

# METROPOLITAN PLANNING FOR SYDNEY 1948-1988

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LOOKING TO THE PAST TO LEARN FOR THE FUTURE

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“ Those who cannot remember the  
past are condemned to repeat it. ”

*George Santayana*

## ABSTRACT



Sydney is a city unlike any other. It is blessed with an inspiring natural setting, a robust structure, engaging topography and most importantly unique inhabitants. These attributes have combined over time to help shape and mould the city in to what it has become today. Over the last 60 years in particular, Sydney's planners have sought to both understand and influence the metamorphosis of the city through the preparation of an overarching framework, exhibited in the form of metropolitan scale plans and policies. These metropolitan plans represent a concerted attempt to guide, reinforce and react to the evolution of the physical elements of the city. In the post-world war two period there were three character-defining plans for Sydney to run their full course: the County of Cumberland Plan 1948, the Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968, and Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988. This thesis will evaluate the common principles, methodologies, objectives and outcomes of these plans with particular regard to regional open space networks, the hierarchy of centres and provision for new areas of growth. The evaluation of the relative successes and failures of these plans may prove to be an invaluable tool in understanding the genetic history of the city and its future evolution.

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# CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Sydney is a city unlike any other. It has a unique location, topography, natural elements, structure, transportation and most importantly unique inhabitants. All of these elements have combined over time to help shape and mould the city in to what it has become today.

Cities are an interesting organism in that no one city can be directly compared to another. Each has evolved within its own microcosm as part of the larger global macrocosm and as such exhibit individual attributes and characteristics which, magnified over time and space, produce the great tapestry of urban forms around the globe.

The discipline of urban morphology, primarily the domain of historical geographers, is the study of these attributes and their evolution over time. Physical elements such as transportation networks, residential densities, employment distribution, regional open space, hierarchy of centres and new growth areas play an integral role in influencing the way in which the city relates with the land. Urban morphology is the analysis of this evolution of the city, from its formative years, throughout its various transformations and the identification and dissection of its various components (Moudon, 1997).

Throughout the last 60 years in particular, planners have attempted to both understand and influence the metamorphosis of the city through



the preparation of an overarching framework, exhibited in the form of metropolitan scale plans and policies. Much like the youth of Sydney as a metropolis, it is important to understand that the practice of metropolitan scale planning is still in its very formative early days having been born out of necessity during the post-war development boom (Boyce, Day and McDonald 1970).

These metropolitan plans are often a concerted attempt to guide, reinforce and react to the evolution of the physical elements of the city. They can be thought of as the Petri dish – the confined, controlled environment – in which the city is cultured and allowed to evolve. As Gleeson states, “a metropolitan strategy is defined as a strategic plan for managing change in urban regions” (Gleeson, 2004), the emphasis of which is on the management of change rather than a fixed target.

There have been a number of metropolitan scale plans and policies influencing the growth of Sydney over the last 60 years, most notably the County of Cumberland Plan 1948, Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968 and The Metropolitan Strategy – Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988. The ability to directly compare common principles, methodologies, objectives and outcomes of these plans and the success or failure in implementing their goals may prove to be a vital tool in understanding the genetic heritage of the city and the future direction of its evolution.



There have no doubt been evaluations of the successes and failures of each of these plans to varying degrees of depth and analysis. The review of the Sydney Region Outline Plan being the only publically accessible example.

Problems may arise when appraising a metropolitan plan, or any strategic plan for that matter, as an isolated, individual instrument. Furthermore, the preparation of metropolitan scale instruments which discard the successes or shortcomings of the previous plans and focus exclusively on the data of the here and now may also result in planning for the future, without adequately understanding the planning of the past.

There is, therefore, an opportunity to derive a method of analysis by which the success of metropolitan plans can be gauged and direct comparisons with other plans drawn. It is proposed that the objective of this research paper is to distinguish a number of common traits between each of the plans, and to then assess their intentions against the actual results over the full course of its lifespan, thereby effectively resulting in a theoretical scorecard for each of the plans.

It is proposed that the common elements by which comparisons can be made are confined to those which are represented by physical change in



the urban environment, such as; the designation of new growth areas, the provision of regional open space and the hierarchy of the centres.

This analysis of physical elements overlaps somewhat with the emerging practice of urban morphology. This paper proposes to strengthen the relationship between urban morphology and metropolitan planning to address an information gap which currently exists. As Norton and Whitehand (2004, p. 275) suggest, the discipline of urban morphology and the concepts associated with it share a very weak association with planning in the developed world. It is hoped that the historical information compiled in this paper, in addition to the compilation of current physical data, will strengthen the relationship between planning and urban morphology. It is hoped that the research will adequately arm planners with the tools to critically analyse past metropolitan plans. The paper will also attempt to demonstrate which lessons can be drawn from the research to inform the preparation of future metropolitan plans.



An integral part of this research proposal is to undertake a comprehensive review of literature from a number of expert informants within various disciplines broached by the topic. There are a number of primary sources of theoretical principles behind the development and appraisal of metropolitan plans. The most relevant and detailed of which is the research by Gleeson et al. undertaken for the Urban Policy Program at Griffith University. Their research monographs of July 2004 attempt firstly, to define what the exact function of a metropolitan strategy is and the elements that combine to create one. The work of Gleeson et al. arrives at the conclusion that a metropolitan plan is a “strategic instrument for the management of urban change at a variety of scales” (Gleeson et al., 2004).

Secondly, the work of Gleeson et al. develops a framework to describe and analyse metropolitan plans. Where it differs, however, from this research proposal is that it deals specifically with current metropolitan plans and as an outcome of the analysis, seeks to classify a plan under a number of possible parameters such as whether a plan is reflective or directive or whether it exhibits an institutional or political direction. This proposal seeks to develop a method of analysis to appraise the actual outcomes of past plans, rather than the genetics of the plan itself. Nevertheless, the work by Gleeson et al. will be a primary source of



contextual information to inform the adequate assessment of Sydney's metropolitan plans.

It is also proposed that the relationship between metropolitan scale planning and the discipline of urban morphology be explored in greater detail. The paper delivered to the International Seminar on Urban Form by Moudon hints at the new opportunities available to the urban morphologist and metropolitan planners, through the advent of digital databases within Geographical Information Systems. These spatial databases have allowed detailed information to be viewed and analysed at a scale much larger than previously accessible, providing the urban morphologist with a tool for analysing contemporary metropolitan regions (Moudon, 1997). The addition of this powerful asset to the analytical toolbox for assessing metropolitan form is an exciting prospect for geographers and planners alike.

This research proposal bears a strong resemblance to the work undertaken by Hack and Simmonds in relation to the emerging forms of the city. Their work compiles and compares the dynamics of 11 global cities over a 30 year timeframe. The elements by which the regions are compared bear a strong resemblance to those which are proposed to be analysed for the Sydney region within this research paper. Attributes such as; employment patterns; spatial distribution of population; roads and rail networks; public transport; and regional land use patterns. Hack and Simmonds have successfully managed to 'map' these changing elements over time, a similar task to that proposed within this thesis.



The first step towards achieving the objectives of this research proposal is to undertake a thorough review of available literature on metropolitan planning, its formulation and assessment, and the relationship with the field of urban morphology. This review will aid in the development of firm directions for the adequate analysis of metropolitan plans and the relationship to the physical elements as studied by urban morphologists.

These directions will carry over into the formulation of three common objective categories by which comparisons can be made between the three metropolitan plans; the County of Cumberland Plan 1948, Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968 and Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988. These categories are;

- designation of new growth areas;
- provision of regional open space; and
- the hierarchy of centres.

The three plans will be analysed for goals and objectives relating to each of these elements and the data presented in an appropriate form. To analyse the success of the plans in implementing and achieving their objectives, data for the metropolitan region will be sourced for the

dates which relate to the full lifespan of the plans unless the plan was superseded by the introduction of a new metropolitan plan.

The primary objective of the analytical assessment is to prepare graphical representations of the objectives and outcomes of each of the plans. These would address the three elements which are to be assessed and will be in the form of; existing (at the time the plan was implemented), proposed (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate) and actual (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate). The mapping of these objectives will involve extensive GIS data and the appropriation of a variety of maps and plans.

It is expected that there may be limitations to the level of detail at which this information can be gathered, in particular for the earlier plans of 1948 and 1968. All possible avenues will be explored and the greatest care taken to appropriate any incomplete findings as accurately as possible. Any assumptions made throughout the process are to be documented.

It is also anticipated that this mapping will form the majority of the research work. The utmost of care will be taken in the sourcing and preparation of the information as the mapping will be used to inform the analysis of the plans, supplemented by readings and the plans themselves.

Conclusions as to the success of each plan can therefore be drawn and



an overall comparison between the three plans can be completed. Should the findings be conducive to it, further research may be undertaken in to the factors which led to the success or failure of each of the plans. Conclusions are also to include a critique of the research methodology and any shortcomings that may have been exposed throughout the research process.

## DATA SOURCES



Various sources of data will be utilised throughout the research process.

These include, but are not limited to;

- The County of Cumberland Plan 1948
- Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968
- Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988
- Review: Sydney Region Outline Plan 1980
- Australian Bureau of Statistics Data 1948 to present
- Aerial/Satellite Photography 1948 to present
- Employment plans and policies 1948 to present
- Centres plans and policies 1948 to present
- Regional open space plans and policies

- Existing GIS data constructs
- Transport Data Centre data by TravelZone
- Journal articles – in particular those relating to metropolitan planning.
- Publications from the Urban Morphology Research Group within the School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Birmingham.

## THESIS STRUCTURE



### Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter will define the research proposal of this thesis. It will provide a brief background to the disciplines and fields of research which are to be broached throughout the thesis. It will define a research statement and it will also set out the proposed objectives of the work and the methodology which is to be employed to achieve them. It will also briefly introduce the theoretical and conceptual context of the proposal, the sources of data which are to be explored and finally, the structure of the thesis itself.

## Chapter Two: Setting the Scene

It is the purpose of this chapter to set the foundation for the remainder of the thesis. In order to adequately understand the three metropolitan plans for Sydney, first we must understand the Sydney that they were not planning for, but what they were planning from. It is in this light that this chapter will attempt to provide a brief historical context to the Sydney from which the three metropolitan plans were born. This chapter will also attempt to provide an introduction to the concepts of metropolitan planning and urban morphology. It will define exactly what the disciplines of metropolitan planning and urban morphology are and how they relate to each other.

## Chapter Three: The County of Cumberland Plan 1948

This chapter will provide a brief introduction and background to the County of Cumberland Plan. It will nominate the key principles and objectives and the circumstances which may have influenced these decisions. It will attempt to categorise the objectives in relation to the designation of new growth areas, provision of open space and the desired hierarchy of centres. The bulk of the analysis is anchored on the mapping of the data in relation to the existing (at the time the plan was implemented), the proposed (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate) and the actual (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate). A conclusion will reiterate the key findings with the chapter and redress the objectives of the thesis.



## Chapter Four: Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968

Following on from the precedent of the previous chapter, this chapter will provide a brief introduction and background to the Sydney Region Outline Plan. It will nominate the key principles and objectives and the circumstances which may have influenced these decisions. It will attempt to categorise the objectives in relation to the designation of new growth areas, provision of open space and the desired hierarchy of centres. The bulk of the analysis is anchored on the mapping of the data in relation to the existing (at the time the plan was implemented), the proposed (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate) and the actual (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate). A conclusion will reiterate the key findings with the chapter and redress the objectives of the thesis.

## Chapter Five: Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988

Following on from the precedent of the previous chapters, this chapter will provide a brief introduction and background to the Sydney Region Outline Plan. It will nominate the key principles and objectives and the circumstances which may have influences these decisions. It will attempt to categorise the objectives in relation to the designation of new growth areas, provision of open space and the desired hierarchy of centres. The bulk of the analysis is anchored on the mapping of the data in relation to the existing (at the time the plan was implemented), the proposed (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate) and the actual (at the time the plan/objective was to culminate). A conclusion will reiterate the key

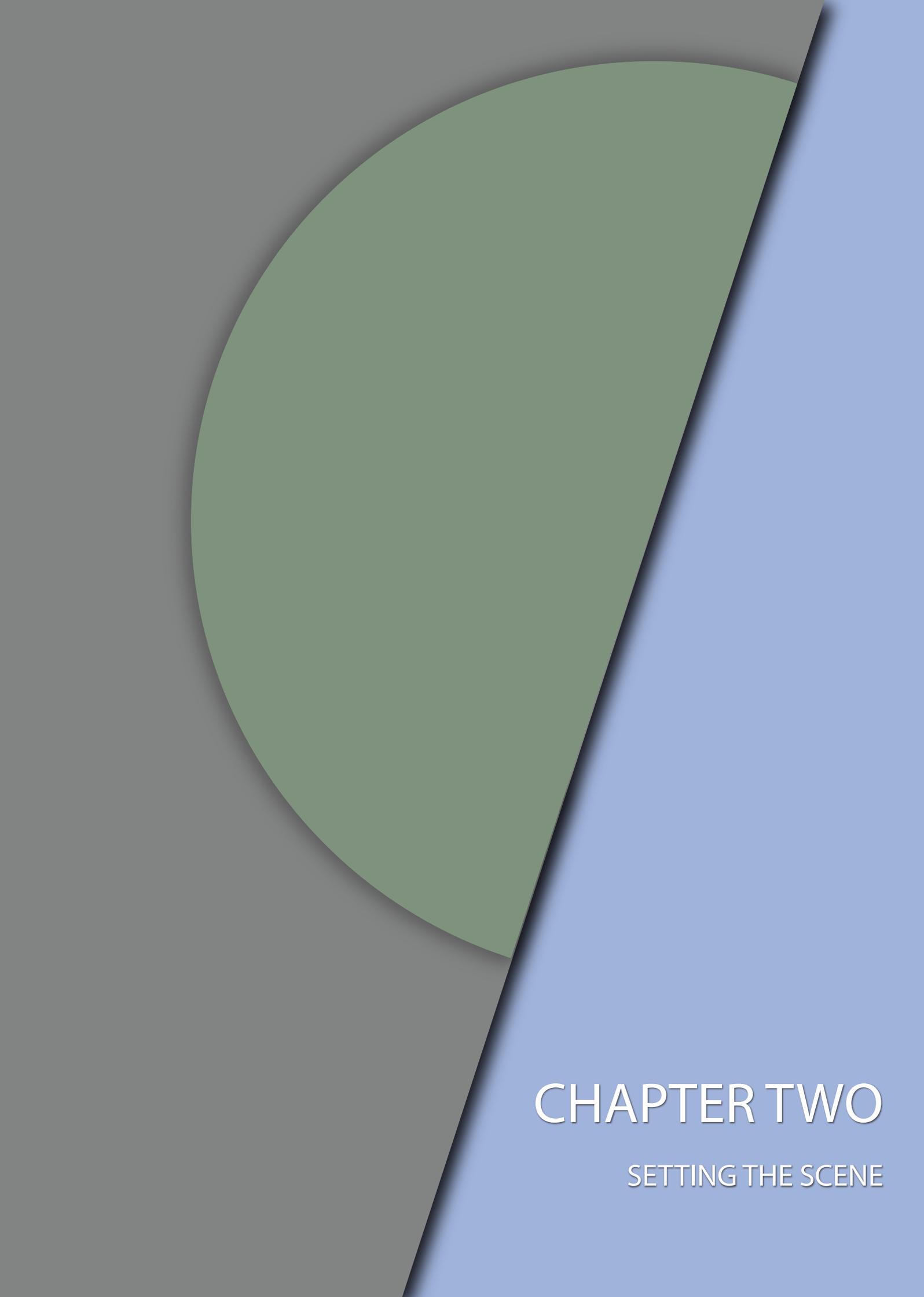


findings with the chapter and redress the objectives of the thesis.

