people pay for the ideas they want realised - we can take huge steps towards planning for a better future for Melbourne.



MELBOURNE SUSTAINABLE
SOCIETY INSTITUTE

The Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute (MSSI), hosted by the Faculty of Architecture, Building & Planning, aims to facilitate and enable research linkages, projects and conversations leading to increased understanding of sustainability and resilience trends, challenges and solutions. The MSSI approach includes a particular emphasis on the contribution of the social sciences and humanities to understanding and addressing sustainability and resilience challenges.

www.sustainable.unimelb.edu.au



MELBOURNE
SOCIAL EQUITY
INSTITUTE

The Melbourne Social Equity Institute (MSEI) supports interdisciplinary research on social equity issues across the full spectrum of social life including health, law, education, housing, work and transport. The Institute brings together researchers from across the University of Melbourne to identify unjust or unfair practices that lead to social inequity and work towards finding ways to ameliorate disadvantage.

www.socialequity.unimelb.edu.au