

**RESIDENTIAL REVITALISATION OF INNER CITY AREAS:
A CASE STUDY OF NORTHBRIDGE**

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to identify how residential land uses can be re-integrated into inner city areas. Through the growth of central city areas, many inner areas on the fringe of the city have become part of the city's commercial area. Whilst they may have different names or be physically separated from the central city, their proximity and landuses makes it pertinent to now include them in the planning of the central city.

The declining residential population of Australian inner city areas has occurred gradually since the early 1960s. This decline has been accompanied by a continually expanding urban fringe (DPUD, 1990).

Traditionally Australian inner city areas have had a large migrant population. However most migrants after arriving and becoming financially stable have shifted out to middle and outer suburbs (Bottomley & Lepervanche, 1989). Also the number of older long term residents of inner areas has decreased.

From the 1960s to late 1980s new middle and outer suburbs were promoted by the land development industry as being modern, safe, healthy environments where new friendships and communities could be formed and families raised on spacious blocks.

During this same period inner city areas were generally perceived as not having any of the positive qualities of the newer suburbs (Troy, 1991). They were viewed as old, unsafe areas of poor quality housing on unacceptable small lots. Collins (1994) offers this comment on the Australian attitude to inner city and medium density living: "slightly higher density housing causes a lower standard of

living. It's not a reasoned conclusion based on evidence; it's a gut feeling born into most Australians and treated ever after as holy writ."

However by the 1990s State and Local Governments were attempting to reverse this trend by promoting inner city living as an interesting, cosmopolitan lifestyle. This has been supported through policy development, the establishment of departments to promote and co-ordinate inner city development, such as the Western Australian State Government operated Inner City Living office, and in some instances changing planning regulations.

The actions of Local and State Government in Western Australia may be perceived as a reaction to the decrease in residential population and vitality of the central city, and the increase in vacant commercial floor space. The late 1970s through to the 1980s saw a general decrease in the inner city population and demand for commercial floor space, whilst middle and outer suburban populations, and retail and office activities expanded. Inner city areas at this time were increasingly becoming lifeless from both a social and economic point of view (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1992).

One aspect of the promotion of inner city living is its potential to provide alternative uses to help counteract commercial vacancies. Whilst converting an office to a dwelling is not an easy task, it can assist the owners of vacant land or buildings to achieve a commercial return on investment.

The market will always aim to identify ways of maintaining economic survival, be it through promoting existing uses, or finding alternative uses for resources to enable more wealth to be accumulated (Harvey, 1989). Property owners and investors have identified inner city living as a means to ensure and maintain the economic productivity of investment. Local and State Government instrumentalities have been used as tools to achieve and support this end.

The impact of the market place on the supply on inner city dwellings, and the effect this has had on not only those seeking to live in the inner city, but also the relationship of the market place to the planning process, and supply of dwellings, has potentially large ramifications.

In the case of Perth there has increasingly been vacant commercial floor space in the city and inner areas, particularly office commercial floor space. In the late 1980s it was common for real estate agents to offer incentives such as reduced rents, or rent free periods to attract commercial tenants. Whilst some of these attempts were successful, the more affordable rent and ample free parking of the suburban commercial centres such as Morley, Carousel (Cannington), Rockingham, Midland and Joondalup proved to be commercially popular to the detriment of the city. Whilst the new commercial developments within the city increasingly attracted the users that chose to remain in the city, causing further decrease in occupancy amongst older city buildings. This further exacerbated the vacant floor space problem of the city.

The commitment of the Western Australian State Government and Perth City Council to increase the number of inner city residents is detailed in documents such as "Northbridge WA" (DPUD, 1991) and "City Living"(Inner City Housing Taskforce, (1992). They have also sought international support for inner city living through commissioning a study in 1993 by international planning specialist Jan Gehl to seek advice on how to promote the city. Gehl's report viewed a residential population as a key to a vital city.

Over the last few years the number of residential dwellings within the Perth City area and inner areas has increased. This trend is indicated in the number of new residential developments approved in the city centre by the Perth City Council which has increased from 6 in 1991, 14 in 1992 to 23 in 1993 (Perth City Council, 1994).

In support of increasing the volume of dwellings in inner areas, public and private instrumentalities have produced various reports stating: "Inner city living is good, and is in demand" (Perth City Council, 1991). These reports generally assume there is a demand for these dwellings by particular groups of people. However they often fail to examine the nature of this demand.

1.1 SCOPE AND PURPOSE

Over the last decade there has been increasing concern at the loss of the residential population from city centres and inner city areas (DPUD, 1991).

Since the beginning of the 1990s the Western Australian State Government and the Perth City Council have indicated their interest in increasing inner city residential populations.

Studies such as the East Perth redevelopment project has shown the commitment of the State Government. The Perth City Council has similarly reinforced their stance by undertaking studies that identify past, and the possible future changes in the residential population of the Perth city centre and inner suburbs.

Previous research has always assumed a demand exists for inner city dwellings. There has been no local research into the characteristics of this demand. It is generally assumed that people do want to live in the inner city. Unfortunately none of the research that assumes this identifies who these people are that are creating the demand.

The assumption that there is a demand is evident in the research of the Perth City Council and Department of Planning and Urban Development. It is a significant assumption by these organisations as it has been central to their research and findings. To substantiate, and validate the reports of these organisations, research should have been undertaken to identify if there is a demand. Lack of research by these organisations into the level of demand for inner city dwellings lessens the validity of their research. Research is required to identify if there is an actual demand for inner city dwellings, who is causing the demand and what are the demographic characteristics would then be possible to progress the research to identify what type of dwelling is in demand? Where is the locational demand? Can those causing the demand afford the housing? What support services are required? To fully plan for the needs and wants of those demanding the dwellings, these questions need to be addressed.

This research has been designed to compliment existing research, whilst developing a proposal that will permit inner city areas to be planned with present and future residents needs and wants being better accommodated.

1.2 STUDY AREA

The study area is the predominantly non residential portion of Northbridge bound by Roe, William, Newcastle and Fitzgerald Streets (see Figure 1). The suburb of Northbridge as detailed in the 1994 Department of Land Administration street directory varies slightly from the boundary chosen for this study, by having a western border of the freeway instead of Fitzgerald Street.

This area has been excluded from the study area as it has been predominantly non residential for the last twenty years, and much of the land has been designated as freeway reserve.

Northbridge abuts the Perth city centre and was first developed in the early 1830s soon after the first settlement in Western Australia. Importantly at this time Northbridge was not part of the central city area, but rather an inner suburb adjoining the city. As the city, and metropolitan region grew, Northbridge gradually changed from being a suburb on the edge of the city, to increasingly form part of the city.

