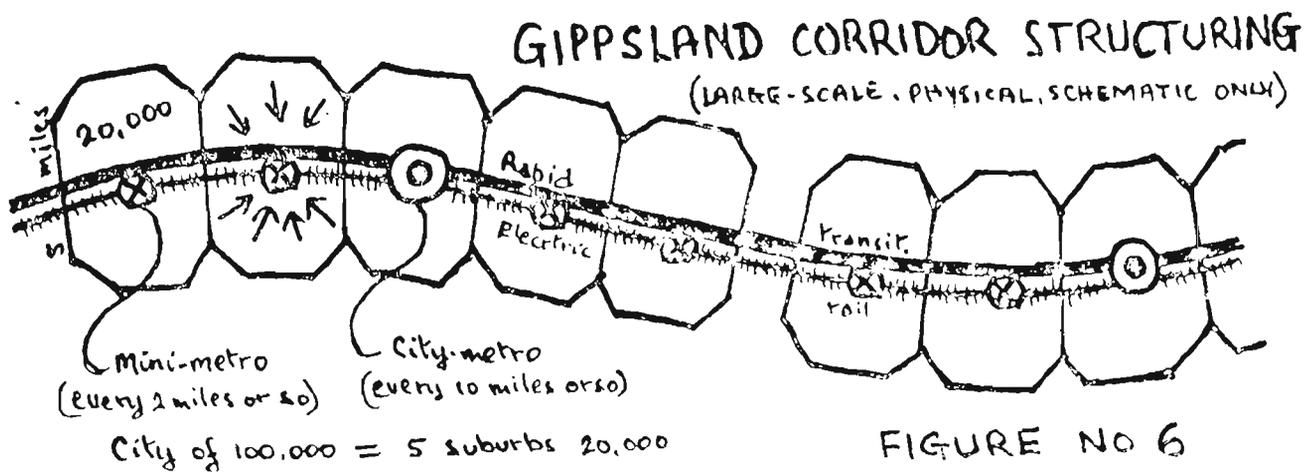


HEARING OF OBJECTIONS TO  
M.M.B.W REGIONAL PROPOSALS.

SUBMISSION BY MR. M. CROW

7.12.1972



# Hearing of Objections to MMBW Regional Proposals

SUBMISSION IN SUPPORT OF OBJECTION BY M.CROW -7/12/1972

## Introduction

To avoid any misunderstanding, it should be mentioned at the outset that as far as the broad physical outline of growth patterns are concerned there is absolutely no difference between one version of an alternative regional plan for Melbourne proposed by the Town and Country Planning Association and which it has called the "Berwick-Warragul" corridor and the alternative which we have called the "Gippsland" corridor.

Indeed, if this were all that there was to it, we could possibly say, to save time: We rest our case on that of the Town and Country Planning Association, and leave it at that.

However, there are some differences, even in the physical alternatives proposed. And in any case, the broad physical outline of the growth pattern is not the only factor. Moreover the reasons for adopting such a radically different system as against the more conventional and seemingly logical pattern proposed by the Board have to be really good reasons, because neither the Board nor the Government can lightly make such a momentous change in decision.

Whilst we fully agree with the reasons advanced by the Association, (all of which, in the interests of time we will not repeat here), we have certain other reasons on which we will concentrate. These are either additional or differently emphasised, and we believe them to be even stronger reasons than those advanced by the Association.

Before putting our two main grounds for the Gippsland corridor, first let us summarise four lesser points which emerge from the Board's own ~~studies~~ studies and analyses published either in 1954 or in 1971 or from deductions connected with these.

## The Grounds Commonly Argued

1. The general amenity of the country to the north and west of Melbourne is far inferior to that of the country to the south and east

2. The economics of the situation, on the face of it, would seem to favor development to the south east rather than the west or north, not only because of the nature of the terrain, but also because the major services of water, electricity and natural gas would all have to be brought from the east

3. The Board's alternative 2 on Plan 9 p.69 of the "Planning Policies" Report is an official expression of misgiving by the Board that the Government's option for a balanced-growth radial-spoke green-wedge policy (which was a policy constraint within which the Board had to proceed) may not prove viable. We endorse the Town and Country Planning Association's remarks on this point and will not elaborate on them except to repeat the warning sounded by the Association that adoption of alternative 1 would prejudice alternative 2, and not give the second alternative a fair trial.

4. The Board's "possible long-term urban pattern" on Plan 10 p.73 of the "Planning Policies" Report show long-term growth not by extension of the eight corridors, but with major growth into Gippsland, with a minor extension to Geelong.

If there are good reasons for the Board to advocate, in effect, a Gippsland corridor---the very concept we advance---for long term future development, how can there be any good reasons for going in 8 different directions at once, as a short term proposition? Certainly the Board cannot argue that the Gippsland corridor is unlikely to be feasible or unworthy of investigation, having itself advanced it for such long-term perspectives.

Indeed, as the "Planning Policies" report says on p.72: "it is to be expected that a major part of Melbourne's growth will occur in these directions, despite any action taken to stimulate growth elsewhere",

(our emphasis), and the reason given, as in 1954 is that "it is evident that the most favourable areas in terms of environmental qualities continue to be to the east and south-east"

In short, condensing these four points into one, it is submitted that it is not sensible planning, even in traditional terms, to subsidise people to live in the economically more expensive and environmentally inferior directions of north and west, even for the short-term 20 or 30 years ahead, unless, of course, there are other reasons of an overwhelmingly important character.

Now there are such other reasons for a <sup>multi-</sup>radial corridor design, and from the "Planning Policies" document three can be identified, directly or by inference, and we desire, very briefly, to mention these three reasons to show that the first of them should be totally unacceptable and the other two are better served by the Gippsland corridor in any case.

The 3 reasons are :-

- (i) The expectations of investors and others.
- (ii) Setting aside conservation and landscape interest areas; and
- (iii) "Balancing" urban growth around the central business district (CBD)

(i) The expectations of investors or those whose land by happy accident gathers astronomical accretions in value by expanding urban growth, is dealt with indirectly in the "Planning Policies" report at pp 78-79 where it recommends designation in advance for some 20 years demand for residential land of which 5 years supply ~~supply~~ of subdivided serviced land should be available. This leaves 15 years supply of "raw" land, mainly in the hands of developers, which it is claimed to be necessary to release in advance, the argument being that unless developers hold now about three-quarters of the supply in the shape of raw land needed for the next 20 years, the shortage of land for developers (not for the current needs of homebuilders) will force up the price of land.

