

What is Metropolitan Planning?

**Brendan Gleeson, Toni Darbas, Laurel Johnson and
Suzanne Lawson**



Urban Policy Program

**Research Monograph 1
July 2004**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Study Definition and Purpose

This study sets out to answer the question ‘What is a Metropolitan Plan?’

In conceptual terms a metropolitan plan is defined as a **strategic plan for managing change in urban regions**.

The study develops an operational framework for describing and analysing metropolitan plans. The framework aims to:

1. provide a basis for describing and analysing current metropolitan plans with reference to key Australian and overseas debates about urban strategic planning.
2. provide an operational structure for the formulation of a metropolitan plan.

The paper identifies the typical elements of contemporary metropolitan strategy, highlighting those features that are innovative or especially relevant to the Sydney context.

The framework is used to review current metropolitan planning in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia.

The study’s key sources of information were:

- The opinion(s) of urban policy practitioners and commentators selected for their metropolitan expertise.
- Senior officers of State and territory planning agencies responsible for the oversight of metropolitan planning.
- Advocacy debates on metropolitan planning, drawn largely, but not exclusively, from the Sydney context.
- Policy debates in Australian and European literature.
- Current and recent metropolitan planning documents from NSW, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and the ACT.

The Institutional Context for Metropolitan Planning

The ‘institutional context’ for planning is constituted by a set of broad political imperatives, together with expert understandings of policy and the capacity of the public sector to effect change.

The institutional context of post-war metropolitan planning divides into three distinct periods:

1. Town and country planning (1940s-1970s).
2. Environmental planning (1970s-1990s).
3. Integrated planning (1990s-present).

Integrated Planning, the contemporary institutional base for metropolitan planning, embodies the following key imperatives:

- **Sustainability:** The community increased expectations of planning to secure the sustainable development of cities, is establishing a 'triple bottom line' framework for policy interventions.
- **Resource Management:** Scientific understandings of key ecological resources (especially air, water and energy) and rising community concern about their quality and availability is driving planning systems to embrace resource management imperatives.
- **Regional Management:** The growth of Australia's main cities into extensive urban regions (e.g., Sydney-Hunter-Illawarra) has underlined the need for regional management strategies to (i) harness synergies arising from new urban interdependency, and (ii) restrain the costs of urban sprawl.
- **Integration:** Policy integration at the State/territory level is an important aspect of sustainable development with its emphasis on natural and social interdependence.
- **Accountability:** There has been a general decline in community faith in institutions as expert arbiters in the public interest. Metropolitan planning should assume growing community literacy and critical interest in its policies, especially those relating to neighbourhood and household well-being.
- **Plurality:** The 'community' is increasingly aware of itself as a diverse association of distinct groupings based upon particular forms of affiliation (e.g., ethnicity, gender, sexuality, educative attainment, environmental values). While there remains support for collective solutions to social problems, recognition of diversity is necessary for the organisation of popular input into public decisions.
- **Structure:** The socio-physical structure of urban space has re-emerged as key in the metropolitan response to growing infrastructure pressures manifest particular in congestion and pollution.
- **Uncertainty:** The post-war social consensus of the 'town and country planning' period has been eroded by fragmentation of the urban community. Insecurity is now a deeply felt, and growing, social dynamic. The pressure on government to be accountable has increased as has the importance of planning as mediator of urban development outcomes and growth impacts.

Advocacy and Policy Debates

Advocacy Debates

Most of the advocacy documents/debates reviewed in this study are of Sydney origin.

- **Global City:** The prime context of contemporary metropolitan planning is the reality of 'globalism' – economic integration and competition on a world scale. The pivot of the sustainable and efficient global city is urban structural integrity – quality public infrastructure and the sound planning of urban centres.
- **Environmental Quality:** At the national level the (urban) environment is of increasing community concern. At the international level almost unprecedented environmental conventions reflect global ecological disquiet. At the same time there is increasing pressure on the natural resources of global cities. This growing dilemma is best managed at the metropolitan-regional scale.
- **Planning Scale:** Metropolitan planning comprises multiple potential scales. The typical global city is embedded in a large hinterland to which it is connected via economic and population interaction, and resource and waste flows. A metropolitan plan treats of sustainable city-hinterland relationships. On a greater level it should be embedded in a *settlement strategy*. Thus, for example, Sydney's growth should be linked to the changing context and needs of greater NSW.
- **Planning Period(s):** Demographic prediction is uncertain. Fixed population estimates are best avoided. Rather, metropolitan plans should set population milestones, relating successive 'demographic plateaus' to specific policies. Modest population planning periods are best. (For Sydney, a population of six million would be a long term planning horizon.) Such a contingent planning process requires rigorous monitoring and review of assumptions.
- **Morphology:** Metropolitan planning must address the issue of *urban structure* to better manage the layout of fundamental urban land uses. The relationship of transport and land use needs continuous attention. An urban centres policy should channel new urban growth into defined transport hubs.
- **Private and Public Transport Balance:** Public transport is key to the creation of a sustainable and liveable metropolitan region. The imbalance between the investment in public and private transport needs to be redressed.
- **Governance:** Metropolitan regions, and Sydney is a clear example, urgently require integrated planning focused on the attainment of

desired, and clearly identified, urban outcomes. Integration should occur laterally – in the above example, within the NSW government – and vertically – to include Local Government in metropolitan planning. PlanFirst, to guard against ‘over-governing’ and underachieving outcomes, is advocated as a needed reform of urban regional governance.

Policy Debate Review

Due to their conceptual nature policy debates are drawn from a larger context and include European discussion of strategic planning at the regional, including metropolitan, scale. The following broad themes are evident.

- **Political Context:** Planning has a potentially powerful set of levers available to it. Many positive planning instruments – notably, land purchase and public land development – have proved highly effective in metropolitan planning. The use of these levers, however, is a *political question*.
- **Principles:** The first stage of strategy design comprises the *foundational principles* framed at the supra-local (including metropolitan) scale. These principles include decisions as to: (i) governmental purpose, (ii) goal(s) for civil society, and (iii) consequences for strategic planning.
- **Framework Design:** Once foundational principles have been decided, a set of key considerations define the framework of the metropolitan plan. Key considerations will vary by foundational principle but typically include; (i) strategic or project focus, (ii) legal status, (iii) governance and administration, (iv) participation, (v) spatial context, and (vi) environmental criteria.

Describing and Analysing Metropolitan Strategies

Different approaches to metropolitan planning may be located in the space defined by the twin axes of foundational principle(s) and framework design. The specification of the axes, that is to say definition of necessary decision parameters of metropolitan strategy, was prepared with expert feedback from designated informants.

In expanded form the foundation principle(s) comprise the following:

- **Direction.** Who will direct decision-making for the plan?
- **Decisions.** Will the plan represent a set of new decisions or will it reflect decisions already made?

- **Evaluation.** How are the strategic and design choices to be evaluated and by who?
- **Input.** How will external input for plan design and plan review be canvassed and received?

In expanded form framework design comprises:

- **Governance.** Decisions about the mode of planning, governance scale, vertical integration and coordination mechanisms.
- **Policy.** Decisions about policy ambit, operational frame, analytical frame, and planning model.
- **Finance.** Decisions about financial considerations, including, expenditure, taxation and levies.
- **Space.** Decisions about morphology, spatial ambit, spatial scale, and ecological space.
- **Time.** Decisions about temporal scale, continuity, and temporal focus.
- **Democracy.** Decisions about participation commitment, participation scale, responsibility, reflexivity, impact frame, and accountability.

Not only may any metropolitan strategy be expressed in terms of the expanded foundational and framework parameters but such description, at the same time, implicitly defines possible alternatives. The twin axes thus provide a guide to strategic planning, making clear both design choices and a broad sequence of priority.

Summary of National Review

Spatial Consensus

There is a national consensus on the need to address the car dependent, sprawling morphology of Australian capital cities. The Adelaide, Melbourne, Perth, South East Queensland (SEQ), and Sydney plans all advocate urban containment and reduced car dependence. Strategy policy includes:

- integration of public transport provision with land use planning.
- centre(s) policy to integrate transport hubs with mixed intense land uses (high density housing, employment, retail and recreation).
- the promotion of urban growth along existing, extended and new railway spine corridors.
- increasing densities both at the fringe and around transport hubs/centres to accommodate smaller households emerging from the erosion of the nuclear (suburban) family.

- the promotion of affordable housing and urban renewal programs to mitigate the spatial consolidation of social disadvantage.

The agreement on broad strategy is not reflected in specific planning measures to integrate housing densities, public transport and employment location. Such difference may be attributed to the striking divergence in *governance and finance*.

Governance and Finance

- **Institutional Reform** – The more effective strategies are prefaced by a whole of government approach facilitating inter-agency deliberation. *Melbourne 2030* benefited from an interdepartmental metropolitan strategy and the decision to place transport and planning in the same portfolio. The *Mark IV* strategy currently under preparation in Adelaide also involves inter-agency deliberation. As a result 4 of its 6 working papers are authored by non-planning government agencies. For the preparation of Western Australia's new strategy the transport portfolio has been embedded in the Department for Planning and Infrastructure.
- **Statutory Force** – All strategies ultimately depend on the compliance of Local Government; the primary site of development assessment and control. The Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth metropolitan strategies have statutory force. Sydney's strategy is advanced largely through State Environmental Planning Policies, although the PlanFirst reforms should address some of the problems of the displacement of planning authority. The SEQ strategy, however, is entirely voluntary.
- **Powerful Planning Levers** – Effective strategy requires control of (i) land (land assembly, growth boundary definition, open space protection), and (ii) infrastructure provision. The Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne strategies all employ mapped growth boundaries and possess the statutory authority to police these boundaries. The SEQ strategy, in contrast, lacks powers to assemble land or purchase and protect open space.
- **Budgetary Links** – Influence over the budget allocations for infrastructure agencies is key. The capital investments of Victorian agencies are tested in cabinet for strategic alignment with *Melbourne 2030*. A tighter South Australian Premier's report will link financial levers to Adelaide's metropolitan strategy. A sustainability assessment unit is to be established within the Western Australian Department of Treasury and Finance. It will use multi-criteria analysis to test strategic goal alignment.
- **Financial Mechanisms** – Financial charges are best designed not only for the efficient collection of money but also to advance metropolitan strategy. Such an approach is particularly suited to the reconfiguration of structures that presently favour road traffic over public transport. None of the strategies reviewed, however, include such initiatives (e.g.,

congestion charges). Betterment is also underutilised. Perth, however, proposes a land tax and development dedication to provide for open space reservation(s).

- **Governance Scale** - The five strategies cover a diverse range of governance arrangements: Local-State partnership to support place management in Melbourne; departmental oversight in Adelaide; and regional cooperation in SEQ.

The Future

Two pivotal issues for the future have emerged from the metropolitan strategy review, namely:

- **Sustainability** - The Perth and Adelaide plans pay particular attention to water quality and supply. The protection of inland catchments is vital to the Sydney strategy. Whole of government reforms for sustainability are most advanced in Western Australia, while in Adelaide an environmental scientist (with planning expertise) has been given the task of overseeing the current *Mark IV* strategy. Whatever the policy particulars of each strategy, Triple (social, economic and environmental) Bottom Line accounting is emerging as the mode best able to plan for sustainability.
- **Spatial Ambit and Globalisation** – The accommodation of a rapidly growing population is the main focus of the Melbourne, Sydney and SEQ metropolitan strategies. The three cities have increased the spatial ambit of their strategies, looking to coastal and regional settlements beyond the capital city. Although the Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne strategies all employ growth boundaries, only *Melbourne 2030* formulates policies to encourage growth beyond the border. *Melbourne 2030* is particularly innovative in its desire to (i) harness the opportunities of the knowledge intensive global economy, and (ii) reinvigorate regional economies through a networked cities model.

Democracy

Consultation

Three models of consultation are evident in the metropolitan plans reviewed: strategic, corporate and 'blank page'. All these models, in the 'traditional' manner, summarise written submissions for a draft document produced in conformance with statutory guidelines

- The 2003 and *Mark IV* Adelaide strategies have both use a *strategic approach* to consultation. Various components of the strategies are isolated and presented to stakeholders (interviews) and the public (focus groups) for feedback. This approach saves time and money, and, for better or worse, keeps the strategy concise and focused.

- The SEQ *Regional Framework for Growth Management* used a *corporate style* of consultation. A standing stakeholder committee was involved in both strategy implementation and review(s). A stakeholder committee was also used as a peer review forum for *Melbourne 2030*. Such an approach tends to broaden the policy ambit of the plan.
- *Melbourne 2030* was the only plan to use broad ‘*blank page*’ participation. Community forums were held at the strategy framing and options/trade-offs stage. It has been argued the resulting plethora of initiatives diminish the strategic value of *Melbourne 2030*. However, the strong public ownership of the strategy may yet prove a decisive advantage in both plan implementation and planning coherence over time. Strong public support for the strategy makes it difficult for an incoming government to disown the plan.

Political Risks and Opportunities

In the last decade public discontent over urban growth management has been mobilised by political campaigns. Political impetus, in turn, has re-vitalised metropolitan planning. The Victorian Brack administration (1999–present) and the 1990–1996 Goss government in Queensland were partly elected partly by widespread disenchantment with urban planning. From this perspective, *Melbourne 2030* can be seen as Kennett’s (1992–1999) legacy. Strategies that are clearly identified with an administration are, however, vulnerable when power changes hands. The budgetary links established by the 1995 Sydney strategy *Cities for the Twenty First Century* were derailed by a change of government. Planning agencies thus face the challenge of harnessing popular discontent for the development of urban strategy, at the same time as protecting policy from too ready political disruption. In this regard the *Melbourne 2030* ‘two houses agreement’ rule is an exemplary innovation.

1. Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Aim of the Paper

This study sets out to answer the question ‘What is Metropolitan Plan?’. The paper records the study’s findings and develops an operational framework for metropolitan planning. The framework:

1. describes and analyses current metropolitan plans with reference to key Australian and overseas debates about urban strategic planning.
2. defines a process for metropolitan plan formulation.

The paper identifies the typical characteristics and elements of contemporary metropolitan strategy and highlights those features that are innovative or especially relevant to the Sydney context.

In demonstration the framework reviews current metropolitan planning frameworks in NSW, SA, QLD, Vic and WA.

1.2 Definition of Metropolitan Strategy

A metropolitan strategy is defined as a *strategic plan for managing change in urban regions.*

This definition stresses the *strategic* rather than the statutory nature of metropolitan planning.

Metropolitan strategies often have a legislative base and contain statutory controls and programs. Metropolitan plans, however, are, in the first instance strategic frameworks. As such they are distinguished from statutory planning instruments applied at a variety of spatial scales but most densely at the local level.

A metropolitan plan is not, as is often assumed, a mere growth management instrument. Urban regions are complex organisms, and patterns of growth and decline register in distinct ways at different spatial scales.

In sum, metropolitan plans are strategic instruments for the management of *urban change* at a variety of spatial scales, ranging from cadastral parcels through neighbourhoods and localities, up to and beyond the metropolitan level.

1.3 Methodology

The study is based on a critical review of the following sources of information:

- expert opinion drawn from a selected set of urban policy practitioners and commentators.
- senior officers of State and Territory planning agencies with responsibility for metropolitan planning.
- advocacy debates on metropolitan planning, drawn largely, but not exclusively, from the Sydney context.
- policy debates in Australian and European literature.
- current and recent metropolitan planning documents from NSW, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and South East Queensland.

1.4 Study Team

The research was prepared by Brendan Gleeson, Toni Darbas, Laurel Johnson & Suzanne Lawson of the Urban Policy Program.

2. The Changing Institutional Context for Metropolitan Planning

2.1 Introduction

Metropolitan planning takes place in a social understanding and organisation of the possibilities of planning. In broad outline there are 3 major planning periods in the post-WWII era:

1. Town and country planning (1940s-1970s).
2. Environmental planning (1970s-1990s).
3. Integrated planning (1990s-present).

Further reading on this periodisation may be found in Albrechts *et al.* (2001), Blowers & Evans (1997), Gleeson & Low (2000) Hamnett & Freestone (2000), Mees (2000), Sandercock (1998) and Self (1990).

2.2 Town and Country Planning (1940s-1970s)

Beyond the Laissez-Faire City

The roots of the town and country planning trace back to the British public health and housing reform movements of the 19th Century. Its immediate purpose was to bring spatial order to Victorian cities. This emerging planning model was overlaid by a succession of reform campaigns – including the ‘City Beautiful’ and ‘Garden City’ initiatives – which sought to humanise the Industrial City by improving its environmental amenity and its functionality. As British planning matured into the twentieth century (somewhat later in Australia and North America) equitable patterns of urban and social development became significant issues.

Early British planning arose principally as a reaction to the horrors of the unregulated industrial city, with its appalling death rates, high social dysfunction, inequitable and inadequate housing supply, and poor amenity. By the end of the 19th Century the perception of horror was broadly, if not universally, shared across all social classes, providing a popular socio-political base for institutional planning. In this sense, Britain and its more developed colonial dependencies, passed beyond a ‘laissez-faire’ approach to urban management in a way that many parts of North America did not. The ‘town and country planning’ model was essentially a British Commonwealth phenomenon based upon the premise laissez-faire city and regional development had been tried and found wanting.

In North America, the emergence of planning was more uncertain. It was strongly contested by an ethos of unfettered development as the keystone of national economic success. In new world countries, including Australia, planning had to contend with the social perception that resources, free gifts of

nature,' including space, were unlimited and that there was no need to regulate their use.

By the time 'town and country planning' matured in institutional form (through legislation and professional organisation) the model had come to rely largely on regulatory mechanisms to achieve its main end - the 'timely and orderly development of cities'. Earlier utopian initiatives based on positive planning intervention, such as the creation of ideal cities and suburbs, were overtaken by an institutional regime found on statutory control to guide market development. To the extent that planning developed at all in early 20th Century America, it was restricted to the use of zoning as a prescriptive planning measure. The Australian 'town and country' planning system emerged as something of a hybrid of the North American and British approaches. It adopted zoning as its regulatory bedrock, whilst embracing key British urban management principles (e.g. urban containment, soils preservation) and devices (e.g. growth boundaries or 'greenbelts').

Post War Planning: Guiding Reconstruction and Growth

In Australia by the late 1940s though town and country planning had taken institutional root its development at both local and state levels was uneven. A metropolitan scale of concern was slow to develop and most of the early planning was at the local level. Post-war reconstruction, however, revived interest in larger scale positive planning – in the main via new town development in Britain and, later, in Australia. New towns were planned to rehouse displaced populations, provide for population growth, and help contain the growth of established metropolitan areas.

The commitment to new town planning and construction both reflected, and reinforced, planning for demographic and economic growth at the metropolitan scale. Several comprehensive metropolitan plans were completed in the 1940s (Sydney 1948) and 1950s (Melbourne 1954 & Perth 1955). The main objectives of the plans were (i) orderly land use patterns, especially in new growth areas, and (ii) providing infrastructure for modern development. The plans were 'top-down', in the sense of being conceived by expert professionals, and 'bottom up', in that they focused on the ground level zoning controls needed to secure orderly and timely development. In overview planning at this time, including metropolitan planning, was perceived as a facilitator of economic growth.

A variety of institutional models for devising and implementing the early metropolitan plans, and their successors, were used through to the 1970s. In Sydney and Melbourne, early models were based upon cooperation between Local Governments. In this sense at least, 'town and country planning' had strong democratic credentials, but these were lacking in many other institutional areas of the model – public participation in everyday planning processes, for example, was weak or non-existent. In time planning administrations emerged as the patrons of metropolitan planning. Western Australia is the notable exception. To this day it has a statutory planning commission responsible for the strategic planning of Perth.

A strong and unitary sense of public interest underscored professional endeavour during the town and country planning stage. This reflected both the popular view of society of itself (fostered in the fervent nationalism of war) and the general institutional view of public policy making in the post war period. Society could be viewed from the policy perspective as a unified whole whose needs and desires were knowable and, indeed, predictable. Planning interpreted this view spatially, acknowledging geographic differentiation of needs/aspirations, but still assuming a common, even homogenous, view of social structure centred on the nuclear family.