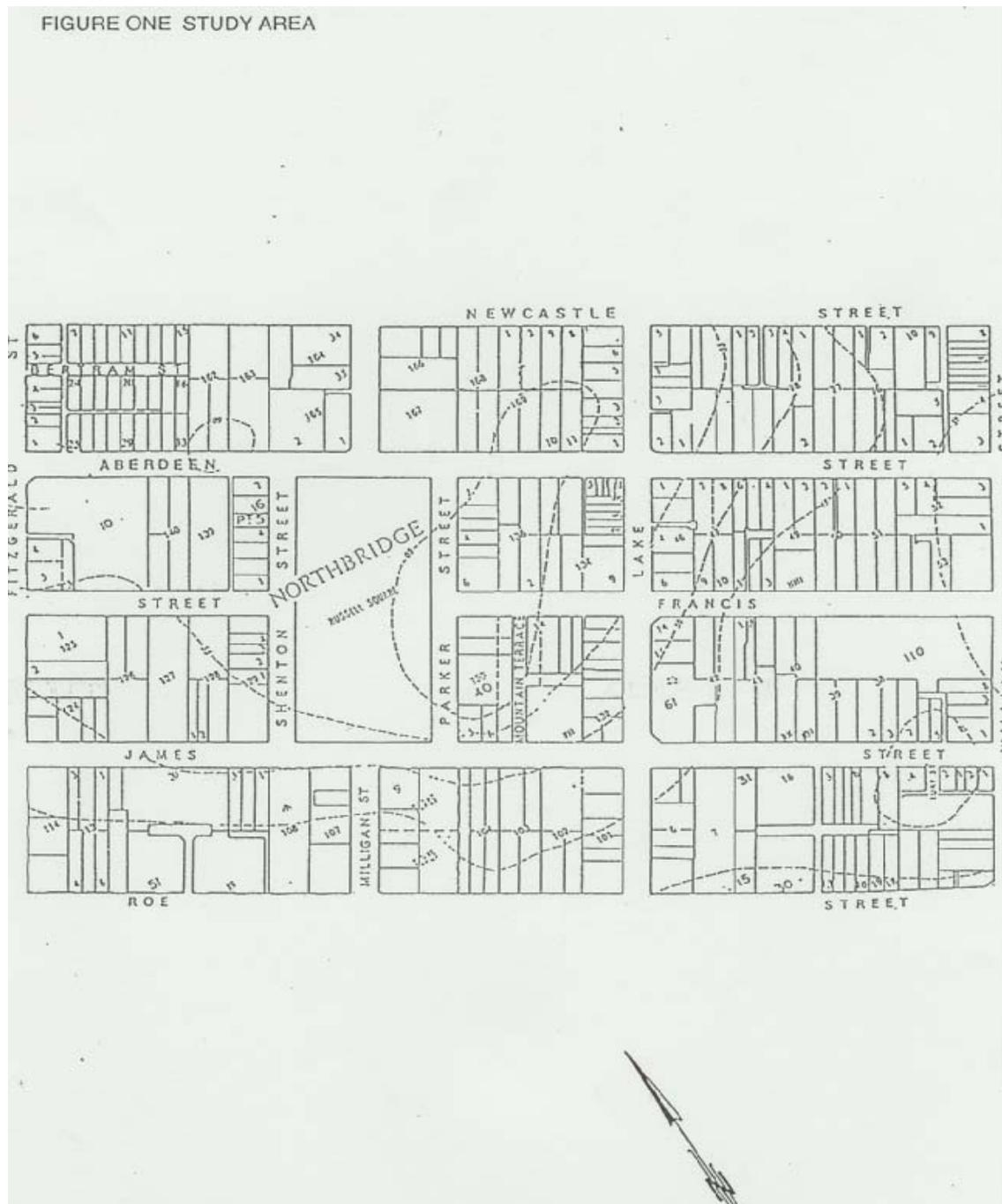
In the 1830s Northbridge was characterised by market gardens and workers' cottages. During the gold rush years of the late 1800s Northbridge grew as a residential area. This was the first boom for the area with many interstate and overseas migrants coming to the area on their way to and from the gold fields (Stannage, 1980).

Towards the turn of the century Northbridge was established as a residential area with employment and support services all within walking distance. The uses at this time within Northbridge were distinct from the city.

At the turn of the century Northbridge was characterised by a population mix of Australian, English, Greek, Chinese and Italian people. The areas history as a first stop for migrants was well established at this time (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1992).

The extensive use of trains and trams from the 1920s on assisted in the outward growth of the Perth metropolitan region. As people moved out to the new suburbs such as Victoria Park, Mount Lawley and Inglewood, Northbridge experienced a decline in its permanent population of local people (DPUD, 1991). The area witnessed the first stages of urban blight. As the housing became increasingly dilapidated there were a rising number of lower socio economic groups and migrants seeking proximity to shops, employment and low rental housing.

FIGURE ONE STUDY AREA

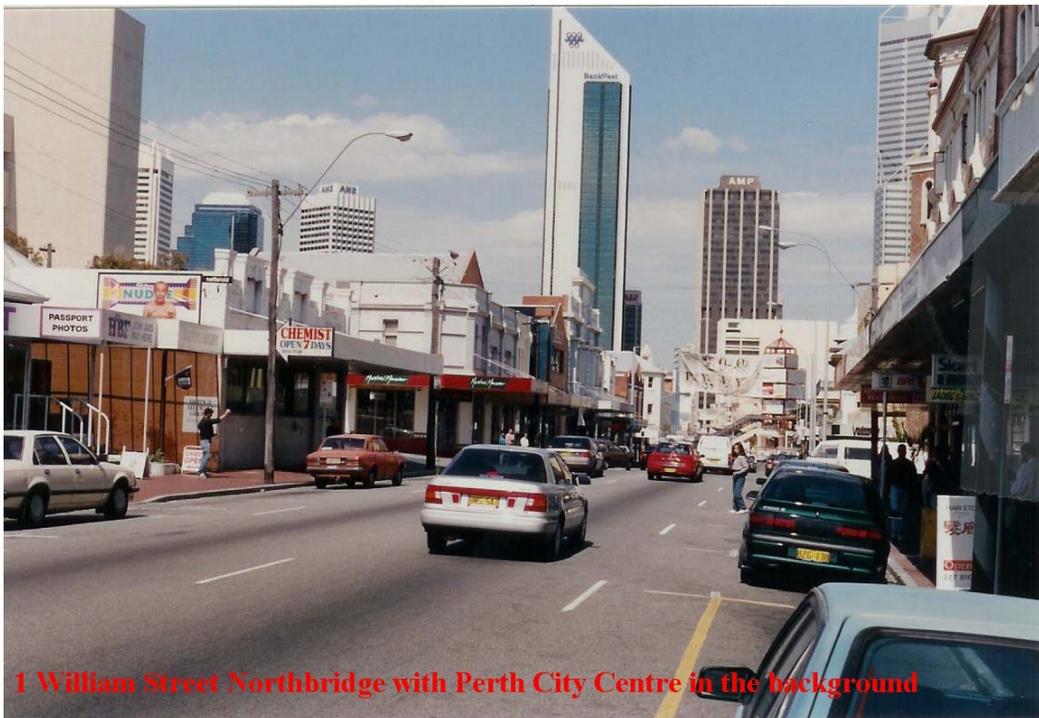


Northbridge experienced an influx of migrants from the end of World War Two through to the mid 1960s. The majority of these migrants were from Greece and Italy. During the 1970s there was a general decrease in migrants from Europe, with only a comparably small number of migrants arriving from Asia and settling in the area. Northbridge underwent many changes during this time. Significantly the residential population continued to decrease, whilst entertainment and other

commercial uses expanded in the area (Bain, 1989). The history of the migrant groups that have settled in Northbridge is evident today in the churches, clubs and specialty retail outlets located in the area.

From the 1960s through to the early 1980s many of the original dwellings were demolished to permit commercial development. Northbridge is now a busy entertainment district with a commercial retail and office component and a small number of dwellings. The most common uses found within Northbridge today are restaurants, nightclubs, hotels, offices and specialty stores (Perth City Council, 1991).

Northbridge is a delicate area that has, from a planning perspective, been neglected until the late 1980s. The area has since come under increasing scrutiny from interest groups including the differing levels of government, commercial land uses, and, by some developers looking for opportunities to meet the perceived demand that exists for residential accommodation.



1 William Street Northbridge with Perth City Centre in the background

There has been some public investment in Northbridge over the last decade. In the early 1980s the area to the east of the study area abutting William Street was developed as a cultural precinct by the State Government and includes the State Library, Art Gallery and Museum in addition to independently operated arts centres. In 1990 the Perth City Council undertook a streetscape program involving street tree planting, increasing the width and brickpaving footpaths, and upgrading street lighting. In the same year the Australian Taxation Office relocated to a multi storey office block in Northbridge which is now their city head office.

As Northbridge was once a significant residential area distinct from the Perth central city area, it is the intention of this report to establish if it may still take on this role in symbiosis with the non residential land uses that are now a major attraction.

1.3 HYPOTHESES AND OBJECTIVES

The objectives and hypotheses have been formulated to complement each other in order to determine if the residential revitalisation of Northbridge is feasible.

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- a) To analyse how the residential population of Northbridge has changed over the last forty years.
- b) To identify the characteristics of dwellings in demand in Northbridge.
- c) To identify the characteristics of residents who might be attracted to live in Northbridge.
- d) To determine if residential dwellings could be integrated into the built form of Northbridge.
- e) To identify what support services a residential population in Northbridge would require.
- f) To identify if there is a role for the public housing

- g) To identify if there is a role for the private housing sector.
- h) To develop a conceptual framework which may be applied to other inner city areas in order to determine their potential for residential growth.
- i) To determine how planning policies of Local and State Government have affected the landuse and growth patterns of Northbridge.
- j) To determine the current policies of Local and State Government on the future planning of Northbridge.

These objectives have been designed to complement the hypotheses. The hypotheses are fundamental to the report and will either be proven or disproven, in the process of realising the objectives.

HYPOTHESES ONE: Existing planning controls/policies do not promote dwellings within inner city areas.

HYPOTHESES TWO: There is a demand for dwellings within inner city areas that is not being met.

HYPOTHESES THREE: Dwellings can be integrated into the existing built form of inner city areas without compromising their integrity and character.