Other aspects of the same subject are dealt with on pp 91-98 under financial policies. Here, of all possible policies reviewed, the Board considers the public purchase of land, the provision of full servicing, and its release at the appropriate time for development to be the only single course of action which meets most of the principles the Board considers as desirable, but considers it to be a measure that is too radical for acceptance, anyway on a large scale.

Now we do not want to canvas here ~~here~~, either the causes of, or the techniques for, preventing, the crippling increases in land prices which, in addition to being a burden on the younger section of the community at a time of life when they can least afford it, makes planning itself so difficult.

But we do say that the Board and the Government would be tackling the problem from the wrong end entirely if they were to make the first ~~objective~~ objective the "stabilisation of the land development industry" which they have been invited to do. The ~~purpose~~ purpose of such industry, like the ~~purpose aim~~ purpose aim of any other industry is for the investors to maximise their returns. But the objectives of a regional planning authority is to plan for overall community interests, which cannot be identified with one particular sectional industry, but should include all industries, and non-industrial concerns as well.

To guarantee the expectations of land-owning investors by ~~confining~~ <sup>constricting</sup> planning within the confines of such expectations would be an intolerable constraint on regional planning, which has enough difficulty with the constraints of nature, social habits and finance without adding the constraint of investment expectations which are heightened, as is inevitable by the very publication of the regional policies and maps.

In our submission, all areas whether in the west, the north or in any part of the Yarra Valley, for which plans for subdivision and servicing are not currently at an advanced stage, should be withheld from urban development, pending determination of the optimum overall growth pattern of Melbourne. In the meantime, the availability, the servicing, and price control of land sufficiently for such a relatively short time as it would take to review the objections of a general character before the Board and to decide on them should be guaranteed by government intervention if necessary, in exactly the way the Board itself recommends for partial use in particular circumstances on pp. 98; and the Board should so recommend.

Furthermore: if the Gippsland corridor is decided, then cases of genuine hardship at all other points of the compass, such as farmers who

or any other single corridor for that matter

have had to ~~pay~~ pay urban or near-urban rates whilst still carrying on long-standing farming operations should be compensated for the additional rates impost they have had to pay.

It is submitted that the inevitable and natural pressures of such expectations must have carried considerable weight in inclining the Board towards a plan of growth that would be fair and give rough justice to investors and landowners in every direction around Melbourne. It is conceded, as the Board report itself mentions, that without Federal finance the radical measures of acquisition, subdivision and resale by the Board itself, required to face up to such natural pressures cannot be contemplated. The Board, indeed, if it is to operate as an effective regional authority, must be put in a position by the State and Federal governments to establish its independence so that it can plan unimpeded either by spiralling land-price pressures generally, or by sectional pressures for pecuniary advantage coming from particular municipal areas.

After all, the Board, at the present point of history, has not only outlived its origin as a city planning body; it has, in a real sense, extraordinarily onerous responsibilities as a regional planning authority beyond any similar authority anywhere in Australia, because the particular region it is planning for contains, now, something like 70% of the population of the whole State.

Our case then, on this first point that the Gippsland corridor concept fails to record the considerable local pressures arising from the expectations for development at every point of the compass around Melbourne is simply this: so it should.

Irrespective of its powers and jurisdictional boundaries, the Board's thinking must be State-wide, for the effect of its decisions are State-wide. An examination of the Gippsland corridor at this level of approach, we suggest, must lead the Board and the Government to a serious reconsideration of the 7-corridor plan.

So much for the first of the three main reasons which we consider can be deduced from the Board's planning proposals for the 7-corridor plan. The other two reasons, namely for conservation purposes, and for balancing growth around the CBD are reasons to which we thoroughly subscribe, but which we say can be carried out far better in conjunction with a Gippsland corridor.

(ii) Conservation areas. From the viewpoint of conservation of the choicest areas in and around the present metropolis, the Gippsland corridor has outstanding advantages. The chief of these is that it could at once relieve the pressure for development in the Yarra Valley, thus meeting the well-argued alarm of those who have objected at these hearings against the further subdivision of the countryside of the Yarra valley, with the general tenor of which we concur.

However the Gippsland corridor would also leave intact all other proposed "green wedge areas" judged of conservation significance.

We should add that we are not in favor of a spur corridor running from Dandenong down to Westernport for conservation reasons

(iii) "Balancing" growth around the C.B.D. One advantage claimed for stimulated growth to the west and north is that it would help to keep the CBD centred in the metropolitan region, and thus strengthen the CBD as the major point of attraction, as indeed it should be, by making access to it more available due to the fact that new growth to west and north would be nearer than to east or south.

We agree with this to the extent that we approve the motive of providing maximum access by Melbourne's citizens to what is unique in the CBD. However, what this approach has overlooked is that equality of access should not be measured by distance alone.

Equal access to any urban centre, in fact, in these days of modern technology, must be measured in terms of time. Speed as well as distance must be counted. Aircraft travel is now a familiar example of this truism.

If, for example, 74 miles from Trafalgar by rapid transit to Flinders Street station takes the same time as a trip from from, say, Eltham, Ringwood Glen Waverley or Mordialloc ~~ether~~ by car or by the present suburban electric rail trains, then for all effective purposes a person living in Trafalgar is as near as any of the suburbs mentioned, and could be nearer time-wise than, say, the 23 or 24 miles to Melton or <sup>un</sup>bury by the ordinary electric train.

Therefore, a rapid-transit service in an elongated Gippsland corridor could serve to centre the CBD in the region, just as effectively as a subsidised development to west and north based on the current range of public and private transport speeds.

Neither the expectations of investors, nor the constraints of conserving certain areas, nor the idea of balancing growth around the CBD are good enough reasons, therefore, to outweigh all the natural and economic advantages of a Gippsland corridor. What has already been said about such advantages, reinforced with other reasons to be found in the Town and Country Planning Association's case, including recently changed government attitudes, and reasons in our book at pp 9-13 (which we will not elaborate here) are, all taken together, sufficiently powerful a case, without anything more, to suggest a re-consideration of the 7-spoke green-wedge plan.

But there is, we suggest, a great deal more which makes such a re-consideration now quite urgent.

### Two New Grounds---the Ecological and Sociological Grounds

There are two most vital grounds which uniquely favor the Gippsland corridor concept, and which are not dealt with, or not dealt with fully, either by the "Planning Policies" report or by other objectors.