## Chapter Six: Summary and Lessons for the Future

This chapter will review and succinctly detail the method and results revealed throughout the thesis. It will also briefly highlight the lessons which can be learnt for the development of future metropolitan plan.





# CHAPTER TWO

SETTING THE SCENE

It is the purpose of this chapter to set the foundation for the remainder of the thesis. This chapter will provide a brief introduction to metropolitan planning. It will seek to define a metropolitan plan, what it is, what it does and how it seeks to achieve its goals. This will provide a valuable background to the chapters which critique the three metropolitan plans for Sydney.

This chapter will also provide an introduction to the emerging field of urban morphology. It will detail what exactly urban morphology is and how it relates to planning, in particular metropolitan planning.

In order to adequately understand the three metropolitan plans for Sydney, first we must understand not only the Sydney that they were planning for, but the Sydney they were planning from. It is in this light that this chapter will attempt to provide a brief historical context to the Sydney from which the three metropolitan plans were born.

The historical context will address the evolution of Sydney prior to the delivery of the County of Cumberland Plan in 1948. It will highlight the planning, or lack thereof, that guided the evolution of the city. From its humble beginnings in 1788 to its emerging global city status as a player in the world economy of 1948.

Throughout the last 60 years in particular, planners have attempted to both understand and influence the evolution of the city through the preparation of an overarching framework, exhibited in the form of metropolitan scale plans and policies. These plans are seen as a broad brush planning approach in which the bare-bones structure of the city is devised and the places in which we work, live and play are planned for.

Much like the relative youth of Sydney as a metropolis, it is important to understand that the practice of metropolitan scale planning is still in its very formative early days having been born out of necessity during the post-war development boom (Boyce, Day and McDonald 1970).

This boom has resulted in the evolution of established settlements into burgeoning metropolises that may transcend local and even state government boundaries, requiring region-wide planning to facilitate their growth (Solof 1998).

A metropolitan plan is often a concerted attempt to guide, reinforce and react to the evolution of the physical elements of the city. As Gleeson states, “a metropolitan strategy is defined as a strategic plan for managing change in urban regions” (Gleeson, 2004 p. 9). The emphasis of Gleeson’s commentary should be placed on the ‘management of change’ rather than the development of fixed targets and shows that at a metropolitan scale planning is required to be flexible and responsive.

The goals of a metropolitan plan should not necessarily be rigid targets and objectives but rather a set of flexible ideologies that have the ability to influence the evolution of the city at its roots. Meyer states that the key issues for any metropolitan strategy are; adequately managing the size, distribution and density of the population; actively planning for the location and type of employment; and understanding the movement of people between where they live and work (Meyer 1993).

From a governance perspective a metropolitan plan must address a number of key issues. The Department of Urban Affairs and Planning proposed that the primary requirements of a metropolitan plan are to; be a region's principle environmental planning document; provide agreed goals; be broader than a development control document; set a clear framework for local planning; conform with other state and regional plans; and be based on an adaptive approach to management including monitoring and evaluating desired outcomes (Department of Urban Affairs and Planning 2001). The most notable element of this list is the on-going monitoring and evaluation of desired outcomes which has great relevance to this thesis.

Cities are an interesting organism in that no one city can be directly compared to another. Each has evolved within its own microcosm and as such exhibit individual attributes and characteristics which, magnified over time and space, produce the great tapestry of urban forms around the globe.

Urban morphology primarily relates to the shape and structure of the human habitat, the buildings, neighbourhoods and entire metropolitan regions. Urban morphology is the monitoring of these shapes and structures for change over time (Bournemouth University 2008).

The discipline of urban morphology, primarily the domain of historical geographers, is the study of a number of attributes of the city and their evolution over time. Physical elements such as transportation networks, residential densities, employment distribution, regional open space, hierarchy of centres and new growth areas play an integral role in influencing the way in which the city relates to the land. Urban morphology seeks to track this evolution of the city, from its formative years, throughout its various transformations and the identification and dissection of its various components (Moudon, 1997).

Urban morphology is, much like its name, constantly evolving and the variety of methods with which the research is undertaken is constantly

changing. Of these recent developments one particular method is of increasing relevance to this thesis, the work of Hayden (2004) and Campoli, Humstone and Maclean (2002) both used and illustrated analysis of suburban development utilising aerial photography (Wheeler 2004). This thesis will seek to illustrate the objectives of three metropolitan plans, tracked against the morphology of the city over a set timeframe. The results of this analysis would be, and should be, incredibly pertinent to the role of metropolitan planners today.

## THE GROWTH OF SYDNEY



Sydney is now 220 years old, having grown from a fledgling convict outpost of the British Empire in 1788 to its present day status as a contemporary metropolis and a truly global city. Sydney now plays a major role in the global economy and accounts for approximately 25% of the Australian Gross Domestic Product (Department of State and Regional Development 2008).

Accompanying this increase in status from 1788 is an expansion in the physical presence of the city. In 1788 the 1,024 people of the First Fleet lived in community camps within a 500 metre radius of Sydney Cove (De Marco and Spearritt 1988). Since 1788 the rapid expansion of Sydney

has seen the population increase to 4.3 million in 2006 and its urban footprint extend to an area of 1,687 square kilometres, the largest urban area in Australia (ABS, 2001).

From 1788 the city grew in a somewhat haphazard, but organic, manner conforming to the physical constraints and capitalising on the natural opportunities of the Sydney Basin. Barnard reveals that the only concerted efforts to plan for this expansion throughout the 19th Century were those of Governor Macquarie, whom in 11 years of command installed a sense of order and governance within the settlement (Barnard 1956: cited in De Marco and Spearritt 1988 p.2).

However, Macquarie was primarily concerned with the core of the city and the growth on the periphery of the settlement proceeded unmonitored. This growth was fuelled by the laissez-faire release of land grants throughout the Cumberland Plain. Through the 1830's the settlement began to expand into the areas adjacent to the primary settlement, such as Surry Hills, Woolloomooloo, Pyrmont, Paddington, Redfern and Newtown (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

In 1862 when the population reached 100,000 the settlement had now expanded east to coastal plateaus of Waverley and Randwick and west to the alluvial plains of the Parramatta River. Capitalising on the abundant natural resources of the Cumberland Plain, the settlement continued to expand until in 1901 the population reached 500,000, increasing more than 500 percent in 40 years (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).



Other than the 11 year command of Governor Macquarie there had been little in the way of coordinated planning for Sydney. The first concerted attempt to guide the growth of the burgeoning metropolis was the 1909 Royal Commission. The Royal Commission was a direct response to calls from social commentators of the time to curb the unbridled expansion of the city. As J.D. Fitzgerald describes this period of Sydney's evolution "Sydney has outgrown her plan (if her casual growth can be called a plan), as a child outgrows its swaddling clothes" (cited in Spearritt 2000 p.15).

The 1909 plan was partly born out of necessity with the black plague ravaging through the squalid living conditions of The Rocks and community disapproval of the seemingly shambolic dispersal of housing across the Cumberland Plain. The Royal Commission sought to rectify two major problems of the time, that of overcrowding of the working-class inner suburbs and the congestion and incompatibility of land uses within the central area (Meyer, 2005). The laissez-faire growth of the last 120 years had led to great swathes of working-class residential areas of the inner suburbs interspersed by heavy industrial, manufacturing, warehousing and factories. These residential areas were also segregated from open spaces by the heavily trafficked transport routes to the wharves.

The Royal Commission was primarily concerned with the issues of congestion on the city's narrow streets, in particular those servicing the central area. Many of the Commission's recommendations therefore, were focused on the area between Central Station through to Circular Quay. The Commission embraced the vision of Parisian-style avenues, accommodating the ever increasing traffic of the CBD on wide tree-lined boulevards. The recommendations included the widening and realignment of Elizabeth, Oxford and William Streets (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

The plan incorporated the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner of the Railways whom had proposed a city-circle rail line be built to serve the increasingly congested CBD. The Chief Commissioner also recommended the construction of an eastern suburbs rail line and that the trams, which were plaguing the streets of the CBD, should be used as feeders to the expanded rail network (Meyer 1993).

The commission also proposed to decant some of the working population residing in the substandard housing of the inner city terraces to newly planned garden suburbs so that they could have access to similar living conditions as the middle and upper classes (Meyer 2005).

The Royal Commission is the first concerted effort to plan for the wider Sydney Region. The Commission was an admirable attempt to address the issues of population densities and locations, access to open space, type and location of employment and the transportation networks

which served the wider region. The Commission made some incredibly insightful recommendations, including the construction of a city circle line to address congestion in the CBD and the electrification of the suburban rail network, which inevitably led to the construction of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and access to the North Shore (Meyer 2005).

The recommendations of the 1909 Royal Commission have had a major influence on the morphology of the city, the most notable of which being the electrification of the rail network which sent the metropolis out like fingers along the rail lines creating a linear city that can still be witnessed, in part, today. The plan also managed to achieve an unquantifiable goal, to instill a sense of civic pride in the inhabitants of Sydney. This sense of civic pride is still evident, even in today's metropolis of 4.3 million people, almost ten times its size in 1909.

The Royal Commission was, despite its good intentions, too CBD-centric and transport oriented and as a result the plan drew criticism from planners in later years. The County of Cumberland Council in particular, criticised the plan for proposing only “a new layout of streets and monumental buildings, imposing vistas and decorative parks ... Sydney was to look magnificent while the problems of economic and efficient grouping were all untouched” (County of Cumberland Plan 1948 p.8). However, at this point in Sydney's evolution it remains to be seen whether the planners of the future will learn from the plans of the past.





# CHAPTER THREE

THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND PLAN 1948

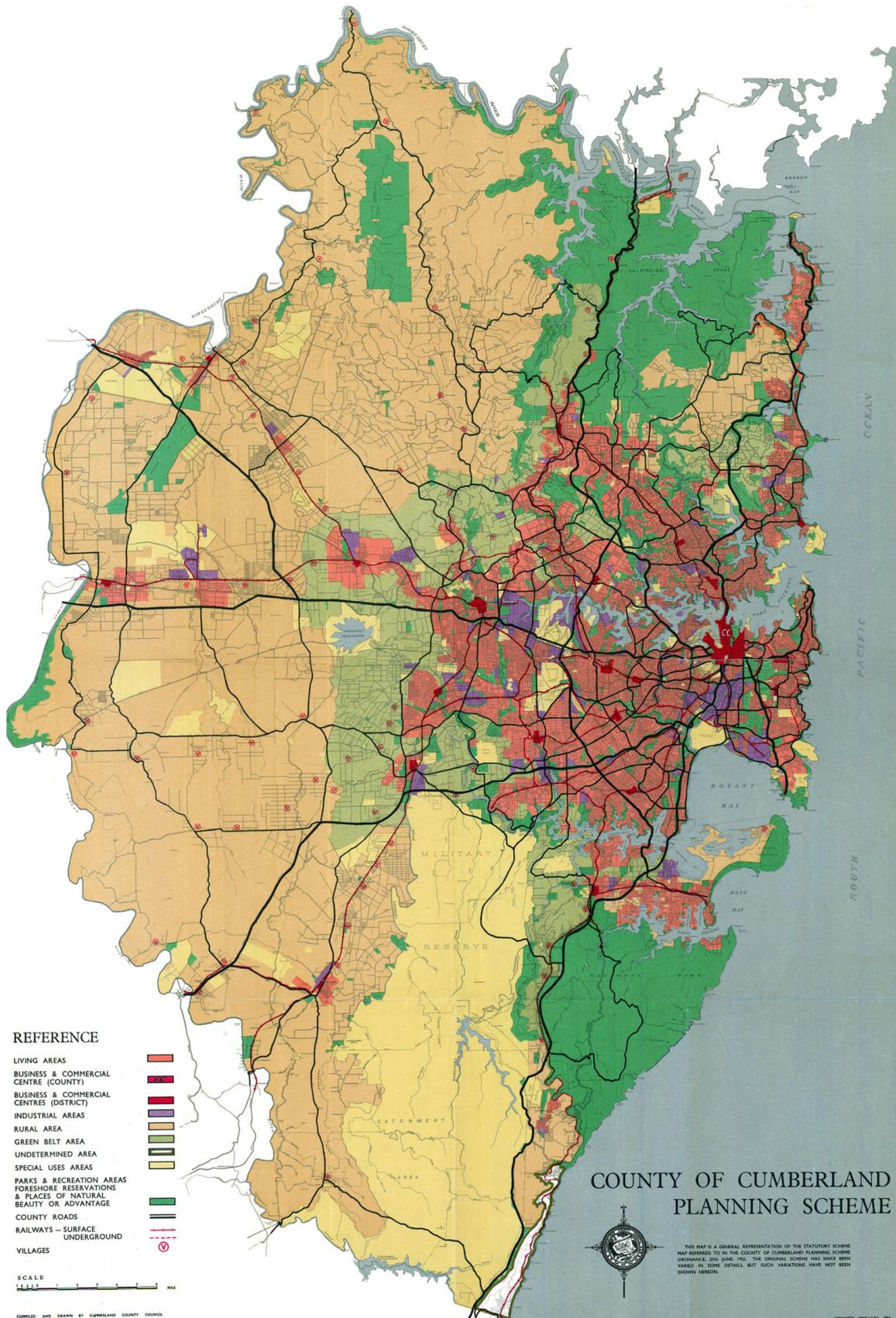
In 1945 the McKell Government introduced Part XIA in to the Local Government Act. Part XIA referred specifically to Town and Country Planning Schemes and was instituted to allow local governments to devise their own planning schemes and policies. The Act also called for the creation of an organisation to preside over the regional planning for Sydney. To achieve this task the State Government established the County of Cumberland Council which incorporated the 41 Local Government Areas within the County (Ashton 2003).

The County of Cumberland Council was tasked with addressing the problems which had arisen from the rapid development of the County. These key problems were nominated as; Over-centralisation and congestion of industry; congested and confused traffic; slum housing; conflicting land uses; residential sprawl; infrastructure requirements; and destruction of the natural beauty of the County. The Council was given three years to prepare the plan and to unite the State and Local Governments' planning policies under a regional planning scheme (County of Cumberland Council 1949). The Cumberland County Planning Scheme of 1948 describes itself as “much more than a collection of plans ... It is a democratic instrument for the betterment of our daily lives” (County of Cumberland Council 1948 p. xv).

The planning of the County of Cumberland supposedly had a “background of futility and defeat” and after 160 years of “not planning” it had many problems and issues to address. Many metropolitan plans are seen as a reactive strategy necessary to correct the wrongs of past growth. The County of Cumberland plan defines itself as a reactive plan, necessary only to curb the ugliness of Sydney. The plan states that if the growth of the County had been adequately managed previously that a planning scheme would “not now be necessary” (County of Cumberland Council 1948). However, the plan is not only a reactive strategy, but also a proactive movement which employs a number of key objectives to promote the wellbeing of the County in to the future.

Figure 3.1 shows the County of Cumberland Planning Scheme.

Figure 3.1



Source: Cumberland County Council, 1948

To address the problems of the last 160 years of “not planning” the County of Cumberland plan was formulated based on 3 simple principles. That the solution should include;

- A planned central city of determined size;
- Dispersal of overspill from central areas to dispersal centres; and
- Development of satellite towns.

The Plan states that by dispersing the population and industry away from the core it would not only alleviate the problems of congestion within the core but also allow employees to live near where they worked and to capitalise on the cheaper land of the periphery (County of Cumberland Council 1948). This was Sydney’s first notion towards decentralisation and the formation of a multi-centred city.

With regards to the aim of this thesis there were a number of principles of the Plan which pertained to the designation of new growth areas, the provision of regional open space and the hierarchy of centres within the County.