HYPOTHESES FOUR: Dwellings within inner city areas will enhance the areas role as an entertainment/service node.

HYPOTHESES FIVE: Current policies for the area will fail to attract residents in inner city areas due to the operation of the land market.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The current relationship between the growing interest in the inner city living and the lack of substantiated research was the basis for formulating the methodology for this research.

Previous research details in a non specific manner where inner city dwellings would be suitable and why. The reasons given why particular locations are suitable include the availability of the land, existing structures able to be converted to dwellings, proximity to public transport and the existing non residential uses that would be complimentary.

However the available information does not detail who is demanding these dwellings, if anyone is actually demanding them, who can afford them, and what is the cost of supplying the dwellings. To gain this information interviews were conducted with private and public organisations involved in the supply, construction and sale of dwellings, and organisation including the Perth City Council that influence the use of land.

The interviews provided a detailed perspective into the attitudes and opinions of the organisations involved in the supply of dwellings, what proposed forward planning may be intended, and what impact this will have on the future provision of dwellings within the study area.

Questionnaires were undertaken with persons residing in inner city accommodation. The results of these questionnaires, together with Australian Bureau of Statistics data, formed the statistical basis of the research.

The questionnaires were essential to determine if there is a demand for dwellings within the study area , who is causing the demand, and what type of dwelling is demanded. Together with the

interviews undertaken it was possible to ascertain if the dwellings demanded are affordable to those causing the demand. The data formulated by the author will be used to complement available literature.

This will permit a better understanding of the residential revitalisation of inner city areas from the residents perspective. This will potentially enable the planning process to better consider the residents needs and wants.

1.5 REPORT STRUCTURE

The ensuing chapter will review the literature base of this research. This will include an analysis of the theories to be used, which will establish the basis from which the research is to be undertaken.

The subsequent chapter will build on this base and progress to examining the revitalisation of inner city areas within Australia. This will provide a general overview of what is occurring within Australian cities to gain an understanding of national trends. This will focus on the changes in inner city population levels and dwelling stock.

The history of the study area of Northbridge will then be examined with a particular focus on the changes in dwelling stock and the population from the 1950s the 1990s. This will permit the study area to be examined in detail in relation to national trends.

The subsequent chapter will then focus on determining the impact that commercial land uses have had upon the stock of dwellings within the study area. The demand for dwellings within the area will then be identified and analysed. This will draw on research undertaken by the author with inner city residents. Identification of the demand for inner city dwellings is crucial to determining

the possible residential future of the study area. Upon identifying the level of demand, the specific demographic characteristics of those people creating the demand will be examined.

The type of dwelling that is in demand will be examined. This will identify the basic features of the dwellings being demanded such as number of bedrooms, and the need for open space and off street car parking. Having identified these design features, the locations that are available within the study area for dwelling developments will be identified. It will then be possible to establish whether the dwelling types that are in demand can be developed on available sites within the study area.

Local and State Government instrumentalities have the potential to either promote and provide inner city dwellings, or to play a more negative role. For this reason the initiatives and attitudes of the Local and State Government instrumentalities will be specifically examined in Chapter Ten.

The research and findings of the report will be encapsulated within the final chapter, where there will be a review of the hypotheses, aims and objectives. These findings and conclusions will form the basis of the reports recommendations.

1.6 CONCLUSION

With the growing interest in inner city living is apparent that there is generally little research that details exactly what is the demand for inner city dwellings. Available research assumes that there is a demand, and that the dwellings being provided are what is being demanded, and is affordable to those creating the demand.

The existing research, mainly produced by Government instrumentalities, has made significant assumptions on the demand for inner city dwellings, and who is causing the demand! This research will expand to identify the type of dwelling in demand, and the affordability of the dwellings.

The lack of information is the predominant reason for this research.

To enable a detailed study to be undertaken this research will use the case study of Northbridge, in Perth, Western Australia. Northbridge represents an inner city location typical of most Australian cities that have experienced a generally declining population (DPUD, 1991).

Northbridge was once an inner residential suburb distinct from the Perth City centre. Today there are few residents in Northbridge and it is more a part of the Perth City centre, than an independent location.

It is expected that through the examination of the case study area that there will be a better understanding of the potential for residential revitalisation of inner city areas and the role of the planning system in this process.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of relevant theories provides the framework from which the research will be undertaken, and the hypotheses and objectives will be tested.

The selected literature has been included to substantiate and provide explanation of the theories, and to demonstrate the parameters of this research.

The theories will be applied to international and Australian cities, and the case study area of Northbridge, to fully demonstrate their applicability.

2.1 APPLICABLE THEORIES

To ascertain the relationship between inner city residents and the provision of dwellings, several theories will be examined.

The basic tenet of the theoretical base is that capital is the prime determinant of existing building stock, and the future supply of dwellings.

Theories of land rent, spatial distribution and social considerations will also be analysed.

Specifically the theories derived from marxist analysis, equity, social processes and spatial form, residential differentiation, and the urban land market.

Within marxist analysis the aim of capital is to strengthen its own position through the manipulation of the weaker elements of society. Marx identified two divided groups in society - those that own capital (bourgeoisie), and those that do not (proletariat). Capital was seen to

continually reinforce the division between the two groups through the manipulation of the proletariat. This assists capital in achieving its aim of expanding its power and wealth base (Marx, 1848).

Focusing on the provision of inner city dwellings capital may be recognised as the investors, speculators, financial institutions and builders who are involved in the provision of dwellings.

This group of investors and speculators use their wealth and power to shape the spatial form to develop land use patterns that reflects their needs. Where there is profit to be made, or benefit to be obtained, the use of land and the built form will change to reflect what will give greatest benefit (Harvey, 1989).

The increase in commercial floor space, and decrease in dwelling stock within inner areas over the last three decades reflects the recognition by the owners of the land of the value of converting land and buildings to commercial use, to gain an increased return on investment. They have created land use patterns that reflect their needs. The more recently built inner city dwellings may be perceived to be a result of the owners of the land and the financial institutions that back them realising a greater return on the land if used for residential purposes.

The price of these recently developed inner city dwellings is set by the developers and the investors, whilst affordability for the purchaser is determined by how much the financial institutions will loan and the level of deposit required by the borrower.

In general access to dwellings is determined by wage levels. Wages are determined according to skill and demand for specific skill. This affects the ability of the individual to access the varying quality, quantity and types of

dwellings. Financial institutions determine how much money may be loaned to purchase a dwelling based on income level, and ability to repay the loan. This is the ultimate determinant of access to particular dwelling types (Sandercock & Berry, 1983).

The individuals ability to purchase an inner city dwelling is set by forces other than him or her self.

Those that supply dwellings, in conjunction with financial institutions, have a major impact on the price of dwellings. The price of the dwellings determines accessibility and affordability.

Within the urban environment equity is the ability of all people to have the same access and rights of use of services and facilities, and to enjoy the same level of amenity (Yiftachel, 1987).

An equitable urban form causes no one to be disadvantaged, or to have a greater advantage than another (Lynch, 1960).

Inequity is evident in the manner in which investors in the housing market cause some locations to have better access to services and facilities. This is done through the developers investing more in certain developments to give them better public transport, more quickly developed schools, retail facilities and park land. These areas are invariably more attractive and command a higher price causing high socio economic groups to locate in these areas Harvey, 1973).

Equity is a concept that can be used to analyse the supply of dwellings within inner city areas and the access that the differing socio economic groups have to these dwellings.

Where there is inequity in the supply or access to a good or service (or dwellings), those people most disadvantaged are likely to maintain this status, unless there is intervention by the Government (Stevens, 1993).

Those people not disadvantaged by the inequity, will increasingly enjoy the benefits of this inequity. This provides further need and justification for Government intervention (Troy, 1981).

Yiftachel (1987) indicates that the unequal effects of the market place cause resources to shift from lower to high socio economic groups. In terms of the affordability of dwellings this means that some locations will be more expensive which in turn restricts the location of certain socio economic groups.

The stock of dwellings means that there may not be enough to cater for demand, which further contributes to the dwellings becoming less affordable as the prices rise. Rising land values have the potential to force lower socio economic groups out of an area, or being only able to rent and not purchase a dwelling (Jacobs, 1961).

Troy (1991) states that to purchase a dwelling is actively encouraged by government agencies. However they do not adequately supply dwellings to those persons not able to enter the private housing market. This is emphasised by the public housing sector within the Perth metropolitan region that seeks to provide as many dwellings as possible, mostly in the outer middle and outer suburbs. Location and access to developed services appear to be a secondary consideration to the level of dwelling stock provision.