#### (i) Minimising energy expenditure

The first is concerned with the question of the ecology. This issue is raised by the Board's report itself on p.35 which states: "~~ecology~~ technology is threatening to do irreparable damage to the earth's life-support system". After warning against emotionalism and overacting as well as not moving quickly enough, the report states that "the solutions will certainly involve governments, but they will increasingly require the co-operation and active involvement of industry and commerce and people as individuals and groups". The report concludes: "the immediate need so far as planning and the metropolitan region are concerned is to re-examine present policies of environmental management to see in what way they should be changed to deal with the current situation and to ensure that a sound basis is established for a long term policy "

What, then, is meant by "environmental management" ? The term is defined on p.36 as "the control of water air and noise pollution in addition to the conservation and proper utilisation of a wide range of resources"

To its credit, the "Planning Policies" report and the maps give consideration to these factors especially to the pollution factors. They are most important. But it is submitted that "environmental management" as so defined does not exhaust the obligations of the regional authority towards protecting life support systems. There is another key factor not considered, and on which the regional plan can have not only a direct bearing, but a decisive bearing, and that is to so plan as to minimise unnecessarily wasteful expenditure of energy in the form of transport.

The Board's report does mention at p.38 that, in connection with pollution "the motor vehicle engines are by far the biggest source", bigger, apparently, than are factories.

It is not however only the pollution effect---although that is important enough---but the energy expenditure that needs consideration, and on two accounts: first: reduction of the rate of increase of energy consumption to control so-called "thermal pollution"; and secondly: nursing the precious and fast-dwindling stocks of fossil fuels.

The Board's report at p.35 says: "there is still lacking ~~quantitative in many areas on which to base practical policy decisions~~ quantitative data in many areas on which to base practical policy decisions". Attention is drawn to the book "Limits to Growth", which appeared in Melbourne in June this year, seven months after the publication of the Board's report. This book is precisely an account of an international effort to quantify, on a global scale, the five main growth factors it identifies, namely ~~ix~~ :-

1. population
2. industrial capital
3. agricultural capital
4. pollution, and
5. non-renewable resources.

and to determine the interrelation between these factors, and the reduction in the rate of growth of each required to achieve the positive aim of global ecological equilibrium

References to some of the conclusions of the book are to be found in our book "Plan for Melbourne Part 3" at pp 24-29 and in Appendix No 3 on p.129.

We draw attention to the following passages from Plan for Melbourne p.25 derived from consideration of the book "Limits to Growth" :

"---according to the best estimates then available the world's supply of natural gas and petroleum at the rate we are now using them will last 38 and 31 years respectively; at the rate of increase corresponding to the ever increasing usage year by year (the exponential index) will last only 22 and 20 years respectively: even if allowance is made for discovery of 5 times the known reserves, they will last 49 and 50 years respectively on the exponential scale. So, somewhere between 20 years and 50 years, we will be switching to coal for energy where we now use petrol or natural gas, if no changes are made in the present pattern of growth".

"Long before that critical point has been reached, however, we would have to start reorganising for such a change. So any objector to the Club of Rome " (that is, the authors of the book "Limits to Growth") "has not only his morality ~~at stake~~ and common sense in question, he even has his 'pocket' at stake if it turns out to be short sighted to have spent \$2221 million (in 1969 prices) on freeways by 1985 before even knowing what form of technology applied to mobility is to replace the petrol-driven engines !"

"Incidentally, whereas known reserves of coal at present rates of usage would last for 2300 years, when it has to substitute for natural gas and petroleum the "exponential" index comes down to 111 years. If 5 times the resources are discovered, the exponential index shows exhaustion of coal supplies in 150 years."

Our text then deals with the fallacy that a solution can be found by tackling one only of the growth factors---and not all of them simultaneously.

The significance of this is that, whilst the Board, directly, cannot be expected to do much about population growth, industrial growth or agricultural growth rates, it can have a great deal to do with ~~using~~ <sup>using</sup> energy renewable resources, and with thermal heat pollution, and we ask on p 26:

"Suppose the regional planners were to be asked: 'Please design a pattern of urban growth that will maximise the energy required to convey goods and people around the Melbourne region'

"The answer surely would be a radial corridor plan or a radial-corridor-with-satellites plan !."

And we proceed a little lower on the page to spell this out in more detail:

"There is more energy required to carry goods and people from one part to another in the Melbourne region on a radial corridor pattern than on any other because:-

- (a) energy-expensive cars and trucks must be used in place of the more efficient public transport systems for cross-corridor transport
- (b) the necessity to use cars and trucks for cross-corridor transport tends to consolidate and maximise this mode of transport also for trips which could otherwise be along-corridor public transport trips
- (c) the universalisation of cars and trucks as a mode of transport tends to maximise the randomness of location both of residence and industry in relation to public transport, making it more and more difficult for such commuters or industries who want to use public transport to do so.
- (d) the consequent road congestion followed by a freeway network to overcome it, will include freeways serving the radial corridors and these will minimise time for private transport users and entice them outwards rapidly along the radial corridors, further and further apart, making the cross-corridor trips longer and longer.
- (e) the energy used by the ever more random, and the ever more radially-dispersed urban components will continually increase

"Therefore the supply of a given human satisfaction in Melbourne, insofar as it involves internal transport energy, will be maximised by a linear corridor growth pattern, minimised by a ~~radial one~~ <sup>radial one</sup>

"The energy used and heat produced is not confined to the petrol and oil products consumed by the motor vehicle. It has to do, indeed, also with the energy and heat involved in the continual replacement of these vehicles, and back beyond that, of course, with the energy and resource-use of the steel, rubber and other materials required by that

manufacture.

"Of course, any public transport would also have to bear its share of energy, both in operation and in replacement, but all the experts who have ever spoken on this have always acknowledged the superior efficiency of public transport over private, and of railed public transport (i.e tram or train) over buses for any long-haul mass conveyance---"

The quite recent emergence of the need for a new type of planning, namely, planning for ecological equilibrium on a global scale, which, by its very nature must be comprehensive inter-disciplinary planning of the highest order has suddenly thrust onto the shoulders of the Board of Works Commissioners a rather terrifying incidence of responsibility. But all of us have this same responsibility, as indeed the Board's report itself points out. The chance for success in ~~bringing~~ reversing present trends which, if allowed to continue unabated, place the real limits to growth at something less than 100 years, is to start now and not postpone the problem on the plea of lack of finally complete knowledge. At least enough is known to isolate the direction of the new trends desired, and these are in cutting down simultaneously on the rate of growth of every one of the 5 main growth components mentioned.

Thus the elongated uni-directional corridor serviced with rapid transit, which offers speeds two to three times that of the private motor vehicle, in our view, is not just one way of cutting down on transport energy, it is, in fact the only way so to do (short of running out of supplies of fuel, that is)

On page 28, we summarise the energy savings features of the Gippsland corridor as enabling a deliberately engineered "swing" back to public transport for these reasons:

1. location of all major facilities on public transport.
2. grouping of facilities to minimise commuting
3. discouragement of cross-suburban car-commuting
4. necessary commuting more convenient by transit.
5. non-commuting car trips minimised by reviving attraction for local activities (this will be explained in a minute)
6. Ultimate possibility of increased use of rail for freight.