The impending expansion of the County’s population by 550,000 people led to the designation of the County’s proposed living areas. The growth

of the County was to be predominantly absorbed by what were then, the outer-ring suburbs of Warringah, Sutherland, Ku-Ring-Gai, Ryde, Ermington, Dundas and Hurtsville. The remainder of the growth and the overspill from dispersal were to be accommodated in the rural satellites of St Marys, Penrith, Blacktown, Campbelltown, Windsor, Richmond and Riverstone (County of Cumberland Council 1949).

The Plan sought to capitalise on the natural elements of the County by recognising the various gorges and waterways of the region not as constraints, but opportunities to provide for public open space and as a means of creating district identities. This network of open space would also serve as the outlet of major roads and future expansion of transport infrastructure. The inner web of open space was to be linked to a “girdle of rural open space” around the periphery of the urban districts. The Green Belt was to provide the urban population ready access to areas for passive and active recreation (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The Plan also states that the provision should be made for the “establishment of large urban and rural centres” to supplement the role of the CBD. These centres were to provide for local and district level services, attractions and facilities to aid in the dispersal of population and industry from the CBD. The Plan also suggests that these centres could provide for a choice of employment and labour to the workers of the County. These centres were to be strongly linked by a transport network so that the dispersal of employment could match the dispersal of the workforce (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

## NEW GROWTH AREAS



The designation of new growth areas within the County of Cumberland has been “fixed” by the proposal of establishing the Green Belt of rural lands around the urban districts (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The Plan states that the population of the County is projected to increase by 550,000 over the next 25 to 30 years. However, the Plan concedes that the policy of slum clearance would result in 15% less housing capacity in the inner-suburbs. It is projected that slight infilling and redevelopment of the stable built-up areas can accommodate only 5% of the increased population, resulting in the requirement to house approximately 600,000 people in the new growth areas.

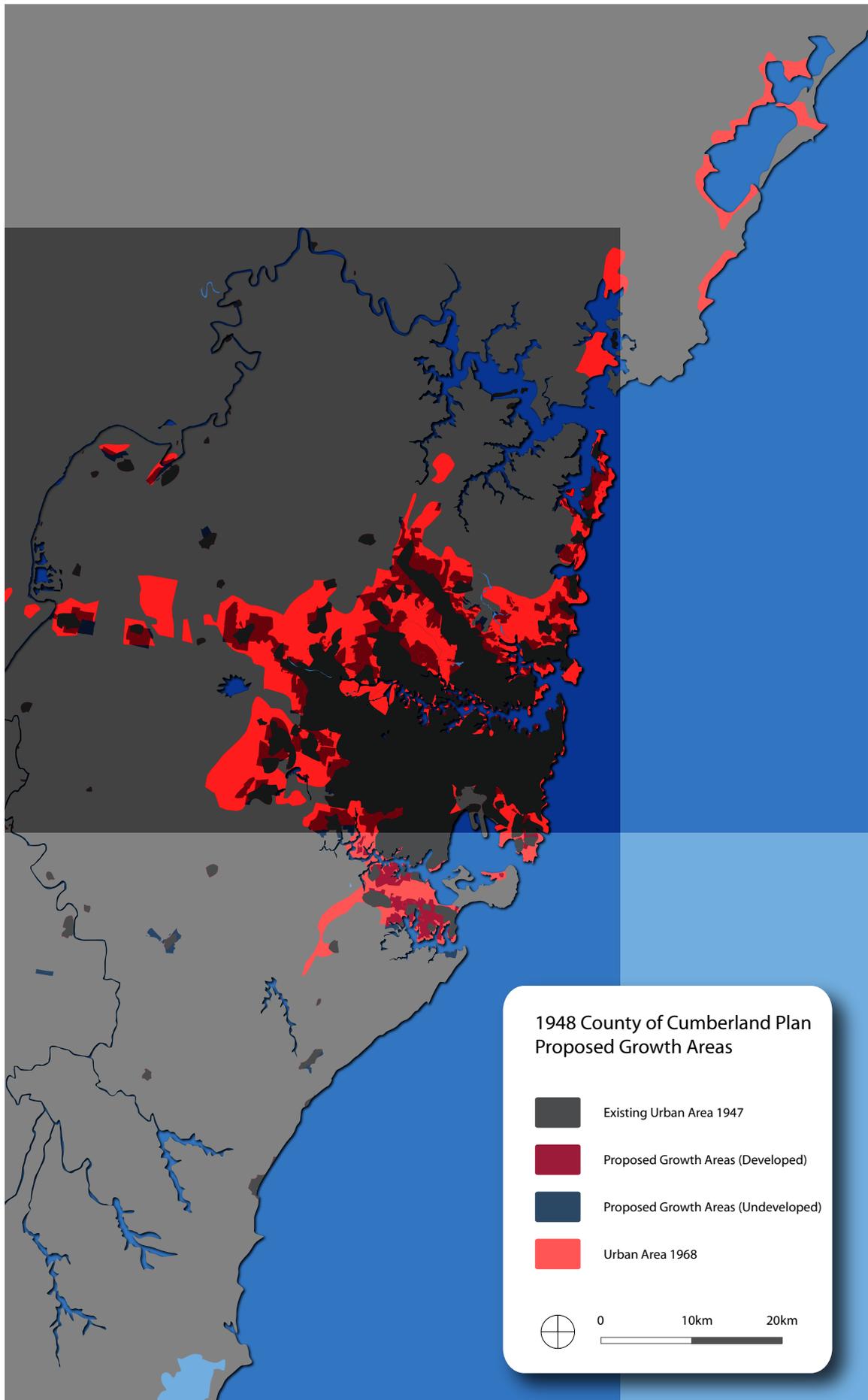
It was proposed that the expansion could be accommodated in the as yet undeveloped or underdeveloped areas of Warringah, Sutherland, Kuring-Gai, Ryde, Ermington, Dundas and Hurtsville. Any overspill of the additional 600,000 people that could not be housed within the urban districts were to be decanted to the rural satellite towns of St Marys, Penrith, Blacktown, Campbelltown, Windsor, Richmond and Riverstone.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the proposed growth areas of the County of Cumberland Plan. Grey is used to show the existing urban footprint of Sydney in 1947. Dark red denotes the proposed new growth areas of the Plan which had been developed by 1968. Blue has been used to illustrate

the proposed new growth areas of the Plan which were not developed by 1968. Pink has been used to show the actual urban area of Sydney in 1968.



Figure 3.2



Source: Abercrombie 2008

As can be seen in Figure 3.2, the County of Cumberland Plan successfully allocated new growth areas that were both desirable and suitable for the County's expansion. Approximately 95% of the new growth areas designated within the plan had been developed by 1968, largely in the areas of; Warringah and Pittwater in the north east; Hornsby and Kuring-Gai in the north; Dundas, Castle Hill and Lower Baulkham Hills in the north west; Blacktown, St Marys and Penrith in the west; Fairfield and Bankstown in the south west; and Sutherland in the south.

Of the approximately 5% of new growth areas designated within the County of Cumberland Plan which were not developed by 1968, they are wholly made up of areas on the periphery of the County. The satellites account for the vast majority of the 5% of growth areas not developed by 1968, largely in the towns of Riverstone, Windsor, Richmond, Penrith and Campbelltown. The designated growth areas surround the satellites of both Blacktown and St Marys were wholly developed by 1968.

Small pockets of undeveloped growth areas were retained within the urban districts such as; Ingleside to the north east; Killara East and North Hornsby to the north; and the Moorebank area to the south west.

What Figure 3.2 illustrates quite clearly is the land that was required in addition to that proposed by the County of Cumberland Plan. The swathes of pink within figure 3.2 demonstrate just how constrained the Plan was and how awry the projections for land requirements were.

The largest areas of growth which occurred up to 1968 and were not accommodated for within the County of Cumberland Plan were; Beacon Hill, Frenchs Forest, Forestville, Belrose and Killarney Heights in the north east; North Rocks, Carlingford, Pennant Hills and Cherrybrook in the north; Seven Hills, Toongabbie and Winston Hills in the north west; Greystanes and Mt Druitt in the west; West Cabramatta and Bonnyrigg in the south west; and Miranda, Caringbah and Kirrawee to the south.

The areas of urban growth to the far north around Gosford and Wyong were beyond the jurisdiction of the County of Cumberland Council and hence the plan did not apply to these regions.

The Plan notes that the three major features of the regional open space proposal are;

- a district open space system;
- a County green belt; and
- additional scenic areas, including foreshore reservations.

The County of Cumberland Plan refers to open space as not only acting as areas of designated active or passive recreation but also as a buffer between land uses, such as segregating housing from factories and roads from buildings (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The Plan also refers to the recent reduction in the working hours expected of the population and predicts that this will lead to a great resurgence in the utilisation of public open spaces (County of Cumberland Council 1948). The provision of vast areas of regional open space is surely one of the most ambitious elements of the plan.

The Plan seeks to correct the wrongs of the previous 160 years of laissez-faire planning, during which the widespread development of the Cumberland Plain has been permitted with little or no regard to

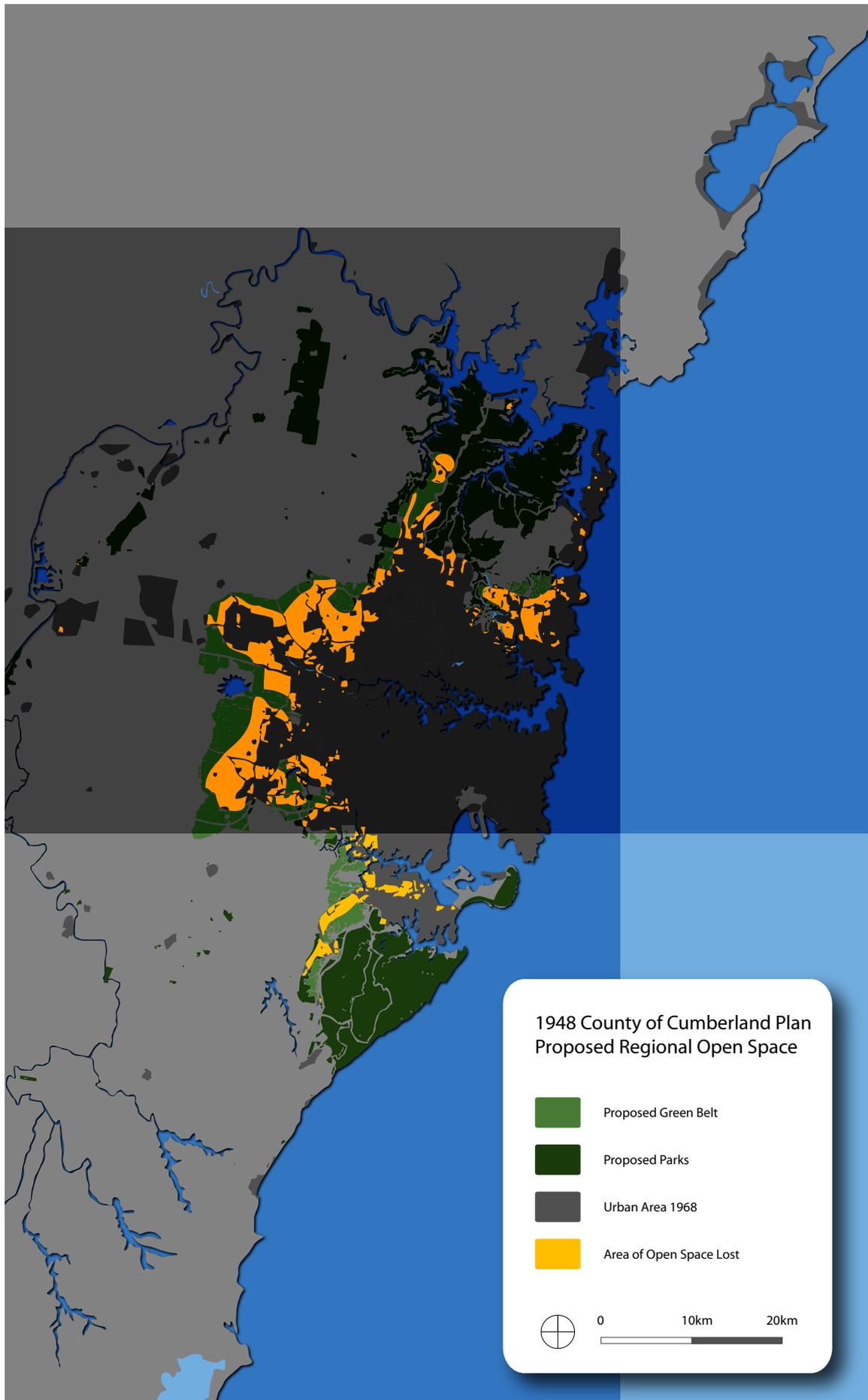
the adequate reservation of public open space (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The Plan attempts to capitalise on the natural setting of the County and link these areas of intrinsic beauty together by networks of open space. The inner web of green areas is to serve as the public open space for the urban districts of the inner area. Green fingers extend along valleys and gorges, rivers and waterways and link either to each other or to the proposed Green Belt encircling the urban area. The district open space system is not only to provide much needed recreation and leisure areas for the population but would also aid in the establishment of individual identities for the districts (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The Green Belt serves as a link between the proposed reservations, National Parks and areas of scenic beauty within the County. The Plan states that the exact location of the Green Belt is fixed by the designed size of the metropolis. This is in direct contradiction to the Plan's statement regarding the designation of new growth areas as being fixed by the Green Belt (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

Figure 3.3 illustrates the designated open space areas of the County of Cumberland Plan. Light green has been used to denote the proposed Green Belt of the County. Dark Green is used to show the proposed and existing parks. Grey has been used to show the actual urban footprint in 1968. Yellow illustrates the area of lost open space, the overlap between the proposed Green Belt and the actual urban area of 1968.

Figure 3.3



Source: Abercrombie 2008

What can be seen quite clearly in Figure 3.3 is that one of the major principles of the County of Cumberland Plan, to constrain the growth of the urban area to within the Green Belt, was largely successful. There are very few instances of the expansion of the urban area breaking out beyond the Green Belt and the plan should be commended for this.

However, constraining the urban footprint of the County within the “girdle of rural open space” came at the expense of the Green Belt itself. Figure 3.3 quite clearly illustrates that the areas in yellow have effectively been lost to urban development. The major areas of this encroachment into the green belt coincide with the areas of urban expansion outside of the designated growth areas of the Plan. These areas are primarily; Beacon Hill, Frenchs Forest, Forestville, Belrose in the north east; North Rocks, Carlingford, Pennant Hills and Cherrybrook in the north; Seven Hills, Toongabbie and Lower Baulkham Hills in the north west; Greystanes in the west; West Cabramatta and Bonnyrigg in the south west; and Heathcote, Engadine and Woronora to the south.

Admirably very little, if any, loss of proposed park is evident through the analysis of Figure 3.3

The County of Cumberland Plan has proposed a series of centres to serve the expanding metropolis. The Plan has defined the hierarchy of centres for which it has planned.

- Neighbourhood Centres – to provide for the day to day needs of a residential neighbourhood
- District Centres – to serve as focal points for commercial, social and cultural resources and to provide services similar to that of the city centre
- The County Centre – the CBD of Sydney which is to provide the mega-regional facilities and services and continue to function as the principle centre of the County.

(adapted from County of Cumberland Council 1948).

This analysis will deal primarily with the designation of District Centres and the County Centre itself.