The Rise of Scientific Planning

In the 1960s Town and Country Planning embraced systems theory and quantitative social scientific technique. The use of sophisticated, if contentious, 'rational scientific' modelling techniques and cybernetic analogies, imparted a new sense of certitude and purpose to planning. The 'rational-technocratic' form of town and country planning was deployed in a series of metropolitan plans, especially transport strategies. Future social, economic and physical conditions were boldly forecast and policy and regulatory systems designed in anticipation. Unfortunately most projections were to prove wildly off the mark.

The rise of scientific, or 'systems', planning also marked the transition away from blueprint approaches (heavily reliant on zoning) in favour of strategic frameworks comprising a range of urban management 'levers' (including transport infrastructure and, in some instances, land purchase). An unambiguous advance of the systems approach was its clear and 'rational' evaluation of alternative planning choices. Canberra's 'Y-Plan' is the best Australian example of the systems model, whilst other metropolitan plans adopted elements of the approach.

Early metropolitan strategy – especially in Sydney and Melbourne – underestimated the population growth that followed the Second World War. Growth swamped planning, and brought into critical view the heavy reliance of the early strategies on development control blueprints applied largely at the local level. It became clear that States had to take a stronger role in directing infrastructure development towards the (sub)urban fringe - the site of population growth. Urban corridors designed around transport networks became key to the alignment of land and infrastructure development. The result was more timely and efficient delivery of physical and social services. Some positive planning was undertaken in the capitals, notably, the purchase of land required for future urban growth.

Box 2.11 Town & Country Planning: Principal Metropolitan Management Features

Physical Object

The Industrial City

Spatial Focus

Growth on the urban fringe

Inner city 'slums'

Morphological Focus

Urban structure

Premises

Unitary public interest

Timely and orderly development

Facilitating growth

Certitude (future can be predicted)

Equity

Planning Principles

Urban containment

Preservation of valuable soils and lands

Separation of incompatible land uses

Control of noxious land uses

Decentralisation of monocentric city

Protection of amenity, especially residential

Provision of services and amenities

Control of speculation, especially on urban fringe

Corridor growth (later)

Approach

Top down design of vision and controls

Bottom up land use planning

Engineering solutions

focus

Systems theory (later phase)

Scientific modelling and prediction (later phase)

2.3 Environmental Planning 1970s-1990s

Planning and its Discontents

A generation after WWII, established cities in Britain and Australia had been 're-engineered' through planning and the improved provision of social and physical capital (in Australia largely via State authorities). New urban areas and cities – notably Canberra – had been established and constructed according to the town and country planning model. The model took various forms in different times and places, but in general its enduring goal was timely and orderly development.

Nevertheless, by the 1970s the town and country planning model, especially its later rational technocratic forms, had begun to lose both popular and professional legitimacy. Such discontent was part of a wider social critique of the modern industrial state, expressed in a variety of forms including grassroots activism (especially environmentalism) and mass youth protest. The main object of dissatisfaction was what the German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1997) terms "excessive rationalisation" within public and private institutions. For many this meant an over-reliance in governance on technocratic science and remote professional 'wisdom'. In activist and even broader, popular circles it was felt excessive reliance on 'cold reason' acted both to exclude broad democratic, especially community-based, input within policymaking systems, and to diminish non-technical values, especially environmental values.

For planning, the process of change that began in the 1960s culminated in the late 1970s in a series of legislative and institutional reforms designed to facilitate:

- more thoroughgoing public participation in policy design and policy implementation.
- a far greater sensitivity to environmental values in analysis and decision making.

The reforms included a range of State based 'environmental planning' statutes (for example the NSW *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*) to provide for greater public participation and environmental valuation. Environmental assessment techniques and procedures were introduced – notably environmental impact assessment (EIA) – and given institutional force in new environmental protection agencies. In many jurisdictions, third party appeal rights were strengthened and appeal processes made more accessible through legislative and administrative reforms. The legacy of these reforms remains important today.

Federal Influence: the Whitlam Urban Program

The Whitlam Government's urban and regional program (1972-77) renewed interest in (i) national spatial development, and (ii) equity in urban development. The Whitlam initiatives included:

- new positive planning instruments (notably State based land commissions) for urban fringe development.
- settlement planning at the regional scale including the question of 'optimal city size'.
- the planning and development of new towns (e.g., Macarthur, Albury-Wodonga).
- planning urban equity, especially the timely provision of physical and social infrastructure.
- urban renewal – hitherto the preserve of housing authorities.

The Rise of Economic Conservatism

In the mid 1970s, a series of economic shocks undermined the social and environmental liberalisation of the post-war growth model. At both political and institutional levels, participatory process and environmental concern were constrained by fiscal pressure and demands for economic liberalisation. As aspatial neo-classical economics gained political ground the 'costs' of planning came under increasing suspicion. As well as the ideological shift to neo-liberal conservatism, the legitimacy of planning was further eroded by community disquiet that perceived planning to be a mechanism of forced industrial modernisation of heritage areas and ecologically valued landscapes. Planning was, in sum, caught between socio-political discontent and economic critique.

By the end of the decade, marginal economic critique was an institutional force that had overtaken grassroots activism and the emergent 'environmental planning model' as the main challenge to planning. Within planning itself, some critics argued excessive development control caused unnecessary inflation and rationing in housing markets. A feature of much of this criticism was the lack of empirical evidence for claims. Nevertheless, planning proved unable to explain the contribution it made to the urban, regional and national economy. Rather, it accommodated itself to its new role, fashioned by State Government, of economic facilitator. This role centred on the use of statutory instruments and strategic coordination to stimulate rather than control development.

Planning, including metropolitan plan making, became enmeshed with economic development. For some critics, this reduced the ability of planning to shape development outcomes in the public interest. In this view, planning had shorn itself of its traditional 'balanced' focus on timely and orderly growth in the social interest and was now a naked instrument of economic growth for private gain. This critique – that planners and developers were now hardly distinguishable – was to resonate through community and professional criticism during the 1980s and into the 1990s. To this day it remains a troublesome issue for the profession.

Community activists decried the new economic focus in planning and many held that this shift had swiftly reversed many of the gains made in the transition to environmental planning regimes. This view, however, neglected the enduring, if contested, legacy of the environmental planning initiatives.

Throughout the 1980s, the environmental planning model gave ground to accommodate the new economic focus, which remained nonetheless in constant tension with a continued (often rhetorical) commitment to environmental and social values.

The Shape and Focus of Metropolitan Plans

At the metropolitan level the tension between neo-liberal economics and environmental and social concern produced a variety of strategic responses. Melbourne's Amendment 150 Plan of 1981, for example, incorporated a strong commitment to urban consolidation on environmental grounds. More generally, however, metropolitan frameworks lowered their strategic aspirations in deference to market forces and concentrated on managing small scale, incremental urban expansion in a context of assumed low growth. In the late 1980s, a boom in several metropolitan property markets, especially inner city Melbourne and Sydney, lifted growth expectations and helped focus policy attention on redevelopment and consolidation. This focus was reinforced by the federal government's re-entry into urban affairs during the early 1990s with its 'Better Cities Program'. The program was largely concerned with redevelopment issues in existing, especially inner urban, areas and was strongly committed to consolidation as a leading planning object.

In the 1980s consolidation assumed ever greater importance in metropolitan planning. Originally associated with preservationist (later conservationist) objectives, urban compaction came to be seen as a way to (i) lower infrastructure costs, and (ii) supply medium density dwelling stock to meet demand arising from household recomposition. The Commonwealth's Better Cities Program additionally stimulated interest in consolidation.

Consolidation policies – essentially policies on form – strengthened their grip on the planning imagination and planning policy throughout the 1990s. Initiatives ranged from 'market led' densification in any residential area to directed compaction around transport infrastructure (e.g., current NSW policy setting SEPP 53). In the context of declining average household size, however, consolidation often proves more effective in increasing dwelling, not population, densities.

Throughout this period metropolitan policy was largely premised on a monocentric view of the city. Consolidation policy for inner urban redevelopment reinforced this morphological focus. Some policy, however, including the Victorian government's district centre(s) policy of the early 1980s, recognised the increasing polycentric form of the major cities and the benefits of promoting this urban structure. 'Managed dispersion' had also been anticipated in certain earlier strategic plans, including the 1960 Sydney Regional Outline Plan.

Box 2.31 Environmental Planning: Principal Metropolitan Management Features

Physical Object

The Post Industrial City

Spatial Focus

Growth on the urban fringe

Emergent focus on urban renewal

Increasing focus on market led redevelopment of inner cities (later)

Morphological Focus

Urban structure, later urban form

Premises

Plural public interest

Facilitating growth

Environmental values

Equity

Public participation and local democracy

Economic development (later)

Planning Principles

Preservation of valuable soils and lands

Separation of incompatible land uses

Control of noxious land uses

Decentralisation but increasing concern with CBD viability

Protection of amenity, especially residential

Provision of services and amenities

Control of speculation, especially on urban fringe

Corridor growth (later)

Approach

Corridor structure planning

District centres policies

Urban improvement programs

Land development agencies

Major projects (later)

Deregulation/re-regulation (later)

2.4 Integrated Planning 1990s – Present

Deregulation and Economic Development

For most of the 1990s there was a heightened emphasis on the deregulation of development control systems and on the use of planning to facilitate rather than shape economic development. Most State and Territory governments were politically conservative¹ and did not favour intervention in urban development. Commitment to metropolitan strategy declined markedly. One important countervailing development, however, was the formulation of the South East Queensland regional growth management framework by the Goss Government. The SEQ framework remains in place today and represents one of the more robust attempts by a State administration to set urban growth management (Brisbane) in a supra-metropolitan context (South East Queensland's 18 local authorities).

The deregulatory thread of the period was given federal stimulus with the election of the Howard government in 1996. The Prime Minister's 'More Time for Business' policy added institutional weight to the development industry lobby for deregulation and harmonisation in State and Territory planning systems. The collaborative Development Assessment Forum continues to be a focal point for discussion around this federal policy object.

To the extent that planning and metropolitan strategy making continued, it reflected a laissez-faire view of the city as an inherently complex system whose future course of development was largely unknowable. Planning's role was not to try and shape the broad course of unpredictable change but to manage the externalities of development at the micro-level, via performance based local controls.

The same conservative administrations that took this restrictive view of environmental planning were, nevertheless, committed to massive scale transport planning and expensive new infrastructure - largely new toll ways to be built with public (including Federal) subsidies and operated by private companies. The revival of road planning saw the re-emergence of rational-technocratic forms of planning rooted in the practice of road engineering. After years of gathering dust major freeway plans were revived. 'Connectivity' – largely for private motorcars and for commercial traffic – was the royal road to metropolitan competitiveness in the global market.

The Rise of Sustainability

As the millennium approached cross currents abounded in a very complex time for planning debate, if not practice. The rise of the 'sustainability' rubric in the early 1990s flowed against the tide of deregulatory conservatism. The Federal Government's (largely rhetorical) advocacy of 'ecologically sustainable development' helped to sustain strong public interest in the ideal.

¹ This includes the state labor administrations of the early 1990s that were shortly to be swept aside by new coalition governments.

Paradoxical, not to say oxymoronic, claims emerged in official urban policy. In Victoria, for example, new motorways – including the massive Citylink project – were promoted as consistent with the principle of sustainability because they would reduce vehicle journey times and, thereby, emissions. Similar ‘sustainability’ claims were made for certain consolidation policies that encouraged the *unmanaged dispersion* of higher density development, even though the resultant settlement pattern was often detrimental to structural planning objectives - such as a district centre program.

By the late 1990s, new urban social movements – frequently under the ‘Save our Suburbs’ banner – had emerged in several cities to oppose the policy of unmanaged dispersion. The political defeat of some administrations that had promoted this policy, marked transition to *managed dispersion* policy. Some critics have argued, however, that such managed dispersion has reinforced unsustainable structural patterns, for example by focusing new higher density residential development on car-based district centres.

It is clear the achievement of sustainability in metropolitan planning will require a greater and more concerted effort than has hitherto been the case. In this context combining sustainability with integrated planning is essential.

The Integration Agenda

Probably the most important thread of reform in the fabric of recent planning has been the advocacy of, and in some cases shift towards, integrated models of administration and policy development. Emerging from general public administration debates and political shifts² that are too complex to survey here, the integration imperative in planning has taken several key forms (see Box 2.41).

By the early 1990s, the integration imperative was well embedded in governance debates and, to some extent, in public administration practice. The Federal Government helped to promote the debate with its Integrated Local Area Planning program.

Conservative administrations pursued integration with uneven enthusiasm. Its potential to reduce the mass and cost of public administration was welcome. Less attention was placed on integrated policy and regulation to enhance planning outcomes. New integrated planning administrations, such as the Victorian Department of Infrastructure, were formed in a number of States and in the ACT. Critics charge such integrated structures weaken planning by combining its administration with powerful road building agencies. In this setting the detail of institutional design, including the nature of senior appointments and the mechanism of budget allocation is determinate.

² Including the rise of so-called ‘New Public Management’ models that emphasised, *inter alia*, policy coherence as a leading reform ideal.

Box 2.41 Five Key Forms of Integration in Australian Planning Systems

- **Integrated regulation** for all built environment policy areas to achieve both efficiencies (cost savings for government and for the public) and enhanced effectiveness of outcomes.
- **Integrated policy making** and implementation, emphasising the potential of this integration form to improve the general effectiveness of government endeavour.
- **Integrated administration** of different policy functions to, *inter alia*, overcome 'guild like' professional traditions which may reduce the flexibility and responsiveness of policy systems.
- **Spatial integration** of policy and regulatory functions (e.g. 'place management') to enhance policy outcomes at the local scale and to improve the basis for citizen scrutiny of government.
- **Integrated governance** involving stronger cooperation amongst level of government, and in some cases with non-public institutions, to reduce administrative costs and to enhance policy effectiveness.
- **Integrated assessment** of planning policy outcomes, based upon the sustainability principle – for example 'triple bottom line' accounting.

In the new millennium, enthusiasm for integrated policy systems remains strong among expert commentators. However, political and bureaucratic support for integrated administration appears to have waned. Much authoritative commentary concludes there is no necessary relation between the administrative integration of different policy functions and the capacity of governments to achieve 'joined up' policy outcomes.

Contemporary Trends: Revival of Metropolitan Planning?

The replacement of all State and Territory conservative/coalition governments marked a turning of the tide back in favour of metropolitan planning. The new Labour administrations identified poor urban management – especially the policy of unmanaged dispersion – as a pivotal policy concern. Strong rhetorical commitment to managed dispersion – i.e., directing consolidation to 'appropriate areas' – and to stronger metropolitan management is now current. Renewed concern for urban structure has been written in new strategies and draft documents. Centres policies, urban growth boundaries and greater integration of transport and land use planning have been embraced. The status of road building agencies and functions remains, however, largely unchanged with the possible exception of Western Australia where administrative design appears to have weakened the ability of transport engineers and planners to dictate wider urban policy.

Whilst debate about administrative integration remains open, the tendency of planning strategies to pursue a broad range of integrated policy objectives, well outside the traditional remit of physical planning, remains firmly embedded. For some critics the integrated policy ideal can be stretched too far, producing strategy replete with objectives unsupported by operational

mechanisms. Some recent strategies have been charged with a grandeur of prose inversely related to their ability to effect change.

From this set of experiences and criticisms, a number of contemporary integration imperatives for metropolitan planning have been distilled (see Box 2.42).

Box 2.42. Contemporary Integration Imperatives for Metropolitan Planning

- Metropolitan strategies should promise only what they can deliver – ‘aspirational planning’ is quickly discredited and is ultimately harmful to planning in general.
- Vague aims must be avoided.
- Notwithstanding the above, the integration imperative remains strong on effectiveness grounds.
- The challenge is to design an integrated policy set grounded in operational mechanisms (not necessarily legislative).
- Administrative integration is not the *necessary* basis for metropolitan plan making – integrated policy outcomes can be achieved via a variety of possible administrative arrangements.
- Administrative integration, nonetheless, is strongly conducive to integrated policy outcomes if power and budgets are contestable and each functional area is assessed against common policy outcomes.

After a decade of neglect the role of the public in planning is now back on the agenda. The Victorian government maintains *Melbourne 2030* was found in a thorough consultation process, although this claim has been challenged by commentators and advocacy groups. The recent *Sustainable Sydney* forums in NSW are an important alternative medium for metropolitan planning dialogue.

Finally, scholarly and critical commentary continues to deny the rational technocratic idea that public interest is a straightforward, unitary ideal which experts can readily comprehend. Rather a plurality of (sometimes) opposing interests is assumed, requiring a *negotiative* and *deliberative* process of policy making. The challenge is to reconcile different interests fairly. In contexts where political might often makes right, this is very difficult. *Melbourne 2030* is a first example of the deliberative approach.

Box 2.43 Integrated Planning: Principal Metropolitan Management Features

Physical Object

The Global City

Spatial Focus

Dispersed, later polycentric

Morphological Focus

Urban form, more recently a return to structure

Premises

Plural public interests, with weighting on economic interests

'Time for business'

Facilitating growth

Uncertainty

Integration

Equity (later)

Planning Principles

Consolidation

Dispersed urban growth

Unpredictability

Unmanaged dispersion

Aesthetic sophistication

Connectedness (esp. commercial traffic)

Integrated planning

Cooperative regional governance (esp. Qld)

Managed dispersion (later)

Negotiative and deliberative planning

Approach

Weak and indicative strategies

Information gathering and market trends monitoring

Infrastructure (esp. roads) led planning

Urban design

Regional growth management (esp. Qld)

Comprehensive strategies (later)

Centres policy (later)

Growth boundaries (later)

Greenspace preservation (later)

Urban renewal (later)

2.5 Summary

A set of broad political imperatives, together with expert understandings of policy and the capacity of the public sector to effect change, constitutes the 'institutional context' for planning in any historical period. The institutional context for metropolitan planning has changed immensely in the post-war period.

Three broad models are evident:

1. Town and country planning (1940s-1970s).
2. Environmental planning (1970s-1990s).
3. Integrated planning (1990s-present).

Contemporary Integrated Planning embodies the following key imperatives for metropolitan planning:

- **Sustainability.** The idea of sustainability motivates the contemporary form of popular activism. Metropolitan populism expects planning for the sustainable development of cities. The response of planning has been 'triple bottom line' policy evaluation.
- **Resource Management.** New scientific understandings of key ecological resources, especially air, water and energy, coupled with increased popular concern, is driving planning to embrace resource management imperatives.
- **Regional Management.** The evolution of Australia's main cities into complex urban regions (e.g., Sydney-Hunter-Illawarra) has underlined the need for regional growth management strategies to (i) harness the synergies of the new urban interdependencies, and (ii) moderate the market tendency to produce inefficient and costly unmanaged dispersion.
- **Integration.** Policy integration, as the leading public administration ideal, has been embraced at the level of the State and Territory. It accommodates the goal of sustainability and its emphasis on natural and social interdependence.
- **Accountability.** Community scrutiny of government has reinforced a general decline in social 'faith' in institutions as expert arbiters of the public interest. Metropolitan planning should assume rising community literacy and interest in growth management, especially as it is directly related to neighbourhood and household well-being.
- **Plurality.** The contemporary 'community' is aware of itself as a diverse association of distinct groupings based upon particular forms of affiliation (e.g., ethnicity, gender, sexuality, educative attainment,

environmental values). Recognition of diversity is necessary for the organisation of popular input into public decisions.

- **Structure.** Infrastructure pressures and growth problems, including congestion and pollution, are renewing the emphasis on urban structure as a key concern for metropolitan planning.
- **Uncertainty.** The fragmentation of the post-war social consensus has resulted in pervasive uncertainty in the urban community(s). 'Insecurity' is a deeply felt social dynamic sensitive to much public policy. While this increases the political pressure on government it also requires planning to mediate and moderate community uncertainty about urban development outcomes and growth impacts. Planning, in this context, has never been more relevant and important.

3. Review of Debates

3.1 Introduction

This section of the paper reviews the Australian urban management debate with the aim of identifying key themes and principles for metropolitan strategic planning. These keys will be used in the methodology presented in the subsequent section.

The first set of debates are found in 'advocacy literature' - reports and documents advanced by various interests advocating a particular approach to metropolitan planning or a closely related theme (e.g., strategic planning). To constrain what could be a very wide-ranging review only advocacy literature concerning Sydney is considered. Most of the material is drawn from a series of articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (March 2003).

The second review of key themes is drawn largely from policy and social scientific literatures. Most of the literature is Australian, although there is some reference to relevant European debate.