Our text then reads:

"By contrast consider the Evans-MMBW plan, and in conjunction, the Metropolitan Transportation Plan which meshes in with the regional plan having been constructed on land-use radial growth patterns supplied by the MMBW to the Metropolitan Transportation Committee (MTC)

"The MTC plan pays lip service to the need for improving public transport and proclaims that a "balanced transport system" is the result of its labors. The MMBW regional plan proposes to adopt the MTC plan and are couched in similar terms.

"The reality is that no matter what improvements are made in public transport, even improvements that go far beyond those proposed by the MTC plans, they cannot hope to entice patronage from private commuters at a rate decisive enough to make a significant contribution to saving energy, so long as Melbourne's future growth is to be radial corridor pattern.

"Sooner or later the energy-extravagant one-person-per-car long-distance commuting is going to be brought to a stop. For anyone who

~~understands~~

understands where we are heading ecologically it is downright immoral to entertain any radial corridor plan----"

We would like to point out specifically here a consequence of the fact that the freeway network was planned to cope with land-use projections supplied by the Board. Since these projections were based on "balanced growth" concepts in every direction from the CBD the very provisions of these freeways, some already in operation, and some taking shape now are already ~~in~~ tending to consolidate and extend the radial growth trends. Therefore it is no use talking about giving serious consideration to the Gippsland corridor and simultaneously proceeding with the MTC freeway network design as fast as possible.

Despite the recent announcement of the Premier on 18th November foreshadowing a scaling down of freeway construction plans and increased attention and expenditure for public transport, it is our contention, that, so long as ~~the~~ some form of radial growth pattern is adhered to, the extent of success in switching people from private to public transport will be only marginal in significance and the possibility of switching suburban freight from private to public transport will be practically nil.

There is no evidence that either the Board or the MTC have studied the potential advantages of a Gippsland corridor serviced by rapid transit, and the extent to which this might make possible the drastic re-design and scaling down of the presently-proposed freeway network. We propose that the Board and the Government urgently investigate such possibilities, unless indeed, the MTC have done so in the course of the current review of the MTC plan directed by the Government.

Unless and until such a review has been done as part of the ecological sociological costing (which we will soon mention) the freeway construction planning should be suspended.

(ii) Maximising social involvement

The other ground advanced by us concerned with community planning is somewhat novel perhaps, and connects both with our emphasis on public transport and our emphasis on changed patterns of living which will inevitably be increasingly demanded by the overall ecological goals, if we are going to take any notice of such goals at all.

In brief, this concerns people deriving much more satisfaction from life in the form of participatory urban-type activities of one sort or another, be they cultural, sporting, hobby, educational or whatever. In more familiar terms, it is to throw the emphasis on quality of human relationships rather than the quantity of consumers goods and services. To phrase it aphoristically: if we are to minimise energy expenditure we need to maximise social involvement.

The Premier, Mr Hamer, in his budget speech on 12th September said: "The very real consideration is how far the community is prepared to go, given a lead from the government, and how much material advance it is prepared to forgo, to preserve and conserve the world we live in. The quality of living, and the endeavour to preserve the very ability of man to live, must become the increasing concern of all peoples and all Governments" (Hansard 12/9/'72 at p.175)

With that part of Mr Hamer's statement, we are in enthusiastic agreement. The question is: how to organise it? ~~The popular trend is: separate decentralised activities~~ Just how are we to devise a regional plan that helps to convert the trend from ~~gross~~ "gross national product" to "gross national welfare", to use the Premier's terms? Can a regional plan, indeed, have any part at all to play in such social changes?

We submit that it can. More than that: it has an indispensable part to play. Endless peripheral sprawl or radial corridor spoke design throws the emphasis on car travel, tending to separate neighbour from neighbour and citizen from citizen, who, thus increasingly estranged from each other abandon former participatory activities of one type or another and do not ~~exit~~ easily form new associations, which are defeated by a combination of the possibility of instant mobility and the random location of facilities made possible by the multi-directional advantages of the motor vehicle. And so each family turns inwards on itself trying to reproduce a poor imitation of community life, in the home, in the backyard or in the bush.

To make sure our meaning is understood, we give two illustrations, one in the home, the other in the bush. There have been over recent years a proliferation of backyard so-called swimming pools, which cannot but deplete the opportunities for providing a splendid neighbourhood pool which could be one element of attraction in a community indoor-outdoor recreational and cultural complex. As for the bush, the public are now invited to purchase "fun wheels" which are mini fold-away bikes you carry in your car and ride "where wheels have never been before. Up the hills, through the creeks and along mountain trails", as the advertisement says.

We direct attention to the fact that these two samples demonstrate trends that are at the same time ecologically undesirable, namely the wasting of water in one case and unnecessary damage to bushland in the other (and, what is more pertinent, both involving extra expenditure of energy); but simultaneously both are trends that are socially undesirable. This is so because the quality of life, which in the final analysis flows from satisfying participation in some form of activity with other people who mutually appreciate each others contribution becomes very difficult to organise when the activities of individuals or families are thus atomised.

Conversely, the more that social community life of one type or another can be organised, the less those practices involving needless extravagant and ecologically intolerable expenditure of energy and

materials will flourish.

It might be argued still that however fine such goals might be, no amount of planning in the traditional sense can create such social and community activities and that all manner of other measures that lie beyond the present scope of the Town and Country Planning Act would be needed including deliberate measures to encourage culture and sport in various ~~sorts~~ forms, including social planning and including education. And all this is quite true.

What is also true is that it will be fatal, in a city with the high level of car-ownership that Melbourne now has, to have a regional design that would frustrate other measures taken by continuing to accentuate the trends towards dispersal now so marked

What we propose by way of regional design to assist these social aims is not orthodox. But neither is the situation orthodox. It is fully competent for the regional planners to take such aims into account and design accordingly, just as it has been possible for them in 1971 to take into account and design to conserve special "green wedge" areas: an idea unheard of in the Board's 1954 report.

We propose that the Gippsland corridor consist of a string of what we have termed "metro-suburbs" to distinguish them from the present suburbs, each consisting of 20,000 or so and each containing a cross-section of industry commerce education ~~and~~ recreation and residences. What would distinguish the "metro-suburbs" from our present suburbs is not only that none of them would be almost exclusively residential, but that all large people-intensive activities would be quite deliberately grouped around the electric train station, into a centre which we have called a "mini-metro" core which serves the metro suburb. That is to say, offices, secondary school, tertiary educational institutions, labor-intensive factories and shops would not be, as they now tend to be, separated out into homogeneous zones or locations distant from each other, or scattered throughout the suburb.

