in areas where more intense construction of flats and villa units has occurred, such as in Inner South.

**Population Movements**

In the 1960's the growth rate of Australian born population in the West and North Sectors was markedly less than in the East and South Sectors. Considering that the metropolitan birth rates are substantially the same, although fluctuations do occur, there seems to be a considerable degree of metropolitan movement from the West and North Sectors to the East and South.

These flows appear to be closely associated with the income and occupational structures of Melbourne, as it is probable that the people relocating to the South and East are part of the more affluent white collar work force who are seeking to upgrade their socio-economic status by moving into areas generally occupied by higher income groups. This could have serious repercussions in the structure of the population remaining in the West and North, mainly in deficiencies in high income and professional groups.

It is notable that the population growth in the West and North Sectors has become more dependent on the inflow of migrants than in the East or South. The West and North largely attract migrant groups of high blue collar content.

This trend needs close examination. If it continues the overall structure of the population in these sectors would be affected, which could result in a further outflow of population from West and North to East and South.

**Housing Requirements**

Although modern flats are attracting considerable numbers of people suited to apartment living this has not been the case with young families. For the young families detached modern houses still appear to be the most favoured form of accommodation, which is evident from the fact that couples with school-age children still seek to move to areas in which detached houses are the dominant form of accommodation (Appendix 2.3, 2.4).

This desire would probably extend not only to the traditional detached unit but to other types of unit now being developed such as cluster housing, terraces or groups where the units are not arranged in the traditional way, but each unit has its private accommodation and garden space.
Since this form of living has some social status and as it affords children and adults a good environment with all the features traditionally regarded as important in the Australian life it seems unlikely that any significant change will occur in the preference for housing with these characteristics.

The reasons for this are reflected in the preliminary results of a study currently being carried out in Melbourne by the Urban Research Unit, Australian National University, which indicate that there are a wide variety of factors affecting the choice of residential location. These are such factors as shops, employment, schools, public transport, friends and relatives, City, churches, clubs and hotels, bay beaches, recreation areas, entertainment, and others.

It is, however, apparent that the comforts of modern detached houses with relatively high suburban amenities and proximity to the major employment nodes of the Suburban Ring are important factors influencing choice in dwelling type and location.

Flats and villa-units constitute some 40% of all dwellings now being erected, and while it is possible that this proportion may further increase, the total stock of flats on the market and available for occupation will also grow. This directly results from the fact that many flat occupants especially those with young families can be expected to seek the more traditional suburban house as a more permanent home. In addition, the growing numbers of young people, married working couples and the elderly will tend to regard and use the flat as transient rather than permanent accommodation, and this is often the role of flats in an urban community.

Despite private and Housing Commission flat building activities in the Inner Ring, by 1966 the area as a whole failed to gain population although it is estimated that during the last five years a small growth has occurred resulting in a gain of some 15,000 people. While this is not a significant increase in an area where the resident population exceeds three-quarters of a million, it does show signs of growth rather than the reverse situation which is affecting many world cities.

Current overseas trends which are gradually being reflected in Australia have seen the appearance of a compromise between flat and house. "Cluster", "group" and "town" houses generally can provide the convenience and privacy of standard detached housing without the problems of maintaining large garden spaces. These types of development are advocated by housing researchers and offer a change and possibly some advantage from the traditional. They are expected to appear in increasing numbers throughout existing and planned residential areas. It is not expected that this will materially affect overall residential densities, and consequent land needs.

Work

In the early part of the century most of Melbourne's employment was highly centralized in the Central Sector with the West Sector being the only other significant employment location. After World War II factory development in the Suburban Ring, especially in the South Sector, produced a greater diffusion of employment throughout the metropolitan area. The Central Sector, whilst still maintaining its dominance as the most important single centre of employment, has had only marginal gains as new work places have been created in the suburbs.

The South Sector now contains major employment nodes and the Sector's total employment rivals that of the Central Sector (excluding CBD). The other Sectors have continued to attract employment with the result that work places are now more widely dispersed with increasing numbers finding work in the Suburban Ring. Figures 6, 7 and 8 show employment changes in various parts of the Region over recent years (see also Appendix 2.5).

Concentric Growth

The Inner Ring gained in employment mainly in the Inner North and Inner South, with rather small increases in the Inner West and actual losses in the Inner East. The Central Sector and the Inner Ring gained only about one in five additional work places leaving the bulk of the increases in the Suburban Ring. The major industries which increased their work places within the Suburban Ring were manufacturing, community and business services, and commerce. The above three categories cover 70 per cent of all employment in the Suburban Ring. As the major population increases occurred in the Suburban Ring the relationship between residence and work place has improved.


**Sector Growth**

An analysis based on whole Sectors reveals the following differences in their employment growth.

The West Sector has shown a decline in its growth though this has largely been caused by a comparative lack of growth in Inner West. It has been attracting a decreasing share of the metropolitan manufacturing growth. In the early 1950's it absorbed one quarter of the metropolitan increase in manufacturing whereas in the 1960's it attracted barely one-tenth of the increase. Although manufacturing is still the most important employer its growth relative to other sectors has slackened.
2 Structural Elements

The North Sector has maintained its growth relative to other Sectors, being the second largest employer. Manufacturing largely contributed to its employment growth, but most other industries have maintained their proportionate share of activities.

The East Sector experienced a rapid employment growth in the 1950's, but during the 1960's its factory employment growth has somewhat diminished relative to the more highly industrialized areas in other Sectors. Marked increases have occurred in activities directly related to rapidly growing population, such as business and community services. In general, the East Sector is a rapidly growing residential area with less manufacturing dominating in the area.

The South Sector shows rapid development in all activities being the fastest growing Sector which contains the greatest number of work places apart from the Central. Over the last two decades it has shown very marked growth in manufacturing accompanied by growth in the various service industries. Although there has been a general increase in the proportion of workforce employed in the tertiary industries, this is especially noticeable in the South and East Sectors.

Central Business District (C.B.D.)

The main trend in the CBD has been to maintain a relatively static employment level, but due to the inconsistency of various data sources on employment in the CBD the actual trend in employment is difficult to identify, and for the purpose of this analysis it has been estimated that there was stable employment between 1961-1966, consisting of approximately 155,000 work places.

More crucial to employment trends in the CBD are the changes in the employment structure. During the post-war period, manufacturing has considerably contracted and the number of people employed in retailing has diminished with the greater outward growth, which has been accompanied by the growth of suburban shopping centres. On the other hand, there have been increases in office-type activities, and there is a marked tendency towards specialisation, indicating that future employment increases would be more specialist oriented.

These increases in office-type employment and decreases in manufacturing employment have offset each other causing a generally stable employment situation.

Figure 8

EMPLOYMENT CHANGES 1961-1966

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Central Sector</th>
<th>Inner West</th>
<th>Inner North</th>
<th>Inner East</th>
<th>Inner South</th>
<th>Suburban West</th>
<th>Suburban North</th>
<th>Suburban East</th>
<th>Suburban South</th>
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<td>45892</td>
<td>22563</td>
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<td>8421</td>
<td>-523</td>
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<td>27.0</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bureau of Census and Statistics—Data adjusted to include Workers of Unknown Work place.
N.B. Above table does not include Institutional Workforce.