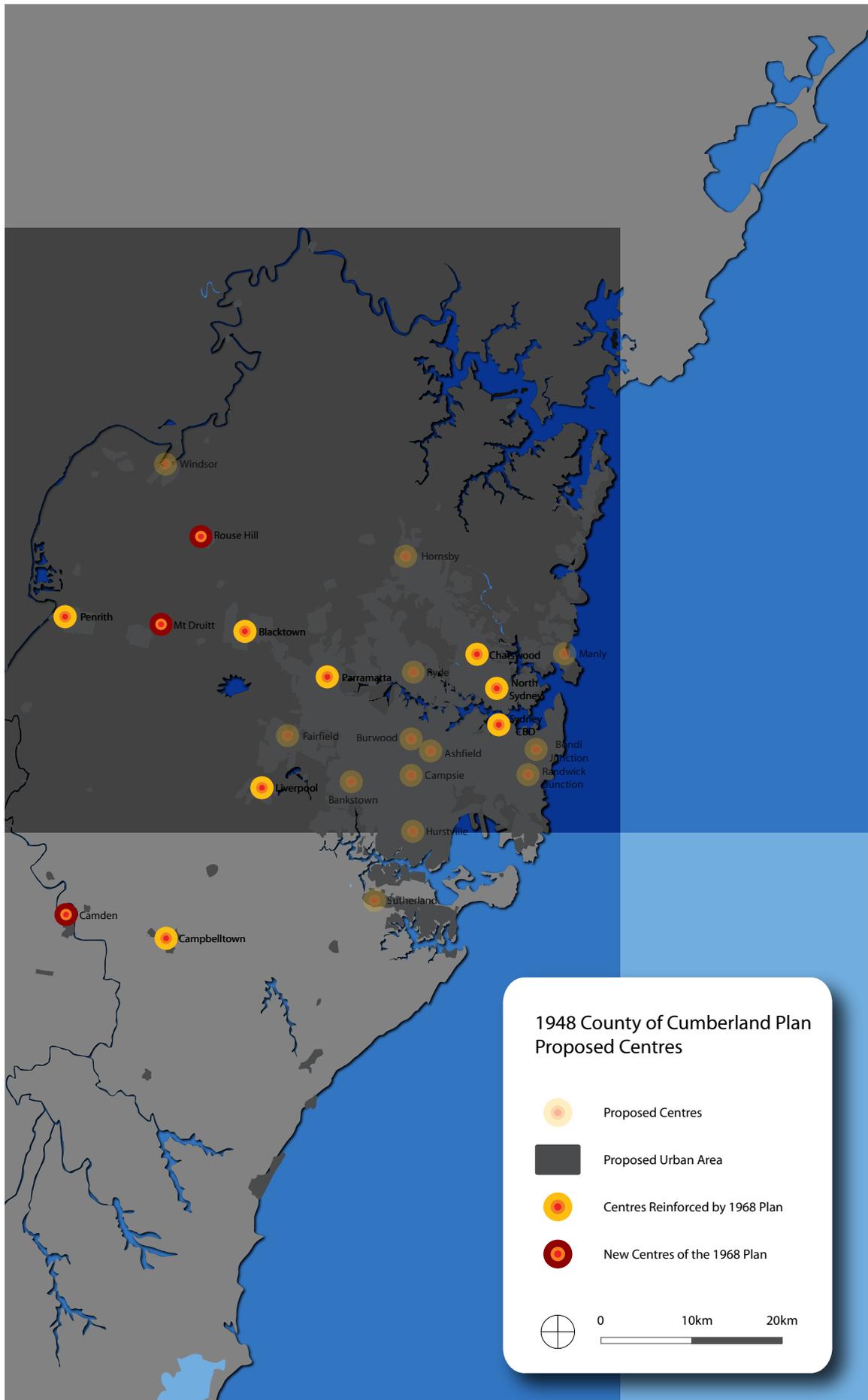
The proposal for the development of a structured centres hierarchy is to support the decentralisation of the population and employment in the core. To reinforce the decentralisation policy the County has sought

to provide the district populations with convenient access to first class shops, cinemas, restaurants, professional and commercial offices and local government buildings. It is hoped that the location and distribution of these twenty centres will ease congestion in the central area and increase self-containment of the districts and satellites of the County (Winston 1957).

The Plan seeks to establish twenty of these district centres throughout the urban districts and the satellite towns. These twenty district centres are to be located at Windsor, Hornsby, Penrith, Blacktown, Parramatta, Ryde, Chatswood, Manly, North Sydney, Fairfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Bondi Junction, Randwick Junction, Liverpool, Bankstown, Campsie, Hurstville, Sutherland and Campbelltown.

Figure 3.4 illustrates the centres of the County of Cumberland Plan. The grey area demonstrates the proposed urban footprint of the County of Cumberland Plan. In this instance the light yellow symbol has been used to denote those centres which were included in the County of Cumberland Plan but were not reinforced by inclusion in the Sydney Region Outline Plan of 1968. The bright yellow symbol has been used to show those centres which were nominated in the County of Cumberland Plan and were reinforced by their inclusion in the Sydney Region Outline Plan. The red symbol illustrates centres which were not nominated in the County of Cumberland Plan but which were included in the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

Figure 3.4



Source: Abercrombie 2008

By analysing the light yellow symbols within Figure 3.4 it can be seen that the dispersed locations of the planned centres directly accord with the proposed urban area of the County of Cumberland Plan. Each of the centres is contained within an proposed area of urban development and they are adequately spaced and located so that each serves its own districts.

Figure 3.4 also clearly shows the differences between the County of Cumberland Plan and the Sydney Region Outline Plan with respect to the provision of centres. The bright yellow symbols show that only the centres of Penrith, Blacktown, Parramatta, Chatswood, North Sydney, Sydney CBD, Liverpool and Campbelltown have been reinforced by their inclusion in the Sydney Region Outline Plan. Therefore, the centres of Windsor, Hornsby, Manly, Ryde, Fairfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Bondi Junction, Randwick Junction, Bankstown, Campsie, Hurstville and Sutherland have effectively been abandoned, or reclassified, by the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

Interestingly Figure 3.4 also shows in red the centres which the County of Cumberland Plan did not nominate, but which have been incorporated into the Sydney Region Outline Plan. Mt Druitt and Camden have been nominated as centres within the Sydney Region Outline Plan despite not being included in the County of Cumberland Plan.

## CONCLUSION



As demonstrated by this analysis, The County of Cumberland Plan had varying degrees of success in implementing its goals and objectives through the period 1948 to 1968.

The Plan must be commended in that the new growth areas for which it planned were almost completely utilised and the satellite towns of Penrith, Campbelltown and St Marys experienced substantial growth.

However, the County of Cumberland Plan had, amongst its successes, a number of shortcomings and flaws. As the above analysis shows, the almost unilateral uptake of the designated growth areas was not as a result of adequate and considered locations and areas, but as a necessity as the County experienced an unexpected demand for growth.

The Plan rested heavily on the population projections of an increase of approximately 550,000 people. In fact between 1947 and 1971 the population of the County increased by 1.3 million, more than twice that which was predicted by the Plan (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

The Plan explicitly states that it should be flexible enough to adapt to any influences beyond the control of the County which may affect the future population, such as Federal migration policies. The Commonwealth dramatically increased its migration program in the late

1950s (Meyer 1993) and the Plan should have, by its own concessions, been able to accommodate the increased population (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

However, despite the far too conservative population projections of the Plan, the County of Cumberland Council refused to adopt its own principle of adapting to change and even resisted direct calls from the Minister for Local Government, Pat Hills, to release more land to accommodate the increased population. This apparent stubbornness to deviate from the original plan would eventually lead to the abolishment of the County of Cumberland Council by the State Government (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

The principle of dispersing the population away from the core was supported by the notion of redeveloping of the sub-standard housing of the inner suburbs. These obsolete areas were designated as being the most suitable for higher density housing. This was not to provide for a more efficient method of housing, as the Plan acknowledges that the population densities within the inner-suburban slums were far greater than those which would be provided for in the redeveloped high-density housing. The plan concedes that this objective would only exacerbate the requirement for land as the displaced slum-dwelling population moved to the fringes in search of cheaper housing (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

At the time of printing, the Plan states that the “clearance of sub-

standard housing for replacement with high-density housing is in progress” (County of Cumberland Council 1948 p. 66). The Plan refers to itself as being in the envious position of having its objectives realised and enacted before the Plan itself has been completed. Thankfully there was never any wholesale demolition of the inner-suburbs carried out and these areas have become gentrified and are now some of the most desirable in the city, such as Paddington and Newtown (Meyer 1993).

However, as can be seen from figure 3.2 and figure 3.3 the plan did not react to the increase in population growth or to the overspill from the redeveloped inner-suburban areas and as a result the urban area grew far beyond that which was proposed in the plan and decimated the Green Belt.

The satellites beyond the rural lands were to function as self-contained towns, with a commercial centre, industrial employment areas and cultural and social facilities. The plan has designated that seven satellites of St Marys, Penrith, Blacktown, Campbelltown, Windsor, Richmond and Riverstone be established or reinforced and does not rule out the possibility of providing for new satellites to be located. The Plan states that should an “unprecedented increase in population” take place then new satellites could certainly be provided for, however, to plan for this now would cause a lack of balance between the County and the rest of the State. The satellites themselves experienced unprecedented growth, expanding far beyond the growth areas of the Cumberland Plan and in the case of north St Marys, creating a whole new growth area to the

north. If the Plan had been able to provide for additional satellites, figure 3.2 clearly shows that they were indeed required.

The plan attempts to guide Federal and State policies by suggesting that “it is better policy to strengthen existing towns” (County of Cumberland Council 1948 p. 79). What the Plan has failed to acknowledge is that the Green Belt does not act as the city limits. The satellite towns should be seen as a further extension of the County and that providing for new satellites was indeed strengthening the County as a whole.

The Green Belt was an admirable and romantic notion of the County of Cumberland Council. The plan to incorporate a ring of public open space which would encircle the inner areas of Sydney, linking together Ku-Ring-gai Chase National Park, the Royal National Park and a number of military reserves and water catchment areas was surely one of the most ambitious and large-scale proposals of the plan. The actual terminology itself is misleading in that the Green Belt within the County of Cumberland Planning Ordinance Scheme refers only to the privately owned two-hectare-minimum lots (Cumberland County Council 1963). The confusion between what had been designated as public open space and privately owned rural land may have aided in the encroachment of the population into the Green Belt of the Plan.

The Council has also failed to acknowledge that the growth of the County of Cumberland must not be constrained if the economic prosperity of the State and indeed the Nation is to be secured. The Plan alludes to the

fact that Sydney is the most important port in the Southern Hemisphere and that the city provides almost one third of the nation's industrial employment and serves as the principal labour source for Australia (County of Cumberland Council 1948).

The decimation of the Green Belt was also aided by the fact that the Commonwealth Government failed to provide the funding to acquire land within the belt to be preserved as public open space. This acquisition of the land for public purposes had been a long standing intention of the Plan (Toon 2006).

The naivety of the Cumberland Council is evident in the report titled Sydney's Green Belt produced by the council in August of 1963 which, just 5 years prior to the release of the Sydney Region Outline Plan, states that the increase of Sydney's population is in line with the "broad conception" laid down in the Cumberland Plan. Furthermore, the Council states that the Green Belt is not a harness to Sydney's exuberant growth and that the preservation of the Green Belt is compatible with the current expansion of the city. The council does however, concede that encroachment into the Green Belt has occurred but it should be seen as a modification to the original plan rather than discarding it completely. (Cumberland County Council 1963 p.13).

Nevertheless the County of Cumberland Plan was Sydney's first true metropolitan strategy and it has played an integral role in the evolution of Sydney long beyond its proposed lifespan.



# CHAPTER FOUR

SYDNEY REGION OUTLINE PLAN 1968

Following the abolishment of the County of Cumberland Council the State Government created a new authoritative entity to oversee the, now 40, Local Government Areas of Sydney and to preside over a coordinated approach to planning for the Greater Sydney Region. In 1964 the State Planning Authority was established as a State Government body and, unlike the County of Cumberland Council, was subject to the control and direction of the Minister (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

The Authority was tasked with undertaking a review of the County of Cumberland Plan in the light of the shift in the Region's development (De Marco and Spearritt 1988). This review was undertaken in 1967 and rather presumptuously titled "Sydney Region: Growth and Change – Prelude to a Plan". The report does allude to the fact that the County of Cumberland Plan was a guide to the development of the last 20 years and that the room for growth within that plan had largely been filled. However, rather than review and recommend amendments to the County of Cumberland Plan, the Chairman of the State Planning Authority, Nigel Ashton, decided that "a new plan is required to deal with further growth to the end of the century" (State Planning Authority, 1967, p.5).

As a comprehensive review of the 1948 County of Cumberland Plan, the report largely failed. However, as a prelude to a plan, the report served as an amazingly detailed document and as a solid foundation for the

formation of the Sydney Region Outline Plan in 1968.

The Sydney Region Outline Plan embraced the economic prosperity of Sydney and realised the importance of the regional economy to the nation (De Marco and Spearritt 1988). The Plan itself has recognised the shift in the world economy. The phenomenon of globalisation, led by technological advances and fast air travel, was breaking down the historical global barriers of commerce and trade and Sydney was becoming increasingly connected to the world (State Planning Authority 1968).

The Plan reveals that Sydney had experienced a growth of 1 million people over 20 years from 1948 to 1968 (double that predicted by the County of Cumberland Plan) and predicts that Sydney is likely to add an additional 2.75 million people over the 30 year period from 1970 to 2000 (State Planning Authority 1968).

The Sydney Region Outline Plan was tasked with addressing the issues arising from the last 20 years of constrained growth. It states that “a new strategic plan is needed” and that in response to the unexpected population growth decrees that “new areas must be opened up for industrial and residential development on a major scale as soon as possible” (State Planning Authority 1968 p.1).

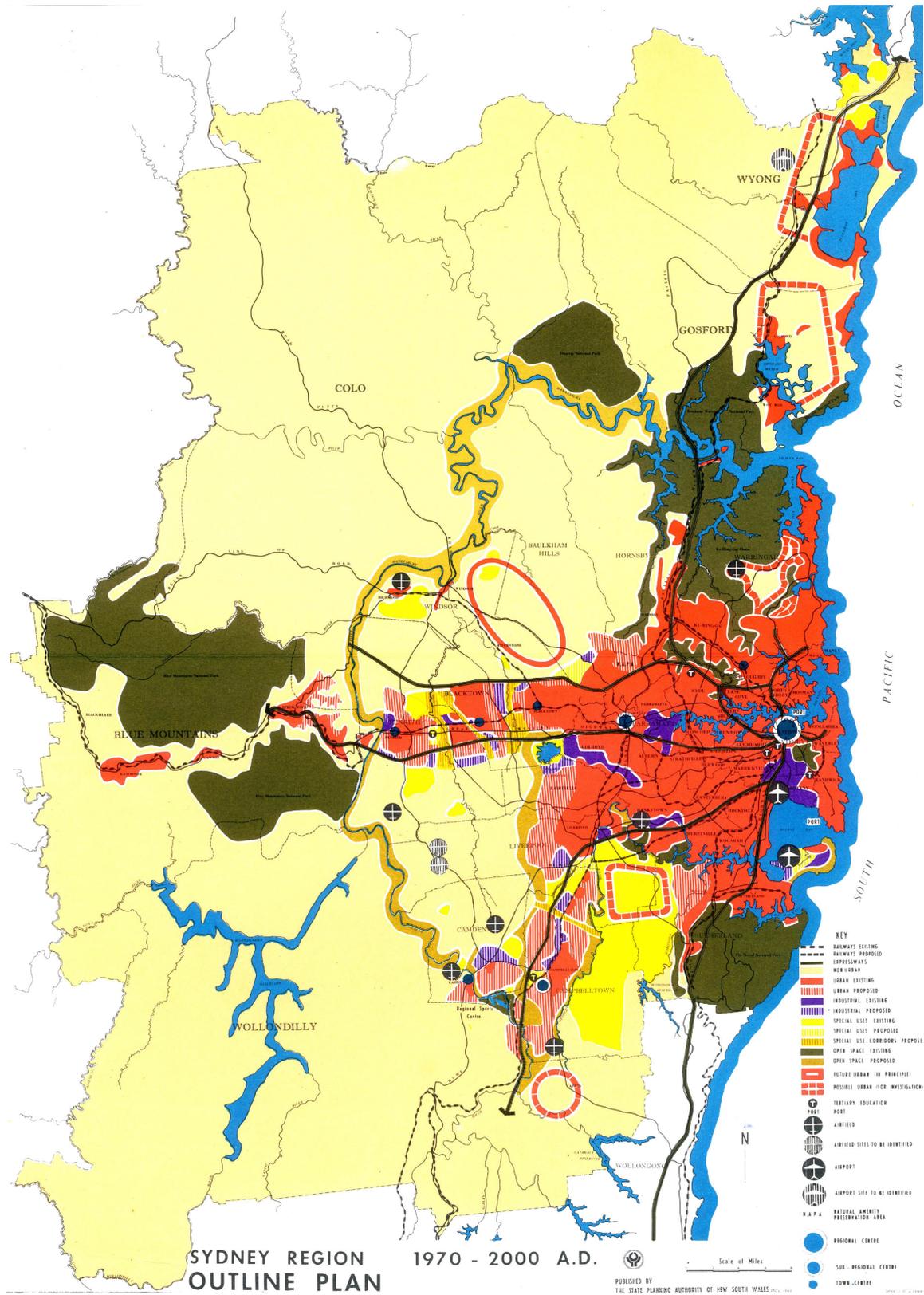
The Plan was to promote and guide development through plans and policies in support of a broad overarching strategy. It designates that

the Plan is indeed a broad brush approach and that the detailed local planning is to be undertaken by the local councils. It was felt that delegating this responsibility to the local councils would aid in garnering the support of the councils for the Plan and also to actively involve them in the planning for Sydney's future (State Planning Authority 1968).