The purpose, of course, is to create conditions under which people ~~will~~ would be able easily to meet other people, both because there would be a concentrated density of activity, and because, people being saved much unnecessary travelling would have more time to do this. For the same purpose, medium and high density residences would be permitted in and near such centres for those who preferred to live in such fashion; those choosing to live in lower densities would be further from the mini-metro centres but served with frequent cheap feeder bus services,

Eyebrows might be raised at the concept of labor-intensive ~~industries~~ factories being permitted near offices shops schools or, say, ~~terraces~~ terrace housing. But the reasons that drove the early planners to separate residential zones right away from the noisy, smoky, dirty, polluting factories ~~and~~ and to continue to do so right into our own times are now beginning to disappear.

As the Board's "Planning Policies" report itself says on p.38: "Recommendations relating to industrial development place emphasis on performance standards designed to minimise all forms of pollution---" Exactly: proper operations of the Environment Protection ~~Act~~ Authority should mean that most "light industry" at least could provide quite a high standard of amenity. Indeed, architect-designed and architect-landscaped offices shops and factories could be quite compatible, in our view, with residential use, even in the same complex of buildings. This is a reversal of planning concepts evolved at a time when industry was different and urban problems were different. We do not propose such ideas arbitrarily, and certainly not without the highest standard of amenity, but to serve an overriding purpose to provide a ready facility for people of all ages to associate in voluntary common activities.

Such activities, of course, cannot occur unless there are indoor and outdoor spaces provided in which they can take place. So we propose that there should be compulsorily provided indoor places for such voluntary community activities, either free or at a nominal rental offering a range of workshop rooms for art, craft, technology or science, meeting rooms, exhibitions, concert halls, theatres and so forth. 5% of subdivisional residential land is now set aside for parks. Similarly, 5%, 10%, or 15% or whatever percentage experience shows to be necessary should be set aside right within the accessible mini-metro cores for the priceless purpose of people rediscovering the satisfaction of mutually enjoyable participation with others who share their particular interests. If we can regulate off-street car parking, surely we can regulate for the infinitely higher purpose of off-street people-gatherings!

Of course, such a mini-metro centre of 20,000 or so could not provide much of a range of employment or education, and commuting to other mini-metro centres or to what we have called a city-metro centre (which would be a bigger district-sized centre of 100,000 or so, consisting of a group of 5 or so mini-metro suburbs) *or to the C.B.D. itself would be needed.*

So, strung along the rapid-transit line would be a series of cities the size of Geelong, each with 5 or so mini-suburbs and each with a fairly compact core around the rapid transit station each of which would be an interchange point not only with the local feeder buses but with the suburban electric train serving the mini-metro cores between each city metro centre.

It should be observed that wherever you lived in the Gippsland corridor and wherever you worked or were educated or shopped or had business along the corridor, you would have to pass through your mini-metro or city-metro centre, so that local voluntary activities would always be conveniently located near the interchange points. It should be further observed that once you arrived at the mini-metro station, no matter what your destination, provided that destination was in the corridor, or was the CBD itself, you would not need a car, because, wherever you alighted would be found the grouped facilities for any of the purposes just mentioned.

Therefore the car could be virtually banished from mini-metro and city-metro centres, and this is precisely what we propose. The car would then not be able to stand up in competition with the very much faster rapid-transit for any long trips to urban destinations, and it would not be required for the very short trips to the mini-metro or city-metro which would be either in short walking distance, or serviced by short shuttle-bus trips from the edge of the corridor which nowhere would be more than a few miles from the centre. The car would then come into its own for the purpose it is superb, namely, the random recreational visit to friends or relatives, or the off-beat bush picnic.

We therefore stress the whole design-structure just briefly sketched, and the social purpose it is intended to serve with great emphasis, because it is as much a basic part of our case as is the rapid transit.

The evidence of planners called by the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority to the effect that a one-corridor development beyond Berwick would be unworkable, is based on a misunderstanding of the case of the Town and Country Planning Association and a double misunderstanding of our own case. The assumption was that the Gippsland corridor was to be car based, which would, of course, have meant impossibly wide super freeways from Dandenong to the city to cope with the enormous traffic volumes. *It would also have meant endless unstructured "sprawl" within the corridor*

With the bulk of ~~car~~ travel for daily work purposes based on rapid transit, however, which is the case put both by the Town and Country Planning Association and ourselves, the Gippsland corridor would confer on the present Melbourne area an inestimable boon, because it would greatly reduce what would otherwise have been the total number of car trips by private transport, and as the years went by, and the longer the corridor grew, the greater that boon would be. This would be so because an ever increasing percentage of Melbourne's total population would then be living in the corridor, and the longer the corridor grew the more decisive would become the advantage of public transport over private when it travels at 2 to 3 times the speed.

If, in addition to ~~public~~ rapid transit is added the structuring of the corridor as we propose, to so plan as to cluster all that is the most vital in each suburb around the station area, virtually eliminating the need for car trips within each suburb for work purposes, this would greatly heighten the trend away from the ecologically harmful waste of workday energy, *at the same time giving a local identity to each local community.*

The full effect of such a reversal of trend would be clinched by our proposals for restructuring present Melbourne in the manner described in our book on pp 106-121. We mention this, not because we are asking the Board to amend its planning scheme to encompass such ideas on this occasion, because it rounds out our case for future Melbourne.

Further, the regeneration of social life in local community endeavours in leisure hours, apart from its inherent value in lifting the quality of living, would gradually reduce the quantity of aimless weekend tripping to non-urban parts. Pleasant recreational areas in the

bush could be within a mile or two of everyone. Easily-accessible urban recreational variety could be found up and down the corridor.

In a word the change in social habits enforced by overall ecological demands will not be a bad thing, it can be a good thing if so organised that we will all have the opportunity to be more human. We have no time to lose: the sooner we start planning for these social changes, which the structuring we propose would permit, the less damage we will do to the ecology. In fact, protection of the ecology and changes to a life more dependent on mutually-satisfying human ~~xx~~ relationships must be seen as the same problem. They are not two separate problems. The Gippsland structured corridor offers a solution to both simultaneously."

The concept of a full cross-section of urban land-use for industry commerce retail and education in each metro suburb raises another social problem, especially as the idea is to create as much local identity and cohesion as possible for each suburb. If all the well-to-do were to establish in one suburb, leaving, say, lower-income groups for the next, migrants for a third and whitecollar workers for another it would set up quite unnecessary commuting apart from tending to break down local cohesion, in the sense that a much smaller proportion of the local residents could be employed locally and would be less available as a stabilising factor for local effort.