Public housing is not always supplied in areas where there is a demand. More often it is in areas of lower amenity, with a less than equitable supply of services (Troy, 1991). This usually includes areas that do not have a high frequency of public transport, with poor links to retail and educational facilities, and lesser access to employment opportunities.

Inner city areas are generally characterised by good access to all required facilities including retail, employment, entertainment and cultural uses. This generally creates a higher priced dwelling which is not always affordable for lower socio economic groups. Access to these dwellings is an important consideration in terms of what is fair and just.

Whilst differing levels of equity exist within the city, the actions of the people within the city, and their demands are perceived to impact upon the built form and the shape of the city.

The needs and wants of all people shape the built form. Simultaneously the built form influences the way people use and perceive it. The actions of people, collectively and individually are known as social processes, whilst the built form is synonymous with the spatial form and its uses (Harvey, 1973).

To understand the function of an urban area it is imperative to understand the relationship between the people and the built form. This then helps to explain why the land use patterns emerge (Pahl, 1975).

Demand for a certain use may result in the built form adapting to meet the demand. Similarly a new land use activity may cause certain people who use it to perceive it and other associated uses in a different manner (Harvey, 1973).

Through the market the built form maintains the status of being dynamic to meet the effective demand created by changing needs. These changes affect how resources are distributed throughout an urban area.

Social processes and spatial form interact to cause change within the urban form. The use of a building, such as an inner city dwelling, may be the result of the needs of the people changing. Alternatively the change in use of a building, such as a change from a commercial to a residential use, affects the way people perceive and use a given built form and associated uses.

Those that possess power over the urban form, such as land investors or developers, are able to manipulate the built form to their benefit to affect the rest of the population. This is done by changing the use of the land to provide an improved benefit or monetary return. This change in use affects the social processes or rather the way people interact with the new use. Depending on what the new use is, it has the potential to create inequity in the urban form (Castells, 1987). This occurred in East Perth in 1991 where several hostels and lodging houses were demolished to permit a new residential development to occur.

The hostels provided low cost short term accommodation, whilst the new dwellings catered for the upper end of the residential market.

This concept of social processes and spatial form is pertinent to assist in understanding why land uses change, and whether the change has been caused by a demand by the people, or if it has been the demands of investors and developers, or Local and State Governments, or a combination of all these factors.

When examining the inner city it can be used to assist in determining why dwelling stock has decreased and what caused it to decrease, and what impact the new uses that took the place of the dwellings have had upon the way in which people use the inner areas.

Further to this is the ability of those that control the residential land market to affect the cost of dwellings within a given area, and consequently to affect the affordability of varying dwelling types.

Residential differentiation is about determining why urban areas differ with specific regard to the characteristics of the population.

Within inner city areas residential differentiation is visible in the commonly found migrant groups, or the young family households that locate in new outer suburbs (Davison, 1993). Like other groups there are specific reasons for their locational patterns including income, access to transport, and dwelling costs.

The forces that cause locational patterns are not always the result of the actions of the people residing within the given area. Migrant groups are usually forced into inner areas by the market place as they have to rent cheaper accommodation close to employment and services, until they usually save enough money to move out of the area (Johnston, 1984).

The functioning of the market place determines where given groups of people will reside. Bottomley & Lepervanch (1989) identify that the aims of business and the government instrumentalities are more often the causes of why these people locate in certain areas.

Creating areas of varying socio economic groups is to the benefit of investors and developers in the land market. It entices people in perceived lower socio economic groups to strive to rise into the next socio economic group. This can only be achieved through conforming to the market system which further reinforces the status quo. This may directly affect population characteristics of an area (Halligan & Paris, 1984).

Residential differentiation is useful when examining existing long term residents of inner city areas to determine an areas socio economic history. When examining newer residents of inner areas, or new dwelling developments in inner areas, an indication as to the impact of the current land values on the socio economic groups locating in the area today may also be obtained.

This permits comparative analysis of the changes in socio economic groups locating in inner city areas.

A key determinant of the value of land is proximity to services. The closer land is to desired services and uses, the greater its value (Robson, 1988). This causes common land values within given locations which then attracts people of similar socio economic status.

Johnston (1984) indicates that the planning process is manipulated to promote land use patterns that satisfy the needs of the land market. When there is a change in zoning and use of land it is generally a result of the actions of investors, developers or land owners for their own benefit. Applying this to inner areas the question of the degree which planning has been influenced by market forces, which has caused a change in land values needs to be recognised.

One school of thought on why particular land use patterns evolve is the ecological perspective. It views the city as a living organism that has grown from the relationship between humans. This idea

was developed by the Chicago School of human ecologists which includes seminal work of Burgess and Hoyt Watson, 1980)

The concentric zone model (Burgess, 1925) emphasises outward horizontal growth from a single city centre. The zone of transition encircles the central business district and is representative of the inner suburbs. This area was identified as having a declining residential quality because of the invasion of the area by commercial uses. (Johnston, 1989).

Most inner areas have undergone the transition from declining dwelling stock, resident migrant population moving in and invasion by commercial landuses. As suggested by Burgess this is a result of the historical growth of the city arising from changing uses within the city, and the desire by people to move out from the city to the perceived better standard of dwelling and lifestyle of the outer suburbs.

Hoyt details that growth occurs outwards in sectors with each sector having its own particular land use and as a central spine a major transportation route. The sectors are formed on economic grounds, and reflect the flow of goods and services in the urban arena (Lloyd & Dicken, 1978).

It is unlikely that linear sectors as delineated by Hoyt would be found within a developed urban area. Sectors may be evident although they would be shaped by topographical features, and the needs and wants of land uses. The growth of sectors may be disjointed and may have a relationship to more than one city centre (Johnston, 1989).

Although limited in scope, Hoyts theory can be used in conjunction with other theories to understand the growth patterns of inner areas and specifically the impact of transportation routes on

land values, and how they link inner areas with surrounding areas, and the reasons for these linkages.

2.2 INNER CITY TRENDS AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

Settlement of Australia was undertaken by the British for economic reasons. Since this first settlement Australian cities have continued the theme of economic development in the patterns of urban growth (Davidson & McManus, 1991).

The cities have generally been developed around transportation focal points, with inner residential areas encasing the city and starting the common trend of outward growth (Kendig, 1979).

Growth was first associated with the bush tracks for horses, next tram and train lines, and then the highways and freeways. This resulted in a concentration of development around one major, and in some instances several lesser city centres, with non linear shaped sectors developed around public and private transportation routes.

Commercial land uses have generally been given precedence over residential uses within Australian urban areas (Sandercock & Berry, 1983). As city centres grew residential land uses were pushed to the peripheral areas.

However with the development of trains and trams, growth occurred in sectors along these lines.

Australian cities grew outwards, however the growth was 'guided' by developers, property investors and other market forces. Examining the inner city areas reveals that they have passed

from the initial development, to blight, through to the process of gentrification. Over the same period commercial intrusion has increased (Halligan & Paris, 1984).

As Australian cities grew and the stock of commercial land within the cities and inner areas no longer met demand, commercially zoned land was made available in the middle and outer suburbs (Kendig, 1979).

The market has caused dwelling prices to rise in inner areas. This has led to inner areas increasingly becoming inhabited by higher socio economic groups, forcing many lower socio economic groups out of the area. This is a trend evident in most inner Australian areas. Indicative of this is the inner suburbs of Northbridge, Carlton, Fitzroy, Paddington and Balmain.

For example The Avenue is a residential street located in the inner Sydney suburb of Balmain. This street has only two residents who have lived there more than twenty years; both are now retired from working on the neighbouring dock yards. Most of the new residents of The Avenue have shifted in over the last decade. Their occupations are within the white collar professional classification. Mostly these households have no children. The average price of a two bedroom weatherboard cottage in The Avenue is now about \$350,000 (Legge, 1994).

Change in the inner areas may also be attributable to the process of social processes and spatial form. Social trends of the people over the last decade has led to a demand for the dwelling stock of inner areas to be gentrified, with corresponding redevelopment of commercial land within these inner areas to cater for the new population.

The urban land market has caused land prices of inner areas to rise. Reasons for this include proximity to the city, available services, and good public transport (Sandercock & Berry, 1983).

This has led to an increase in land values forcing some people out of the area as private dwelling stocks predominate and there is little or no public dwellings (unlike many UK cities).