3.2 Advocacy Documents and Discussions

Review of advocacy documents reveal seven key themes and, within several of these, a number of sub-themes (Figure 3.21 over leaf).

Box 3.21 Advocacy Themes and Sub themes

- **The Global City**
- **Environmental Quality**
- **Planning Scale**
- **Planning Period**
- **Morphology**
 - *Centres policy*
 - *Business clusters*
 - *Urban consolidation*
 - *Greenbelts*
- **Public and Private Transport Balance**
 - *Environmental efficiency*
 - *Infrastructure funding*
 - *Agency reform*
- **Governance**
 - *Integrated planning*
 - *Regions*

A key theme in the advocacy literature is global context. Global integration and competition is *the* backdrop for metropolitan planning in Australia (and especially in Sydney, the nation's most globally integrated metropolis).

The Warren Centre's *City of Cities* report (2002:90) notes the emergence of a (virtual) global information economy fuelled by:

- growth of global telecommunications and rapid transport networks.
- convergence of information and communication technologies.
- linking of these technologies with transport and land use.
- shift to information and knowledge as a resource base for new industries.
- erosion of national barriers to movement of people and information.
- emergence of cities as prime economic entities and network nodes.
- growth of information services separating finance and business services.
- rapid growth of internet, email, ecommerce as consequence of above factors.

A report by the Property Council of Australia and Council of Capital City Lord Mayors entitled *The Capital Cities and Australia's Future* (2000) claims 'world' cities such as Sydney are the new engines of national prosperity (PCA & CCCLM, 2000:9). The Committee for Sydney defines world cities as:

...places where wealth creation, job generation and quality of life are welded together through an enabling infrastructure to produce attractive and sustainable environments. (1998:11)

Growth in world trade today is via elaborately transformed manufactures (ETMs) and sophisticated services like finance and cultural tourism (PCA & CCCLM, 2000). With the export of routine production jobs to cheaper international labour pools, growth in job opportunities must be renewed through new products and international markets (ibid.).

Regions must now maintain international competitiveness or risk the departure of capital and business. In the face of the 'unbundling of production' (Spiller, 2003a) the role of government has changed. Increasingly it is restricted to micro-economic reform (PCA & CCCLM, 2000). The employment outcome(s) of globalisation appear inevitable:

Globalisation rewards knowledge and skill but offers little job security and there is evidence of spatial polarisation of incomes based on connectivity to global market opportunities (PCA & CCCLM, 2000:16).

The new constellation of employment and industry is intensely urban. It relies on dense networks of business services, access to universities and other key research institutions and the availability of specialists. Consequently, major cities are of strategic importance to a future:

Where nations and states will be able to increasingly differentiate themselves in the quest for investment in skills, quality of local governance, efficiency of infrastructure, environmental sustainability and liveability. In large part these factors are location specific and any latent advantage associated with them can be accentuated through astute urban management (PCA & CCCLM, 2000:19).

The quality of urban life is viewed as a strategic asset that can attract the best and brightest from a global talent pool (Committee of Sydney, 1998). At present, Australia captures only a fifth of 1% of world business service trade.

Box 3.22 Four Key Considerations for Metro Planning in the Global Era

Commercial Connectivity: how the city functions as a gateway in and for the global economy. Central cities, in particular, act as telecommunications hubs for the national economy.

Urban Structure and the Urban Economy: urban structural considerations – notably, the configuration of settlement patterns, activity centres, public and private transportation systems – have a profound effect on the cost of doing business. Decisions about such 'urban production costs' cannot be left solely to the market yet are often neglected by policy makers.

Innovation: the institutional and cultural climate that fosters the creation of new products and services.

Cultural Tourism: whereby an image of the metropolitan area is projected as a marketing brand. The city as emblem.

(Source: PCA & CCCLM, 2000, quoted & paraphrased)

According to the Committee for Sydney (1998), the main implication of globalisation for Australian urban planning is the need for cross-functional policy systems and a metropolitan wide strategic framework.

Environmental Quality

Environmental quality emerged as a second key advocacy theme. For the Warren Centre (2002:18) the two main benefits of increasing ecological sustainability of the greater metropolitan region are:

- reducing energy consumption and CO₂ production.
- reducing water consumption, sewage flows and storm water runoff

The centre recommends the development of mapped profiles of embodied energy, operational energy, water consumption and waste production. Such distributional profiles would define the base for energy and water budgets.

Anne Davies (2003) suggests a metropolitan water plan to reduce water usage through:

- appropriate pricing signals.
- subsidies for water efficient domestic fittings.
- a rainwater tank scheme and the reuse of water facilitated by a second pipe network.

The Total Environment Centre (2003) (hereafter TEC) identifies three key sustainability considerations for metropolitan planning (Box 3.23).

Box 3.23 Three Key Sustainability Considerations for Metropolitan Planning

1. Measuring the ecological footprint of urban areas: focusing on water and energy consumption and embodiment profiles.
2. Mainstreaming sustainable design through benchmarks, best practice, seeding funds.
3. Removing of institutional barriers to sustainable urban development, such as zoning, development assessment and control, and access to finance.

(Source: TEC, 2003)

The TEC argues the institutional cultures of the major water and energy utilities are slow to appreciate the value of selling less. Urban institutions need to consider demand management and low-emission energy and wastewater services at the time of subdivision and construction.

According to the TEC, the demand on resources from fringe or greenfield development could be significantly reduced if environmental best practice was mandated. The Total Environment advocates:

- more efficient designs for energy, waste and storm water reticulation.
- water flocculation through retention ponds as an alternate to drain construction.
- environmentally sustainable urban building and precinct design.
- minimum mandatory benchmarks (for energy, water use, waste minimisation, indoor air quality and materials) coupled with government trigger funding.
- the removal of inflexible zoning and development regulation,
- the education of reluctant financial institutions and sceptical communities.
- government intervention to promote solar building design and passive energy conservation.

Planning Scale

Planning scale refers to the spatial range of metropolitan planning. The Property Council of Australia and Council of Capital City Lord Mayors note:

A characteristic of globalisation is that the tight nexus between a city and its local production hinterland can be diluted or even dispensed with. Cities can offer their producer and consumer services to production hinterlands anywhere around the world (PCA & CCCLM, 2000:39).

The report concludes cities that pin their hopes on servicing wider domestic markets will fail and, therefore, the spatial ambit of metropolitan management and planning is best restricted to urban centres. The report contends particular emphasis should be placed on the central CBD:

Careful management of the city centre to maintain and enrich the base of deal making agents and corporate decision makers should be regarded as an important element of any strategy to promote national innovation (PCA & CCCLM, 2000:72).

In contrast, a 2000 report by the Royal Australian Planning Institute, *Liveable Communities*, contends policies and actions are needed to bridge the gap between the metropolitan area and its hinterland:

At the broad geographical level two distinct economies are beginning to emerge; one based on new private sector investment in the service sector and global enterprises and the old economy tied to resources and servicing traditional primary industries. Income, employment and education indicators point to markedly weaker performance in areas outside the metropolitan centres. Access levels to services and facilities show a growing disparity

between metropolitan and country areas. This situation has been heightened in recent years by the loss of public and private institutions in country towns and rural communities (RAPI, 2000:9-10).

In this spirit, the Warren Centre report argues the dynamics of economic globalisation should be harnessed to increase not diminish the spatial ambit of metropolitan planning. To this end, *City of Cities* advocates the development of a fast rail corridor between Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne in conjunction with an information infrastructural grid to bring additional centres into daily travel-time budgets. A fast train "...becomes imperative as road and air traffic congestion, increasing air pollution and green house gas emissions overload the environment" (Warren Centre, 2002:147). Further, it offers opportunities to locate activities en route so as to facilitate decentralisation while simultaneously integrating urban systems.

Such a metropolitan/supra-metropolitan strategy would redirect the growing population pressures of the Sydney region beyond metro boundaries, specifically beyond the Blue Mountains. This would promote more efficient, equitable and sustainable development in NSW and a more viable alternative for the future than the agglomerated world city option currently being promoted.

A public submission on metropolitan planning for Sydney by the NSW division of the Planning Institute of Australia (hereafter, PIA) supports the Warren Centre. PIA recommends an extended geographical domain for Sydney's planning to include "the Central Coast, the Illawarra, Blue Mountains/Lithgow and other areas on the fringe of Sydney" (2003:1). Planning for this 'supra-metropolitan' region should be linked to population forecasting at the State level and has the "potential for redirecting some growth away from Sydney" (ibid: 3). A new metropolitan plan for Sydney should embody "the State and Regional Planning Policies relevant to the Sydney region" (ibid: 4).

The TEC, too, believes inland country towns should be targeted as centres within a broad metropolitan planning ambit. Their report notes coastal areas are growing rapidly and face serious environmental and equity challenges.

Realistic targets for a decentralisation policy in inland areas would be centres which are already growing (indicating a viable economic base) and are already large enough to provide infrastructure support – say Albury, Bathurst, Dubbo, Griffith, Orange, Tamworth and Wagga Wagga (TEC, 2003:7).

Davies (2003) argues the management of Sydney should be linked to surrounding regions (such as the Hunter-Illawarra) as well as to NSW generally. A settlement strategy should aim to create jobs and cultural support outside the capital, promoting settlement outside the Sydney basin. Levers available to further such a strategy include the relocation of government departments, and regional development grants for business in towns such as Hunter, Goulburn, Wollongong, and Lithgow/Bathurst.

Planning Period

The PIA (2003) submission warns against the setting of population targets fixed by time, pointing to the poor record of past metropolitan plans in accurately anticipating the timing of demographic change. Population growth is still key but should be marked as a series of growth plateaus to trigger renewed planning. These milestones should be *modest* thresholds and regularly reviewed as part of general plan monitoring. For Sydney the PIA suggests the following milestones:

- 4.5 million *Short term* planning period
- 5 million *Medium term* planning period
- 6 million *Long term* planning period

The need for continual review of these milestones is linked to a broader advocacy of strong monitoring and evaluation in future metropolitan planning. A metropolitan plan should be seen as an evolutionary process, forever uncertain, and its progress continually scrutinised.

Morphology

Urban morphology – issues of *structure* and local *form* – constitute a fourth and most important advocacy theme.

The Warren Centre summarises the defining policy issue of structural morphology.

The structure of the city is the main source of its inefficiency. The greater the degree of centralisation of the city, and therefore of its urban services, the greater the inefficiency (2003:25).

City of Cities maintains Sydney is structured around cities. The CBD and its inner suburbs (pop. 2 m) formed as a discrete mass during the 19th century and was the established centre of the (one) city through 1950s. It is central Australian gate for the global economy. The outer suburbs (west, north west and north west of Parramatta plus the central coast) developed with post war suburbanisation. They are present in the *Sydney Regional Outline Plan* of 1968 and now house 2 million residents. It is anticipated the outer suburbs will accommodate most of the additional one million people Sydney expects to add to its population by 2021. Outer Sydney has, historically, been considered an appendage to inner Sydney, leading to significant inequities in access to public and communal facilities. The lack of higher order jobs in the outer regions adds to Sydney's polarisation. As the CBD area turns more to the global network outer Sydney, by default, is isolated as another city.

Centres Policy

Centres, for the TEC, are a core component of urban sustainability. It advocates all nodal transport points be designated as centres. Davies agrees, contending the top metropolitan planning priority is identifying a hierarchy of urban centres beginning with six to eight major hubs at key transport interchanges. These district centres would be 'living cities' in their own right.

In form pedestrian friendly, with efficient transport interchanges and high quality public spaces. A second tier of centres would comprise the revitalized hubs from the City Centres Policy of the mid 1980s. A base tier of centres, in form it would preserve diversity by emphasising local character. In response to grass roots criticism of urban consolidation, Davies argues higher density development should occur only at transport nodes and in designated corridors. Such consolidation would be less likely to encounter community opposition, and, in the market, offer new buyers improved frequency and reliability of fixed transport links.

The Warren Centre report also advocates a strong centres policy. It promotes mixed use nodes, with higher density housing and employment, located at public transport nodes. Trip generators (such as hospitals, TAFES, shopping centres, offices, entertainment, community services) would be accessible by a range of transport modes and parking policies would discourage car use. Public transport corridors that integrate land uses with public transport use should be pursued. Parramatta is held up as an example of such policy.

Integrating the shopping centre industry into centre(s) policy will be crucial. The industry is less than 50 years old but accounts for 2.8 % of GNP, as well as 44 % of every retail dollar. It employs half a million people, manages assets worth 35 billion dollars, and provides for 40,000 speciality shops, many of which are run as small businesses. The TEC, too, advocates shopping centres as key nodal functions within a metropolitan centres framework.

The Warren Centre points out the Sydney CBD is still the 'jewel in crown' of any centre(s) policy. In the pursuit of sustainability, employment generating land use is preferred in the CBD to residential development - to prevent further dispersal of jobs and increased car use (2002:48).

Indeed, moving any jobs out of the CBD is unwise from an energy and greenhouse perspective. ... It would be better to focus any non-CBD white-collar employment into a selected number of key regional centres that can become the focus of their own strong public transport networks (2002:76).

Both the Warren Centre and the TEC recognise centres policy must include considerations of (local) form and not only (regional) structure. Growth nodes are seen as 'urban villages'. They are functional, efficient and attractive living places. An urban village includes the following elements:

- a commercial centre or community focus within walking distance of the majority of residents.
- A grid street layout to promote a clear mental map.
- narrow roads with kerb side parking.
- design that pays attention to the walking experience;
- mixed land uses.
- varying styles and densities of housing.

The environmental goals for the urban village include: design for solar access, improving water quality, increasing permeable surfaces and controlling run off,

using renewable and environmental friendly materials, and retaining native vegetation to create wildlife corridors.

Business Clusters

For the Property Council of Australia and Council of Capital City Lord Mayors, a metropolitan centres policy is best structured for the competitive city in the global market place. The business cluster, to lower the costs of market circulation, is the pivot of competitive policy.

Business clusters need to be supported by urban policies covering both the hard and soft infrastructures required for business interaction. The 'soft infrastructures' relate to institution building within the cluster – facilitating leadership, joint forums, collaborative projects and the like. The hard infrastructures can include investment in local high speed communications networks, urban design initiatives to reinforce a 'cluster address' and improving transportation links between various cluster nodes in the city (ibid: 58)

At a less prosaic level, the business cluster should be a "fertile seedbed for innovation" (PCA and CCCLM, 2000:61),

The Committee for Sydney (1998) also advocates business clusters. It foresees the benefit of improved targeting and attraction of inward investment into specific industry sectors and business clusters. The Committee suggests outcomes be assessed for sustainability, value-added, job generation, international orientation, and integration within the city's economy.

Urban Consolidation Debates

Ian Burnley (2003) judges urban consolidation will not significantly slow Sydney's expansion and may indeed even foster population growth. The consensus advocacy view, however, is that urban consolidation remains an important policy; although it does need to be refined in the face of community and scholarly concern about spill over and unintended impacts.

Davies (2003) suggests an appropriate response to grass roots dissatisfaction with recent development is to improve the quality of planning and design. She advocates large-scale urban renewal programs in ageing, middle ring fibro-belt suburbs.

Rather than allowing individual spot development on what are typically quarter-acre blocks or larger, the Government should consider creating a master plan for these areas that would produce more compact, energy-efficient housing and better recreation space, as well as the reshaping of housing commission areas near end of useful life into integrated suburbs instead of welfare ghettos.

The TEC contends urban consolidation will be accepted by communities if well implemented.

With or without urban consolidation, there is an urgent need to move Sydney in the direction of sustainability. However, many planners and environmental groups believe urban consolidation is a tool to be used in achieving sustainability – so long as the community finds ways of using that tool ... that are *acceptable*, *adaptable* and *affordable* (2003:33, original emphasis).

The TEC advocates the consolidation of urban villages with mechanisms such as: a community transition model to allow neighbours to share backyards without loss of capital; town centre trusts to manage the dislocation of initial owners; community compensation for changes to a neighbourhood; and bank led community improvement.

Greenbelt

Claire O'Rourke (2003) suggests new growth boundary policy in future Sydney metropolitan strategy, both to prevent encroachment upon the historical Cumberland Plan green belt and to establish new green space along the Hawkesbury, Nepean and Cataract river systems. She proposes a register of public lands be established and made available to the public on the Internet. Governments are required to publicly justify any subtraction from the reserve. She also proposes, in Sydney Harbour, an agency dedicated to the management of the Botany Bay ecosystem.

Public and Private Transport Balance

The 'balance' between publicly and privately operated transport modes emerged as a fifth advocacy theme. There are a number of sub-issues.

Environmental Efficiency of Transport Modes

The Warren Centre report shows Sydney car use to be growing more rapidly than its population. Between 1981 and 1991, the city's population grew by 9% while car trips increased by 13%; car ownership by 14%, and car use (vehicle kms.) by 20%. Although gross public transport use increased it declined in proportion to car use. Yet public transport as a whole was found to be over 2½ times more energy efficient than private transport. The report sketches the ecological limit of oil supply: 90% of global oil has already been discovered and of that, half has already been used.

In terms of energy security and price:

...urban car travel is the least necessary transport use of energy and will bear the brunt of the decline. Urban road projects are therefore 'disastrous investments' Sydney (The Warren Centre, 2002:84-5).

Most of the literature supported the revival of Sydney's public transport system. Joseph Kerr (2003a&b), writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald*,

advocates expanding the public transport network into the four areas that at present lack any rail services: the north-western sector; the south-western sector to Bringelly; the northern beaches; and the south-eastern stretch of the city beaches. He points out to the urban development of the south-west sector as Sydney's first chance in decades to develop from scratch an area that is fully serviced by public transport. With congestion charges vehicles could be pushed out of Sydney's main CBD making it more liveable and pedestrian friendly. Light rail could be used to move people around the city centre. (Nicholls & Kerr, 2003)

Infrastructure Fund

Kerr describes the public transport network as "tired, unbalanced and incomplete" and, contrasting it to the "boom decade [of] motorways", urges a dedicated development fund to support rail extension. User-pays funding is recommended: "users are willing to pay modest levies to improve services if they can see results (Kerr, 2003b). A *Herald* poll of 947 people supported this view: "nearly 60% of people would pay an extra \$1 on their train or bus ticket if the money was spent on putting public transport in areas where it does not now exist".

Kerr argues that infrastructure developers should be obliged to consider public transport as part of major road projects. Major road construction contracts should require either provision for public transport or a portion of tolls to pay for required public transport infrastructure. He further suggests tolls be retained after expiry date to raise revenue for an infrastructure fund. Revenue could also be raised through congestion tolling, parking levies, a metropolitan improvement levy, and/or a metropolitan registration levy.

PIA advocates new "levies and betterment taxes to assist with financing major regional infrastructure, particularly big ticket items such as transport" (2003:4). Large transport investments must be made outside the confines of normal (in NSW) four year electoral and budgeting cycles. To ensure continuity of investment these major projects "could either be divided into smaller stages, or have later components included as prioritised longer term forward estimates for inclusion in subsequent budget cycles" (ibid).

The TEC suggests additional revenue for public transport development be obtained from:

- the redirection of funds from road to public transport.
- a levy on developers and businesses that create additional transport demand on the fringe (a type of 'worsement').
- direct investment from budget; the reintroduction of tolls on freeways.
- a new CBD toll.

Agency Reform

For Kerr (2003b) a new coordinating agency is necessary for all public transport. He writes: "before the network is expanded it needs to be fixed and

run efficiently". A single agency charged with (public transport) investment authority would integrate the various modes and services - including, rail, public and private buses and private light rail. Its goal: seamless, efficient, convenient, public transport. The PIA (2003) concurs.

Governance

Governance was a sixth theme of advocacy literature. Two sub-issues are evident.

Integrated Planning

Davies (2003) believes Sydney needs a proper plan, a powerful (new) planning and infrastructure agency, and the political will to fund it. She cites development in Perth as an example of integrated agency planning. Kerr (2003b) points to the Sustainability Policy Unit in the Premier's Department that assesses major projects against general mobility and transport criteria. The Unit uses both standard cost/benefit ratio evaluation, as well as mobility criteria, such as improvements to network links.