The Sydney Region Outline Plan itself comprised of the outline plan map, a supporting principles diagram for the Greater Metropolitan Region, a principles diagram specifically for Sydney and a phasing plan to detail the priority and order of development. It was a comprehensive suite of documents that were intended to be read and viewed in conjunction with each other (State Planning Authority 1968).

Figure 4.1 shows the Sydney Region Outline Plan

Figure 4.1



Source: Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968

The key objectives of the Sydney Region Outline Plan were developed in an attempt to guide and promote the development of the Sydney Region over the 30 years from 1970 to 2000. The key objectives of the Plan are that;

- development of Sydney should be integrated with the development of the State;
- Sydney should be reinforced as Australia's most prominent city;
- Sydney–Newcastle–Wollongong should be considered as a single entity;
- ample industrial land should be made available;
- a higher quality of urban design and landscaping should be encouraged;
- the city centre needs a comprehensive plan;
- greater investment in public infrastructure is required;
- employment should be more evenly distributed throughout the

Region;

- flexibility of the plan is imperative; and
- long-term growth must be accommodated.

(appropriated from the State Planning Authority 1968)

These key objectives were supported by the underlying principles of the plan. These seven principles were devised to detail the specific ideologies of the Plan. Three of these principles relate specifically to the objectives of this thesis.

Principle 3 of the Plan pertains to the designation of new growth areas. The principle details a proposal to develop new cities, each with an individual identity and catering for the broadest range of employment and social opportunities. These new urban areas are to be increasingly self-contained to minimise the journey to work and instil a sense of identity within the community (State Planning Authority 1968).

Underlying principle 5 relates to the provision of regional open space and special use corridors. These corridors are to serve a dual purpose, in protecting the possibility of expansion for critical infrastructure across the Region and to also provide land for recreational purposes. The new urban growth areas are to be separated by these open space corridors to break up the continuous stretch of the suburbs and to promote a civic

consciousness (State Planning Authority 1968).

The seventh underlying principle of the Plan relates to the hierarchy and location of centres within Sydney. The Plan cites that the single greatest problem in the Region is the concentration of employment in the city centre. The Plan seeks to encourage the development of a limited number of large commercial centres to ease the congestion associated with the concentration within the city centre. These centres are to provide for substantial employment opportunities, in particular office employment, to lift some of the burden from the city centre in being the primary provider of commercial floorspace (State Planning Authority 1968).

## NEW GROWTH AREAS



The State Planning Authority states that for the successful future development of Sydney the plan needs to begin with the people. To maintain the current standard of living a high level of coordination between public and private development is required (State Planning Authority 1968).

The designation of new growth areas in the Plan are based largely on the population projections through to 2000. The Plan suggests that Sydney is expected to grow from the 2.7 million people of 1968 to 5.5 million by 2000, an increase of approximate 2.8 million people (State Planning Authority 1968).

To accommodate this expected explosion of population the Plan has sought to designate a number of new growth areas within the Greater Metropolitan Region. The Plan nominates the Gosford–Wyong area as being capable of accommodating a major expansion to the north of Sydney and this development would also strengthen the link with Newcastle.

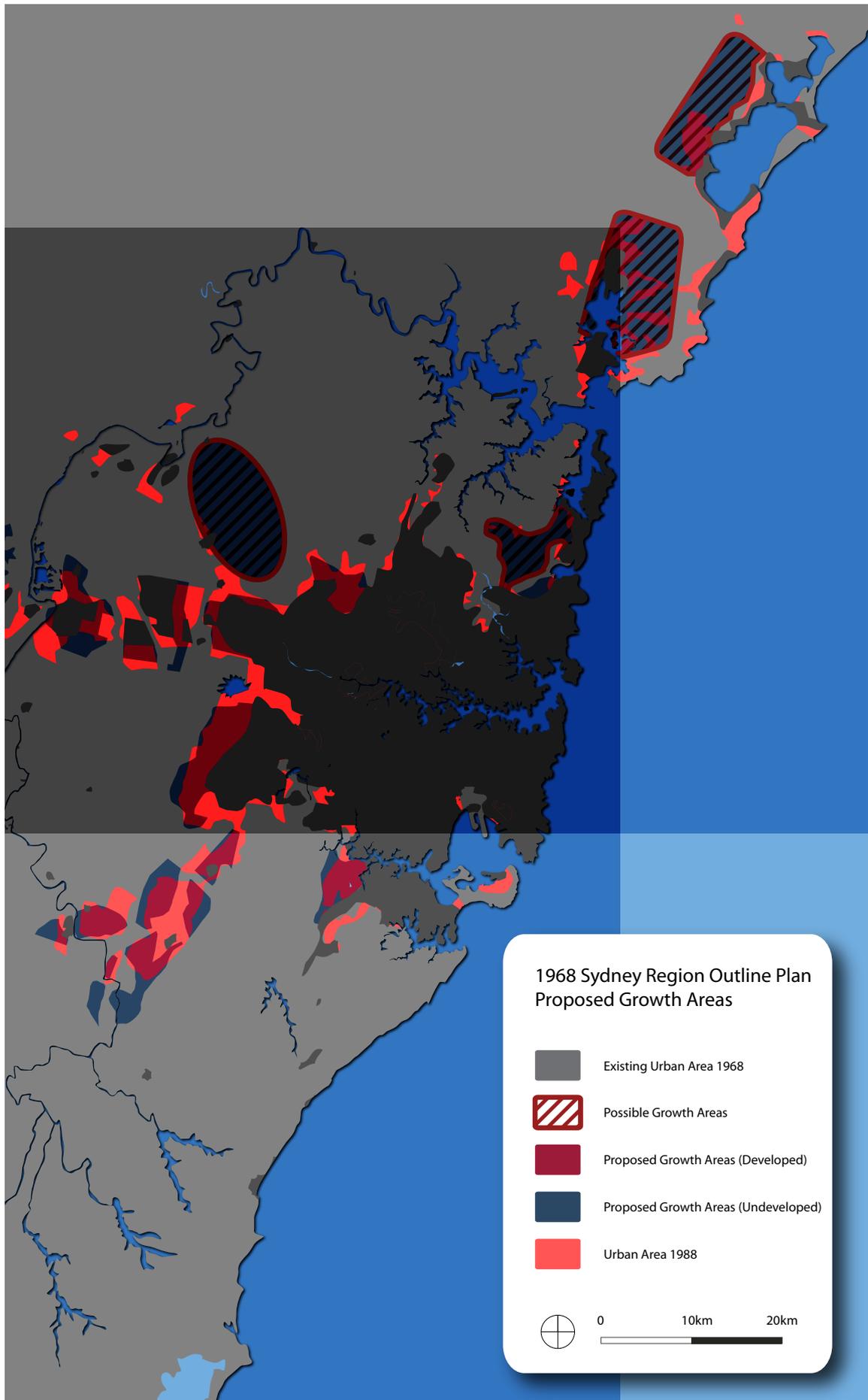
The Plan also proposes a number of growth areas within the traditional city limits such as; Menai, capable of housing 40,000 additional people; the South West Sector, a large growth area incorporating two major cities of Campbelltown and Camden and housing approximately

460,000 people; areas around Hoxton Park–Fairfield are proposed to accommodate an additional 160,000 people; the West Sector incorporates a large expanse of land from Prospect Reservoir westwards to The Blue Mountains and is expected to accommodate 360,000 people in total; the North West Sector encompasses the areas of Castle Hill through to Rouse Hill and Maralya and it is proposed to house a combined total of 410,000 people; and the area in the north of Warringah is also earmarked to house approximately 120,000 more people.

These figures were a direct result of the identification of land as suitable for urban development by the preceding Prelude to a Plan report. The constraints mapping undertaken during the preparation of the report identified areas of land which were; deemed too rough to develop; liable to flooding; were part of the water catchment network; major parks; or reserved for special uses. This study set the foundation for the Sydney Region Outline Plan to designate new growth areas in the land identified as suitable for development by the Prelude to a Plan (State Planning Authority 1967).

Figure 4.2 illustrates the proposed growth areas of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. Grey is used to show the existing urban footprint of Sydney in 1968. Dark red denotes the proposed new growth areas of the Plan which had been developed by 1988. Blue has been used to illustrate the proposed new growth areas of the Plan which were not developed by 1988. Pink shows the actual urban area of Sydney in 1988.

Figure 4.2



Source: Abercrombie 2008

As can be seen in dark red within Figure 4.2, the Sydney Region Outline Plan successfully allocated new growth areas to those areas which had deemed as being suitable for urban development by the Prelude to a Plan. Large pockets of the growth areas were developed in areas such as; Castle Hill and Baulkham Hills in the north; North Penrith, St Clair and Erskine Park in the west; Bossley Park, Edensor Park, Bonnyrigg, Hinchinbrook, Hoxton Park and Prestons in the inner south west; Narellan, Mt Annan, Glen Alpine, Minto and Lumeah in the outer south west; and Menai in the south. In addition to the metropolitan growth areas, large tracts of the Gosford–Wyong growth areas had also been developed by 1988.

Of the remaining new growth areas designated within the Sydney Region Outline Plan (shown in blue) which were not developed by 1988 we can see that the majority of them are in the far reaches of the Region. Areas such as; North Wyong and North East Gosford in the north; the entire North West Sector; Cranebrook and Orchard Hills in the west; and West Camden, Menangle, Denham Court and Catherine Fields in the south west.

Small pockets of undeveloped growth areas were retained within the urban districts such as; Ingleside and Oxford Falls in the north; and Alfords Point and Lucas Heights in the south.

What Figure 4.2 illustrates quite clearly is the land that was required in addition to that proposed by the Sydney Region Outline Plan. The areas

of pink are used to demonstrate growth between 1968 and 1988 which occurred outside of the designated growth areas of the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

The largest areas of growth which occurred up to 1988 and were not accommodated for within the Sydney Region Outline were; Parklea, Acacia Gardens and Glenwood in the north west; Glendenning, North St Marys, South Penrith and Emu Plains to the west; Greystanes, Merrylands, Guilford and Casula in the inner south west; and Ingleburn, Minto and Macquarie Fields in the outer south west.

The Plan refers to a number of areas of consideration that were taken in to account in devising the regional open space provisions of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. These considerations include;

- the visual contribution of regional open space;
- the requirement for large scale recreation areas;
- providing water areas and access to foreshores and beaches; and
- providing movement corridors to serve as areas for locating critical public infrastructure and major arterial transport networks.

(appropriated from the State Planning Authority 1968)

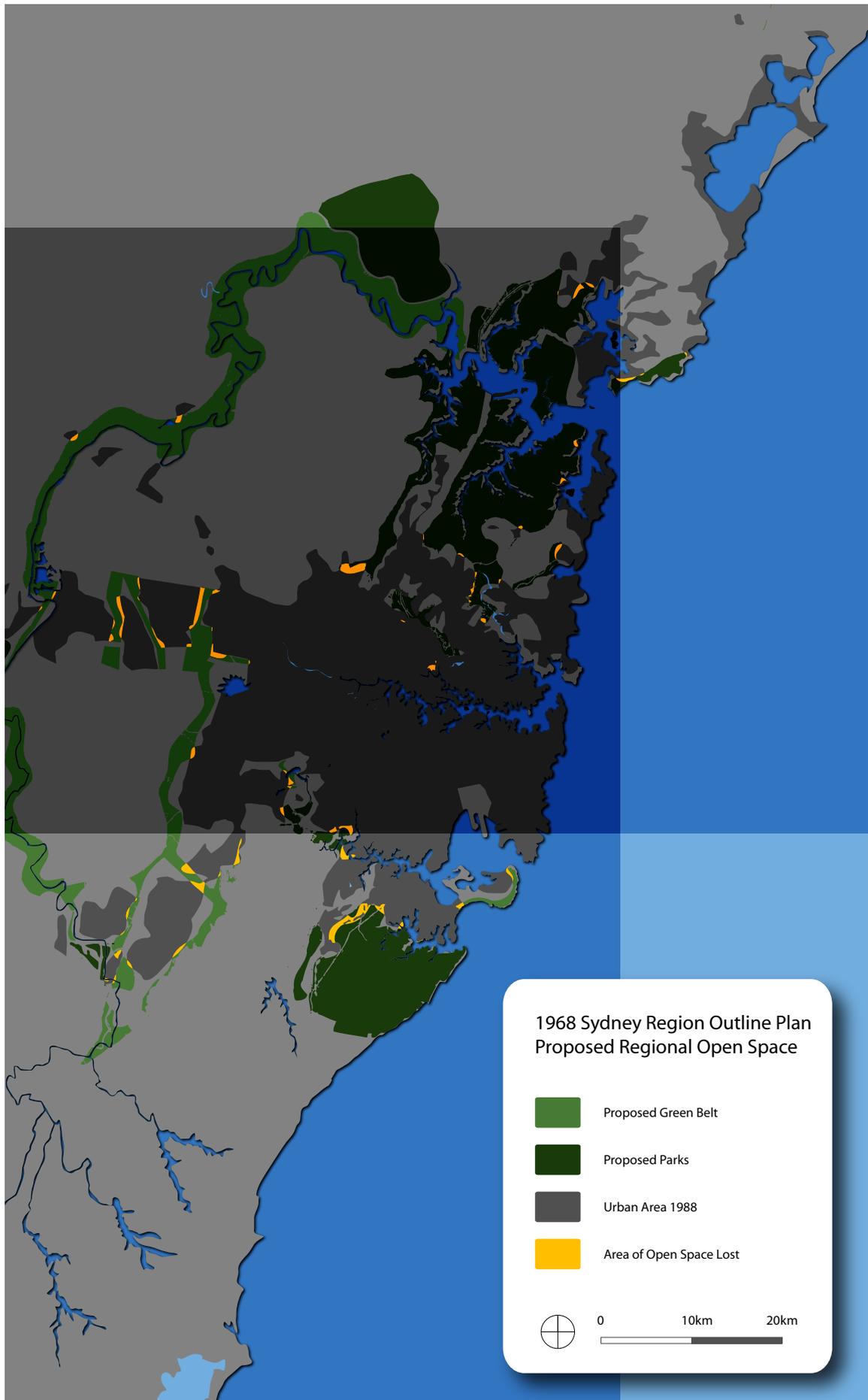
The Plan has suggested that building upon these matters for consideration were the fundamental requirements of open space driven by factors such as; population growth; increased disposable income; increase in leisure time; and an increasingly mobility of the population through the proliferation of the motor vehicle.