Australian inner city areas have followed international trends as identified in the examples of London and Los Angeles. Inner areas have been shaped primarily by the needs and wants of investors, developers and other market forces. This has caused inner areas to change from predominantly working class residential locations, to undergoing degrees of blighting and commercial invasion, and in varying degrees to gentrification.

2.3 LOCAL PERSPECTIVE - NORTHBRIDGE

According to the concentric zone theory Northbridge would be a zone in transition. It was originally settled as a residential area. As the commercial uses of the city expanded it overtook the area causing a decrease in dwelling stock, and those dwellings that were retained generally became dilapidated (Stannage, 1980). An example of this is in Lake Street where all lots closest to the city centre have been converted for commercial uses, whilst the further the distance from the city the lots on this street revert to dwellings used in residence.



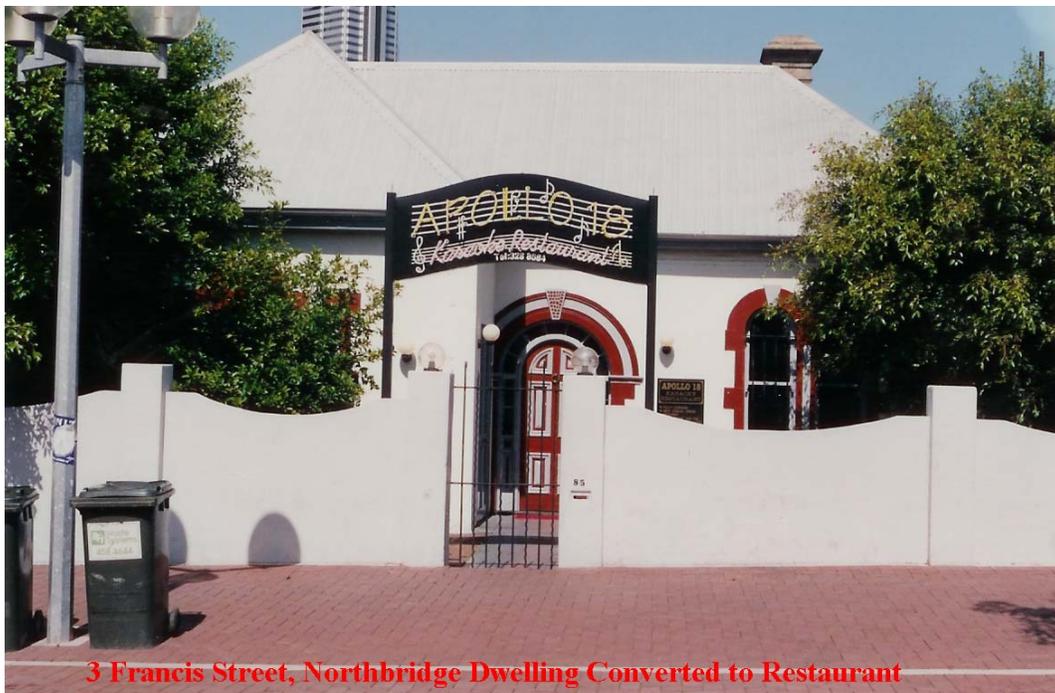
The last decade has witnessed an increase in interest in the area with corresponding urban renewal occurring. Theories such as gentrification, equity and social processes are more useful in analysing the recent changes of the area.

The renewal is noticeable in the renovation of older dwellings and commercial buildings for use as restaurants and nightclubs, and office developments.

Residential growth occurred outwards from Northbridge along main transportation routes. These routes were along Beaufort Street, Roe Street and William Street. This created a non linear sector of outward development. However these sectors are no longer identifiable, although the transportation lines are still largely the same with the exception of trams which are no longer in use.

Within Northbridge there is limited public housing (ABS, 1991). This appears to reflect the high value of the land. The theory of the urban land market can be used to assist in identifying what has caused high land values in Northbridge.

The last two decades has seen an increase in commercial activities and a decrease in the population and stock of dwellings within Northbridge. This is evident in the number of dwellings that have either been converted or demolished to permit commercial development. If in the future the residential use of land becomes more profitable, it would be reasonable to expect that market forces will ensure that land is increasingly used for that purpose. This helps explain why dwelling stock within Northbridge is susceptible to the changing demands of the market place.



3 Francis Street, Northbridge Dwelling Converted to Restaurant

Rising land values has exacerbated the inequitable access to dwellings within Northbridge, as lower socio economic groups have been either forced out through commercial redevelopment of land, or at best being only able to rent and not purchase a dwelling.

By controlling dwelling stock, the market forces have created classes within the population of Northbridge. The marketing of Northbridge by local businesses, the Perth City Council and State Government has resulted in it increasingly becoming a sought after address which has caused values to further rise. This has attracted an increasing number of higher socio economic residents.

The State Government and Perth City Council have been used to assist the market forces to achieve their goals for Northbridge. Whilst this has assisted the economic growth and prestige of the area, it has had some inequitable outcomes. Most importantly the cost of dwellings has forced some people out of the area. The State Government and Perth City Council should be seeking to control the commercial uses within Northbridge and to ensure equitable access to dwellings.

CHAPTER 3
REVITALISATION OF INNER AREAS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Australian inner city areas have undergone many changes which have culminated in most of these areas experiencing degrees of revitalisation.

From the factors that have been attributed to revitalisation, identifiable trends have emerged relating to the housing market, population characteristics, environmental awareness, community attitudes and government policies.

Analysis of these trends will assist in determining how inner areas have evolved and changed, and the reasons for the changes. This analysis will be within the general context of the inner areas of Australian cities.

3.1 RESIDENTIAL REVITALISATION

Australian inner city areas have gone through the cycle of being initially developed as new residential suburbs, to areas of neglect, and back to being popular, maintained residential locations. The process of redevelopment and renewal is known as residential revitalisation (McManus, 1987).

In 1883, Richard Twopenny made the following comments on the condition of the 'new' dwellings in the inner areas of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide: "The inevitable newness of everything cannot but strike the eye..... houses, few of which date back more than ten years. The weatherboard house lingers on in the poorer suburbs. The choice now is between brick and stone..... There is some attempt at ornamentation - a bow window, or the verandah lifted to form a gothic porch, or the drawing room brought out beyond the rest of the house... Almost every house is detached and

stands on its own." These comments give an insight into how the dwellings of the inner areas were viewed when still relatively new.

Over the last two decades residential revitalisation has become a well used phrase used in Australian urban planning.

Burke (1976) describes urban revitalisation as: "...surgery to remove diseased parts and improve circulation in the urban body."

Camm and Irwin (1986) view revitalisation in a more economic perspective: "Renewal aims to correct instances of existing malfunctions in the city. This is an expensive and difficult task because urban development is capital intensive in the form of roads, water and sewerage services, and of buildings, all of which are long term investments."

The renewal of inner areas generally helps to raise the standard of living and improve the lifestyles of the people who live in the area (Gillan, 1992).

As inner areas have regained popularity as residential locations, and increasingly undergone the process of revitalisation, planning has continued to turn its focus to the complexities and planning issues of these areas.

This is evident in the Local and State Government agencies, and academic institutions where resources and time are devoted to studying these areas, ensuring the continuance of the revitalisation process (London, 1992).

3.2 EVOLUTION OF AUSTRALIAN INNER CITY AREAS

Australian cities initially grew around ports. As new forms of transport became available urban growth adapted and changed to these modes of transport.

Transport has generally dominated the outward growth patterns of most Australian cities and this has been reinforced through reliance on the various modes of transport to get to work, entertainment, and shops. This has been endorsed by Local, State and Federal Governments and the interests of business since Australia was settled (Davison, 1993).

Growth of Australian cities has generally been outwards from a single city centre. Traditionally, commerce and industry were located in the the city centre which offered access to the economic links with other Australian cities and international markets.

The first dwellings were located in the inner areas which were developed around the city to permit people to be able to walk or cycle to work. This ensured a readily available employment pool.

These inner areas had an extensive social network with several generations of the one family commonly living in walking distance to each other, and their place of employment. Whilst this benefited employers in providing a workforce, it also promoted strong social bonds and a close knit community (Collins, 1993).

Outward growth was accompanied by increasing public transport. This assisted in the decline of the inner residential population, whilst commercial uses increased with subsequent degrees of blighting occurring. Inner areas subsequently became home to lower socio economic groups.

Over the last two decades inner areas have become increasingly popular as people have become aware of the benefits of residing in these areas.