PIA advocates cross-portfolio integrated planning at the metropolitan level. The Institute supports a level of administrative integration, and welcomes the recent (2003) merging of planning and infrastructure portfolios by the NSW government. Vertical integration is also underlined. Each of the new 'PlanFirst' Regional Forums for Sydney should be represented in any new body charged with metropolitan strategy. Local plans must be consistent with a new metropolitan plan; "unless a Council can clearly justify any departure" (PIA, 2003:4). Consultation should be broad and thoroughgoing and include "senior representatives from relevant government agencies, , private sector, community, interest groups, professional organisations...and nominations from the Minister" (ibid:1). Early consultation with key agencies is particularly important.

The Urban Development Institute of Australia (NSW) echoes the integration theme.

Sydney suffers the huge handicap of too many governments and too many government authorities without common agreement on goals or a level of consistency... Consistent, integrated strategies linking and cross-referencing the multitude of authorities and their plans are almost non-existent (2003:1).

The Institute believes a comprehensive metropolitan plan is required to integrate the divergent and narrowly focused goals of separate departments and authorities. The plan should:

- canvass genuine and wide-ranging involvement from the public.
- reflect a whole-of-government approach.
- be non-partisan and consult with all significant political groups.
- obtain strong commitment from Local Government.

Further, the plan should be formulated by one agency, directly responsible to the Premier and with the authority to lead, plan and direct its implementation. The agency's 'engine and powers' should be consolidated from existing planning functions, *including fiscal planning functions*, of key agencies. The plan should go beyond data, analysis and trends to envision a desired but realistic future. It should clearly define targets, milestones, responsibilities and the consequences of breaching the plan. Finally, the plan should explicitly justify any lifestyle adjustment assumptions.

The TEC (2003) regrets the 'planner/provider' model prevents modal agencies planning or developing their own projects. An urban budget is suggested to assess expenditure against performance indicators.

Regions

A number of documents advocate a new regional layer of governance for Sydney:

Working in regional units of appropriate size is essential to allow government agencies, councils, business and the community to focus their planning and development vision on an identifiable and manageable geographic area with shared social, economic and environmental interests. It is only through a regional approach that all residents can share in Sydney's economic growth and have equal access to the metropolitan-type facilities currently enjoyed by those in the eastern half of the region (The Warren Centre, 2002:132).

The Centre argues Sydney's weak regional planning and governance is harmful to metropolitan growth management. A multitude of municipal governments (43) breed a plethora of local and parochial claims that obscure 'bigger picture' problems, especially those crossing municipal boundaries. The Regional Organisations of Councils (ROCs) cannot fully address this problem, as membership is voluntary and the capacity and dynamism of ROCs varies widely. ROCs have no institutional or statutory status and, hence, limited power to formulate policy.

The Warren Centre report supports the current 'PlanFirst' reforms in NSW which, *inter alia*, will establish regional level planning in Sydney and elsewhere. Current regional planning instruments (Regional Environmental Plans) are misnamed, as they tend to be site or area specific. Also the increasing use of ministerial call-in powers has reduced certainty in planning and transport landscapes.

3.3 Policy Debates: Principles and Approaches

Political Context

Politics is a determinant context of planning. McLoughlin (1992), against the historical backdrop of metropolitan planning in Melbourne, argues the 'realpolitik' of planning power is an issue for policymakers as well as the

Executive. These powers include the public ownership of land, framing of development rights, compulsory purchase provisions, penalties and inducements relating to the use of land, and the conduct of relationships between metropolitan and local authorities. He suggests centralised, integrated planning powers, held by a democratically accountable public agency, to re-acquire infrastructure services and to release land for urban development. Such an agency would have positive planning powers to complement traditional regulatory capacities.

David Yencken (2001), a former planning agency head, lists the powers available to metropolitan planners.

Box 3.31 The Powers of Planning

Regulatory Planning

- *Direct* control of all public lands, including roads and open space.
- *Direct* control of other parcels of land within public ownership.
- Control and management of the general form of new private development through planning, building and other laws and regulation.
- Control over the nature, location and management of public infrastructure, roads, rail, sewerage, water, power, schooling, hospitals, etc.

Positive Planning

- Land acquisition for public purposes; and
- Incentives for desired forms of development and activity and disincentives for those not desired.

Negotiative Planning

- The use of a range of suasive techniques for these purposes; and
- The collection and publication of detailed information about metropolitan trends to assist a governments own strategic planning and to guide and influence the market.

For Yencken, effective metropolitan strategy depends on strong political backing, across the range of relevant government departments and agencies. Such political support requires:

- a powerful sponsoring minister.
- strong cabinet endorsement
- a cabinet subcommittee that includes all ministers with key portfolio responsibilities.
- a portfolio structure (for the agency preparing the strategy) that brings together the main agencies.
- resources to make the strategy work.

These points are echoed by Sandercock & Friedmann (2000) who regard metropolitan strategies as *political* rather than planning instruments.

Principles

A number of advocates discuss the foundational principles for strategic planning at the supra-local scale. Decisions about these key principles are the step in metropolitan strategy. The next stage comprises decisions about the issues arising from key principles.

Underlying Purpose

Plans must clearly identify the principal reason(s) for undertaking metropolitan planning and specify the ways it will advance the general government agenda. McLoughlin (1992) argues many plans have little sense of underlying 'social philosophy' and lack both clarity of basic purpose and definition (scope and content) in law. The basic purpose of metropolitan planning includes:

- orderly spatial development of a region, socio-spatial equity.
- integration of public investment and service provision.
- coordination of locality based land-use and plans.

Strategic Planning Principles

Metropolitan plans are, by definition, a specific form of strategic planning. The *Good Strategic Planning Guide* produced by the Development Assessment Forum (hereafter DAF) nominates a set of principles to guide strategic planning. Its principles are reproduced in Box 3.32 (see DAF, 2001:8-9)

Box 3.32 Fundamental Strategic Planning Principles

Formulation Principles

- a definite spatial area for the strategy.
- a clear holistic long term vision.
- integrate economic, environmental, social, cultural and equity factors, and recognise these as inextricably linked.
- social and environmental research to underpin policy development, uncover unrecognised issues, present arguments, highlight impacts of actions, suggest alternatives and draw conclusions.
- recognise the environment as a valued resource for both present and future generations.
- identify suitable benchmarks and performance indicators for monitoring and evaluation (both quantitative and qualitative outcomes so as to cover progress on all aspects of well being).

Process Principles

- community involvement that recognises social diversity throughout the process.
- the principle of subsidiarity viz., higher levels of government should not undertake what a lower level can do for itself.
- effective monitoring and review to ensure that the strategic planning process is flexible, dynamic and relevant.

The noted European commentator Albrechts (2001) proposes that *strategic spatial* plans:

- be directed at a limited number of strategic key issue areas by critically scanning the environment to determine strengths, threats, external trends and forces and the resources available.
- identify and gather major stakeholders both public and private.
- allow for a broad and diverse involvement during the planning process.
- develop a (realistic) long-term vision/perspective and strategy taking into account power structures, uncertainties and competing values so as to design plan-making structures, content and decision frameworks that can influence and manage spatial change.
- build new ideas and processes that can carry policy forward by generating ways of understanding, of building agreements, of organizing and of mobilising influence in different arenas.
- be oriented towards decisions, actions, results and implementation, in the short as well as in the medium and long term, and incorporate monitoring, feedback and revision.

In Australia, Mant considers the specific issue of *metropolitan spatial strategy*. He proposes it should:

- emphasise context - that is the strategy should not select the most likely future but ensure participants in planning process understand the possible range of futures.
- undertake a 'SWOT' (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis of alternative strategic scenarios.
- identify main issues of concern and select vision and objectives in light of the consequences of a particular vision and set of objectives.
- assume that the full range of policy instruments could be available for implementation, rather than just a land use plan and development control.
- outline the strategies and actions to achieve vision and objectives.
- encourage any organisational change necessary to achieve the objectives.

Framework Design

The framework design issues identified in the literature review are sketched below.

Strategic or Project Focus?

The DAF report cited earlier defines strategic planning as deciding the 'ground rules' for the use, development and/or conservation of land and natural resources. Strategic plans provide for such rules by establishing the context and the basis for planning instruments (e.g., statutory plan making and plan amendments, development controls or codes). A key choice pivots around the

extent to which a strategy may extend beyond ground rule making to *prescribe* development outcomes.

On this basis Faludi distinguishes between project and strategic plans. *Project plans* are viewed as unambiguous guides to future action: blueprints of the intended end-state of a material object and the measures needed to achieve that state. In contrast, *strategic plans* involve the coordination of projects and other measures taken by a multitude of actors. Here, the coordination of decisions is a continuous process and the strategy amounts to a momentary record of agreement(s) (Table 3.1).

Table 3.33 Project versus Strategic Plans

Element	Project plans	Strategic plans
Object	Material	Decisions
Interaction	Until adoption	Continuous
Future	Closed	Open
Time	Limited to phasing	Central to problem
Form	Blueprint	Minutes of last meeting
Effect	Determinate	Frame of reference

(Source: Faludi, 2000:303)

From a European perspective, Albrechts defines a strategic plan as a set of action oriented concepts, procedures and tools tailored to the situation at hand (opportunities and constraints) to achieve desired outcomes. Public sector strategic (spatial) planning transcends a simple focus on land use by addressing integrated socio-economic courses of action. Albrechts sees strategic issues as restricted by budgets, manpower, plan-making and organisational capacity.

Finally, Australian practitioner John Mant (1995a&b, 2000) metropolitan strategy is a set of management tools to:

- 'buy' and embed stakeholder commitment.
- put development control into its proper policy context.

Thus, strategy is *process* (constantly updated) of effective, outcome-oriented administration dealing with such matters as organisational change, budget commitments and pricing policies.

Legal Status

The question of whether or not to embed a metropolitan plan in legislation is a major strategy design decision. Mant argues:

It is unnecessary and unhelpful to legislate the strategic plan as part of the development controls. Only development controls need the support of legislation. Strategic plans do not need legislative support to be effective. They need effective administration and outcome focused budgetary systems (2000:61).

He further contends strategic plans put through a legislative process are likely to be out of date by the time they are published. Moreover, because such plans raise difficult legal issues the provisions are likely to be 'watered down' by time and legislative process.

These criticisms are directed at approaches which 'deeply embed' plans in legislation. There are, however, a variety of ways in which the law could be used to give institutional force to metropolitan plans without the plans themselves becoming closely defined legal instruments. Plans without any force of law run the risk of being disregarded, yet continuously evolving strategy is more likely to be regarded as relevant than plans 'frozen in law'. In any event political will, rather than legal sanction, is more probably the decisive factor in plan implementation.

Governance and Administration

To make metropolitan strategies effective, Mant (2000) recommends the organisational separation between policy (input) and implementation (output). Separation clarifies the different roles played by the Executive and the public service, and must occur both within organisations and between organisations.

Mant advocates restructuring agencies along funder/provider lines.

One side of the organisation would be responsible for achieving the objectives of the plan and would be given the budgets and powers necessary to fulfil those obligations. The other side of the organisation would provide, under contract, the services and skills required by the funder side. This would resolve the present ambiguity in many organisations between managerial capacity and technical excellence (1995a:216).

He further (1995b) contends outcome based organisations are enhanced by the integration of regulatory processes into a single approval process, thus mediating the conflict between flexibility and certainty. Inventive solutions to urban development problems would be encouraged. In short, Mant (1995a) believes strategic planning should free organisations to think outside the bounds of conventional administrative wisdom.

Participation

Yencken argues successful implementation of metropolitan strategy is dependent on 'up front' public participation in strategy formulation. Broad and lasting community backing is politically difficult to ignore, ensuring medium to long term planning horizons.

Only through full community participation and a general satisfaction that the strategy has attempted to deal with issues of basic concern to citizens, can the strategy hope to have a life beyond that of the government which has brought it into being. An incoming government which understands that a strategy prepared by its predecessor has community support is going to think twice before

scrapping it. But the evidence of support needs to be strong (2001:248).

Mees (2000:395) describes democratic planning as a “path not followed”, suggesting participation in planning has been weak since the 1960s. Too often participatory process is a situation where:

- community groups feel there is only one ‘correct’ answer when presented with strategic alternatives.
- the final plan very closely resembles the draft(s).

Mees advocates *planning through debate*, as a participatory mode best able to negotiate the uncertainty and complexity of urban life. He writes:

...metropolitan planning that respects subsidiarity can combine the ability of local government and community organisations to stay in touch with citizens at the grassroots with the strategic vision and analytical capacities of higher level government organisations (2000:398).

Sandercock & Friedmann see participation in more *corporate* terms, focusing on input from stakeholders in the various spheres of government, economy and civil society. The purpose of such corporate participation is to contain conflict, to:

...reflect genuine differences in purpose and value, rather than erupting wildly because of misinformation, rumours, excessive secrecy, mistrust and personal vendettas (2000:530).

Spatial Context

Echoing much of the advocacy literature reviewed earlier, McGuirk & O’Neill (2002) draw attention to Sydney’s status as a global city. The city’s socio-economic connections with the nation’s other regions has, in relative terms, declined as relations across international boundaries with other global cities have grown. The consequences for planning are significant.

The depth and scope of Sydney’s recent urban transformation threatens again to overtake metropolitan planning capacity creating, in the context of competitive globalisation, a potentially significant market disadvantage for the city, not to mention poor urban development outcomes (2002:301).

The globalised flows of capital, information and people in Sydney have produced uneven socio-spatial development, manifest in:

- skewed settlement patterns.
- demographic imbalances.
- infrastructure stress.
- environmental deterioration.

McGuirk & O'Neill (2002:314) propose to counter this imbalance(s) with a robust and adaptive planning process underpinned by "improved integration across policy realms, and importantly, across tiers of government".

On the other hand, Melbourne planning administrator John Paterson (2000), believes metropolitan strategy should promote the prosperity of global integration. He argues urban conurbation 'lives or dies' in a regional, national and global competitive struggle. For him world-class infrastructure and flexible regulation are keys to the evolutionary struggle. Planning must read and anticipate 'mega-trends'; it must adapt to a multitude of micro-changes within urban systems. Similarly, Frewer (2001) stresses the need for metropolitan planners to be *economically literate*, in order to understand the implications of economic trends.

Environmental Criteria

Blowers (editor of the UK Town and Country Planning Association's 1993 study on sustainable regional and metropolitan planning), cites three core environmental criteria to be considered during strategy design:

A sustainable growth strategy:

- Adopts the precautionary principle in face of future uncertainty.
- Reflects the integrated nature of environmental processes and policies (the transmedia nature of pollution, the transectoral nature of policy making, and transboundary nature of environmental).
- Takes a strategic view of decision making to push policies past impediments posed by the centralisation of power and short term political priorities. (1993: 14)

At every political level Blowers advocates: "a policy statement of objectives that sets targets, identifies methods for achieving them, and establishes criteria for the regular monitoring of progress" (1993:16).

"The challenge today is not to incorporate green objectives in the maps and texts of five-year plans, since experience shows how easily plans can be marginalised, but to establish them as factors to be taken seriously by all decision makers, private and public" (1993:28). This is not an argument against metropolitan planning but rather an insistence that green objectives be given institutional force both within the strategy *and beyond* via:

- modification of private property rights and liabilities.
- taxes and charges - price signals in markets that reflect externalities.
- subsidies and grants - sustainability is not cheap and requires incentives.
- monitoring and publicising of the results of monitoring.
- technical regulation.

Yencken (2001) sees the need for significant improvement in eco-efficiency at the metropolitan level. This requires an ecological system focus in

metropolitan plans to account for physical stocks, urban metabolic flows and environmental impacts. Blowers echoes Mant's emphasis on organisational reform: "Organisational arrangements must be devised in regional and local agencies to enable genuinely integrated environmental policies to be formulated and implemented" (1993:186). These arrangements address the following issues:

- new and existing urban form and energy consumption.
- promotion of public transport.
- promotion of combined heat and power.
- trade-offs between environmental and other criteria.
- waste disposal arrangements.
- telecommunications.
- habitat protection and creation.
- urban greening.
- recycling.
- building controls.
- urban densities.

Monitoring

Frewer (2001) laments the fact no metropolitan plan includes a set of indicators to monitor strategic outcomes. Mees (2000) believes in regular monitoring and review. He suggests metropolitan plans be updated on regular five year cycles; *not* a practice, he notes, of contemporary Australian metropolitan planning. The need for monitoring of environmental outcomes is also emphasised by Blowers (1993).

3.4 Summary

Our literature review identified the following key themes:

- **Global City:** Global economic integration and regulation form a necessary backdrop for planning at the metropolitan scale. In an environment of global competition urban governance and metropolitan planning are key. Urban structural integrity – with an emphasis on quality public infrastructure and the sound planning of urban centres – is essential for an efficient and sustainable city.
- **Environmental Quality:** The urban environment is of increasing popular concern. Global environmental regulations and conventions have increased scrutiny of the ecological management of the city. Resource management constraints in Sydney are likely to narrow and can only be sensibly managed at the metropolitan-regional scale.
- **Planning Scale:** Multiple scales of metropolitan planning need to be considered. Horizontal design should consider city-hinterland relationships, such as economic and population interaction, and resource and waste flow. There is need for a *settlement strategy* to link

management of Sydney growth to changing needs and conditions in greater NSW.

- **Planning Period:** Fixed population estimates should be avoided. Demographic change is difficult to predict. Metropolitan plans best set population milestones and relate these successive 'demographic plateaus' to the specific planning and management needs triggered by new stages of growth. Regular monitoring and review of growth assumptions is important. Modest population planning periods are advocated. For Sydney a long term planning horizon of six million residents is suggested.
- **Morphology:** There is an urgent need for metropolitan planning to address issues of *urban structure*. Urban centre(s) policy to channel new urban growth into defined transport hubs is a priority. The integration of transport and land use planning at a metropolitan scale is also important.
- **Private and public transport balance:** The imbalance between public and private transport systems needs to be redressed. Public transport is key to the attainment of important social and government objectives. In Sydney, as in many metropolitan regions, investment in new transport infrastructure is urgently required. The need for agency reform, to link land use and transport planning, is again underlined.
- **Governance:** Integrated planning focused on the attainment of desired, and clearly identified, urban outcomes should occur laterally – within NSW government for example – and vertically – to include Local Government in metropolitan planning. PlanFirst reforms are advocated for the *urban regional governance* of Sydney. There is, however, the danger of 'over-governing' and underachieving outcomes.

Policy Debates

The policy debates reviewed included European discussions of strategic planning at the regional, including metropolitan, scale. The following broad themes were evident.

- **Political Context:** The political setting for planning is a policy relevant, not merely academic, question. Planning as an institutional enterprise has a potentially powerful set of levers available to it. But the use of many, especially positive planning instruments, requires political will. Many positive planning instruments – notably, land purchase and public land development – have proved highly effective in metropolitan planning.
- **Principles:** Explicit foundational principles are the first step in strategic planning at the supra-local (including metropolitan) scale. These principles should explicate the purpose of the strategy, for government and for civil society, as well as its consequences for strategic planning.

- **Framework Design:** Once foundational principles have been decided, the metropolitan plan can be framed with reference to a set of key considerations. These include: strategic or project focus, legal status, governance and administration, participation, spatial context, and environmental criteria.

4. Methodology for Analysing Metropolitan Strategies

4.1 Introduction: a Two Step Methodology

This section of the paper uses the two basic steps of strategic planning to develop a method for discriminating between metropolitan plans. The steps were derived from the advocacy and expert literature (Section 3 above) and subjected to review by Expert Informants (Appendix 1). The Informants provided feedback as to the accuracy and adequacy of the two-step formula. Importantly, the method seeks to explicate key planning decisions. In many contexts some of these decisions/assumptions are implicit and thus alternatives remain hidden from both planners and public.

The basic steps of the analytical method are presented in Figure 4.11 below.