The Sydney Region Outline Plan made provisions for areas of major regional open space and special use corridors which will “make a positive impact upon the urban scene and on recreational opportunities” (State

Planning Authority 1968 p.56).

Figure 4.3 illustrates the designated open space areas of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. In this instance light green has been used to denote the proposed Special Use Corridors of the Plan. Dark Green is used to show the proposed and existing parks. Grey has been used to show the actual urban footprint in 1988. Yellow illustrates the area of lost open space, the overlap between the proposed open space areas and the actual urban area of 1988.

Figure 4.3



Source: Abercrombie 2008

What can be seen quite clearly in Figure 4.3 is that the principles and objectives behind the provision of region open space within the Sydney Region Outline Plan, were largely successful. There are very few instances of the expansion of the urban area encroaching into areas designated for public open space.

However, some slight intrusions into public open space were made by the expanding urban area. Shown in yellow in figure 4.3 we can see that small pockets of public open space were lost in; Cherrybrook in the north; Dean Park, Glendenning and Minchinbury in the west; South Ingleburn and North Minto in the south west; and Loftus and Engadine in the south. Of these minor infractions it seems that Loftus and Engadine intruded in to land either adjacent to, or part of the Royal National Park.

Admirably very little, if any, loss of proposed public open space is evident through the analysis of Figure 4.3

Building on the seventh underlying principle of the Plan, the State Planning Authority sought to instil a hierarchy of urban centres to serve the expanding urban footprint of the Region. These urban centres were to address, what was identified as the single largest problem at the time, the concentration of employment within the city centre.

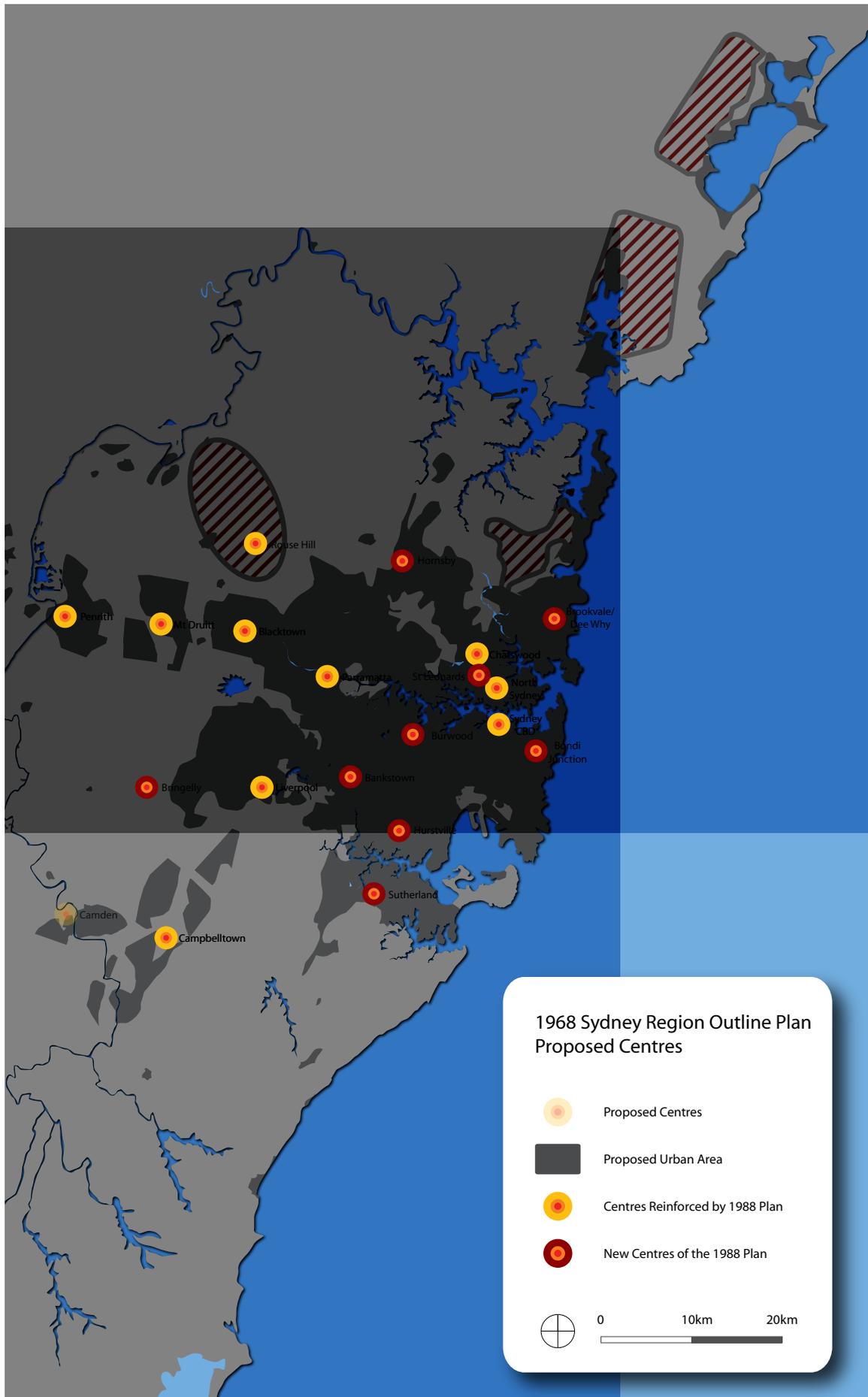
Rather than allocating a large number of centres throughout the metropolitan region in an attempt to ease the burden on the city centre, the plan sought to provide only a select number of major urban centres, thus consolidating the employment and social opportunities they would provide. These centres would share the regional functions with the city centre and provide a balance between providing jobs within easy access for the bulk of the workforce (State Planning Authority 1968).

The centres which were nominated within the Sydney Region Outline Plan were Parramatta, Campbelltown, Blacktown, Mt Druitt, Penrith, Rouse Hill, Chatswood and of course North Sydney and the Sydney CBD.

Figure 4.4 illustrates the centres of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. The grey area demonstrates the proposed urban footprint of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. In this instance the light yellow symbol has been used to denote those centres which were included in the Sydney Region

Outline Plan but were not reinforced by inclusion in the Metropolitan Strategy of 1988. The bright yellow symbol has been used to show those centres which were nominated in the Sydney Region Outline Plan and were reinforced by their inclusion in the Metropolitan Strategy of 1988. The red symbol illustrates centres which were not nominated in the Sydney Region Outline Plan but which were included in the Metropolitan Strategy.

Figure 4.4



Source: Abercrombie 2008

By analysing the light yellow symbols within Figure 4.4 it can be seen that the dispersed locations of the planned centres directly accord with the proposed urban area of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. Each of the centres is contained within an area of proposed urban development and they are adequately spaced and located so that each serves its own catchment. Interestingly though large regions of the urban area are not served by a centre. The Northern Beaches, the upper reaches of the North Shore, the area surrounding Castle Hill, the inner west around Strathfield, Burwood and Ashfield and the entire southern and south eastern reaches of the city are without a centre to provide the regional employment and social opportunities which form a founding principle of the Plan. In particular, the north west growth areas surrounding Castle Hill and Baulkham Hills and the southern growth areas of Menai (as illustrated in figure 4.2) are to be developed without these regional facilities being provided for.

Figure 4.4 also clearly shows the differences between the Sydney Region Outline Plan and the Metropolitan Strategy of 1988 with respect to the provision of centres. The bright yellow symbols show that the centres of Rouse Hill, Penrith, Blacktown, Mt Druiitt, Parramatta, Chatswood, North Sydney, Sydney CBD, Liverpool and Campbelltown have been reinforced by their inclusion in the Metropolitan Strategy. Therefore, only Camden has effectively been abandoned, or reclassified, by the Metropolitan Strategy.

Interestingly Figure 4.4 also shows in red the centres which the Sydney

Region Outline Plan did not nominate, but which have been incorporated into the Metropolitan Strategy of 1988. Hornsby, Brookvale/Dee Why, St Leonards, Burwood, Bondi Junction, Bankstown, Hurstville, Sutherland and Bringelly have been nominated as centres within the Metropolitan Strategy despite not being included in the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

## CONCLUSION



As demonstrated by this analysis the Sydney Region Outline Plan had varying degrees of success in implementing its goals and objectives through the period 1968 to 1988. Granted the plan itself was for a 30 year lifespan through to the year 2000 but as it was superseded in 1988 by the Metropolitan Strategy – Sydney Into Its Third Century, 1988 has been used as the year to evaluate the actual achievements of the Plan against its objectives.

The Plan must be commended in that the open space networks and special use corridors were retained almost exactly as proposed by the Plan. This is no mean feat when you take in to account the efforts of open space preservation of the County of Cumberland Plan.

However, like the County of Cumberland Plan, the Sydney Region Outline Plan had, amongst its successes, a number of shortcomings and flaws. As the above analysis shows, the designated growth areas were not required in full and some, in the case of the North West Sector, were not required at all. This can be predominantly attributed to the incorrect assumptions with regards to population growth that the plan was formulated upon.

The Sydney Region Outline Plan was predicated upon a population increase of 2.75 million people over the lifespan of the plan taking

Sydney to a total population of 5.5 million by the year 2000. However, the growth rate upon which the plan was based, 2% p.a., was never achieved and by 1986 the population of Sydney had reached just 3.4 million (De Marco and Spearritt 1988). In the year 2000 after a sustained period of 1% growth p.a. Sydney reach just on 4 million people, resulting in the population projections of the Sydney Region Outline Plan missing the mark by 1.5 million people (Meyer 2005).

Like the County of Cumberland Plan the Sydney Region Outline Plan was formulated on the primary objective that “long term growth must be allowed for” and that the plan “should include proposals for any action required to deal with long-term growth” (State Planning Authority 1968 p. 13). As the city was still growing, albeit it at a far reduced rate than was expected, the Plan should have, by its own admission, been able to adapt to the changing pattern of long term growth.

The Plan included a commitment to address issues like the slowing of the population growth in that a review and amendment to the Plan was to be carried out every five years. However, stalled by various shifts of power and changes of State Government, the first review of the Sydney Region Outline Plan was not carried out until 1980. Although the population growth was now approximately 500,000 behind that which was projected, the structure of the plan itself had not been invalidated due to the phased growth along the linear corridors. Large areas which were designated for growth had not been utilised but it had little impact on the overall premise of the Plan (Planning and Environment

Commission 1980).

What is revealed through this analysis however, is that despite a much lower than expected population growth, the actual urban area in 1988 exceeds the proposed urban area of the Sydney Region Outline Plan. As Figure 4.2 shows there have been substantial areas of growth particularly in the west and south west which were not designated in the Sydney Region Outline Plan. This fact is alluded to in the 1980 reviews of the Sydney Region Outline Plan where it states that the new residential areas have been developed at densities much lower than expected and that the medium-density has primarily occurred within the established areas further displacing some of the population and exacerbating land requirements on the fringe (Planning and Environment Commission 1980).

The proposed establishment of major urban centres had also weakened as a result of the lower than expected population projections. The review shows that in 1980 major retailing had successfully begun to locate in the regional suburban centres but the decentralisation of office jobs away from the city centre was failing. The review states that efforts to promote Parramatta as the second CBD and to establish major office space within the area “have not been very successful to date” (Planning and Environment Commission 1980 p. 6).

However, the review does concede that the decentralisation of office space to some urban centres, in particular Chatswood, has been a

success. Mount Druitt was also emerging as a successful town centre thanks largely to the joint initiatives between the State and Blacktown Council (Planning and Environment Commission 1980).

One of the successes of the plan can be partly attributed to one of its failures. The inaccurate population projections on which it was based and the lower than expected population growth meant that the open space areas and special use corridors could be acquired and reserved without pressure from a city bursting at the seams.

Although the Sydney Region Outline Plan projections had missed the mark by 1.5 million people the structure of the plan itself gave a robustness which would prevent it from being invalidated. The structure of growth was loosely based on the finger plan for Copenhagen of 1947, in which a linear city was encouraged to grow along the transportation corridors. The centres of the plan were to be located within these transport corridors and it is now that we can see the plan has succeeded in its principle to establish these major urban centres. However, as highlighted in the review, the decentralisation of white collar jobs to these centres has largely been unsuccessful (Meyer 2005).



# CHAPTER FIVE

SYDNEY INTO ITS THIRD CENTURY 1988

After the 1980 review of the Sydney Region Outline Plan was released, the NSW Planning and Environment Commission was succeeded by a new government department, that of the NSW Department of Environment and Planning.

In 1988 Sydney had reached a population of 3.5 million people and the urban area now stretched from Palm Beach in the north, to Sutherland in the south and from Bondi in the east to The Blue Mountains in the west. The pressures which a population of 3.5 million people exerted on the city were larger and of a different nature to those which existed in 1968. The city was now looking forward to promoting itself into the 21st Century and reinforcing Sydney as the principal centre for finance, corporate headquarters and industry in Australia. (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Sydney was also feeling the strain of slower economic growth and an inadequate transport network to cope with the sprawling metropolis. The solution was to place more emphasis on the creation of jobs within centres and locations which were easily accessible (De Marco and Spearritt 1988).

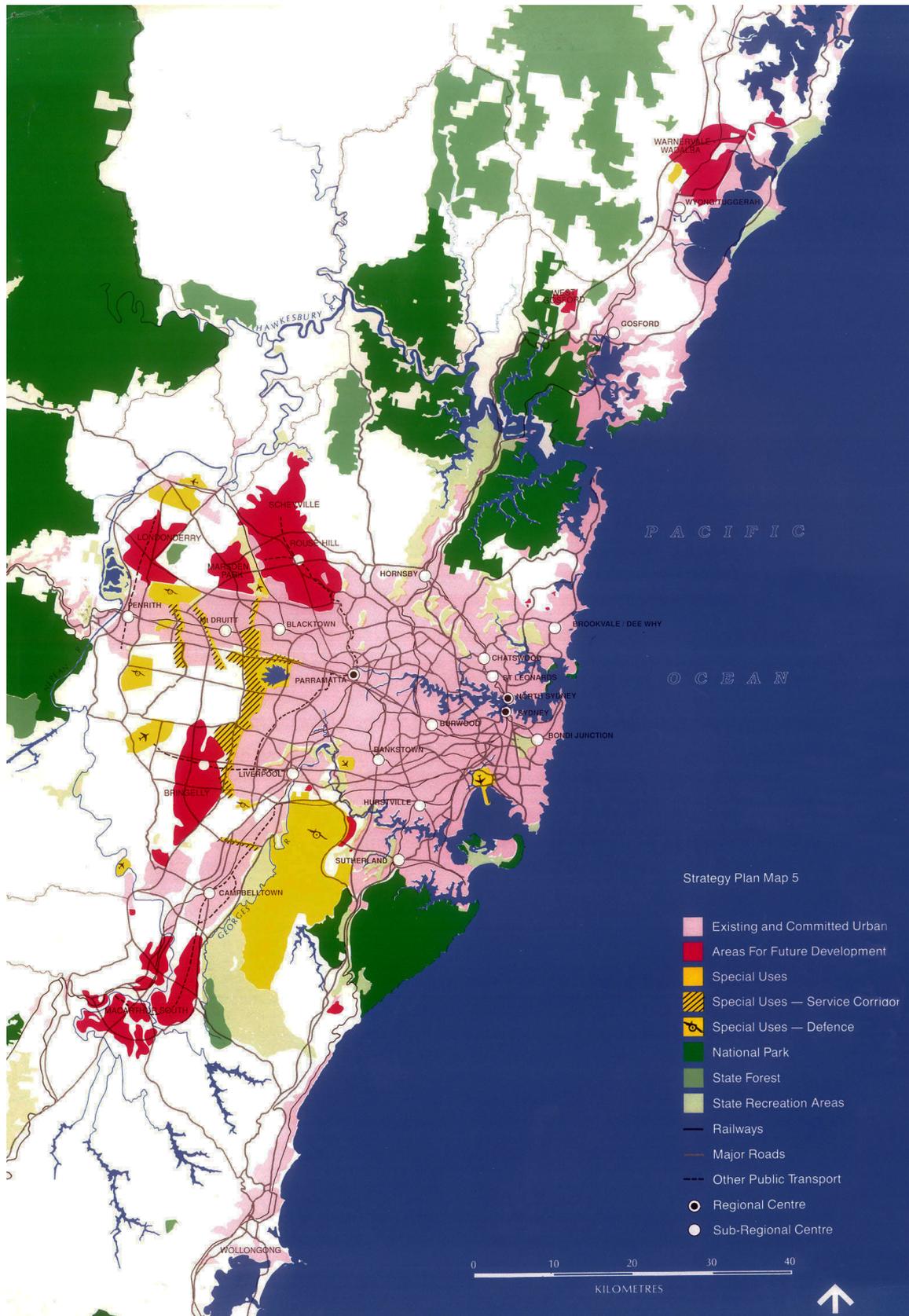
As part of this solution the Department of Environment and Planning was tasked with the preparation of a new plan for Sydney to replace the

now outdated Sydney Region Outline Plan and its review of 1980 and to address the current issues of the city (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). Bob Carr, then the Minister for Planning and Environment, states that “A great metropolitan region like Sydney deserves a vision for the future” and it is hoped that this would be delivered in the 1998 Metropolitan Strategy: Sydney Into Its Third Century (Bob Carr cited in the Metropolitan Strategy 1988 p.3).