The dominance of middle and outer suburb living is gradually changing. Decreasing levels of fertility, and declining levels of immigration have contributed to the questioning of the perceived benefits of outer suburban living, and caused a reverse trend resulting in the revitalisation of inner areas (Davison, 1993).

Most middle and particularly outer suburbs are recognised for their isolation and lack of essential facilities including community halls, shops and public transport (Mowbray, 1994).

Revitalisation through gentrification has largely been a result of the change in attitudes and perception to inner city dwellings. These areas are now once again fulfilling the role that they were originally planned for, although for a population of different socio economic and family status, which has caused many inner dwellings to be renovated and adapted to modern living standards.

3.3 POPULATION

In Australia people have increasingly married at a later age whilst fertility levels have decreased; generally there is a trend towards fewer people per household. In the 1890s in Australia each woman had an average of 7 children, this dropped to 4 by 1900, 3 in the mid 1970s, and in 1990 the figure was 2.

Women now have children later in life. In 1966, 7% of women giving birth for the first time were aged 30 years and over, this figure has increased to 21% in the late 1980s. Over the same period the number of women giving birth for the first time that were teenagers decreased from 23% to 4%

(ABS, 1993).

With equal opportunity legislation and changes in workplace attitudes women now stay in the workforce longer. In the 1960s approximately 25% of women with children went out to work. Today this figure had risen to approximately 55% (ABS, 1993).

The average age at which people first marry has increased along with the number of people that will never marry, whilst the number of defacto relationships has also increased.

The number of couples with children where both parents are employed is increasing. The main reason for both parents working is to be able to afford to purchase a dwelling (Office of the family, 1989).

The trend within Australia households is for fewer people per household with a generally increasing aged population (DPUD, 1988).

The smaller household sizes, and change in household structure, is indicative of the change in community attitudes and the needs and wants of these people.

When the first inner city dwellings were built in the inner areas they accommodated larger households typically with 3-4 children and two parents. Today these same dwellings are home to fewer people. Inner dwellings are generally smaller than middle or outer suburban dwellings, hence their suitability for today's smaller households.

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF INNER CITY DWELLINGS

The architecture of inner dwellings was transported with the first settlers from England. After a period of acclimatisation the architecture was modified to Australian conditions. The first dwellings were usually attached terrace houses with a verandah at the front and rear of the dwelling with an outside wash house and toilet. They usually had two bedrooms with one living room. They were minimal in design whilst being functional for the occupants. It did not take long for detached dwellings to become more prevalent as it was realised that they were more suited to the Australian climate.

The changes in dwelling design within inner areas are evident in all Australian cities. The expansion of the verandahs being the first main design change to adapt to Australian summer conditions (Stannage, 1980).

The first dwellings were not designed for architectural beauty, rather for the expanding population that required shelter. Most of the occupants were new arrivals to Australia and the first priority for many was to establish themselves by first obtaining a dwelling and employment.



The occupants were mostly the working class requiring shelter for themselves and their families. The dwellings were designed to provide this minimal shelter, whilst the more wealthy people resided in larger ornate dwellings. Examples of these dwellings may still be found today. Invariably they are situated in what was once considered the better locations. As stated by Twopenny (1883): "Everything ornamental (for a dwelling) costs twice as much as in England.... Most houses have some attempt at ornamentation.... the smaller workers homes are usually oblong in shape and built with the least ornamentation... the larger houses have similar features to those in England."

The cost of the more ornate dwellings meant that they were occupied by higher socio economic groups.

The inner dwellings are now being renovated by people that have a large disposable income and developers who renovate and then resell. This is a result of the demand for these houses which is linked to their perceived design qualities.

People now seek a variation to the project homes of the new areas. Their demand is partially met by dwellings available within the inner areas.

3.5 COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

The continual outward growth of Australian cities may be attributed to people perceiving the city as a place of entertainment, commerce and not necessarily a residential location. As cities have grown there has generally been a decrease in the number of inner city residents and dwellings. People have moved to middle and outer suburbs whilst many inner dwellings were adapted or redeveloped for non residential uses as the commercial influence of the city spread. The result of this was to cause the inner areas to be perceived as a changing environment (Collins, 1993).

The broadhectare subdivisions on the urban fringe have been heavily marketed by developers and financial institutions, while inner areas lacked comparable capital growth, they were subsequently not promoted as residential locations (Davidson, 1990).

Prior to the 1980s migrants were the major identifiable group of residents of Australian inner areas. This led to a reinforcement of the notion by most of anglo celtic origins that inner areas were not desirable as residential locations and that the housing was less than adequate (Bottomley & de Lepervanche, 1989).

Australian history has shown that until the 1970s the consensus (perceived or actual) of inner city dwellings was that they were old, substandard, not modern, and a place for low income earners to reside (McManus, 1987).

The growing awareness of Australian heritage and architectural value of inner dwellings led to an interest in the restoration and renovation of these dwellings, and has contributed to the gentrification of many inner areas since the early 1980s.

The community appears to now more widely accept inner dwellings on their historical value as well as the environmental and cultural benefits that they offer. Their main attraction however is proximity to the city centre, for this reason it appears unlikely that the trend to inner city living will alter in the future (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1993).

Interest and appreciation of these dwellings Australia wide appears to be growing which is evident in the media, books and journals that continually concentrate on benefits of inner city living. Most people now accept these dwellings and the inner areas as desirable residential locations, whilst not all necessarily wanting to reside in these areas.

Inner areas are an identifiable part of the history of Australia.

Part of the change in attitude to inner dwellings may be linked to the growth on nationalism in Australia. This has led to greater interest and appreciation of the past, and the inner dwellings are representative of Australian history and architecture (Collins, 1993).

3.6 ENVIRONMENT REVITALISATION

Increasing awareness of the fragility of the Australian environment, and the need to more closely monitor resources including fuel, and water has contributed to the popularity of the smaller residential lots.

The smaller lot and dwelling sizes characteristic of most inner dwellings have the potential to use less resources. Smaller lots means less water and fertilisers needed in the garden, proximity to employment, retail and cultural facilities means less use of private vehicles (Newman and Kenworthy, 1989).

Inner city dwellings are generally smaller than the newer outer suburban dwelling and thereby need less fuel to heat and cool them (Davidson & McManus, 1991).

Although not significant in increasing inner area populations, the environmental considerations of the small lots of the inner dwellings, need to be recognised as a positive factor of inner city living.

Since the mid 1980s smaller lot sizes have become available in new middle and outer suburb residential subdivisions. These lots were initially provided at the same time that the greenhouse effect and general environmental awareness was being given extensive coverage in the media.

The provision of smaller lots within new outer residential subdivisions indicates the growing acceptance and demand of these lots. This trend may be partially attributed to the renewed acceptance, and the recognition of the benefits, of the original small lot subdivisions of the inner suburbs.

The environmental savings of small lots appears to be slowly changing the Australian fixation with the 'quarter acre' lot. This trend is Australia wide with each state having a 'Green Street' Government run office that seeks to promote smaller lot subdivisions in middle and outer suburbs.

3.7 REVITALISATION AND THE MARKET

The market has realised the growing interest in inner areas and has catered and nurtured this demand.

This is evident in the number of dwellings being renovated and the number of properties being redeveloped to increase dwelling yield. This has caused an increase in property values within inner areas. It is not only the sale of dwellings in inner areas that the market has impacted upon, but also the supply of goods and services required by the residents of these dwellings. Industries such as antique shops, interior and exterior decorators, as well as retail services required for daily living are finding new business in providing services to the occupants of the inner suburbs.

Realising the value of inner city properties, banks have become increasingly willing to loan funds on these dwellings with the assurance that their loan is secure on an appreciating property.

To secure a loan on these same properties 15 years ago would have been more difficult as their values were substantially less, and the security that the property offered to the bank was less than today.

Banks, builders and retailers have all contributed to the revitalisation of inner areas. Together they have contributed to promoting the benefits of inner city living in order to further their own interests.

Many inner areas have experienced an increase in spending by Local Governments on public improvements such as street scape and urban design programs. This has been possible through the increase in rates collected for these areas as the land values, which determines the rates, have rapidly increased within these areas over the last decade. The increase in committed funds by

financial institutions, developers and residents in dwelling developments in inner areas has led to pressure being applied to have these urban design works undertaken. This public spending has contributed to increasing the attractiveness and value of inner areas.