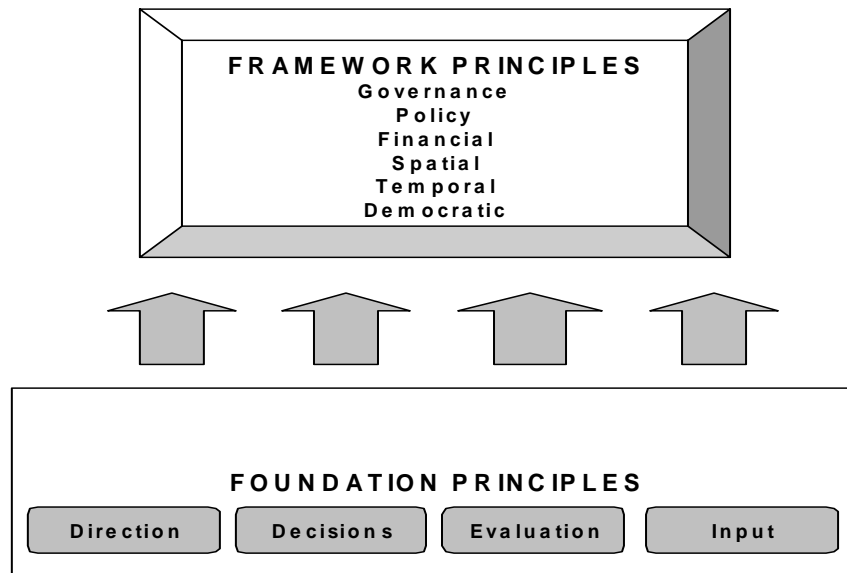


Figure 4.11 Two Step Framework for Metropolitan Strategy Formulation

4.2 Foundation Principles

Direction

The fundamental direction of a strategy may be vested as either:

1. **Political direction:** the Executive (usually Cabinet) makes the key choices including the prioritisation of aims and outcomes, OR
2. **Institutional direction:** the expert bureaucracy has the leading say in decision-making, relying 'analytical' and/or 'scientific' methods.

Conventional 'Westminster' policy making assumes the Executive, guided by bureaucratic wisdom and expert analysis, takes prime responsibility for policy decisions. Notwithstanding this mediating formula there is, inevitably, a dominant influence. In short, the key force of direction in decision-making emanates from *either* the political *or* the institutional domain.

Both approaches have democratic claims. Political direction can be said to articulate the majority community preference. Institutional direction can be said to articulate historical common preference.

Decisions

Again, there are two broad and exclusive options:

1. **Reflective plan:** the metropolitan plan reflects decisions already made by the various parts of government. The plan makes no new choices but provides a strategic frame to weave together existing policy and programmes.
2. **Directive plan:** the plan itself is a set of original decisions about the future direction of urban management. It intervenes to reshape existing policy. Intervention may take a number of modes – ranging from collaborative to confrontational. The mode of direction would be decided as part of the next phase of plan design.

Both of these (decision) principles are manifest in Australian and overseas metropolitan plans.

Evaluation

The foundational principle of evaluation decides who will evaluate the metropolitan plan. There are four alternatives.

1. **Institutional/bureaucratic:** from within the public service but not necessarily from core urban agencies.
2. **Independent experts:** ranging from private consultants to other public interest sectors (e.g., universities, agencies from other levels of government, such as CSIRO).
3. **Community:** embracing a large range of potential models for input and assessment by civil society.
4. **Political:** relying on political assessment of choices as they are made. Cabinet and cross-party committee assessment are common alternatives.

Input

Again the foundational decision is who will be allowed input into the plan making process. There are three strategic parameters.

1. **Majoritarian versus consensual approaches:** Will majority opinion rule, or will there be an attempt to draw in exhaustive input and to reach consensus on major decisions?
2. **Weighting of input:** Will all forms of input be treated equally? Will 'expert' input be more highly valued than 'community' input? How will the contributions of lobbies and industry groups be weighted?

3. **Governance frame:** Will all levels of government be involved in the formulation of the strategy?

4.3 Framework Principles

The next stage of decision-making works up a more detailed plan framework. The framework has six parameters; comprising 22 distinct issues (see Figure 4.31, over page).

Parameter 1 - Governance

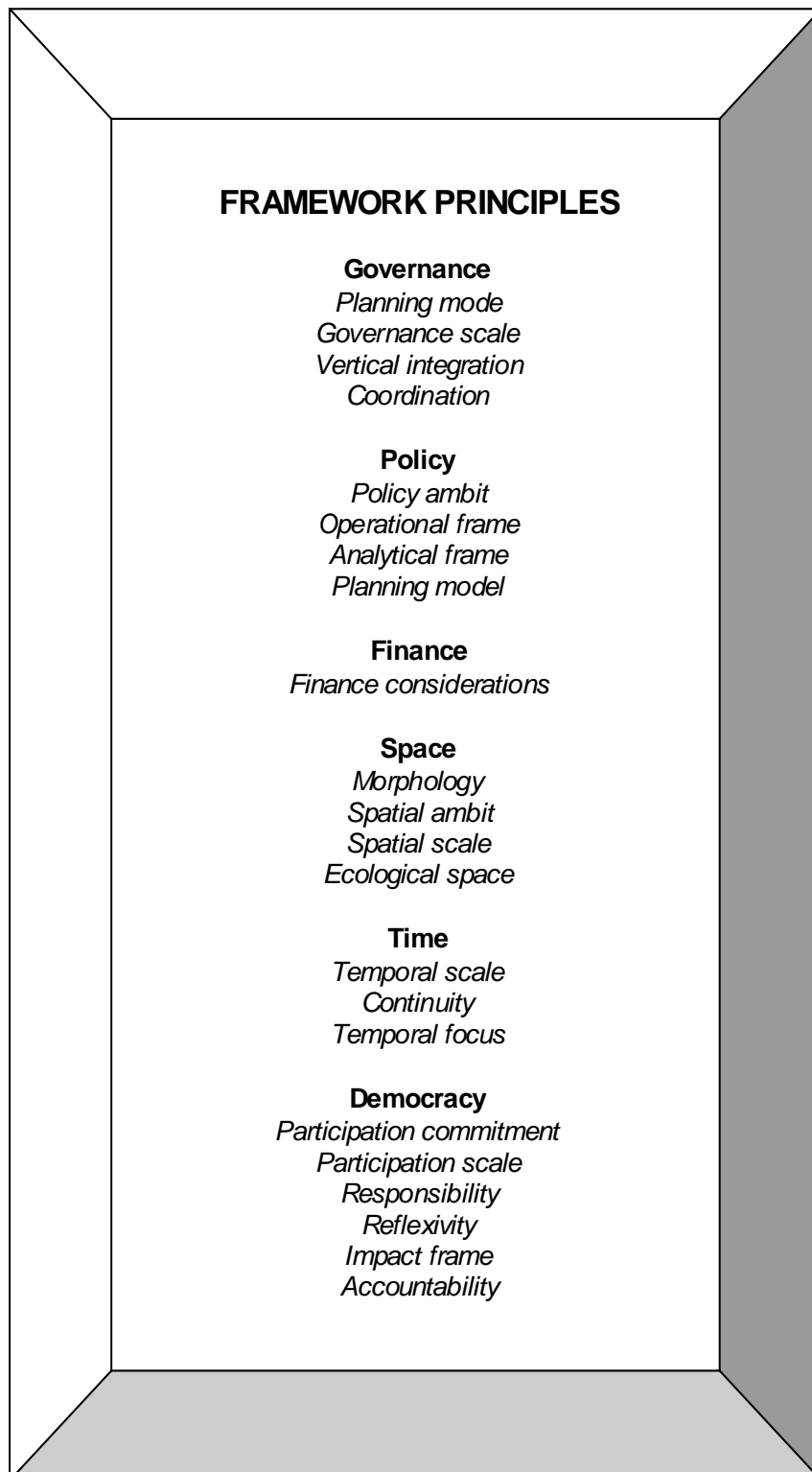
Planning Mode

Planning takes two key modal forms.

1. Positive planning: leads rather than shapes development. Can take many forms, including land assembly, public land development, and tax and finance initiatives (betterment or infrastructure levies, congestion charges, etc).
2. Regulatory or 'negative' planning: uses regulatory instruments to control development. Potential forms include zoning, performance standards, statutory policy, growth controls such as greenbelts, growth boundaries and green corridors.

Both approaches have been applied in Australia at different times. A strategy might lean heavily in either direction or attempt to balance 'carrot' and 'stick'.

Figure 4.31 Framework Principles Organised by Theme



Governance

At what scale is the metropolitan strategy governed? A localised weighting allocates strategic decision to the metropolitan authority with more tactical decisions being taken at the local (usually municipal) scale. Multi-level governance shares decision-making between layers of government (state, regional, local), but runs the risk of dispersing power and responsibility too far, reducing the operational force of the plan.

Vertical Integration

To what extent does the plan integrate, within its strategic and operational ambit, the different activities of State, regional and local authorities? For example, does the plan relate State policy and investment to the application of statutory development control and assessment? At what scale (metropolitan, sub metropolitan, local) is this integration attempted?

Coordination

Will the plan be essentially a government exercise or will it attempt to coordinate activities within a wider institutional frame (governance)? Is coordination restricted to the public, mandated agencies as in traditional government? It is conceivable that industry groups/lobbies for example could be enlisted to carry out certain tasks within the planning frame. This is essentially a question of policy effectiveness, not of community consultation.

Parameter 2 - Policy

Policy Ambit

Will the plan be restricted to the traditional physical planning policy and instruments? Traditional planning forms around: zoning, land release, provision of some physical infrastructure (power, roads), the improvement of amenity and provision of orderly and timely urban development (Cullingworth, 1964).

Alternatively, will the planning horizon extend to the structural forces that shape urban patterns and outcomes? More ambitious integrated planning adopts a 'whole of government' approach to cut across portfolio 'silos'. It enlarges the planning domain to include environmental and social critiques – emphasising the coordination of housing, services and infrastructure.

Operational Frame

This parameter divides into two familiar options.

1. Blueprint approach: emphasises mapping and is carefully related to land use in real time and real space. It collapses policy into zoning providing certainty for urban management by showing clearly where and when major infrastructure will develop. On the other hand, it is vulnerable to change and faulty social trend analysis, inherent in empirical technique.
2. Indicative approach: is less clearly related to land use. It divorces development control from any direct link to policy. Indicative planning commends itself as a broad strategic guidance map requiring continuous negotiation and updating in face of socio-political change.

Analytical Frame

Again, there is a clear bifurcation of analytical frameworks.

1. Trend plan: projects the patterns of the past (e.g., growth in motor car use; recomposition of households, etc.) on the assumption that the economic, social and ecological base of the region will not change significantly in the planning time frame.
2. Predictive plan: builds in the possibility that base components and/or the premises of planning could change, either of themselves or as a consequence of intervention. The predictive approach emphasises options over solutions. For it planning is an 'open system' that must continuously adapt to inevitable social change.

Planning Model

Section 2 of this paper identifies an Australian sequence of planning models (town & country planning, environmental planning and integrated planning). Contemporary planning shows a 'layering' of this history. It encompasses rather than erases the preceding models. Recent strategy shows elements of historical planning (e.g., the revival of greenbelts/growth boundaries). Identifying the model of planning in a metropolitan strategy is, therefore, an analytical not historical task.

Parameter 3 - Finance

Different metropolitan plans are distinguished by the extent they explicitly address the finances of urban growth management. This begins the cost of the instrument itself – the metropolitan plan –and the capacity of agencies fully fund implementation. Other key financial considerations are:

- links to government budgeting processes. This is probably the most critical financial consideration. Experience shows plans that do not 'tie in' to general government tax and spend processes are far less effective.

- embodiment of financial measures, including positive planning measures outlined earlier (betterment, congestion charges, open space levies).

Parameter 4 - Space

Morphology

There are two broad components of urban morphology.

1. Urban structure: the physical layout of the city and the fundamental interrelationship of land uses and activities.
2. Urban form: the shape, density and design of the city.

Structure concerns the 'bones' of a city – transport spines, growth corridors, hierarchy of centres – that together constitute its skeletal form. A key structural parameter is 'centrism': is the city essentially monocentric or polycentric? Form, a more localised parameter, includes issues such as density of land use (cf. consolidation policies) and the aesthetic characteristics of the city (cf. design and building controls).

Planning should explicitly address both structure and form and be distinguished by (relative) morphological balance.

Spatial Ambit

The spatial ambit of a metropolitan strategy is three dimensional.

1. Contained – remains overwhelmingly focused on its metropolitan context.
2. Open – embraces fringe, hinterland and even State context. For example, planning for Sydney as part of an urban conurbation ranging from Newcastle to Wollongong. Open plans recognise the possibility of exogenous forces in (open) urban systems.
3. Global – locates the city in a global urban and economic system. The flows of finance, investment, technology, communication, policy discourse (e.g., global warming) labour and people (migration) are key.

Spatial Scale

The spatial scale of strategic policy runs from metropolitan to a variety of sub metropolitan levels (e.g., district, local). Urban renewal by neighbourhood is at a sub metropolitan scale, as are policies that shift the share of dwellings and population within different areas.

Ecological Space

How fully is resource space– such as air sheds and catchments – accounted for? Does the plan include the interaction of 'ecological space(s)' and conventional planning space, defined by political and administrative boundary? Are the environmental consequences of water flow within catchments – storm water, sewage, industrial waste, groundwater and leachates – analysed and integrated into the strategy?

Parameter 5 - Time

Temporal Scale

Temporal scale comprises the familiar tripartite division.

- Short term (5-10 years)
- Medium term (10-20 years)
- Long term (20-30 years)

Planning horizons greater than thirty years extend beyond the range of reasonable projection. Yet, urban structural processes (e.g. centre hierarchy and dispersion; major infrastructure investment) tend to change at this greater temporal scale and must be anticipated and planned for in some way.

A plan could embrace temporal multi-scaling. It could, for example, set detailed outcomes targets for shorter temporal horizons and relax these to produce progressively more indicative goals in later phases.

Continuity

Is the plan continuous or discontinuous? Does it proceed from the metropolitan strategic planning context that preceded it? Does the plan attempt to strengthen and embed institutional and corporate memory, or is it conceived *de novo*, with little or no regard for 'policy past'?

Temporal Focus

Which of the three principal temporal foci – future, present, past – is the principal concern of the plan? Intergenerational equity, for example, is a future focus. Heritage protection is an historical concern.

Parameter 6 - Democracy

Participation Commitment

Commitment to participation is a bimodal distinction.

1. Strong participation: begins with 'front-end' input at the formulation of metropolitan strategy and involves considerable time commitment. It is argued extensive consultation is less conflictual in the long run because it protects the plan against both community and government dissatisfaction. "An incoming government which understands that a strategy prepared by its predecessor has community support is going to think twice before scrapping it" (Yenckin, 2001:248).
2. Weak participation: obtains when the final plan closely resembles the drafts. Strategic alternatives are offered for debate, but in retrospect "...it

was always clear that there was only one correct answer” (Mees, 2000:388). Nevertheless, weaker participatory input (although risky) facilitates faster and less expensive strategy formulation.

Participation Scale

There are two principal *scales* of participation.

1. Spatial scale - The continuum ranges from consideration of the general principles of a metropolitan strategy through to input on local aspirations. These poles are of course not mutually exclusive.
2. Functional scale – Corporate participation draws from peak environmental, social and economic groups possessing a representational structure. Communal participation is more finely grained, engaging the public at the level of civil society (residents, local chambers of commerce, community groups, etc.), as far as possible to the levels of households and individuals.

Responsibility

Who has principal responsibility for implementing the strategy? Is responsibility restricted to a core planning agency, or is it shared with other agencies (for example, infrastructure and environmental agencies), perhaps reflecting an integrative policy ambit?

Responsibility for different stages and parts of the plan can be shared and/or disaggregated. For example, plan review and evaluation could be undertaken separately by a ‘non-planning’ agency.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity here means ‘self-awareness’ and can take two forms.

1. Explicit consideration of the potential limits of the plan. Contingency planning in the event of shortfalls.
2. Mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and review of plan performance.

Impact Frame

Does the plan trace the distribution of costs and benefits? Can the value of the strategy be measured in both qualitative and quantitative terms and thereby be explained to communities and institutional actors? Does the strategy define its outputs clearly or do they resist straightforward evaluation?

Accountability

What happens if the targets and outputs are not achieved? Are there mechanisms to hold agencies or other bodies responsible?

The choice of operational frame will affect the potential for accountability. The blueprint model lends itself to stronger accountability because its expected outputs are readily available – often in graphic detail. On the other hand, the fluid nature of indicative plans makes them harder to test for accountability.

4.4 Summary

The proposed methodology for discriminating between different approaches to metropolitan strategic planning rests on a two step analysis of strategy formulation. The two steps are:

1. **Foundation principles**
2. **Framework design.**

The foundation principles are:

- **Direction:** Who directs plan preparation?
- **Decisions:** Will the plan represent a set of new decisions or will it reflect existing decisions?
- **Evaluation:** Who will evaluate the strategic and design choices.
- **Input:** Whose input will be valued in plan design and review?

The framework principles are:

- **Governance:** Decisions about the mode of planning, governance scale, vertical integration and coordination mechanisms.
- **Policy:** Decisions about policy ambit, operational frame, analytical frame, and planning model.
- **Finance:** The interrelation of policy(s) and finance.
- **Space:** Decisions about morphology, spatial ambit, spatial scale, and ecological space.
- **Time:** Decisions about temporal scale, continuity, and temporal focus.
- **Democracy:** Decisions about participation commitment, participation scale, responsibility, reflexivity, impact frame, and accountability.

5. Review of Australian Metropolitan Strategies

5.1 Sydney

Strategic Instruments

Shaping Our Cities (1998)

Cities for the Twenty First Century (1995)

Shaping Our Cities was written during the first term of the Carr Labour Government (1995 – 1999). The preceding more comprehensive strategy, *Cities for the Twenty First Century* (released in 1995 in conjunction with the *Integrated Transport Strategy*), was developed by the Greiner/Fahey Liberal Governments (1988 – 1995).

Sydney's Future (1993) was used in the preparation of *Cities for the Twenty First Century* to focus discussion (with mostly corporate interests) on metropolitan issues. The resultant document anticipates integrated, process oriented urban management. It proposes comprehensive implementation, accountability and updating procedures to involve departments and authorities in metropolitan planning. The government changed and the strategy was shelved.

Foundation Principles

Direction

Shaping Our Cities was commissioned by the incoming minister. It was rapidly prepared, 'in-house' and without public or stakeholder input. No extra money was allocated for its preparation. In the light of high population growth forecasts (50, 000 per year) provision of housing was the priority. The document was not publicly exhibited but disseminated largely to call Government.

The 1995 strategy took three years to prepare. Premier Greiner, as promised in his mission statement, initiated *Cities for the Twenty First Century*.

Decisions

Shaping Our Cities is a reflective, not directive, plan. Inter-agency discussions were not employed; rather, existing programs and government commitments were simply collated.

Cities for the Twenty First Century, in contrast, is strongly directive. It is preceded by the discussion paper of an inter-agency taskforce and guided by an independent advisory committee (comprised of, academic, environmental, social service and road user representatives) (Department of Planning, 1993:

v & 5). The final strategy is prefaced by 272 formal submissions and a qualitative opinion survey of 100 residents (Department of Planning, 1995:20).

Evaluation

Evaluation of *Shaping Our Cities* was by the institutional/bureaucratic perspective of the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning.

Cities for the Twenty First Century devotes a chapter to issues raised in public submissions. The strategy states where and why the institutional perspective has prevailed over public preference. The influence of particular submissions on policy choices is elaborated.

Input

Shaping our Cities is an in-house production of Planning NSW.

The inputs framing *Cities for the Twenty First Century* include: public submissions, the Greiner/Fahey Liberal Government's micro-economic reform agenda, an inter-agency taskforce and a Local Government dominated advisory committee.

Governance

Planning Mode

Shaping our Cities, as its title suggests, follows in the wake of urban development. Urban growth boundaries are indicative. Financial imposts (a betterment tax or congestion charges) are avoided. Neither population nor employment is redirected outside the metropolitan area. The growth management strategy centres on an Urban Development Program for the orderly release of greenfield land.

Cities for the Twenty First Century proposes to lead urban development with the provision of public land for demonstration (model) housing initiatives (1995:77). It commits to extend Urban Development across the metropolitan area (Department of Planning, 1995:84). This extension would monitor building rather than assemble land and develop it (Department of Planning, 1995:48). Its approach to economic and employment location is directional but aspatial.

The Strategy's treatment of employment and economic activity allows for the creation of new areas of economic activity without attempting to specify details of structure and locations at this initial stage (Department of Planning, 1995:86).

Governance Scale

Both strategies are largely and variably governed at the local scale - by the individual response of councils.

In *Shaping our Cities* major infrastructure agency input is derived from the Urban Improvement Program and the Urban Infrastructure Management Plan.

The 1995 strategy, *Cities for the Twenty First Century*, is more explicit about the management and funding of infrastructure.

Vertical Integration

The integration of *Shaping our Cities* and statutory instruments for development control is, firstly, rhetorical.