The Strategy was not intended to be an environmental planning instrument, rather it was to provide a framework which would guide Government policy and the future development of the Sydney Region (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Figure 5.1 shows the Strategy Plan (Map 5) from the Metropolitan Strategy 1988

Figure 5.1



Source: Sydney Into Its Third Century 1988

The Metropolitan Strategy was formulated as a land use strategy plan based on a set of broad policies. This land use strategy and supporting policies were intended to guide the development of Sydney so as to accommodate an additional 1 million people in the Region by 2011 (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Much like its predecessor in the Sydney Region Outline Plan, the land use strategy plan was not intended to be a zoning plan, rather it was a structure plan which provided an overall framework for land uses, the governance and detailed planning of which was to be the domain of local councils (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The land use strategy plan was also to be reinforced by a suite of key objectives covering issues such as; population, land and housing; economic development and employment; manufacturing; offices; retail; social development; the environment; transport; recreation and tourism; and public finance (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The key objectives of the strategy which are pertinent to this thesis are;

- to provide access to a variety of housing types and tenures for the entire population of the Region;

- to increase the supply of a variety of multi-unit housing;
- to improve the environmental qualities within the region;
- to maintain and enhance the quality of the land;
- to encourage office jobs to relocate in the regional and subregional centres;
- to encourage a more even dispersal of office jobs through the region; and
- to encourage retailing as a vital component of the centres.

(appropriated from Department of Environment and Planning 1988)

Some minor discrepancies in the mapping for the Metropolitan Strategy 1988 and the City of Cities 2005 has resulted in some unexpected and unavoidable results. In particular the urban area highlighted in the 2005 Strategy intrudes into a number of open space networks surrounding the waterways of Sydney. The following analysis does not recognise these minor discrepancies.

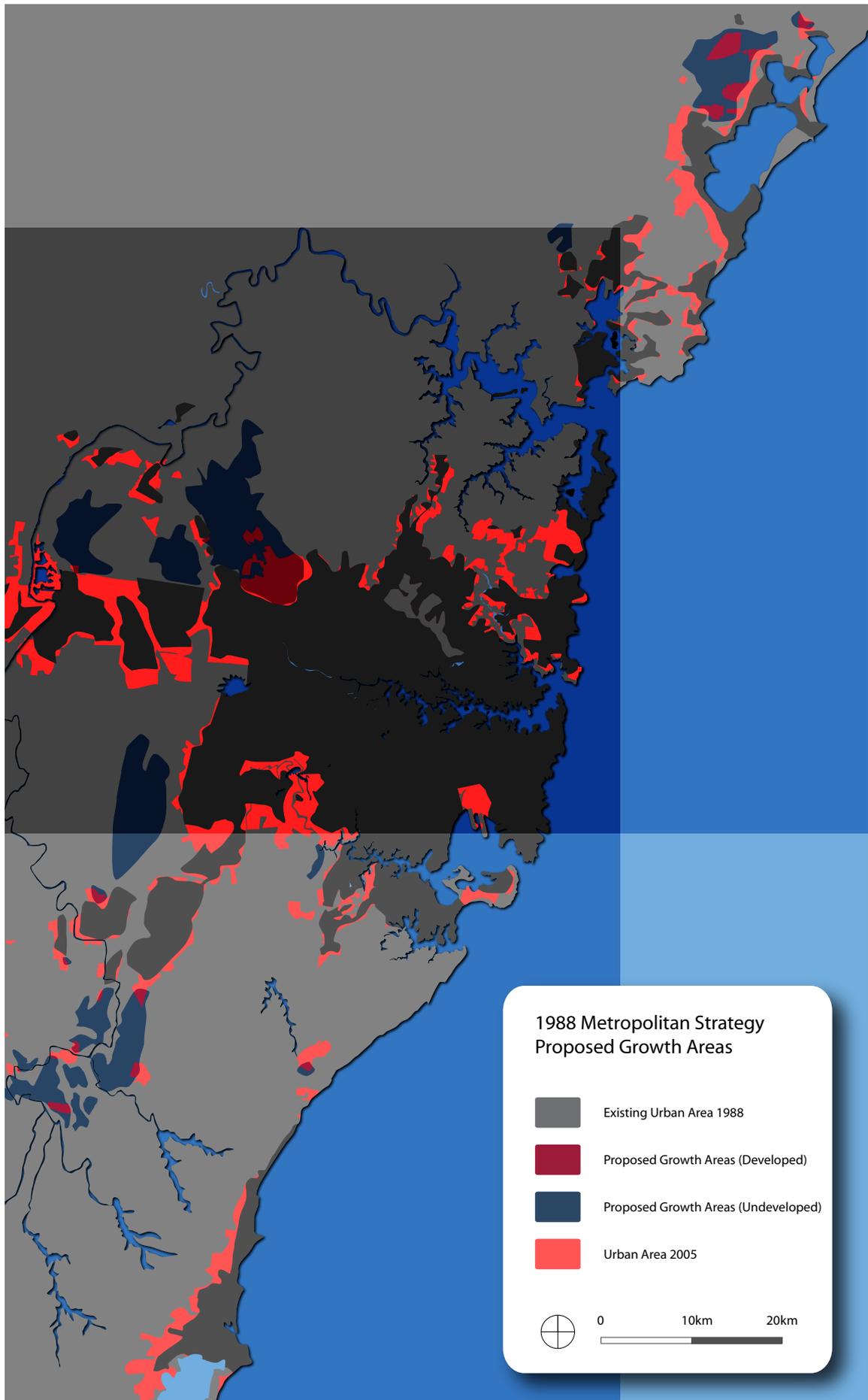
The Strategy is formulated on the projection that Sydney will continue to grow at an average of 1% p.a. until 2011. This growth rate would result in a expected population of 4.5million in the Region by 2011, an increase of approximately 1 million people (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The Strategy recognises that accurate population projections are not all that is required. A solid understanding of the demographics of the future plays an integral role in determining the housing and land requirements for a growing city. The Strategy projects that the average persons per dwelling will fall from 3.0 in 1981 to 2.7 by 2011. This shift in demographics has led to the Strategy's projections that 588,000 new dwellings will be required to house, not only the expected 1 million additional people, but also to provide additional dwellings as a consequence of the drop in persons per dwelling (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The Strategy has designated that between 323,000 and 358,000 of these additional dwellings are to be provided for in the new urban areas on Sydney's fringe. The remaining 230,000 – 265,000 dwellings are to be accommodated through increased densities within the established areas (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Figure 5.2 illustrates the proposed growth areas of the 1988 Strategy which were designated to accommodate the 323,000 – 358,000 new dwellings. Grey is used to show the existing urban footprint of Sydney in 1988. Dark red denotes the proposed new growth areas of the Plan which had been developed by 2005. Blue has been used to illustrate the proposed new growth areas of the Strategy which were not developed by 2005. Pink has been used to show the actual urban area of Sydney in 2005.

Figure 5.2



Source: Abercrombie 2008

As can be seen in dark red within Figure 5.2, the Strategy successfully allocated a number of large growth areas which were subsequently developed by 2005. Large pockets of the growth areas were developed in areas such as; Blue Haven, Watanobbi and Woongarra in the north of Wyong; Stanhope Gardens, Kellyville and Beaumont Hills in the north west of Sydney; and St Helens Park in the south west of Sydney.

Of the remaining new growth areas designated within the Sydney Region Outline Plan (shown in blue) which were not developed by 2005 we can see that the majority of them are the designated growth sectors of the Strategy. Large expanses of the designated growth areas remain undeveloped in 2005 such as; North Wyong in the north; Marsden Park Rouse Hill, Scheyville and Maraylya in the North West Sector; North Cranebrook, North St Marys and Werrington in the west; Bringelly, Macarthur South and Picton in the south west; and a small pocket of land opposite Picnic Point and adjacent to Menai in the south.

What Figure 5.2 illustrates quite clearly is the land that has been developed in addition to that proposed by the Strategy. The areas of pink are used to demonstrate growth between 1988 and 2005 which occurred outside of the designated growth areas of the Strategy.

The largest areas of growth which occurred up to 2005 and were not accommodated for within the Strategy were; around the shores of Tuggerah Lake, Warriewood Valley, Belrose, in the north; Glenmore Park in the west; and Cecil Park, Carnes Hill and Prestons in the south west.

The Strategy notes that to provide regional open space for the population of Sydney, it must be highly accessible to the population of Sydney. The provision of open space should also coincide with areas of natural beauty and intrinsic values which require preservation (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The Strategy states that new areas of regional open space will be provided, with a specific focus on the waterways of Sydney such as Sydney Harbour, Botany Bay, and the Parramatta and Georges Rivers. To supplement the open space around the waterways of Sydney, the plan also designates that new areas of Homebush Bay Bicentennial Park, Sydney Park, Penrith Lakes and Chipping Norton will form part of the overall regional open space network for Sydney (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

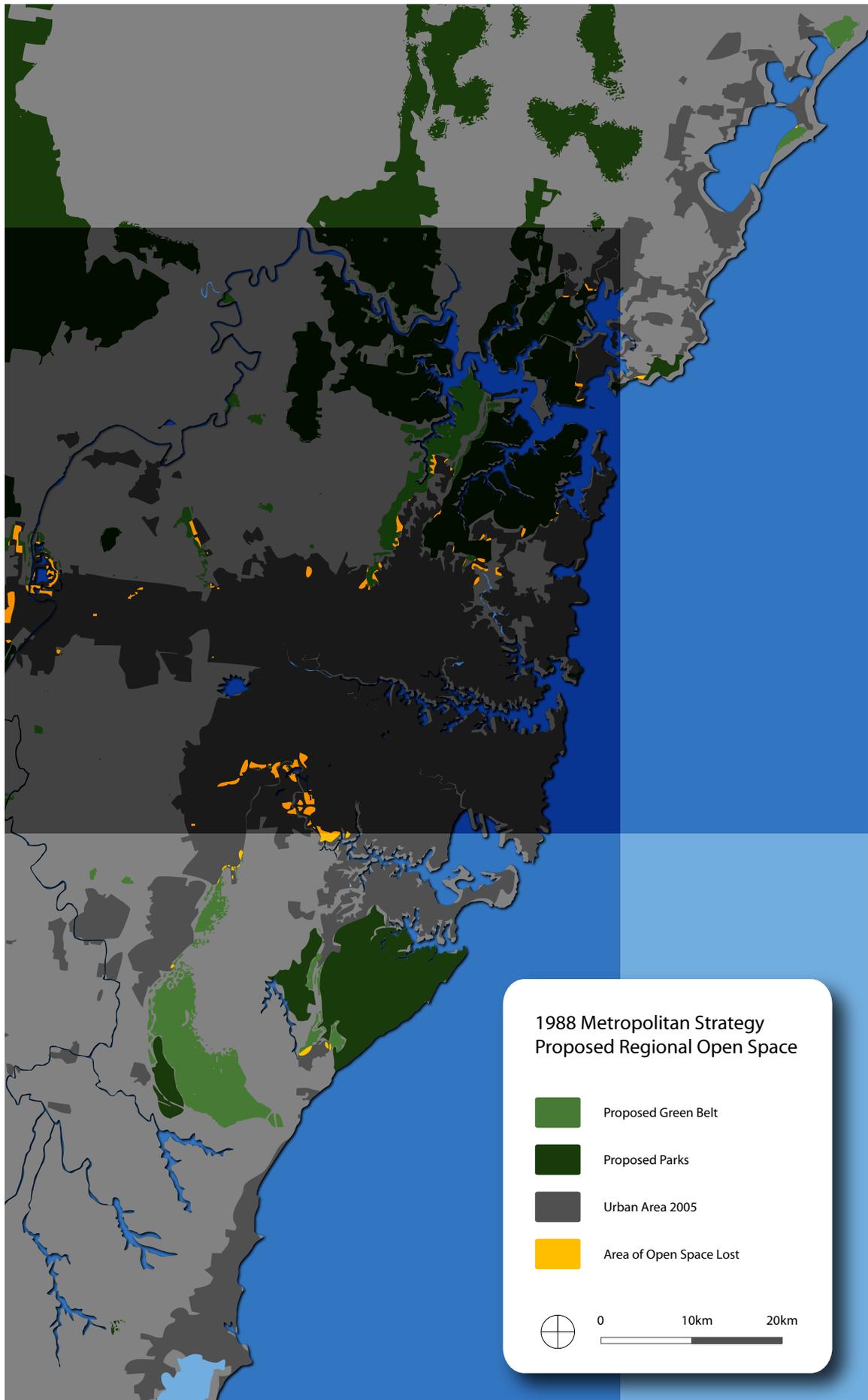
The Strategy also seeks to maintain the areas of open space within the already established areas as they provide a valuable natural resource to the wider region and contribute to the regional open space system of Sydney (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

The Strategy proposed that this network of regional open space is focused primarily on the Hawkesbury/Nepean River catchment and that its tributaries will extend like green fingers in to the proposed

growth areas of the North West Sector, Bringelly and Macarthur South (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Figure 5.3 illustrates the designated open space areas of the Strategy. In this instance light green has been used to denote the proposed regional open spaces of the Strategy. Dark Green is used to show the proposed and existing parks. Grey has been used to show the actual urban footprint in 2005. Yellow illustrates the area of lost open space, the overlap between the proposed open space areas and the actual urban area of 2005.

Figure 5.3



Source: Abercrombie 2008

What can be seen quite clearly in Figure 5.3 is that the principles and objectives behind the provision of region open space within the Strategy were largely successful. There are very few instances of the expansion of the urban area encroaching into areas designated for public open space.

However, some slight intrusions into public open space were made by the expanding urban area. Shown in yellow in figure 5.3 we can see that small pockets of public open space were lost in; Belrose and Oxford Falls in the north; and Glenhaven in the north west.

Admirably very little, if any, loss of proposed public open space is evident through the analysis of Figure 5.3

The Strategy proposes a much more expansive network of centres than that which was included in the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

The Strategy has defined a number of objectives with regards to the hierarchy of centres within the Sydney Region. The Strategy proposes that for the effective and efficient growth of Sydney it needs to facilitate the;

- relocation of office jobs from the city centre to the regional and subregional centres;
- more even dispersal of office jobs throughout the region; and
- locating of major retailing within the regional and subregional centres.

