and global trends—population increase, the depletion of natural resources, decreases in political credibility, increases in the polarisation of power (both public and private sectors), widespread increases in the prices of land, inflation, reduction of personal privacy, etc., one can understand society's growing opposition to change.

Reaction to this change within society manifests itself in two distinct ways. Firstly by protests against and the rejection of this change. Secondly, by the search for an alternative, an answer or means of improving society's ability to cope with or assimilate change.

In recent years, the size and frequency of interest groups protesting against the construction of freeways and flats, the despoilation of the natural environment or the demolition of historic and architecturally significant buildings and areas, has greatly increased.

The viewpoints of these interest groups need detailed study, to assess their underlying motivation, and to establish the way in which their views should influence any planning strategy.

In considering such viewpoints, it should be recognised that increased concern with particular issues at a point in time may reflect a change in values of the wider community. An individual's life style is closely related to his particular conception of reality and the values that he attaches to his physical environment. Inanimate objects (or the bulk of man's technology) are in themselves without value. Their ascribed worth is intricately related to society's and the individual's concept of reality at a particular point in time.

The actions of protest groups, opposing the introduction of flats, freeways, etc. may reflect more than self interest in terms of preservation of property values, current location and established life style, and might well indicate a basic desire to maintain stability in a local environment, in reaction to overwhelming changes in society.

By contrast, urban conservation groups, largely initiated by professionals and academics with a specialist interest in the architectural and historic significance of buildings and areas, have attracted an increasingly diverse segment of population. Increased public interest in conservation of such buildings and areas, as with current nostalgia in art, music and fashion, may indicate that change within cities

has been occurring faster than the individual's ability to "live out" an era or period of style or fashion, and then accept progression to another.

The capability of man to adjust to changes in cities is thus an essential element for consideration in the development of a strategy. Present indications are that a strategy entailing increased rates of change in the urban fabric and in life styles would lead to an extension of reactions which are now evident, and such a strategy may well be quite adverse for segments of population.

The process of change within cities also has important implications in relation to the provision of the infrastructure necessary to allow people to carry on their activities. In general, sections of government have responded to established rather than foreseen needs, and hence, services and networks tend to lag behind demand, resulting in an inadequate provision of community services. This process is extended when an area undergoes a continual rate of rapid change.

In an article, "The Coming World-City, Ecumenopolis" Doxiadis, Director of the Athens Centre of Ekistics, states:—

". . . there is no city in the world which has managed to stop population growth. So it is not strange that all our plans have been failures. Because of such failures, we are trying to ameliorate the present cities with urban renewal plans, but we are not achieving anything, as the rate at which the problems are increasing is higher than the rate at which we can solve them so long as we view the city statically.

Thus, by the time we may have solved problems of urban renewal at the centre of the city, we have a new ring of problems around the previous centre, and the problems have increased. It is a vicious circle.

If we follow this road, there is no way out. Our cities cannot survive in their present form. The dynamic cities of the present are being led towards their destruction."[10]

Thus, it would seem that, at world scale, man has so far failed to devise systems of management of cities which can

10. A. Toynbee, Ed., *Cities of Destiny*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967), page 348.

both anticipate and respond to shifting needs, within areas of rapid change. The feasibility of achieving effective management and the application of sufficient resources for changing needs, within the context of current forms of government, is a critical issue in formulating strategies.

Throughout society there is evidence of growing concern about environmental deterioration; pollution in all of its forms, increases in congestion and noise levels, and many other associated problems. The recognition of and re-action to these problems has manifested itself in various ways, such as increased popularity of "health" foods, hand crafts and perhaps most importantly a distinct "back to nature" movement.

The "Walden Syndrome" or the idea that city life has a corrupting influence on man "whose natural environment is present in rural or village life," has undergone periods of popularity since the 18th century. Thomas Jefferson wrote—

"I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man."

It is evident from the attitudes of youth, the growing popularity of communes and country retreats, various publications such as *Blueprint for Survival* and the media's use of "the good country life" in advertising, that despite the rejection of the Walden Syndrome by some people as fanciful utopia, it is at present undergoing a revival. Rural life is seen by some as a panacea for the problems of the city.

Research by biologists and psychologists gives an indication that the Walden Syndrome may not be just a philosophical concept for an escapist minority but may reflect an important part of the individual's psychological and physiological mekeup.

Glanfyll Lewis, in an article "Living Without Nature" points out that although the popular concept of urban life is synonymous with over-stimulation of the senses, the opposite is in fact the case.

Lewis indicates that

". . . the various kind of stimuli being received by all our senses are almost without exception the result of our relatively crude technology. Noise, visual images and smells from cars, buses, industrial appliances, etc. have not the

sensitivity of range or variability that naturally produced sensory experiences will have and are therefore unlikely to have such a full effect on the psychological responses of the city inhabitants."[11]

Various studies reported by Lewis indicate that sensory deprivation may result in impaired performance and mental health. It may therefore be, that unless we can find means of duplicating natural stimuli or meaningfully re-introduce nature within areas of urban change, then man will undergo an increasing loss of natural sensory experiences, which may be essential to his well being.

The issues discussed illustrate the ways in which man has reacted to changes in society and its urban structures, and suggest that viewpoints of interest groups may reflect underlying issues of major significance to a wider community.

It is apparent that any proposed strategy must essentially be sensitive to the changing spectrum of societal state, opinion and mood and cannot be based largely on economic or physical planning considerations.

4. *Residential location implications*

The concept that the majority of Melbourne's population locates within the southern and eastern areas because of a more favourable amenity level, landscape, and other factors, has been widely accepted in recent years. Previous reports of the Board have also contained this viewpoint.