We therefore propose what we call "social mix" meaning a mix of different occupations, income-levels, ~~nationnxxxx~~ ethnic groups, marital status and age groups; and what we have defined as "age-sex mix" by which we mean overcoming the isolation of the housewives and children from day-to-day life. These subjects are described in the Section of our book "Where is my neighbour?" at pp29-36.

We wish to avert a possible misconception about "social mix". We do not mean that, for example, well-to-do and lower income groups, or migrants and older Australians, or married couples with young children and elderly people, or any other mixture should ~~be~~ comprise a sort of door-to-door mixture, more ~~especially~~ against their will. We do not expect, for example to eliminate small areas of what nowadays is called "prestigious" housing

We quote from p 33 to make our point clearer:

"Groupings of the rich, or the poor, or the Italians or Turks or Englishmen, or of professional people, industrial workers, or white collar workers, or of young people or elderly people often occur by choice and are not only harmless but healthy when based on a small group of like-minded souls with similar life-styles who regard it as an "amenity" of life to locate near each other so they can "pop in" to see each other without "getting in each others hair" as they might if they lived in the same household.

"But if such small ~~groups~~ and natural groupings begin to grow big and exclusive as a defence mechanism in what is felt to be an alien and hostile world, then this is unhealthy both for those inside the ghetto and those outside. What is to be done to overcome such developments?"

In answer to the question, we propose what Mr Hugh Stretton has described as a planning technique devised by the National Capital Planning Commission for Canberra, namely, the idea of planning for a social cross section not house by house or even street by street, but within the territory of a primary school catchment area; and further reference to this is found on p 49.

We ask the Board to adopt such social-mix objectives so understood and to adopt some such planning techniques to realise them and to write them into "outline development planning", and to make this principle and the principle of clustering all major people-intensive around the interchanges, as obligatory.

Our objection to corridor or satellite development to the West or north additional to the grounds already mentioned, is based also and even more strongly on sociological grounds.

The Board has itself proposed such development, and indeed the Government too, as is known, opted for such concepts, and it was within this framework that the "Planning Policies" of the Board were evolved. We understand this.

But we invite the Board, and the Government to re-assess the position urgently, on sociological grounds, quite apart from ecological.

Basically, we say that ~~development~~ development is to be a forced subsidised one in these directions, the segregation into low-income groups around the new factories that will be built will only

aggravate the whole situation, and the creation of large-scale prestige estates whether at Sunbury, Melton or, as proposed by the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority "a high class housing estate with water frontages" at Point Cook would further segregate low-paid ~~mix~~ mainly migrant predominately bluecollar workers nearer the factories. The more such a policy is pursued, the faster the possibilities of "social mix" remedies would recede, the more permanently and painfully would the segregation of the deprived to the west and north become.

We are aware that seemingly strong arguments have been adduced for western and northern development and we wish briefly to deal with two of these.

One of the arguments is that, since the west is deprived, more capital should be spent in the West to correct the situation. This is the idea of "balance" again. The Victorian Council of Social Service expressed the position in a generalised way with the proposition that every region, including sub-regions within the Melbourne region, should contain a "balance" of "social facilities, residential and industrial use".

There is an inherent ambiguity, it is submitted, in this proposition. We have referred already to the concept of "balance" around the CBD, meaning physical balancing of population, and pointed out that time, not distance alone is the important element here. But what we are really now talking about here is "social balance" if we can express it that way, as distinct from physical balance.

The ambiguity arises because no distinction has been drawn between the two, nor any distinction between quantity and quality.

Obviously the west needs "balance" in the sense of "quality" that is for more social opportunities. It needs capital to "even up" the balance in this sense, to match the capital in industry. We strongly commend this idea, and to the extent that the Victorian Council of Social Service proposes expenditure in this direction, we not only support it, but have added our own arguments as to how this should be done which will be found on pp 42-47.

But if what is meant is that the Board should plan so that more capital should be expended in industry in the west in an attempt to "balance" the population and territorial development of the west with that of the east, we say they are simply defeating their own good intentions. For reasons the Board itself have stated, not only will executives, but higher-paid workers will resist living in the west and north; and the more factories are built in these directions the greater will be the concentrations of lower-paid and migrant workers, and the more difficulties placed in the way of remedial ~~remedies~~ measures.

The expenditure of capital on factories in the west by those who live in the south and east, does not mean that the shareholders will go to live near the factories they have invested in, it does not mean that the executives or much of the skilled labor will go to live nearby, nor that the service workers, which in our view are the ones most needed to be subsidised to correct the situation will locate in the west.

Therefore, the social imbalance which is rightly deplored, will not be corrected it will only be aggravated by provision for massive residential development in the west as this will only encourage further industrial development.

The second of the arguments that the Board is invited to adopt is that, since the Westgate bridge will cost some \$75 million, public money should be spent on subsidised western development to ensure that ~~the~~ the bridge tolls can pay for the bridge in 40 years, because, although the capital is private capital the Government has prescribed amortization of the capital cost in this span of years.

The Board, in effect, is being invited to pattern its whole regional design, which will affect generations to come, and the life-support systems on which they must depend, not on whether there should be a bridge or not, but at what rate people should pay to use it or over what period it can be paid off.

Certainly, having determined major strategic aims, underused capital may be a subsidiary consideration which regional planners should take into account. At this level, however, there is more than a match for the Westgate argument, in the opposite direction. The cost of the electrification of the Gippsland railway to Traralgon, as far as we can ascertain was \$6 million in the money terms of 1954-56, or, say \$10 million in today's currency, and it is a public investment. It has been underused because of the advent of diesel-electric traction.

The increasing returns on this capital investment from a suburbanised type electric train service as proposed for the Gippsland corridor, and which was not contemplated in the first place, might well alone be of the same order ~~of~~ as the differences in tolls on the Westgate bridge.

But that is not the only consideration. There is immense capital tied up in the CBD, quite a deal of it recently, and more planned for the near future. The return on this capital, which is private capital like that of the Westgate Bridge, depends partly on access to the CBD; and if it is right for the Board to trim its planning policies to protect the capital return on the Bridge, it is equally right to protect the immense capital return on the whole of the CBD.

The planners called to deliver the case of the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority assume that the bridge will give increased accessibility to the CBD, and of course, so it will---by road. But too big an increase by road after a certain point works the reverse effect: it begins to put limits on the number of people who can enter the CBD by car. If the interest is to maximise access to the CBD and get maximum long-term capital returns from the capital there invested, the Gippsland corridor will eventually enable more people daily to enter the CBD.