The Strategy has highlighted the need to cater for a more widely dispersed workforce and changing nature of industry by providing for a variety of employment throughout the Region. It recognises that to date newly established residential areas have been slow in establishing jobs to match their workforce and this has exacerbated the problems associated with commuting long distances for employment (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

To address this issue the Strategy proposes that new dwellings, thus a new workforce, should be brought to where the jobs are. The Strategy suggests that medium and high density residential areas should support the centres to allow the residents to be within walking distance of employment, retailing and transport links (Department of Environment and Planning 1988).

Figure 5.4 illustrates the centres of the 1988 Strategy. The grey area demonstrates the proposed urban footprint of the 1988 Strategy. In this instance the light yellow symbol has been used to denote those centres which were included in the 1988 Strategy but were not reinforced by inclusion in the City of Cities Strategy in 2005. The bright yellow symbol has been used to show those centres which were nominated in the 1988 Strategy and were reinforced by their inclusion in the City of Cities Strategy 2005. The red symbol illustrates centres which were not nominated in the 1988 Strategy but which were included in the City of Cities Strategy 2005.



By analysing the light yellow symbols within Figure 5.4 it can be seen that the dispersed locations of the planned centres directly accord with the proposed urban area of the Strategy. Each of the centres is contained within an area of urban development and they are adequately spaced and located so that each serves its own subregion. The only noticeable omissions seem to be the expanse of urban area between Blacktown and Liverpool encompassing the areas of Fairfield, Prairiewood and Bonnyrigg and the south east of the city around Randwick, Botany and the Airport.

Figure 5.4 also clearly shows the differences between the 1988 Strategy and the City of Cities Strategy 2005 with respect to the provision of centres. The bright yellow symbols show that the centres of Rouse Hill, Hornsby, Chatswood, Brookvale/Dee Why, Penrith, Mt Druitt, Blacktown, Parramatta, St Leonards, Burwood, Bondi Junction, Bankstown, Hurstville, Sutherland, Liverpool and Campbelltown have been reinforced by their inclusion in the Metropolitan Strategy. Therefore, only Bringelly has effectively been abandoned, or reclassified, by the Metropolitan Strategy.

However, Figure 4.4 also shows in red the centres which the 1988 Strategy did not nominate, but which have been incorporated into the City of Cities Strategy 2005. In place of Bringelly the 2005 Strategy has nominated Leppington as the centre for the South West Sector. Castle Hill and Kogarah have also been nominated as centres within the 2005 Strategy despite not being included in the 1988 Strategy.

As demonstrated by this analysis the 1988 Metropolitan Strategy – Sydney Into Its Third Century, had varying degrees of success in implementing its goals and objectives through the period 1988 to 2005. Granted the plan itself was intended for a 23 year lifespan through to the year 2011 but as it was superseded in 2005 by the City of Cities Strategy, 2005 has been used as the year to evaluate the actual achievements of the Strategy against its objectives.

The Strategy has been based on the most accurate population projections of any of the metropolitan plans for Sydney. The Department of Planning have released the 2008 long-term forecasts for Sydney and it proposes that the Region will total 4.5 million in 2011, the exact figure which formed the basis of the 1988 Strategy (Department of Planning 2008).

However, like the County of Cumberland Plan and the Sydney Region Outline Plan before it the Metropolitan Strategy 1988 had, amongst its successes, a number of shortcomings and flaws. As the above analysis shows, the designated growth areas were not required in full and some, in the case of the South West Sector and Macarthur South were not required at all. The reason behind the apparent lack of growth of the urban area can be attributed to a number of factors.

Firstly, the changes in State Government during the period of the plan resulted in both sides of Government preferring short-term planning projects for which they could reap the rewards during their terms. In an effort to gain political points, the Governments favoured the planning of areas such as Pymont-Ultimo, Green Square, Homebush Bay and a number of private transport initiatives. The result of this political favouritism was that medium and long-term planning programs, such as the designated growth areas of the 1988 Strategy were neglected (Meyer 2003).

Secondly, during the 1990s and early 2000s, primarily during the reign of Premier Bob Carr, the land supply in Sydney dried up. The Premier believed that the cause of much of Sydney's transport and congestion problems could be attributed to the immigration policies of the time. The Premier raised concerns about the migrant intake of Sydney and warned that "Sydney is losing its character as a major city and its population growth must stop" (Carr cited in Samios 1995). The Premier also believed that restricting the spread of the metropolitan region, to contain Sydney within its current borders would help preserve its character as a major city (Saimos 1995).

However, much like the County of Cumberland Council, the State has failed to acknowledge that the growth of Sydney must not be constrained if the economic prosperity of the State and indeed the Nation is to be secured. The Strategy itself alludes to the fact that Sydney is Australia's global city and that it accounts for approximately 25% of the Gross

Domestic Product of the nation (Department of State and Regional Development 2008).

Lastly, in the few growth areas which were released, the Government failed to match the roll-out of critical infrastructure with the release of land. The new suburbs of Stanhope Gardens, Kellyville and Beaumont Hills in the largest of the proposed growth areas, the North West Sector, were released without adequate transport or community infrastructure to sustain them (Meyer 2005).

However, the constricted release of land on the fringes of Sydney had a positive outcome with regards to accommodating the additional 1 million people expected to reside in Sydney by 2011. The redevelopment of brownfield sites and the contribution they would make to the dwelling stock was largely underestimated by the Strategy (Meyer 2005). The brownfield sites were initially earmarked to provide between 230,000 and 265,000 dwellings, but as is evident in this analysis, the fact that the urban area had not spread far beyond its proposed boundaries can be directly attributed to the successful redevelopment of brownfield sites for high-density residential in excess of that which the Strategy had projected.

As a consequence of successful urban area containment, the analysis of the 1988 Metropolitan Strategy has shown that it must be commended on the successful provision of regional open space for the Sydney Region. Figure 5.3 shows that very little, of the proposed open space was

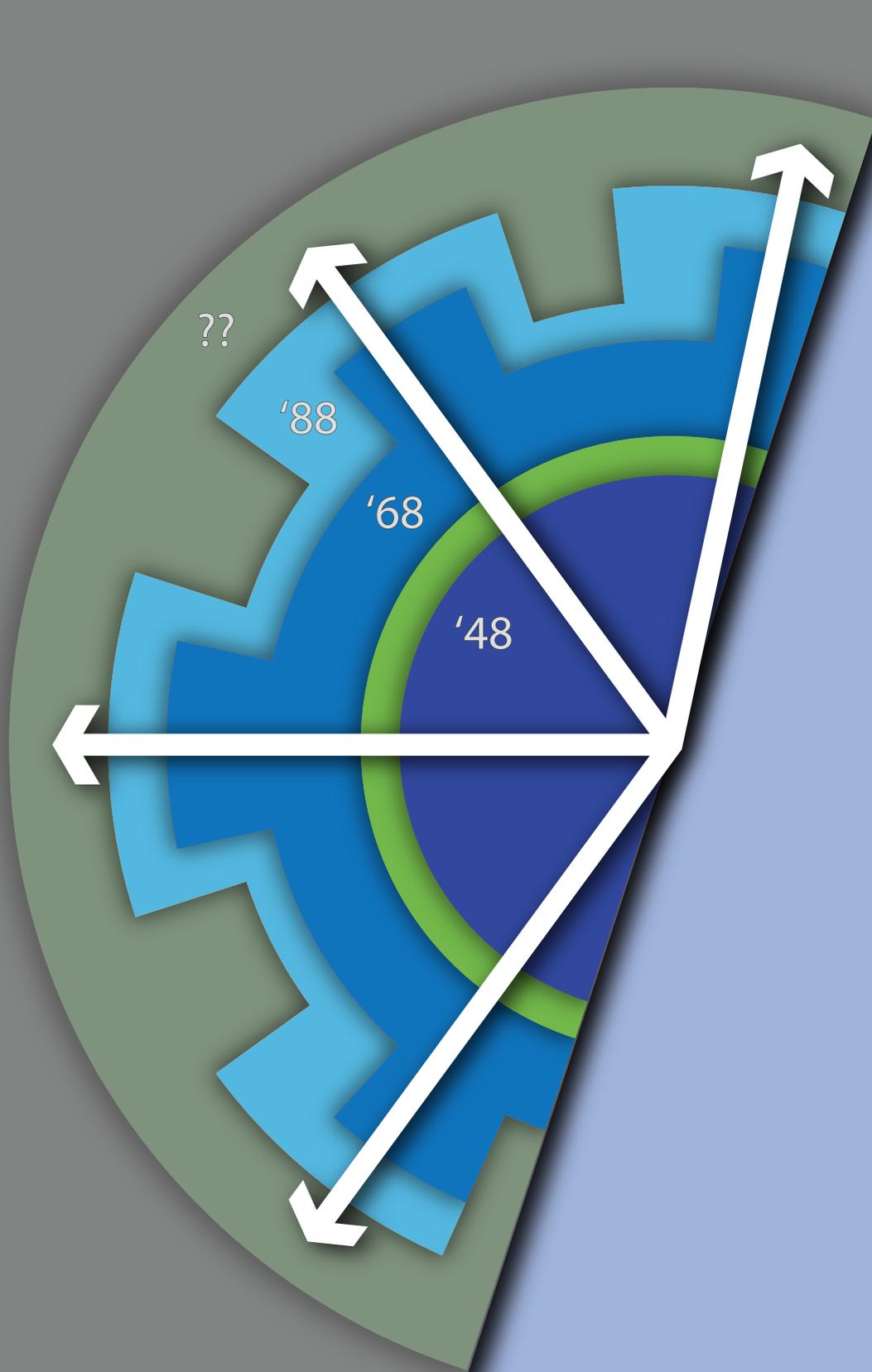
lost to the impending march of development into the Cumberland Plain and beyond (Newman 2003).

The proposed centres of the Strategy have largely been a success. As figure 5.5 demonstrated, all but one of the centres (Bringelly) nominated within the 1988 Strategy have been reinforced by the City of Cities 2005 Strategy. Like the County of Cumberland Plan and the Sydney Region Outline Plan, the 1988 Strategy sought to decant some of the white collar jobs from the city centre to the regional and subregional centres. This objective has proved to be quite a challenge for any of the metropolitan plans and the 1988 Strategy would be no different. However, the failure of the objective is not through the weakness of the regional and subregional centres, rather the strength of the CBD continues to defy projections. The demand for premium office space in the CBD is still high and as an employment centre it continues to experience a 15% share of the Regions workforce, a figure that has remained constant for the last 10–20 years (ABS 2001).

However, the Strategy did manage to sow the seeds of a phenomenon which is now a major influence on the form and function of Sydney today. The Strategy embraced the changing nature of employment and recognised the need for business parks, in which major office developments could be housed in purpose built premises located on large sites. The Strategy nominated that future business parks should be located away from the regional and subregional centres so as not to detract from their ability to provide employment, but still within easy

access of a local workforce. The success of this objective is evident in the fact that business parks, like Macquarie Park and Norwest, are now prime examples of clustered, employment-specific developments and their success and growth has led to these 'specialised centres' being recognised and included in the City of Cities 2005 Strategy.

The 1988 Strategy, like its predecessors, included a commitment to review and amend the Strategy, as required, every five years. These reviews were to take into account new census results and any shifts in the factors which were shaping Sydney (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). However, rather than review the plan in light of the Premier's campaign to reduce migration and the successful consolidation of the city, the State Government released a completely new plan – Cities for the 21st Century – in 1995 leading to the effective abandonment of the 1988 Strategy. If only the planned 5-yearly reviews were carried out and the 1988 Strategy amended to incorporate the findings, it would surely be the most successful of Sydney's metropolitan plans.



# CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

## SUMMARY



This thesis has been an urban morphological analysis of the actual evolution of Sydney over the last 60 years plotted against its proposed growth. It has demonstrated that with the advances in technology and the diligent and accurate nature of mapping within the three assessed metropolitan plans it is possible to analyse the failures and successes of metropolitan planning for Sydney through a new approach.

As Wheeler reiterates, the collective knowledge of the evolution of our cities is still in its formulative years and with it our understanding of how to manage and plan for future growth is only just being realised (Wheeler 2008).

This thesis has utilised a variety of methods and processes to evaluate the proposals of the three metropolitan plans plotted against the actual evolution of Sydney. The thesis expands on the methods of Hayden (2004) and Campoli, Humstone and Maclean (2002) which both utilised the illustrated analysis of suburban development using aerial photography (Wheeler 2004).

It is hoped that urban morphological methods, like those which were employed in this thesis, are further explored and exploited for the better understanding of planning in general. The addition of this powerful asset to the analytical toolbox for assessing metropolitan form is an exciting prospect for geographers and planners alike.

As shown through the analyses of the three metropolitan plans for Sydney, there are a number of lessons for the future which can be drawn from the plans of the past. These lessons are covered in full at the end of the analytical chapters 3, 4 and 5 and are summarised as follows.

The most important lesson which can be drawn from this analysis is demonstrating the affect that wayward population and demographic projections had on the preparation of growth strategies for Sydney. The failure to reliably predict the population and demography of Sydney into the future led to some of the shortcomings of the plans, in particular the County of Cumberland Plan and the Sydney Region Outline Plan.

However, as demonstrated in this analysis, the foundation of a metropolitan plan on wayward population projections does not need to invalidate the entire plan. Each of the three plans had included as a founding principle the need to regularly review and amend the plan to accommodate changes in population, demographics, employment and transportation. With the exception of the Sydney Region Outline Plan Review (which occurred some 7 years later than was proposed by the Plan) the various planning bodies failed to enforce this critical element of the plans. The failure to review and revise the metropolitan plans for Sydney is a key lesson of the past which must be learnt for the future of metropolitan planning in general.

Political involvement also plays a major role in the governance and implementation of a metropolitan plan. Bunker and Searle suggest that the State Government, rather than local or regional councils, must be the body responsible for the provision of infrastructure, policy and land use planning to allow for effective co-ordination and delivery of these functions at a metropolitan scale.

Bunker and Searle highlight the fact that a recurring issue in metropolitan planning is just how many of the objectives and strategies actually come to fruition (Bunker and Searle 2008). The lack of unilateral implementation of metropolitan planning framework and mechanisms can lead to issues when certain objectives are reliant on upon the implementation of others.

Lastly, the strategies and objectives employed within the various metropolitan plans leave lasting impressions on the evolution of Sydney well beyond their intended life spans. The recommendations of the 1909 Royal Commission have had a major influence on the morphology of the city, the most notable of which being the electrification of the rail network which sent the metropolis out like fingers along the lines to the suburbs. The 1948 County of Cumberland Plan successfully highlighted the importance of providing regional open space and the instilled a sense of civic pride in the consciousness of Sydneysiders. The Sydney Region Outline Plan strengthened the linearity of Sydney, originally fostered in the 1909 Royal Commission, by proposing growth areas and major urban centres to be located on the transport corridors

of the city. The 1988 Metropolitan Strategy reinforced and expanded upon the hierarchy of centres within the Sydney Region Outline Plan and by designating further subregional centres created a true multi-centred city which greatly improved the self-containment of the regions and subregions. Another legacy of the 1988 Strategy was the recognition and encouragement of business parks within the Metropolitan Region. These business parks now play a major role in the type and distribution of employment in Sydney and whilst employment growth within some centres have remained stagnant, the business parks continue to grow and provide jobs for the ever expanding metropolis of Sydney.

The County of Cumberland Plan 1948, Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968 and the Metropolitan Strategy 1988 have had a great influence on the evolution of the city. The plans have created this burgeoning metropolis of such natural beauty, robust structure and most importantly unique inhabitants.

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