Revitalisation has benefited investors and developers in the housing market. They have ensured inner dwellings have remained popular by promoting the benefits of living close to the city. To this end developers and investors have pressured Local and State Government to permit redevelopment of land for inner dwellings and to ensure that the land use zoning is protecting the existing dwellings within these areas. This is evident in inner areas where the increase in population is matched by increasing dwelling prices.

3.8 STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Over the last decade most Australian State and Local Governments have embraced and promoted inner city living.

Whilst both State and local Governments have actively produced documentation and publicised the benefits of inner city living in an attempt to further rejuvenate the inner areas, Local Governments specifically have encouraged investment through the zoning process.

Whilst Local Governments in some instances have been reluctant to amend zonings to assist inner city dwelling developments, the pressures applied from developers and investors appears to have assisted in the zonings being amended (Bain, 1989).

Local Governments have mostly identified methods of increasing dwelling stock in inner areas as well as establishing design guidelines to ensure sensitive development (Bain, 1989).

Both levels of government have ensured that the legislative framework has been in place to permit the demand for inner dwellings to be fulfilled. In previous years as the inner areas underwent blighting, they did little to stop this. During this period of blight they changed zonings to permit further residential blight. However, with the change in demand for inner areas, they have readily changed zonings back to cater for this demand once again. This will be further examined in subsequent chapters.

3.9 THE DISPLACED

The most negative aspect of revitalisation is the impact upon the low socio economic groups that live in these areas. These people may be homeless, living in hostels, on welfare or in low paying jobs and rent inexpensive accommodation (Davidson, 1990). The reason these people can afford to

rent these dwellings is because they may be run down, and do not attract large rents. This applies to individuals renting private accommodation, and to those people residing in hostels for homeless people.



Revitalisation causes an increase in land values, which causes the owners of the older dwellings to either increase the rents, renovate and sell the dwellings for profit, or for the dwellings to be sold to an investor or potential renovator and occupier (McManus, 1987).

The public housing sector is under increasing pressure to reduce their dwelling stocks within the inner areas, on the premise that the profit will allow them to provide more dwellings in middle and outer suburbs.

Revitalisation has the ability to push to low socio economic residents out of inner areas. This has happened to varying degrees in all Australian inner areas subject to revitalisation.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Inner city dwellings within Australian cities have undergone the process of revitalisation as a result of a number of changes within society, which has changed inner areas from being a place to escape from, to what now equates to a sought after address.

Some of the changes which have influenced revitalisation of Australian inner areas relate to demographic changes, type of dwellings available within the inner areas, community attitudes and reactions of the both the market place and the state.

The changes and trends identified within this chapter will be more closely examined within the contexts of the case study area of Northbridge within the subsequent chapter.

The revitalisation of Australian inner areas has followed an international trend applicable to most western cities. This trend is largely a result of the needs and wants of the investors and developers in the housing market.

However this has been to the benefit of the inner areas which prior to revitalisation were undergoing degrees of blight. The revitalisation of these areas is a trend that at present appears unlikely to change, and will ensure that the life within these areas and the history of these locations will not be lost.

CHAPTER 4
HISTORICAL NORTHBRIDGE

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The study area of Northbridge was first settled by Europeans in 1829. The area has evolved from predominant agricultural uses, to being a residential location, which was later taken over by commercial uses. More recently there has been increasing interest in the area as a residential location.

The evolution of the built form and uses of Northbridge is typical of most Australian inner city areas. For this reason it has been chosen to be examined in detail as a case study area.

4.1 NAMING OF NORTHBRIDGE

Until 1991 Northbridge was officially known as Perth. However the area always had its own identity, distinct from the Perth city centre. There are several reasons for this including the development of the railway line prior to the turn of the century which physically severed the area from the rest of the city, and the concentration of retail and entertainment activities peculiar to the ethnic groups located in the area.

As the culture of Northbridge grew, distinct from most other parts of the Perth metropolitan region, it led to the residents, business people and users of the area using various terms including 'Northline' and 'North of the Bridge'. In the 1970s the term Northbridge was initially used after a competition was organised by the Perth City Council and local business people.

Over time Northbridge has gone from being a residential inner area genuinely distinct from the city, to having a dominance of commercial uses. These commercial uses are, in many instances, of a

type and scale, distinct from the central city area. This enhances the areas identity, although the areas dominant commercial uses also characterise the area as part of the Perth central city area.

4.2 EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

Whilst the Aboriginal history of the area is not within the ambit of this study, the Northbridge area originally formed part of the land traditionally used by Aboriginal people. Before being developed by Europeans, Northbridge was characterised by its generally low land levels, in some parts susceptible to rising winter water tables, and several small lakes.

It was not until the 1830s that Northbridge had its first resident white population. The land was used for horticultural purposes to supply the growing population of the Perth city area (Perth City Council, 1977).

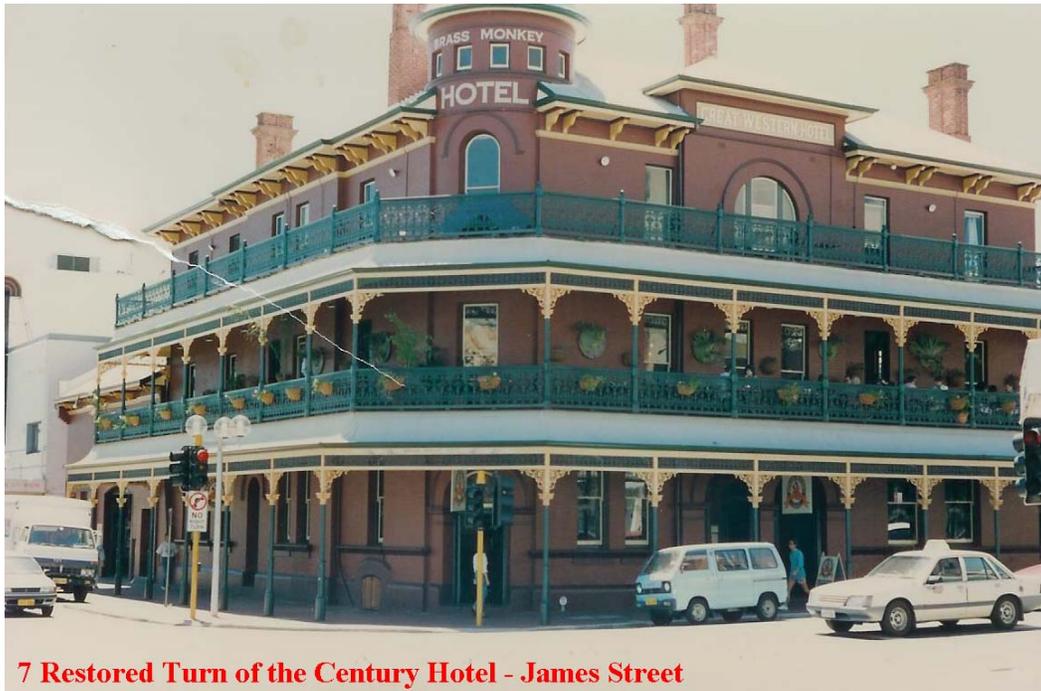
4.3 1829 - 1900 OVERVIEW

During the initial years of settlement government officials were busy devising the road and subdivision pattern for Northbridge.

These plans were finalised in the 1830s with most of the roads being surveyed and built by the mid 1850s (DPUD, 1991).

Northbridge today still largely reflects the first road and subdivision patterns, which were formulated from a surveyors perspective with drainage and access being the main design criteria.

Once the land was surveyed the population grew as allotments were gradually taken into private ownership. The use of the land was mixed with residential dwellings, market gardens, hotels, shops, churches and clubs characterising the area (Stannage, 1980).



Prior to the turn of the century the area was home to a mixture of migrant groups. The early population of Northbridge was characterised by mostly low socio economic groups. There were several reasons for this. The Perth gaol was built in the 1800s located approximately 200 metres to the west of the study area, and this location provided stigma for respectable settlement.

In addition the topography of the area was physically lower than adjoining areas and had drainage problems. This made it less attractive and healthy compared to the higher land of other inner city areas such as West Perth.

The prostitutes operating in Northbridge also did much to harm the reputation of the area (Michael, 1993). It is reported that the brothels, mainly located along Roe Street, number over 40 at their peak (Bain, 1989).

Prior to 1900 Northbridge was a lower socio economic area experiencing continuing growth with a mixture of land uses, and resident ethnic groups. People often lived in the area and worked in the adjoining city centre and suburbs.