However, recent investigations indicate that other factors are also significant. These suggest that the major intra-urban movements have been confined to their respective sectors, that is, people involved in residential relocations broadly prefer to stay within their respective sectors rather than move into another sector. Implicit in this sectoral movement pattern is the notion that the direction of the movement is primarily an outward one. As a result, the imbalance in the sectoral distribution of population in favour of south and east, which has existed since the early part of the century, has been preserved by this sectoral outward movement pattern whilst in the western and northern sectors this sectoral relocation pattern might have been weakened by the associated phenomenon of cross-

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11. *Built Environment.* (London Building Publishers Ltd., Nov. 1972), page 563.

city movements from the west and north to the east and south (attachment 3 is a paper on this subject and Plan 3 shows the Sectors).

In the analysis of the various movements, the postulated cross-city movement, being a description of a general tendency only, has been superimposed on the more complex pattern of intra-urban movements. Naturally it does not suggest that all population movements have the same tendency to residential location and change, because the movement of people into the inner areas as well as the counter-movement of people from the south-east to the north-west sectors complicates the pattern. For example, between 1947 and 1956, there was a significant movement of non-Australian born persons into the northern, western and central sectors. Of the total population increase in these sectors, 220,000 was due to non-Australian born, and 18,000 due to Australian born persons. This can be compared to the southern and eastern sectors where the population gain was 630,000, of which 204,000 was due to non-Australian born, and 426,000 was due to Australian born persons. It is clear then, that this pattern resulted in an overall greater concentration of non-Australian born persons in the north-west and central areas, than in the south-east of Melbourne. (See Appendix 2.2, 1971 Report.)

Apart from the attraction of migrant population to inner areas, referred to above, it is well recognised that segments of the Australian born population are entering such areas, and are attracted by the cosmopolitan life styles now developing in the inner core, and by the ready access to so much culture, leisure time, and animated ethnic diversity.

Further investigations are required on those movements —the various characteristics of the groups concerned have yet to be established.

From research done in the US, it was found that intra urban *"migrants tend to attain higher occupational levels and to experience more upward mobility than non migrants, with only a few exceptions."*[12] It was also found that *"most of what migration there was involved the better educated, younger and more skilled worker. This loss left depressed areas with a labour force that was largely older, less educated and less skilled—hence less mobile."*[13] If similar character-

istics, as suggested in the Board's 1971 Report (page 25), are related to moves in Melbourne, there will be important implications related to future locational strategies. For example, a strategy of encouraging a continuance of current movement patterns, or of encouraging a greater proportion of the population to locate in the east and south, may result in a retention of a lower income, less skilled population within the inner areas, and north and west sectors.

By contrast, the creation of well serviced development at appropriate locations in the north and west may assist in encouraging the retention of population now migrating to the south and east, with possible benefits in terms of establishing a broader range of skills and income groups within the north and west areas. Whilst constraints on south-east growth may assist such a strategy, it could also result in the intensification of built up areas to the south-east considering the strong sectoral growth patterns which have been discussed previously.

There is a need to refine our knowledge of the complexities of intra urban migration patterns by future research activities. These would need to refine the socio-economic, age, and ethnic groupings and other characteristics of the "movers", to qualify the impact of these groups on the areas they leave and enter, and to establish the reasons for the change in location. Once these refinements are made, the implications of these movements need to be further analysed and their effect on aspects such as the demand for job opportunities, needs to be assessed.
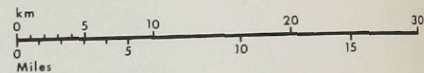
5. *Environmental Implications*

Ecology, pollution and perceived environment are broadly descriptive of the range of environmental indicators which may be applied to assess potential environmental impacts.

Ecological indicators include both the occurrence of plant and animal species and populations; and the location and extent of habitat and associated communities. Impact on the ecology of the Metropolitan Region is most obvious

12. P. M. Blau and O. D. Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure.* (New York, John Wiley, 1967), page 272.
13. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth.* (Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1968), page 19.

PLAN 3

N

NORTHERN SECTOR

BULLA   WHITTLESEA   ELTHAM

7

km
0   5   10   20   30
0   5   10   15
Miles

MELTON

BROADMEADOWS

KEILOR

DIAMOND
VALLEY

HEALESVILLE

PRESTON

COBURG

H'BERG

EASTERN SECTOR

WESTERN SECTOR

SUNSHINE

3
ESS'DON B'WICK

N'COTE

3

DONCASTER
AND
TEMPLESTOWE

RINGWOOD

CROYDON

LILLYDALE

8

6

F'RAY

MELBOURNE

FROY
C'WD

KEW
H'THN

4

BOX
HILL

NUNAWADING

PORT
MELB

STH
MELB

R'MND

1

CAMBERWELL

ALTONA

2
W'TOWN

PRAHRAN

ST KILDA

CENTRAL
SECTOR

5

MALVERN

WAVERLEY

KNOX

SHERBROOKE

WERRIBEE

CAULFIELD

OAKLEIGH

BRIGHTON

SANDRINGHAM

MOORABBIN

9

SPRINGVALE

DANDENONG

BERWICK

M'DIALLOC

CHELSEA

SOUTHERN SECTOR

PORT   PHILLIP   BAY

FRANKSTON

CRANBOURNE

Concentric Areas

1. Central Sector
2. Inner West
3. Inner North   } Inner Ring
4. Inner East
5. Inner South
6. Suburban West
7. Suburban North } Suburban Ring
8. Suburban East
9. Suburban South

Melbourne   Region
Statistical   Areas