We would have to leave it to economists to quantify this proposition we have put, but certainly it is a weighty economic consideration which the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority did not even mention, just as it omitted to try to put a cost on converting the Werribee sewerage farm to a treatment plant.

Mr C.A. Wilson, General Manager of the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority in a paper delivered to a seminar known as "the Deprived West", contributed, in our opinion, a much sounder and more fruitful analysis of the impact on the west to be wrought by the bridge. He analysed the imbalance of employment in the West much as the Board itself has done as being markedly heavy industrial, low-income ~~and~~ migrant and male. He pointed out that the value of the Bridge will be to draw upon the consequent shortages of professional and skilled workers from the south east, and improve accessibility to the rest of Melbourne also for raw materials and marketing of products. He pointed to the lower opportunities for female employment in the west and the lower standards of service industries.

Mr Wilson considered that the Bridge would therefore act to provide the West with a wider range of skills which would encourage a more diverse range of industry. We support this function of the Bridge to the extent that it can provide a "balance" in the sense of quality; that is, some more light industry for women and very much more service industry. Such relatively small quantitative growth as this might require in land development, mainly for light industrial purposes rather than for more homes, we would support provided it could be shown that presently subdivided and serviced land was insufficient.

This is quite a different matter to perspectives of, say, doubling the population on the western side of Melbourne which would inevitably throw the weight to expansion of heavy industry and with it an accentuation of the homogeneity of low-paid industrial migrant suburbs.

Incidentally, if we are to talk in terms of labor force pools of higher skilled labor coming from other ~~points~~ parts, it would be a saving of capital that the Bridge be used for that function, rather than expend extra capital in prestigious enclaves for the well-to-do only in Point Cook, Melton or Sunbury. We ourselves propose techniques of a different type to "even up" the social balance for the West (we refer to pp 42-47), but since the bridge is in fact being built, and will confer on the west to some extent the benefits of more balanced labor, at least let us grasp at this social benefit, as Mr Wilson has done, rather than count the traffic tolls as the sole measure of return, as has been put to the Board.

The day is going to come soon enough when there will be public rejoicing that we can report less traffic than expected on our roads and bridges. On original estimates the Westgate Bridge would already be congested by 1990 that is, in less than 20 years; so presumably we would then have to start thinking of a second bridge, were it not for the fact that it could well be about this time that petrol and natural gas supplies on a world scale might start petering out.

Planners have to be real, certainly; but if they set their gaze only on the minor realities, the major realities will upset their plans in a very short space of time, so rapid and thoroughgoing is the pace of technological development, and the new social conscience and new social

behaviour patterns that will inevitably be forced by the pace of this growth.

We therefore propose that the Board and the Government rethink the regional pattern, reject the whole strategy of northern and western development (as we suggest that they reject the strategy of Yarra Valley development for reasons advanced by us and the Town and Country Planning Association). Instead we propose creation of a Gippsland corridor structured as described to create balance-as-you-go suburbs so designed to assist citizens to find in each others company an attraction that far outweighs the ecologically harmful habits of heavy expenditure of energy inherent in the present radial growth patterns and the patterns of social behaviour to which they tend to give rise.

### Centralisation and Decentralisation

Several myths and misunderstandings about the meaning or effect of the proposals for the Gippsland corridor need brief clarification.

The first is that the CBD will suffer, because "Melbourne" will be growing further and further away from it, and because deliberately-planned active suburban and district centres in the corridor will drain off the activity from the CBD.

We do not see it this way. We believe the opposite would be the long-range effect for the following reasons:-

(1) Rapid transit, as we have already mentioned, would make even the furthest mini-metro suburbs no further in time from the CBD than the present outer suburbs.

(2) The more of Melbourne's population live in the corridor, the greater the proportion of the total population would come to use public transport, thus permitting access to the CBD by more people and a larger CBD, because they would be people without cars.

(3) The whole idea of mini-metro and city-metro voluntary activities is not to drain off the participants from existing activities in the CBD or anywhere else, but to provide opportunities for involving in matching local activities those sections of people not now touched by them at all.

Thus the success of the corridor would mean an immense total increase in voluntary urban-type activities and in diversity of commercial activities associated with them in the total Melbourne population. But as none of the mini-metro or city-metro centres could possibly have the range either of quality of performance or of commodities as the CBD, the effect would be to generate pools of localised activity each of which would feed and strengthen the more specialised or higher quality performance to be found in the CBD.

Car-dependent radial design patterns, on the contrary, in a city of more than several million, place natural limits of access to the CBD due to travel-time factors, carparking and car access requirements, and a general dwindling urge by people to attend higher-class CBD attractions due to a dwindling interest in such matters generally.

In a word, the ~~CBD~~ Gippsland corridor would strengthen and diversify the attractiveness of Melbourne's CBD both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Furthermore, it would do it without emasculating the CBD and inner areas with carparks and freeways in a counterproductive effort to continue the life and growth of these areas. We say "counterproductive" because the redevelopment necessary to accommodate more cars means the older buildings have to be demolished at too fast a rate, thus driving from the CBD and inner areas much of the diversity and specialty which give to these areas their unique attraction.

The second misunderstanding is on decentralisation. We have spoken of the Gippsland corridor as part of Melbourne, and that is how we see it, no matter how far it might extend. It is certainly not decentralisation in the usually-accepted sense of separate cities, and we are not suggesting it is.

On the other hand, it has certain features which are either equal to or superior to the advantages claimed for decentralisation in the usually-accepted sense, as against either a peripheral or radial corridor Melbourne. In the Gippsland corridor, for example:-

(1) No-one anywhere, would be far from the bush or mountains, and yet everyone would be a long way from the present city of 2½ million which is Melbourne.

geographically

(2) Structured as proposed by us, each cohesive Geelong-sized city-metro of some 5 or ~~6~~<sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> mini-suburbs would have as much separate community identity as would a new city in the country. If the idea of "identity" requires "green" all around such city-metros, by all means let there be small strips of green between them, although we cannot see any particular advantage except it might look nicer on a map. In our view, it would be the direction of local bus transport, coupled with the nearness of the local centre that would be far more decisive in helping hammer out identity.

(3) It would avoid the "growing pains" of separate decentralised ~~cities~~ cities which, despite the heaviest subsidies, cannot possibly supply the range of educational and employment opportunities and so lose their youth to Melbourne in the critical growing phases.

The "growing pains" of a new town in Australian conditions, would, in our opinion, make 15 new Canberras for Victoria in this century quite impractical. Equally painful and impossible, however, would be a Melbourne with twice the population expanded in every direction and with 3 times the number of cars. The Gippsland corridor, however, supplies the answer to the quandary: it is a highly feasible yet painless new form of urban growth.