... we will continue to build partnerships and provide greater strategic direction in order to mesh metropolitan aims with local aspirations and circumstances as well as economic opportunities (DUAP, 1998:8).

In practice, policy and guidance documents are relied upon to incorporate the strategic focus.

Similarly, *Cities for the Twenty First Century* cites existing instruments (environmental planning policies, regional environmental plans and local environmental plans) as vehicles for its strategy.

Both strategies provide a context for wider, statutory instruments. The implementation of strategic policy is, therefore, uneven. PlanFirst reforms will draw all relevant strategic policy into regionally grounded documents.

Coordination

Shaping our Cities is, in the main, coordinated through government rather than governance - although an unspecified number of peak groups are represented on an Urban Management Committee of Cabinet to oversee "the delivery of metropolitan outcomes" (DUAP 1998:29). This committee has limited political support and meets infrequently. Inter-agency cooperation takes place largely around land supply and through Urban Development.

Whole of government coordination in *Cities for the Twenty First Century* proposed an urban policy cabinet committee of ministers with relevant portfolios. This cabinet was to be supported by an officer level committee drawn from government agencies with direct bearing on urban affairs. Non-government co-ordination was proposed at the level of community groups, and regional and sectorial sub-committees.

Policy

The 1998 strategy *Shaping our Cities* cites six key planning principles:

- manage the supply of new and redeveloped housing.
- align employment and business growth with public transport.
- encourage walking, cycling and public transport.
- improve the design and quality of the urban environment.
- protect and improve natural and cultural resources.
- manage the planning system efficiently.

The 1995 strategy *Cities for the Twenty First Century* cites four goals:

- equity
- efficiency
- environmental quality
- livability

And three principles:

- more compact cities
- an ecologically sustainable region
- effective implementation

Policy Ambit

Shaping our Cities employs integrated policy to the degree that it articulates a centre(s) policy to align land use (employment and housing) with public transport. Otherwise the strategy employs traditional planning policies, such as indicative zoning, orderly land release, improving local planning practise and identification of infrastructural projects.

The policy domain of *Cities for the Twenty First Century* is most clearly differentiated by vigorous environmental critique. A series of sector strategies are developed (air, water, waste, wastewater and open space). An urban consolidation policy is oriented to the environmental (and political) sensitivity of the Hawkesbury-Nepean Region. The integration of land use and transport is elaborated in a complete chapter. It summarizes the plan's sister report (the Integrated Transport Strategy written by the Roads and Traffic Authority) and is weighted towards road provision.

Operational Frame

The operational frame for *Shaping our Cities* is indicative in that policy is not clearly related to development control.

The operational frame of *Cities for the Twenty First Century* is also highly indicative. It defends its approach:

The first key theme is a change in emphasis from a narrow focus on 'blueprint' (an outcome-oriented, fixed end-state plan) to a wider

focus which includes 'process' (mechanisms by which efficient and effective decision making can be delivered over the long term). (Department of Planning, 1995:11).

Analytical Frame

Population and housing trends frame *Shaping our Cities*. Within these parameters, however, policy often retreats to predicative outline (e.g., urban consolidation policy).

Cities for the Twenty First Century is similarly informed by statistical population projection (Department of Planning, 1995:29). Within the projection the option of directing population growth outside the greater metropolitan area (GMR), while raised in 'many' submissions, is dismissed as impractical (Department of Planning, 1995:26). Rather, the Central Coast, Newcastle and Wollongong are marked as primary growth regions.

The Greenpeace (1993) vision of sustainable and equitable urban reconfiguration is admired but discounted:

In practice, it is far from certain that these types of massive changes in built form and social attitudes can be achieved (Department of Planning, 1995:18).

The main predictive element of *Cities for the Twenty First Century* is an image of a compact city to limit sprawl with higher densities and infill. Urban consolidation is defined in two objectives:

1. to increase the proportion of all new dwelling built in multi-unit form to 65% of the total by the third decade of the 21st century.
2. to increase average greenfield housing densities to 15 dwellings per hectare over the next decade (Department of Planning, 1995:7 &75).

The only scenario work done was the Sydney Water Board's assessment of the cost of sewerage provision for a compact city scenario (Department of Planning, 1995:60).

Planning Model

Shaping our Cities is in environmental planning mode. There is, in addition, some emphasis on the integration of transport and land use planning (integrated planning). The 'carrot and stick' measures necessary to achieve integration are not developed.

Cities for the Twenty First Century, in contrast, is very much an integrated planning document. It details management structures to bring government ministers, departments and agencies under strategy ambit.

The environmental planning model is also evident in the 1995 strategy. Policy is, however, sectorial (air, water, waste water, waste and open space), rather than integrative (e.g., the embedding of ecological principles in urban design).

Finance

There is limited financial detail in *Shaping our Cities*. Money for water, housing and transport is mentioned, but these are existing programs rather than new initiatives.

Cities for the Twenty First Century establishes links to the existing budgetary process. It does not propose new sources of funding.

Urban priorities will be considered within the fiscal framework of the State Budget, including requirements on rates of return of corporatised agencies. Budget decisions will, of course, reflect the State-wide responsibilities of the NSW Government. The Strategy does not aim to change priorities between urban and other responsibilities; rather it seeks to improve urban management within the context of existing budget policies (Department of Planning, 1995:38).

Space

Morphology

Morphological policy in *Shaping our Cities* treats of both (metropolitan) structure and (local) form. A centre(s) policy is articulated around the integration of land use, transport and housing. A comprehensive hierarchy of centres is not developed. Four CBDs (Sydney, Parramatta, Wollongong and Newcastle) are identified in an indicative context of sub-regional centres and transport corridors.

Cities for the Twenty First Century identifies the same four CBD centres. In addition it locates nine secondary centres (North Sydney, St Leonards, Chatswood, Hornsby, Blacktown, Penrith, Bankstown, Liverpool and Campbelltown). The secondary centres align coalescing employment clusters. No specific (financed) commitments concerning the augmentation and extension of public transport; or relocation of government employers are proposed. Higher density location is indicative: "... locations along transport corridors will be preferred for multi-unit housing" (Department of Planning, 1995:77).

Spatial Ambit

The metropolitan range of *Shaping our Cities* extends to the Central Coast, Blue Mountains, Wollongong and Newcastle. The strategy's relationship to the State as a whole is unexceptional. The growing inequity between Sydney and

its rural hinterland is unaddressed. The strategy notes the impact of the globalised economy but seeks neither to harness nor direct it.

The extension of Sydney's spatial ambit to the Central Coast, Blue Mountains, Wollongong and Newcastle was, in a major innovation, first mooted in *Cities for the Twenty First Century*. Despite several references to Sydney's international reputation, especially its Olympic selection, the region's articulation in the global economy remained unexamined. A potential Sydney-Canberra development corridor merits passing mention (Department of Planning, 1995:56).

Spatial Scale

Both the 1995 and 1998 strategies are structured at a regional scale. The scale foregrounds increasing populations in the inner and middle metropolitan 'rings'.

Ecological Space

Air sheds, and coastal and river catchments are neglected in *Shaping our Cities*.

Ecological space is discussed but not mapped in *Cities for the Twenty First Century*. The strategy argues the need to protect the environmentally sensitive Hawkesbury-Nepean region and inland catchments generally. It proposes delaying development of the South West Sector because of poor air quality.

PlanFirst reforms should strengthen the ecological imperative in metropolitan planning.

Time

Temporal Scale

The horizon of *Shaping our Cities* is defined by:

- population - a population of 4.5m is forecast between 2011 and 2016.
- vehicle kilometres travelled (vkt) – zero growth by 2021.
- housing - 500 000 new homes in the next 20 to 30 years.

In sum, *Shaping Our Cities* defines a long-term horizon of housing population growth and managing of private transport demand.

Similarly, *Cities for the Twenty First Century*, is oriented to the year 2021 and a projection of 640, 000 new dwellings (Department of Planning, 1995:7).

Continuity

The Sydney Region Outline Plan (SROP) set the structural parameters of Sydney's rapid post war growth. The County of Cumberland Council plan initiated greenbelt policy in Sydney. The 1995 strategy, *Cities for the Twenty First Century* extends the spatial ambit of metropolitan planning from Sydney to include Newcastle, the Central Coast and Wollongong.

No mention is made of previous strategies in *Shaping our Cities*.

Cities for the Twenty First Century contains scattered references to the history of metropolitan planning in Sydney. The planning of infrastructure provision and the identification of land available for housing is studied in former 'blueprint' documents (Department of Planning, 1995:54). The urban consolidation policy of the 1988 strategy is re-affirmed (Department of Planning, 1995:82). The acquisition of 12, 000 hectares of land for the provision of open space since 1952 is seen as instructive (Department of Planning, 1995:72).

Temporal Focus

Shaping our Cities explores policy for intergenerational equity in terms of improved housing affordability and choice, biodiversity, air quality and the health of waterways.

Built heritage is essentially neglected, but natural heritage is of strategic concern.

The future focus of *Cities for the Twenty First Century* is limited to population growth and housing.

Democracy

Participation Commitment

Shaping our Cities was formulated in-house. Its technocratic approach required no popular participation. A relatively 'light' document, the strategy was disseminated primarily to GMR local authorities and not to the public.

While not a 'blank page' consultation, *Cities for the Twenty First Century* was preceded by two years of debate on *Sydney's Future*. Public submissions were summarised and discussed and the reasons for not taking up specific suggestions clearly stated.

Participation Scale

Participation in *Cities for the Twenty First Century* was predominately corporate (Department of Planning, 1995:20). A small qualitative study of public attitude was commissioned but direct public participation was deemed too difficult.

Gaining a coherent picture of the interests of these diverse groups represents a considerable problem for government. Indeed, there is difficulty in establishing consultative mechanisms when there are a large number of groups and no formal mechanisms whereby one group can be authorised to speak on behalf of a number of groups (Department of Planning, 1995:43).

Responsibility

Shaping our Cities divides responsibility into the “strategic and policy” guidance provided to by DUAP and the coordination of agencies through the Urban Infrastructure Management Plan (UIMP). In practice the UIMP has been ineffective and ad hoc issues have been dealt with by the Minister.

Reflexivity

Shaping our Cities was formulated without stakeholder involvement and develops no vehicle of implementation. There is therefore limited scope for monitoring, evaluation and review.

Reflexivity in *Cities for the Twenty First Century* is more discernable. Annual review of strategy and management is proposed.

Impact Frame

Housing/population output(s) are most clearly defined in both strategies. Parameters include: multi-unit housing output (urban consolidation); population increase in the inner and middle rings; new housing output on urban fringe.

Accountability

Accountability for *Cities for the Twenty First Century* lapsed with the incoming Labour Government. It has proposed a mechanism of four regional subcommittees, a transport task force and 5 sectorial (policy) committees feeding into a Metropolitan Strategy Committee. The Metropolitan Strategy Committee together with a Community Reference Group reported to the Cabinet Urban Policy Committee (1995:110). Management was to undertake annual reviews of strategy (Department of Planning 1995:8).

In 1997, the Council on the Cost of Government recommended the disbanding of the Metropolitan Strategy Committee. The Urban Policy Committee of Cabinet met infrequently between 1995 and 1999 and focused

on infrastructural rather than the strategic issues, which now fell under the ambit of the minister.

The first Minister for Urban Infrastructure Management, Craig Knowles, developed an urban infrastructure management plan to map annual expenditure. In 1999 Andrew Refshuge refocused the program on private-public partnerships to fund capital works.

5.2 Melbourne

Strategic Instrument

Melbourne 2030 (2002)

Foundation Principles

Direction

Metropolitan strategy was included in the Brack Government's (1999–present) election campaign. The Kennett Government's (1992–1999) ad hoc decisions on in-fill development made integration of land-use and transport a political issue (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:1).

Time (two years) and money (>5 million dollars) were spent to ensure a quality plan with wide public support (Collins, 2003a). *Melbourne 2030* embodies a whole-of-government approach bolstered by democratic participation.

Decisions

Two groups were convened for *Melbourne 2030*.

- an inter-agency committee - with planning and transport, natural resource, housing, human services, education and environmental protection representatives.
- a stakeholder reference group - made up of council, union, infrastructure planning, social service, community, automobile user, the aged, property interest, environmental group, public transport user, sustainability and technology policy, university, economic development interest, sustainable energy, and planning profession representatives.

The eventual strategy is a set of original decisions on the future direction of urban management.

Evaluation

Evaluation of the strategy is comprehensive, comprising:

- the inter-agency committee's institutional/bureaucratic perspective.
- peer review of the stakeholder reference group.
- community perspective discovered in blank slate consultation.
- political evaluation by cabinet subcommittee.

Input

Melbourne 2030 takes a consensus rather than majoritarian approach to developing policy. Diverse opinion is solicited. Verbatim reports are placed in public libraries, listing every idea raised in public forums and how these ideas were dealt with. Inputs are equally weighted in time. The interdepartmental committee, reference groups and community consultation operate concurrently.

Governance

Planning Mode

Melbourne 2030 contains both positive and negative planning measures. A centre(s) policy is supported by government land assembly. At the fringe an urban boundary protect greens wedges (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:60-65, Mees, 2003:11). Fiscal initiatives, however, such as betterment tax and congestion charges, are not proposed (Spiller, 2003b).

Governance Scale

The strategy is governed primarily at the local government scale. There are no regional governance structures (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:30).

Vertical Integration

Strategy is integrated with local government development control and assessment. The revision of local planning strategies, zoning and structure plans in light of *Melbourne 2030* will be a collaborative task (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:54).

Coordination

Communities and local governments are viewed as collaborative partners in *Melbourne 2030*. In turn, communities are to be integrated into local planning.

Engagement with key stakeholders on specific projects, such as Transit Cities and the Smart Growth Committee, has been ongoing, keeping disparate groups focused on implementation (Collins, 2003a).

Policy

Policy Ambit

Melbourne 2030's is ambitious, producing a document of exhaustive length. The core objective is to integrate land use with transport. Other major policy concerns are:

- urban design (civic life, cultural identity, neighbourhood character, heritage, community safety).
- economic globalisation (regional links, business clusters, freight movement, air port and port gateways, promotion of innovation and knowledge economy, telecommunications infrastructure).
- sustainability (walking and cycling, open space, green wedges, river and bay health, water resource recycling and management, waste minimisation, reuse and recycling, air quality and greenhouse emissions, habitat and biodiversity, environmental benchmarks).
- equity (affordable housing, distribution of social infrastructure and cultural facilities).

Operational Frame

The Strategy uses both blueprint and indicative form. The urban growth boundary is fixed in blueprint. Transport corridors linking the metropolitan area and hinterland are indicated.

Analytical frame

Melbourne 2030 is predictive. Trend forecasts are discounted as unreliable. It proposes intervention to disrupt trends. Six options for urban growth management are mapped (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:17). Population growth and its distribution are explicitly discussed (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:15).

Planning Model

Melbourne 2030 lays integrated planning over town and country and environmental planning. It proposes planning, investment and development converge in centre(s) policy (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:46). And place management at the local level (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:43).

Place management is:

- outcome based authority.
- cross sectorial/program policy and service delivery.
- collaboration between government and other parties;
- a holistic view of a place.
- harnessing community energy and resources (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:168).

Finance

Melbourne 2030 proposed its initiatives pass through the normal budgetary process. The budgetary process, however, was subsequently reformed. The multi-year budgeting strategy of the Department of Infrastructure's is now required of all departments and agencies. Each institution must prepare a prospective capital investments statement along with a statement of major outcomes. Each proposal is tested twice. Once for strategic alignment with *Melbourne 2030* and once for its benefit/cost ratio (Collins, personal communication, 2003b).

The strategy makes additional funding available to local governments.

Adequate and realistic resources to delivery bodies was identified as a key factor in the successful implementation of the Plan, e.g. \$5.6 million was allocated to Local Government for implementation of the Plan's proposals, with an additional \$2.1 million for targeted grants associated with the plan (Collins, 2003a).

Some commentators argue the main funding initiatives have been for roads, not public transport (Davidson, 2003, Mees, 2003).

Space

Morphology

A poly-centred metropolitan network, rather than hierarchy of centres is proposed. Five types of centres are defined with the locations of the principal, major and specialised activity centres named and listed (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:51). The list is not justified. Mees argues it fails to distinguish between car-based and rail and tram-based centres (Mees, 2003:8).

The centre(s) network is to be reinforced by expanded public transport. The policy relates to higher densities and urban design preference. Mees argues the strategy does not direct higher-density housing into the preferred locations with substantive measures such as restricting it in other places (Mees, 2003:6). Stand-alone centres are identified as a problem and measures proposed to broaden their role (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:47-49).

Measures are proposed to foster ecological and aesthetic grounds urban design (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:92-94). The infrastructure needs of economic activity (freight road and rail corridors, airports, ports, education and training facilities, business clusters and broadband telecommunications infrastructure) are estimated (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:83-89).

Spatial Ambit

Melbourne 2030 treats of the relationship between the metropolitan area, its hinterland, the State and the world generally. A networked cities model promotes the growth of regional cities via fast train transport corridors. Liveability (better urban design, air quality, green space, diversity, cultural amenity and heritage) is considered key to a larger share of global economic activity. The hub of Melbourne business is supported with planned development of transport (port and airport) gateways, broadband telecommunication services, and investment in innovation and knowledge production.

Spatial Scale

Strategy extends down to the neighbourhood scale (Policies and Initiatives, Direction five).

Ecological Space

The Western Port and Port Phillip Bay catchments are mapped showing their relationship to the urban area (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:21). Storm water flows, ground water and air-sheds are discussed without being spatially defined.

Time

Temporal Scale

The Melbourne Strategy names its orientation as the next 30 years (an extended horizon).

Continuity

Melbourne 2030 is related to previous strategies through a potted history of planning (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:11). The strategy returns to traditional structural planning, dating back to 1922 and only abandoned in the Kennett years (1992–1999). The green wedges are seen as: “an important legacy of past metropolitan planning” (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:66).

Temporal Focus

The built heritage embodies one temporal focus of *Melbourne 2030*. The strategy values the “internationally recognised asset” of Victorian buildings, landscapes and landmarks dating back 170 years (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:98).

Democracy

Participation Commitment

Public participation in the plan's formulation was comprehensive - costing over 1 million dollars (Collins, 2003a). 1400 submissions were received and are currently being analysed. A Department of Infrastructure planner justified the effort and cost of consultation on the grounds the strategy was ambitious and written for 30 years.

Participation was in two stages, allowing public feedback at both the framing and the proposal of the strategy. Specialised forums were held for key stakeholders (Mayors, economic and community groups) and demographic groups (youth and women) (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:16-17).

Mees criticises the strategy claiming consultation should be combined with a "rigorous, transparent program of testing and assessing development options" (Mees, 2003:13). Mees denies the community reference group, technical reports and public consultations made any substantive difference to the strategy (Mees, 2003:15). He claims the public expressed a clear funding preference for public transport over freeways (Mees, 2003:19).

A Department of Infrastructure planner, however, contends the community support garnered was strong, widespread and could sustain the strategy through a change of government.

Participation Scale

Melbourne 2030 consulted on both general principles and local aspirations. Consultations were held as public forums attended by political representatives. The first 'blank-page' round of consultation elicited community concerns and issues. The second round presented options and necessary tradeoffs for community consideration.

Corporate consultations were also conducted with non government interests formed in a reference group.

Responsibility

As *Melbourne 2030* is a policy framework, responsibility is not viewed as lying with any particular department or agency. Rather:

All Government departments and agencies will undertake an assessment of the relationship between their infrastructure investment plans and *Melbourne 2030* as part of the budget process (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:175).

For a Department of Infrastructure planner the fact the strategy outlines action and demonstrates a clear commitment to new transport links and more sustainable transport, is a positive force in itself.

Reflexivity

Melbourne 2030 is a reflexive document with a clear sense of limits. It declares it is *not* an economic development plan, community development strategy or comprehensive environmental management plan. Rather, it defines itself as a high-level *overview* of the *directions* metropolitan Melbourne is expected to take, with a focus on the management of future growth, land use and infrastructure investment. The strategy provides a context for sectorial plans (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:1

The strategy proposes in a “formal process” a five year review cycle for itself. Ongoing participation is also promised: progress reports, data and trends will be posted on a web site; community liaison will be established; and major stakeholder groups will be regularly consulted on strategy implementation (Department of Infrastructure, 2002:165).