In the corridor, youth, if necessary, could live and spend their leisure time in their "home" mini-metro suburb, while being educated or employed elsewhere in the corridor or the CBD.

(4) The continuous urban growth outwards, could be financed as to water sewerage, drainage and major highways by the rate base of present Melbourne and share at the outset some of the present services, supplemented by heavy injections of Federal finance (long overdue to assist the Board to fulfill even its most elementary service responsibilities), ~~grants~~ and ~~grants~~ for rapid transit and social services, thus avoiding what would be even more massive and more sudden injections of capital to initiate a "new town", with expenditure on every aspect simultaneously.

Whilst there could be contemplated a second big city somewhere within the corridor, we suggest this is not the time to start making decisions on that: the corridor would be viable without it, and there is no need at this early stage to close the options on such longterm possibility by making premature decisions.

(5) In the longterm, the coal deposits of the Latrobe Valley may well become substitute sources of energy for oil and natural gas. The Gippsland corridor, eventually linking up with the towns in this area, would have strong economic advantages over cities dispersed throughout the State and far-distant from such major source of power.

(6) The continuous, rapid-transit based structured corridor would be more economic and less ecologically damaging than radially-dispersed separate cities around Melbourne, which would be even more harmful than the radial corridors, and for the reasons already given.

In fact, the Gippsland corridor contains so many features which are superior to advantages claimed for decentralised separate cities that it is tempting to call it a "new form of decentralisation". Maybe it would be more fruitful to call it a "new form of big-city life"--- a new form of Melbourne.

But words are unimportant, unless indeed they conglomerate into outworn fixed concepts which prevent people of goodwill from adapting to the new requirements of the age, and for this age, it is the ecological-sociological requirements which have loomed up with transcending ~~importance~~ importance.

As we see it, Melbourne, organised in the Gippsland corridor and planned according to the principles we suggest, can meet these requirements better than any other combination of urban design, transport and social planning.

If some variant to this proposition is advanced which can show a better result ecologically and sociologically, naturally, we would ~~support~~ support it. But a case would have to be demonstrated: not just stated. Our case, for that matter, has to be quantified and tested by the appropriate experts, but we believe we have made a strong prima facie case deserving immediate investigation *for amendment of the planning scheme in the manner proposed.* The final brief section of this submission, therefore, will be taken direct from pp72-73 of Plan for Melbourne, and deal with our proposals for an urgent measure of investigation which we ask the Board, and the Government to put in hand at once to determine

We believe the metro-hearted, rapid transit, Gippsland-corridor as structured and described would constitute a long-term immense saving of fossil-fuel and energy and an immense enhancement of social consciousness with a consequent potential saving of still more energy by the new generations as against the Evans-MMBW radial corridor plan coupled, as it must be, with the MTC freeway network.

We cannot prove it. But it could be proved. We propose that a multi-disciplinary team of appropriately qualified scientists who are acknowledged as outstanding in the matter of their attitudes of social responsibility in their own field be given this task. They may need to draw on economists, engineers, planners, sociologists, geographers and many other disciplines but it is for scientists, we suggest to be given the primary task of evaluating the "ecology benefit" and "ecology cost" of planning decisions of the dimensions of a regional plan for several million people.

We propose the examination might concentrate on total energy-expenditure of alternative designs for Melbourne: . . .

- |   |    |   |
|---|----|---|
| (A) Gippsland Corridor                          | v. | Seven Radial Corridors                              |
| + (rapid transit)                               |    | + (car for cross transport)                         |
| + ("structure" less commuting)                  |    | + ("unstructured" by car)                           |
| (B) Gippsland Corridor form of decentralisation | v. | Five Separated Decentralised Cities 100 miles apart |
| + (rail supplemented by trucks)                 |    | + (trucks and rail)                                 |

We are not suggesting that this is the only issue the scientists would need to weigh ecologically. We know there would be others. For example respective pollution levels as affecting Port Phillip Bay and Westernport Bay as mentioned; or for example, respective air pollution generated by the number of automobiles required for each alternative.

We have read "Limits to Growth" too recently to have forgotten that the inter-connection between the main growth factors are such that an all-sided simultaneous understanding and decision must be made involving a re-appraisal of industrial processes, agricultural techniques and family planning.

Still surely deliberate dispersal as a consciously adopted design principle is bound to use, in total, far more energy and non-renewable resources, and a design that aims in the opposite direction cannot be wrong? Certainly, the *rate* of resource-use in Gippsland corridor would still have to be examined, and might indeed be far too high per head. But, at least it would be lower per head than either radial corridor development, or decentralised 100-mile apart separate cities?

Similarly, we suggest that another multi-disciplinary team simultaneously explore the relative sociological merits of the two pairs of alternatives, taking specifically as its criteria which is the most calculated to facilitate, rapidly, the formation of creative "social mix" and "age-sex mix" to advance ecological-sociological performance standards for the whole community.

Of course this cannot be a form of accounting with the precision of scientists "costing" consumption of energy used by alternative schemes, yet these sort of social factors are now beginning to enter economists cost/benefit theory and practice, and if it is possible for the M.M.B.W. to "cost" relative conservation values as it has in the 1971 "Regional Policies" report, it should be possible for sociologists to grade the merits of different schemes according to the *opportunity* each affords for the formation of collectives.

The personnel of such investigating teams would not need to have, of course, the class of economists who embrace the concept that what people really need can only be measured by the "consumer's dollar" (because it is the *voluntary* non-consumer-based socio-ecological objectives that are called for) nor those who are their equivalent in the field of sociology who base themselves on surveys of what people say they want (because it is a *new* dimension of social responsibility and mutual respect and enjoyment of other people breaking with consumer-constricting habits that are needed).

Some of the issues to which such a committee should address itself, we suggest are:

- |   |    |   |
|---|----|---|
| (A) Concourses in concentrated public transport served mini-metro hearts in Gippsland corridor.   | v. | Random car-facilitated locations in low density suburban radial corridors   |
| (B) Structured social mix area favoured by all in south east with special measures to overcome existing deprivation in other areas.                   | v. | Extension of "deprived west" and "exclusive" parts of south and east.   |
| (C) A range of employment, education and culture (either local or by transit) enabling an all age mix in Gippsland corridor type of decentralisation. | v. | An acute shortage of youth who have to migrate to Melbourne for jobs, education, culture in formation stage of all separate decentralised cities. |

So, for those who object to the Gippsland corridor on the grounds of "cost" of rapid transit, our first answer is: the ecological and sociological cost is the crucial factor from here on. We believe that our proposals meet these criteria and that either a radial corridor Melbourne, or separate decentralised cities policy would not meet it.