Impact Frame

The impact frame of the strategy is not transparent. Policy benefits are promoted; costs are not mentioned. To the extent that progress reports, data and trends are collated to underpin reviews the value of the strategy may be estimated.

Accountability

The initial creation of a super ministry integrating transport and land use brought the transport investment budget into planning ambit. This ministry has, however, since been divided into the more narrowly focused Department of Infrastructure (transport planning and infrastructure, energy and telecommunications) and Department of Sustainability and Environment (land use planning and public land management). This division has weakened link between the strategy and capital projects (Collins, 2003a).

Melbourne 2030 has the statutory force of *Ministerial Direction No. 9 – Metropolitan Strategy*. Planning authorities preparing a planning scheme amendment must include a report on:

- relevant aspects of *Melbourne 2030*.
- how *Melbourne 2030* affects the amendment.
- the consistency of the amendment with *Melbourne 2030* policy.
- how the amendment helps implement *Melbourne 2030*.
- will the amendment hinder implementation of *Melbourne 2030*?

Agreement by both Houses of Parliament is required to amend *Melbourne 2030* or the urban growth boundary it establishes.

A strategy implementation team is directed by a committee chaired by the Premier (Collins 2003a).

5.3 Adelaide

Strategic Instrument

Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide (2003)
“Mark IV” Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide (in production)

Foundation Principles

Direction

Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide is an update of a 1998 plan. Following the election of the Rann Government, in March 2002, the new minister decided the 1998 strategy be updated. *Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide* adjusts centre(s) policy to support the CBD against the legacy of the previous government – a major shopping centre with potential CBD functions. Overall strategy includes new emphasis on social inclusion.

The *Mark IV* strategy currently being prepared is also politically directed – the Rann Government wants a new strategy, not based on the 1988 plan.

Decisions

The 2003 strategy reflects existing department and agency proposals rather than a deliberative process driven by Planning SA.

The *Mark IV* strategy is also largely reflective. It represents the “considered and coordinated policies of the government of the day in the functioning, development and change of urban Adelaide” (Bunker, 2003:2). The *Mark IV* strategy was “prepared in conjunction with all other government agencies and was signed off by them” (Bunker, 2003:2). Four of the six background papers were written by principal agencies rather than Planning SA.

For the *Mark IV* strategy Planning SA conducted focus groups with the general community, as well as interviews with key stakeholders and stakeholder groups.

Evaluation

Evaluation of both the 2003 and *Mark IV* strategies has been institutional/bureaucratic and political. There was some public consultation around specific components of the 2003 strategy, but overall public assessment was not considered necessary.

Public evaluation of the current *Mark IV* strategy’s formulation is constrained in substance and time. Once the draft is complete there will be a six week consultation with stakeholders and the community(s).

Input

Input into both the 2003 and *Mark IV* strategies are primarily political and bureaucratic/institutional at the State Government level.

The *Mark IV* strategy proposes a more integrated, whole of government approach.

Governance

Planning Mode

The Adelaide strategy employs both positive and negative planning measures. An urban growth boundary is mapped (Planning SA, 2003:4, Figure 2). Incentives for the rehabilitation of land and water are “to be investigated” (Planning SA, 2003:37). Publicly owned sites will continue to be made available for urban infill. Assemblage of sites “large enough to favour comprehensive, integrated development” is planned (Planning SA, 2003:67).

Governance Scale

The 2003 and *Mark IV* strategies provide for detailed development and control plans prepared by Local Government and possessing statutory force (Bunker, 2003:2).

Three regions are defined in *Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide*. These regions coincide with LGA boundaries and are used in population, housing and economic trend projections (Planning SA, 2003:57). No regional governance structure is planned.

Vertical Integration

The SA Development Act requires development control comply with the strategy. Development and control plans are assessed by Planning SA.

Coordination

The 2003 strategy emphasizes centralised government over governance. Collaborative partnerships are not proposed.

A Planning SA planner judged the new strategy to be a land use rather than whole-of-government plan. Nevertheless, it proposes specific measures to engender government department, agency and Local Government commitment. The Victorian system of imposing zoning on councils is being considered.

Policy

Policy ambit

Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide extends from conventional land use planning to social justice and sustainability policy. This marriage of social purpose with spatial organisation is also a feature of the *Mark IV* plan (Bunker, 2003:2).

An ecological imperative is evident in the 2003 strategy, and the in the following policies:

- re-use of sewage effluent and protection of discharge lands.
- groundwater improvement.
- protection of coastal, marine and estuarine environments.
- integration of open space, watercourse and water quality management.
- reduction of the embodied energy in buildings.
- reduction of the energy consumption of buildings.
- waste reduction, re-use and recycling (Planning SA, 2003:39-43).

The 2003 strategy uses demographic analysis to identify disadvantaged areas (Planning SA, 2003:24, Figure 10). Ameliorative policy includes the dispersal of public housing, provision of emergency housing, and housing to suit the aged, women, youth and the disabled (Planning SA, 2003:25, Figure 10). Mechanisms are proposed for monitoring disadvantage (Planning SA, 2003:28).

An environmental scientist is charged with executive responsibility for the production of *Mark IV*. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, “the issue of sustainability and use of natural resources has been raised to a high profile” in the strategy (Bunker, 2003:3). On the other hand the economic literacy of the plan has been criticised:

...the leading economic strategic issue of how to advance the state as a small relatively isolated regional economy was not effectively addressed and made pre-eminent ... (Bunker, 2003:3).

Operational Frame

The *Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide* is essentially a blue print plan. Policy mapping includes centre location, a growth boundary, an industrial arc and a system of open space.

Analytical Frame

The 2003 Adelaide strategy is predictive. Interventions into housing preference, home/workplace connectivity, urban sprawl, travel demand, water

degradation, waste production and energy consumption are proposed (Planning SA, 2003:61).

Planning Model

The 2003 strategy combines traditional town and country planning with an emphasis on social equity and ecological sustainability.

A stronger ecological imperative is proposed in the *Mark IV* strategy:

... a hydro geochemical cycling and an ecosystem approach to land use planning should be the foundation to the underlying assumptions of the Planning Strategy rather than an additional factor to consider along with many others at each decision making point (Bellette, 2003:1).

Finance

Planning SA (2003:63) contends joint public and private funding of infrastructure is crucial in the face of declining Federal fund transfers. *Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide*, however, is not tied into government budgeting processes and proposes no new sources of income (betterment, congestion charges, open space levies).

The *Mark IV* strategy, too, lacks effective finance (Bunker, 2003:3).

Space

Morphology

The *Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide* balances structure and form in a centre(s) policy. The policy is hierarchical with the Adelaide city centre designated as the apex, followed by regional, district, neighbourhood and local centres (Planning SA, 2003:17-18).

The 2003 plan outlines a range of transport options, including public transport, to serve centres (2003:18). Medium density housing and mixed land use are encouraged in and around the centres (Planning SA, 2003:17). Public transport improvements (high frequency services, better traffic flow and intelligent transport systems) are planned (Planning SA, 2003:49-50).

Spatial Ambit

The policy ambit of the 2003 Adelaide Planning Strategy is restricted to the metropolitan area and its adjacent agricultural and viticulture domains. It does not treat of the relationship between the metropolitan area and its broader hinterland. Instead a *Planning Strategy for Regional South Australia* is being prepared.

The enhancement of Adelaide's international reputation as a green city is stressed, at the expense of the city's role in the global economy. The Adelaide - Alice Springs rail link that will connect the city to Darwin is given passing mention in terms of export growth, investment and employment. The link is not, however, viewed as a potential economic and cultural link to Asia (Planning SA, 2003:11).

Spatial Scale

The 2003 strategy is cast at the regional (central, northern and southern Adelaide) level.

Ecological Space

The 2003 strategy maps metropolitan area catchments. A water management strategy is proposed at the catchment, drainage system and site level (Planning SA, 2003:30-34). Waste management policy is proposed and mapped (Planning SA, 2003:38, figure 15).

Time

Temporal Scale

The temporal scale is set at the next 14 years, to 2016 -^a medium term horizon (Planning SA, 2003:63).

Continuity

Strategy is not placed in the context of the history of metropolitan planning in South Australia - no previous plans are discussed and institutional memory is not in evidence. The historical development of Adelaide "as a series of villages" is, however, affirmed as an important tradition (Planning SA, 2003:69).

Temporal Focus

The principal concern of the 2003 strategy is:

1. the future – both in terms of equity and environmental resources;
and
2. the past – in terms of heritage.

Biodiversity and environmental policy is justified in terms intergenerational equity (Planning SA, 2003:33). Equitable outcomes for women, youth, the aged and the disabled are pursued. The heritage aspects of Adelaide's CBD and its adjacent areas are explicitly valued (Planning SA, 2003:53); as is Aboriginal heritage (Planning SA, 2003:54).

Democracy Participation Commitment

There is no statement in the 2003 strategy concerning consultation. Planners described strategy consultation as “significant but not comprehensive”. The centre(s) policy included following six months input by from a stakeholder working group and was publicly, if not popularly, exhibited.

A strategic approach to consultation is also being used for the Mark IV strategy. Although, more extensive drafting consultation would have been preferred if time had allowed.

The depth of consultation used in the Melbourne strategy is viewed by Adelaide planners as expensive, and uneven (from potholes to high level policy) and, ultimately, unmanageable. They regard blank page consultation as a “dog’s breakfast”, without any land use planning.

Participation Scale

The 2003 strategy commits to public participation. The strategy will: “provide opportunities for people to actively contribute to the development of policy affecting the management of their local area” (Planning SA, 2003:29.

This is consistent with the plan’s opening statement that its strategy is a “living document”. One planner, however, criticised community input as principally for development control plans that are required to be exhibited for two months. The consistency of consultation is being targeted for improvement by Planning SA.

Responsibility

Planning SA has principal responsibility for implementing the strategy. It monitors the compliance of Local Government development control with metropolitan policy.

Reflexivity

There is no reflection on how policy is achieved on the ground.

Impact Frame

Analysis of the distributional effects of the strategy is restricted to spatial dimensions of social inequity.

Accountability

A mapped growth boundary and identification of a hierarchy of centres allow for public monitoring of the 2003 Strategy. The formal accountability mechanism, however, is an annual parliamentary report by the Premier.

The *Mark IV* strategy is to benefit from a tighter Premier's report. Government agencies are now required to report on their activities as they relate to the metropolitan strategy objectives. Spatial land use planning is to be linked to current government policy and any useful financial levers. Benchmarks will not be used. Short and long term indicators will be developed.

5.4 Perth

Strategic Instrument

MetroPlan (1990)

Foundation Principles

Direction

The impulse behind *MetroPlan* is essentially political. The 1983 State Labour government was elected on a platform that included a commitment to review *The Corridor Plan for Perth* (1970).

The incoming government established a State Planning Commission to make the administration of planning simpler and more efficient, and to bring it more directly under ministerial control.

The metropolitan review was launched in late 1985. It was conducted by a five-member group led by Professor Max Neutze of the Urban Research Unit of the Australian National University. Technical work was done by a multidisciplinary team drawn from the State Planning Commission and seconded departmental and Local Government officers. Consultants were contracted for specific studies. The review received 1200 submissions. After submissions were considered and further study completed *MetroPlan* was released in 1990 (Stokes and Hill, 1992:118-119).

There has been subsequent reform of government to integrate environmental, social and economic elements of sustainability. As part of the reforms:

- the transport portfolio was placed in the Department for Planning and Infrastructure.
- water resources management and environmental protection are now the responsibility of the Department of Environment, Water and Catchment Protection.
- a Sustainability Policy Unity was created within the Department of the Premier and Cabinet to improve policy integration (WA Government, 2002:42).

Sustainability assessment units are proposed within the EPA, the Department for Planning and Infrastructure, and the Department of the Treasury and Finance. These three units will use techniques such as multi-criteria analysis

and citizen juries to monitor implementation of the *State Sustainability Strategy* (WA Government, 2002:38-39).

This institutional landscape is the organisational context of the *Future Perth* process and any subsequent metropolitan strategy.

Decisions

MetroPlan is essentially a directive plan undertaken in a period of heightened political and public interest, and reform of State planning institutions.

Evaluation

MetroPlan was coordinated by a nationally respected independent expert. As the plan took shape it was subject to bureaucratic, public and political (new government) evaluation.

Input

MetroPlan was formulated in the context of public campaigns against the urban development corridors proposed in The Corridor Plan for Perth (1970). While *MetroPlan* reaffirmed the corridor concept, a more compact city was advocated via urban consolidation policy. Housing was aligned with employment via centre(s) policy (Stokes and Hill, 1992:120–124). Input to the plan was consensual, weighted equally between lay and expert perspectives, and involved both the State and Local levels of government.

Governance

Planning Mode

MetroPlan employs both positive and negative measures.

Land assembly programs are proposed for housing, centre development and urban consolidation. Homewest is charged with affordable housing development (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:33). Ten per cent of all new subdivisions are to be dedicated open space, with (existent) land tax earmarked to buy regional open space (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:81).

Non-urban wedges and open space is secured with zoning that protects water resources and defines four urban corridors. The upgrading of public transport is to be accompanied by: “A greater emphasis on the restraint of the use of cars in congested areas and at congested times of the day ...” (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:64).

Governance Scale

MetroPlan is governed at both State and Local Government level. Government departments and agencies (planning, transport, natural resource

and heritage) are coordinated through *The Metropolitan Regional Scheme*. All planning is to be conducted in collaboration with the Department of Planning and Urban Development.

Vertical Integration

MetroPlan is related to statutory instruments. The general strategy is fleshed out with Strategic Policy Statements. The main metropolitan wide statutory instrument remains the Metropolitan Region Scheme. The statutory instruments of Local Government (structure plans and centre plans) are to reflect metropolitan centre and corridor policy. A Metropolitan Transport Strategy, underpinning corridor and centre policy, is to be prepared by the Department of Transport. Land assembly, urban releases and infrastructure coordination is the remit of a Metropolitan Development Program (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:13 & 93-97).

Coordination

MetroPlan is essentially a government initiative. It establishes a policy relationship with the Department of Transport and a collaborative relationship with Local Governments. The statutory instrument, *The Metropolitan Region Scheme*, coordinates the many efforts of agencies (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:94). Collaboration with private sector groups is not solicited. It is, however, assumed government action plays "... an important role in establishing a climate for private investment ..." (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:49).

Co-ordination in the *State Sustainability Strategy* is conceived as *governance* charged with formulating policy *and* delivering outcomes. The strategy was written with the 'WA Collaboration' – a civic grouping of conservation groups, unions, social services, churches, youth, seniors and other interests. The *State Sustainability Strategy* advocates WA Collaboration engage the public in achieving the sustainability agenda (WA Government, 2002:49). Partnerships are also proposed between Government and Aboriginal communities, universities, industries and CSIRO (WA Government, 2002:52 & 61). Regional groupings of Local Government(s) are proposed around sustainability issues as it is at the regional level that the "natural environment becomes more defined" (WA Government, 2002:51 & 58).

Policy

Policy Ambit

The policy ambit of *MetroPlan* is largely conventional. As 80% of new dwellings are to be constructed in new urban areas, strong emphasis is laid on an orderly release of land in time with the provision of urban services, infrastructure and community facilities and to prevent land speculation (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:35-41). There is also,

as Stokes and Hill, point out: "... a strong nexus in *MetroPlan* between environmental issues and policies for rural land, regional open space, heritage, urban design and townscape" (1992:128). The management of water resources is important and integrated with land use planning.

Operational Frame

MetroPlan is primarily a blueprint plan – most of its policies can be expressed in maps. The urban expansion corridors are more indicative and are to be extended as need arises.

Analytical Frame

MetroPlan is moderately predictive. The densities proposed to compact the metropolitan area are very modest - an increase of 7 to 9 dwellings per hectare. No other policy accommodates growth. Population growth is not directed outside the metropolitan area. The trend for increased vehicle usage, however, is countered, with an integrated range of policy: to improve and provide new public transport infrastructure and service; to restrict parking; to allow mixed land use in designated centre(s); and to provide cycle ways.

Planning Model

MetroPlan is rooted in all three planning models. It covers traditional town and country planning with careful preservation of landscapes and open space, policy for the orderly release of land, and coordination of infrastructure and services in suburban development. The strategy adopts an environmental planning ethos for its management of water resources. The planning of land use and transport are closely integrated as are water resource management and land use.

Finance

MetroPlan provides no specific links into budgetary processes. The strategy does require open space dedication from new subdivisions and land tax to be used for the purchase of regional open space (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:81).

Space

Morphology

MetroPlan morphology is balanced. A strong hierarchy of centre(s) is articulated with central Perth as the commercial, retail and civic hub, followed by eight named strategic regional centres, other regional centres, district centres and neighbourhood centres. The corridor structure of Perth is

endorsed. Rail 'spines' serve the corridors. The suburban rail network is to be upgraded and a new northern suburbs line constructed.

The present imbalance between private and public transport is addressed in the expansion of park-and-ride and bike-and-ride facilities, public transport interchanges in regional centres, bus feeder services and the provision of priority bus lanes (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:25 & 65). A regional cycle path network is to be extended (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:71). A three-part hierarchy of roads is adopted (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:67).

The recommended increase in the density of new urban areas is, as has been noted, between 7 to 9 dwellings per hectare (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:29). The strategy includes townscape and urban design (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:92).

Subsequent to *MetroPlan*, as part of the implementation of the *State Sustainability Strategy*, the *Liveable Neighbourhoods Code* is being finalised as the new mandatory policy for structure planning and subdivision. The new code is now used for major projects on Perth's urban fringe and in key regional centres (WA Government, 2002:135). The code requires solar orientation, water sensitive design and locates housing around workable neighbourhood centres and public transport sub-centres (WA Government, 2002:139). The *State Sustainability Strategy* commits to double the metropolitan rail system (WA Government, 2002:12).

Spatial Ambit

Although the strategy is essentially contained in regional space it has two global dimensions. The city's increasingly cosmopolitan population is positively valued. Overseas migrants comprise two thirds of population growth (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:4). Secondly, "... Western Australia's strategic and geographic location has placed Perth on the threshold of becoming a major world city with a vital role in the South-East Asian region" (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:3).

Spatial Scale

MetroPlan is largely conceived at the sub metropolitan level of centre location and urban growth corridors. Structure planning is at a neighbourhood scale.

Ecological Space

The possible impacts of climate change are mapped and discussed in terms of a more energy efficient city and the conservation of natural resources (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:10-11). *MetroPlan* maps resource areas; including groundwater, surface water, raw materials, intensive agriculture, landscape areas and regional waste disposal sites (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:77).

New suburbs are designed to reduce water consumption, manage storm water and ensure the optimum recharge of groundwater (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:40). *MetroPlan* recommends land use impacts on water resources be managed on a catchment basis. The protection of wetlands, as important for water quality, is proposed (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:75 - 76). Regional open space, linking ecological systems, is mapped (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:82 - 83).

Time

Temporal Scale

The temporal horizon of *MetroPlan* is 30 years and oriented primarily to population projections. “[O]ver the past thirty years, Perth’s population has doubled to about one million people. Over the next thirty years it will double again” (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:3).

Continuity

MetroPlan embraces the strategic planning context that preceded it. The history of metropolitan planning in Perth, dating from 1955, is recounted and relevant blueprint maps included. The relationship of *MetroPlan* to the previous strategies is explicated (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:17 - 19).

Temporal Focus

The temporal focus of the strategy is balanced. Aboriginal heritage in the metropolitan region, being less common, is more highly valued than European heritage. The Strategy maps Aboriginal movement prior to European settlement (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:85 & 90 - 93).

Democracy

Participation Commitment

MetroPlan was formulated in response to public protest against *The Corridor Plan for Perth* (1970). It received over a thousand public submissions.

Under the Court Government (1993-2001) there was comprehensive public participation in the making of *Future Perth*. Eight working papers were produced as the basis for new metropolitan strategy. The election of the Gallop Government (2001-present) interrupted the process. The new Administration had a strong reform agenda. It required the *Future Perth* papers be reworked in the light of its own (draft) *State Sustainability Strategy*.

State Sustainability Strategy sees *Future Perth* “as a mechanism to generate region-wide community debate on urban growth and test implementation options to achieve optimal employment, residential and centre location and to reduce urban sprawl” (WA Government, 2002:135). Once the reworked papers are complete, there will be further consultation prior to the production of final metropolitan strategy.

Participation Scale

Participation was by formal exhibition and consideration of the many public submissions. There was no corporate or functional organisation of participation.

Responsibility

MetroPlan takes a whole of government approach in directing employment into centres (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:42). The Department of Planning is co-ordinated with Urban Development and the Department of Transport. *The Metropolitan Region Scheme*, a statutory instrument, is used to coordinate relevant agencies. There is collaborative relationship between the Department of Planning and Urban Development and Local Governments (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:94).

The *State Sustainability Strategy* (2002) uses a whole of government approach to sustainability policy. A ‘roundtable’ is proposed: as a partnership in pursuit of sustainability. The planning system is seen as a possible statutory mechanism for implementing the *State Sustainability Strategy* at local and regional levels (WA Government, 2002:35).

Reflexivity

MetroPlan is a confident but not particularly reflexive document. It is not explicitly aware of potential limits nor is there any contingency planning for partial failure. The Department of Planning and Urban Development, however, promises regular status and monitoring reports (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:97).

Perth’s metropolitan strategy is 13 years old. The *Metropolitan Development Plan*, the working document, is updated every 12 months.

Impact Frame

The costs, benefits and distributional impacts of the strategy are acknowledged. The reasons some regional centres are not deemed of sufficient strategic importance for planning intervention is spelt out (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1990:48-50).

Accountability

Only the mapped urban corridors and regional open space policy of *MetroPlan* allow for substantive accountability.

The transparent format of *State Sustainability Strategy* makes it more accountable than *MetroPlan*. Vision, objectives, action underway, proposed action, indicators, targets and global opportunities all are specified.

5.5 Brisbane-South East Queensland

Strategic Instrument

South East Queensland Regional Framework for Growth Management (2000)

The *SEQ Regional Framework for Growth Management* (hereafter RFGM) is the regional strategy for South East Queensland (hereafter 'SEQ').

The first RFGM was produced in 1994 and marks the beginning of metropolitan planning in Queensland. The RFGM is a product of Local Government cooperation rather than a State initiative. Such strategic planning is unique in Australia and is a consequence of the 1925 voluntary amalgamation of 25 councils to form the Brisbane City Council. In the face of this powerful municipality there developed in Queensland a "...'hands off' culture". Over time SEQ has been left "ill-equipped to guide and finance metropolitan and regional growth into the 21st century and towards a population of 3 or 4 million" (Cumming, 2002:1).

The RFGM was reviewed in 1996, 1998 and 2000. The following discussion is primarily of *RFGM 2000*, with some reference to its current review. The 2000 strategy was developed under the *Integrated Planning Act 1997*. The new RFGM is due for release in June 2004 (Abbott, 2001; Cumming, 2002). The review process is known as *SEQ2021: A Sustainable Future*.

Foundation Principles

Direction

The RFGM was instigated by a newly elected Goss Government (1990-1996). In late 1990 it held a conference to air community concern over the impacts of SEQ population growth. The decision to formulate the RFGM triggered the formation of the SEQ Regional Organisation of Councils (SEQROC). All 18 of SEQ councils took up membership, as well as NSW's cross-border Tweed Shire Council. SEQROC established a Regional Planning Advisory Group (RPAG) to formulate the RFGM. Although seeded by the State, RFGM is a local government cooperation.

In 1994, the SEQ Regional Coordination Committee (RCC) assumed authority for both RFGM implementation and review. The RCC is comprised of cabinet and Local Government representatives as well as some NGOs. The RCC takes advice from bureaucratic experts, and makes decisions by consensus.

RFGM 2000 updated *RFGM 1998*'s priority actions, deleting and rewording priorities already achieved, as well as adding new priorities (Department of Communication and Information, Local Government, Planning and Sport, 2000:7).

Decisions

RFGM 2000 is a reflective plan with minor directive components (such as those involving indigenous communities). Agencies report to the RCC and are represented on its 11 working groups. The strategy is, however, a compilation of actions agencies have already undertaken, or are comfortable with undertaking, rather than an expression of inter-agency deliberation.

Evaluation

RFGM and its subsequent reviews have been evaluated by both the internal bureaucracy and peak, non-government groups. Every two years an internal technical review of the plan is drafted. Performance monitoring is *ad hoc*. Only one report has been completed (since 1994).

Input

External input into the RFGM is by corporate, committee based consultation. Initially RPAG was drawn from state, federal and local government along with non-government representatives (industry, union, environmental and community groups). Following the release of *RFGM 1994*, RPAG recommended it be replaced by the RCC supported by a Regional Non Government Sector Committee (RNGSC). The RNGSC is comprised of peak-group representatives (human service, rural, indigenous, women, business, land development, union, professional and environment). RNGSC meets monthly and has a seat on the RCC.

Governance

Planning Mode

RFGM plans to balance social, environmental and economic considerations, while accommodating projected population increase. Positive and negative planning mechanisms are, however, weak. The strategy has an indicative growth pattern map, outlining preferred areas for growth, and an environmental constraints map showing preferred conservation areas. A regional infrastructure priorities map is also included. The framework does not

define densities or growth boundaries. While a regional open space system is included in the plan, a key criticism of the framework and the SEQ2001 project is the lack of Government commitment to protect or purchase significant regional open space for conservation (see Urban Policy Program Paper 3, 2003, Community and Media Views).

Governance Scale

The planning department, SEQROC and individual local governments are the governance authorities for the 2000 strategy. A celebrated strength of *RFGM* is its voluntary and cooperative style.

The RCC, a bimonthly forum for the region leaders, comprises a regional scale of urban governance. The RCC undertakes high-level coordination, negotiation, conflict resolution and implementation of the RFGM and the SEQ Integrated Regional Transport Plan (Department of Communication and Information, Local Government, Planning and Sport, 2000).

The implementation of regional strategy rests with local government(s) through their planning schemes and development control decisions. The Department of Local Government and Planning assesses local scheme and h RFGM alignment

Vertical Integration

The *Integrated Planning Act 1997* while giving local authorities the power to make plans and control development, also requires local plans include a 'regional dimension'.

The state, too, has a responsibility to ensure planning defers to the 'regional imperative' (the RFGM in the case of SEQ). There is, however, a common view that the State's Department of Local Government and Planning is too small to fully discharge this responsibility.

RFGM is not aligned to the State's priorities, budgetary process or central program planning.

Coordination

The formulation of RFGM is a cooperative endeavour of government and non-government entities. The strategy, however, is for agency and local government use. Others have no direct role in its implementation.

Policy

Policy Ambit

The RFGM is framed by six main objectives: protect environmental sustainability, support economic development, improve self-containment of employment and population, support major centres, increase residential

densities, and improve public transport. RFGM policy areas are broad, environmental and social considerations. RFGM now includes a chapter on Indigenous involvement.

The strategy is divided into the following sectorial plans:

- Conservation of the natural environment
- Natural economic resources
- Water quality
- Air quality
- Regional landscape
- Urban growth
- Residential development
- Major centres
- Economic development and employment location
- Social justice and human services
- Liveability
- Cultural development
- Indigenous involvement
- Transport
- Water supply
- Waste management

The above 16-part division tends to isolate components of growth management policy one from another. In addition broad-ranging policy is fragmented by the multiple actions proposed at the end of each sectorial plan. 'Action plans' assign responsibility for each action to particular agencies and local governments. The interdependence of social, economic and environmental policy is left unresolved.

For some of policy areas a regional scale is not appropriate. For example, social justice, human services and Indigenous involvement (included as a separate policy area after the 2000 review of the document) specify localised or strongly aspatial actions such as protocols for community engagement, empowerment of Indigenous residents, co-location of human and other services. While these policies are important for broad-based regional policy, they are poorly integrated in the SEQ regional strategy.

Operational Frame

Blueprint planning finds its antithesis in the voluntary, cooperative formulation of RFGM strategy. It is an indicative plan. It does not convey land use rights to property owners. It is a regional guidance document with no mandatory, and limited statutory, basis. Such a manifest indicative approach to growth management is coincident with Queensland's history of entrenched developer's rights.

Analytical Frame

RFGM is a trend rather than predictive plan. It plans for the land-use requirements of population trends, while attempting to mitigate the social and environmental impacts of growth. Population growth is driven primarily by interstate migration. Craig argues migrants are attracted by Queensland's lower living costs; a trend that risks economic bubbles (Craig, 1994:11).

The current SEQ2021 update of the RFGM will discuss the carrying capacity of SEQ and the limits to growth.

Planning Model

The RFGM shapes development to manage environmental and social impacts while accommodating the projected growth figures. It is a relatively mild version of integrated planning and dependent on cooperation on a regional scale.

Finance

There is no link between the RFGM and the State or municipal budgetary process. The strategy is indicative, voluntary and cooperative in nature. Mandatory links to budgets would not be in the spirit of the strategy. Financial measures such as betterment taxes or congestion charges are not employed.

Space

Morphology

The RFGM deals with urban structure at a broad and indicative scale. The Brisbane CBD is confirmed as the dominant centre. Seven other key centres are listed: Maroochydore to provide a focus for the north coast; the three key metropolitan centres of Caboolture, Ipswich, Beenleigh; the country town servicing the Darling Downs–Toowoomba region; and Southport and Robina as Gold Coast centres. These centres are viewed as:

...the preferred location for higher-order retailing, commercial, entertainment, cultural and administrative activities making them the hubs of employment and social activity (Regional Coordination Committee, 2000:17).

Centre density is not secured by positive planning measures. Residential densities are a contentious issue for Councils and communities. Consequently, the strategy defines no density targets.

Spatial Ambit

The spatial ambit of the RFGM is metropolitan and regional.

RFGM defines an area comprised of three (north, south and west) Regional Organisations of Councils (ROCs) and Brisbane, which is a ROC in its own

right. The ROCS have all prepared sub-metropolitan plans in response to the RFGM.

Brisbane, population 900,000, is expected to be the second largest city in Australia by 2020. Brisbane City Council (BCC) has a budget bigger than Tasmania. It is the major social force in the preparation, implementation and review of the RFGM.

Although the western ROC is largely rural, there has been little clarification or analysis of the relationships between the metropolitan and rural areas. The Southern ROC includes the NSW Tweed Shire Council in a community of planning interest.

Despite the Southern ROCs dependence on international tourism very limited attention has been paid to the relationship between the metropolitan area and the global economy.

Spatial Scale

The RFGM is regional in scale. Plan preparation for RFGM is voluntary. Neither the RFGM nor Local Government plans have a statutory base. In response to the strategy, ROCs have prepared their own plans to coordinate policies across local government areas.

Ecological Space

The strategy maps some ecological boundaries. The mapping was a technical input into the RFGM, primarily by the QLD Environmental Protection Agency. The relationship of this information to urban management is unexamined.

Time

Temporal Scale

The strategy was devised in 1990 using a short (ten year) time frame and is currently being reviewed.

Continuity

The RFGM marks the beginning of metropolitan and regional planning in SEQ., that is now uninterrupted for more than a decade.

Temporal Focus

The strategy is focused on the short-term future, specifically, the accommodation of population growth in the next ten years.

DEMOCRACY

Participation Commitment

Public 'peak bodies' have a limited role in RFGM formulation and implementation. The Regional Coordination Committee (RCC) and its policy specific working groups, however, include non-Government representation.

The *SEQ2021 Sustainable Future* project attempts a broader consultative process. The project was publicly launched. A performance monitoring report was published and attracted some media interest. *SEQ2021* has a website, newsletters, brochures and a feedback mechanism.

Participation Scale

SEQ2001 consultation was corporate and Brisbane-centric.

There has been an attempt in the SEQ2021 project to broaden consultation to sub-regional communities. A 'values telephone survey' of about 2000 residents was recently completed. It solicited opinion on the new regional plan vision. Traditional methods such as written submissions to technical reports remain the primary mechanism of consultation.

Responsibility

The SEQ RFGM 'action plan' delegates authority to particular agencies and Local Governments. The *Integrated Planning Act 1997* requires Local Government to take account of the 'regional dimension'. Planning schemes are central to RFGM implementation and local governments, fortunately, have due for regional strategy.

State agencies are not required to account to the strategy, though some agencies provide progress reports to the RCC. Ultimate responsibility for the success or failure of the RFGM rests with the Department of Local Government and Planning. The department incorporates a small SEQ Regional Resource Unit and its Minister chairs the SEQ RCC.

Since the release of the first regional strategy in 1994, Local Government has increased its funding of the costs of preparing SEQ regional strategy from 25% to 50% (the State is the other funding source). This increase was in response to weakening State commitment (the other source of funds). SEQROCs set up their own working parties on a range of issues (such as transport, sport and recreation). It is, however, the State that has the budget, mandate, levers and legislative power necessary for the implementation of strategic planning.

Reflexivity

The Strategy is not reflective. The project proposes reviews but these are internal assessments with little scope for changing policy settings. Performance monitoring is largely ad hoc and not linked to State environmental, or other State-wide, reporting (e.g., the managing for outcomes framework). The Strategy is limited by the political, voluntary and cooperative nature of its preparation and implementation. The project recently released a SEQ Performance Monitoring Report that attracted some media attention and has had some influence on deliberations on the new strategy.

The current SEQ2021 project is perceived as a 'comprehensive review' of strategy. The review has facilitated some discussion in working groups of new policy settings and issues such as financing, institutional arrangements and implementation.

Impact Frame

The impact frame of SEQ regional planning is weakly articulated with little attention to the interconnections between different policy settings.

Accountability

Accountability for the plan ultimately rests with the RCC. This committee is often the forum of passionate debate as leaders question the commitment of the State to RFGM.

The Department of Local Government and Planning's small Regional Resource Unit (about 8 staff) is charged with both providing administrative support for the RFGM and the RCC, as well as managing the current review SEQ2021.

In the end, for Mr. Cumming of the Planning Institute of Australia – Queensland:

The big question is whether 'voluntary and cooperative' arrangements can deliver hard decisions on regional green space, rural subdivision, infrastructure priorities and targeted growth areas (both inner and greenfields), housing diversity and centres development (Cumming, 2002:9).

5.6 Summary of National Review

SPATIAL CONSENSUS

There is consensus across the five strategies reviewed on the need to address the car dependent, sprawling metropolitan morphology. The

Adelaide, Melbourne, Perth, South East Queensland (SEQ), and Sydney plans all advocate urban containment and reduced car dependency. The strategies include the following policies:

- integration of public transport provision with land use planning.
- centre(s) policy to integrate transport hubs with mixed intense land uses (high density housing, employment, retail and recreation).
- directing urban growth along existing, extended and new railway spines.
- increasing density both at the fringe and around transport hubs/centres to meet the housing demand of smaller sized households.
- ensuring a supply of affordable housing and the use of urban renewal programs to address the spatial effects of disadvantage.

Positive and negative planning measures to focus housing density, public transport and employment location are, however, used unevenly, if at all.

This patchy ability to translate policy into action can be attributed to the striking governance and financial differences between the strategies.

GOVERNANCE AND FINANCE

- **Institutional Reform** – The more effective strategies are prefaced by a whole of government approach to facilitate inter-agency deliberation. Such deliberations are crucial to the integration of land-use and transport. *Melbourne 2030* adopted an interdepartmental metropolitan strategy and the amalgamation of transport and planning in the same portfolio. The *Mark IV* strategy currently under preparation in Adelaide involved inter-agency deliberations resulting in non-planning government agencies authoring 4 of the 6 working papers. Western Australia's transport portfolio has been recently been embedded in the Department for Planning and Infrastructure as new metropolitan strategy is being prepared.
- **Statutory Force** – The implementation of all the strategies depend, ultimately, on compliance. Only the Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth metropolitan strategies have (limited) statutory force. Sydney's strategy is advanced largely through State Environmental Planning Policies. PlanFirst reforms should address the problem of fragmentation caused by the statutory approach. The SEQ strategy is entirely voluntary in nature.
- **Powerful Planning Levers** – The ability to control land (assemble land, establish growth boundaries, protect open space) and control infrastructure provision (direct infrastructure agencies) is crucial for strategies. The Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne strategies all employ mapped growth boundaries and possess the statutory authority to police the boundaries. In contrast, the SEQ strategy is unsupported by powers to purchase or protect open space, or to assemble land.

- **Budgetary Links** – A key indicator of strategy strength is its influence over the budget allocations of infrastructure agencies. The capital investments of Victorian agencies are tested in cabinet for strategic alignment with *Melbourne 2030*. A tighter South Australian Premier's report will link financial levers to Adelaide's metropolitan strategy. A sustainability assessment unit is to be established within the Western Australian Department of the Treasury and Finance. It will use multi-criteria analysis to assess strategic achievement.
- **Financial Mechanisms** – Access to new sources of funding to implement strategies and reconfiguring funding structures in favour of public transport, are strong advocacy themes. None of the five strategies use congestion charges. Betterment is under-used, although a land tax and developer dedication are used for open space in Perth.
- **Governance Scale** - The strategies cover a diverse range of governance arrangements: Local-State partnership supports place management in Melbourne; in Adelaide a state department oversees Local Government plans; and in SEQ governance is in the form of regional cooperation. Whether strategy implementation takes place at a local, regional or State scale is probably the least important of the governance-finance variables.

THE FUTURE

Our review of Australian metropolitan strategy isolates the emergence of two important issues.

- **Sustainability** - There is variable sensitivity to ecological limits in the strategies. The Perth and Adelaide plans pay particular attention to water quality and supply. The protection of fragile inland catchments is a priority for Sydney. Beyond individual strategy detail commitment to triple bottom line (social, economic and environmental) planning depends on inter-agency deliberation and a whole of government approach. Whole of government reforms to institutionalise sustainability are most advanced in Western Australia. In a noteworthy first, an environmental scientist (with planning expertise) has the task of overseeing Adelaide's current *Mark IV* strategy formulation. 'Triple Bottom Line' planning promises to be an emergent planning model of some importance. In it integrated and environmental planning incorporate and transform traditional town and country planning.
- **Spatial Ambit and Globalisation** – The point of departure for the Melbourne, Sydney and SEQ metropolitan strategy is rapid population growth. All three cities have increased the spatial ambit of their strategy, looking to locate population and housing growth in coastal

and regional settlements beyond the capital city. Although the Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne strategies all employ growth boundaries, only *Melbourne 2030* has policy to encourage surplus growth beyond that border. Innovative *Melbourne 2030* plans to harness the opportunities of the knowledge intensive global economy and reinvigorate regional economies through a network of cities.

DEMOCRACY

- **Consultation** - Current Australian metropolitan planning uses three models of consultation: strategic, corporate and 'blank page'. All three summarise written submissions to a draft document exhibited in conformance with statutory guidelines

The 2003 and *Mark IV* Adelaide strategies were both formulated using a strategic approach to consultation. Components of the strategies are isolated and presented to stakeholders (interviews) and the public (focus groups) for feedback. The approach saves, in the short term anyway, time and money, as well as keeping the strategy concise and focused. Proponents condemn alternative blank page consultation as a 'dog's breakfast' with no land use planning.

The SEQ *Regional Framework for Growth Management* employs a corporate style of consultation using a standing stakeholder committee in both strategy implementation and review(s). *Melbourne 2030*, too, used a stakeholder committee as a peer review forum in its formulation. This approach to external input contributed to the broad policy ambit of both plans.

Melbourne 2030 was the only plan formulated using broad 'blank page' participation. Community forums were held at the strategy framing and options/trade-offs stages. The wealth of initiatives cited in *Melbourne 2030* has been said to diminish the strategic value of the document. However, the strong public ownership of and support for the strategy, may yet prove to be a major bonus. The recommendation that local implementation of strategy be place-based may harness community energy and avert community hostility. Strong public support for the strategy also makes it difficult for the plan to be disowned by an incoming government.

- **Political Risks and Opportunities** - In the last decade metropolitan planning has been re-energised by the politicisation of public discontent about urban growth management via election campaigns. Victoria's Brack (1999–present) and Queensland's Goss (1990–1996) governments were elected partly on the basis of widespread disenchantment over urban planning. However, strategies clearly identified with an administration are vulnerable when power changes hands. The budgetary links established by the 1995 Sydney strategy

Cities for the Twenty First Century were derailed by a change of government. Planning agencies are faced with the challenge of harnessing political discontent in the formulation of a strategy as well as institutionally embedding strategies so as to avoid significant disruptions in urban governance. For these reasons, the protection of *Melbourne 2030* with a two house agreement rule is important.

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