The seeds of diversity in Northbridge today were sown prior to 1900. These 'seeds' were the lack of formal planning, the attraction of the migrants to the area, the mix of residential and non residential uses and the barrier of the railway which encouraged a distinct identity for the area.

4.3.1 1900 - 1990s OVERVIEW

At the turn of the century the social and built infrastructure of Northbridge was firmly in place. The roads, rail, services, dwellings, commercial structures and diverse resident population were well established.

The social and built form of Northbridge changed little from 1900 to 1940. However this period saw further development of vacant land within the area for both commercial and residential uses.



By the 1940s some of the dwellings were almost 100 years old. The age of the areas was showing as the accommodation increasingly became run down as some landowners moved out of the area retaining the dwellings for rental accommodation (PCC, 1977).

After World War Two there was a resurgence of migration to Australia, particularly from Southern Europe. The cheap rent and proximity to the city attracted many people to the dwellings of Northbridge. Whilst this ensured the area was well populated, it led to many of the dwellings further declining into disrepair as their owners sought to obtain rental income. This trend continued until the late 1960s when migration intake gradually decreased.

During the 1970s and 1980s the migrant population of the area was maintained, although at a lesser volume than previously experienced. These migrants were mainly from Asia (ABS, 1993). After settling in Australia the emerging trend has been for migrants to gradually move out of the area to be replaced by newly arriving migrants.

Other than the new migrant population arriving post World War Two, the other most significant change to the area was the renewed interest in the area as a residential location.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s local people seeking alternatives to middle and outer suburban living focused on Northbridge. Gentrification and revitalisation occurred to a small degree which culminated in the early 1990s with Local and State Government devoting resources to study and promote the area.

4.4 THE PEOPLE

The diverse population of Northbridge is attributable to the migrant groups that have been attracted to the area. The first migrants to live in the area were from England and Ireland. They were followed by Greek, Chinese, Maltese, German and Italian people (DPUD, 1991).

As more migrants arrived the transient character of Northbridge emerged with boarding houses attracting people seeking short term, low cost accommodation.

Detailed statistics for Northbridge prior to the turn of the century are not available. However based on development in the area it is evident that the largest population increase prior to the turn of the century was during the Gold Rush of the 1890s.

The population of Western Australia rose by approximately 120,000 from 1890 to 1900 when it was 179,967 (Stannage, 1980). During this period many of the people who settled in the area were of Greek and Chinese origin.

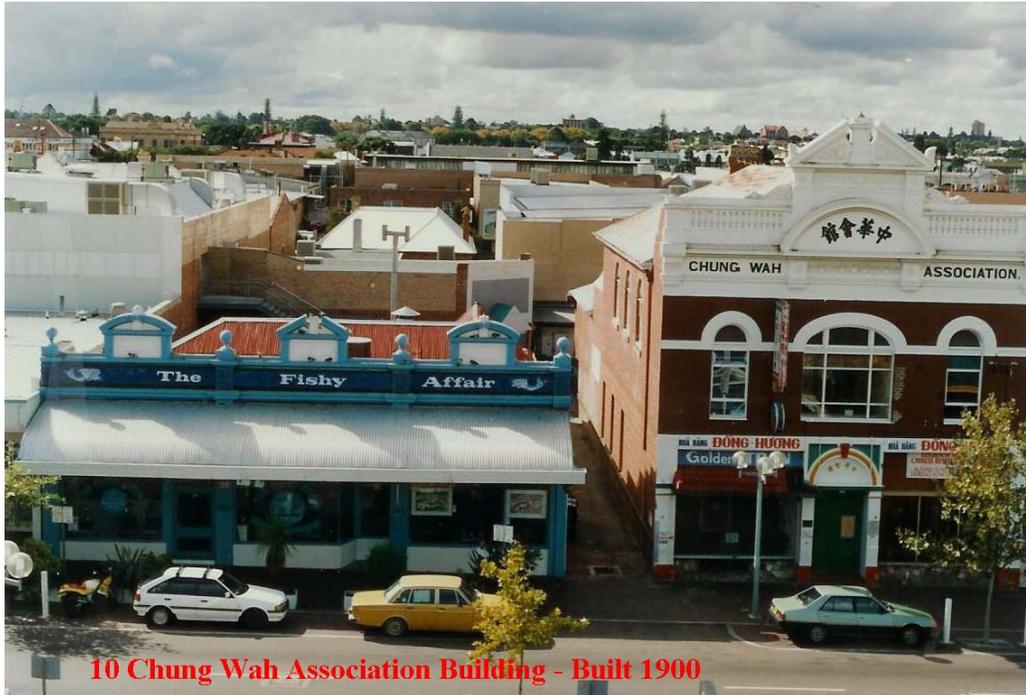
The next major population boom in the area was after World War Two when approximately 300,000 migrants arrived in Perth. Most of these people came from Greece and Italy (ABS, 1993). The Italian population grew to an extent that Northbridge became recognised as a "Little Italy". During the 1970s and 1980s many migrants from South East Asia settled in the area.



The churches, clubs and restaurants peculiar to each of the ethnic groups can still be found in Northbridge today. The first official record of an ethnic organisation in Northbridge was 1889 when Chinese New Year was celebrated.

Each ethnic group lived within defined areas. Chinese people generally lived in Roe Street and James Street, Greek people lived in Lake Street and Aberdeen Street and Italians generally located in Lake Street and Francis Street (Webb, 1991).

Whilst the number of migrants in the area is recognised as being significant, there has always been a resident population of Australian born people. However the concentration of ethnic groups within Northbridge gave them a status and identity not found in other parts of the metropolitan region.



Whilst accurate statistics are not available it is reasonable to assume that the local population of the area followed Australia wide trends in terms of household characteristics. At the turn of the century most households consisted of two parents and four or five children, with women generally not in the formal labour force (Office of the Family, 1989).

From the 1960s to 1980s there was a general decrease in population of the area. Proximity to the city and demand for commercial land caused dwelling numbers to decrease. Also the land reserved for the future freeway in the north of the study area took up all land bounded by Aberdeen Street, William Street, Newcastle Street and Fitzgerald Street. Land within this reserve was gradually purchased by the State Government via the Main Roads Department and in many instances

dwellings and commercial buildings have been either under utilised or demolished. This proposed freeway is further detailed in Section 4.8.

From 1966 to 1976 the population of Northbridge decreased from 1238 to 533, and further reduced to 499 in 1986 (ABS, 1993). In 1991 the population was approximately 338. The Inner City Housing Taskforce (1993) stated that this figure has probably remained the same over the last few years until the present day.

In 1971 the largest age group was those aged 15 - 24 years. This shifted to the 20 - 24 year group in 1986 and to the 20 - 29 year group in 1991. In 1991, 92% of the people were aged over 15 years. Similarly in 1971 and 1986 most people were aged over 15 years (ABS, 1993).

In 1986 and 1991 the most common household type was single people either living on their own or sharing accommodation with other single people. This shifted from the 1971 census where there was a relatively even mixture of single people living on their own or with other single people, and traditional two parent families with dependents (ABS, 1993).

The number of people born in a country other than Australia in 1986 was 69.3%. In 1991 it had dropped to 60.9% of the resident population. The country of origin of most of these people was Greece, Vietnam, Former Yugoslavian States, Italy and South Africa (ABS, 1993).

The number of foreign born in the area is magnified by the location of several travellers hostels within Northbridge (PCC, 1991). This reinforces the areas history as a place for transient people to locate and it appears unlikely that their presence will alter in the future.

With regards to income 50.3% of people in Northbridge in 1986 earned less than \$6000 per annum, whilst in 1991 most people earned less than \$10000 per annum.

In 1986 and 1991 the highest fields of employment were in the retail and recreational fields. In 1991, 51% of the people had no formal training or academic qualifications and 22% of people were unemployed (ABS, 1993).

Over the last decade the resident population of Northbridge has increasingly been characterised by young single people, with a high proportion of people in skilled and semi skilled employment with a significant proportion of low income earners and the unemployed.

4.5 THE DWELLINGS

The first dwellings were built in Northbridge in the 1830s. Poor drainage in the area led to a less than favourable view of the area which was reflected in the size and architecture of many of these early dwellings.

In comparison to other residential areas there were generally smaller, and less ornate dwellings in Northbridge (Stannage, 1980). There are some exceptions to this with several dwellings on Aberdeen and Parker Streets being more ornate and larger than most dwellings in the area (Morcombe, 1991).

The first dwellings were typical of the designs used in most Australian cities in the 1800s. Of the remaining dwellings today, most are of Federation or Californian Bungalow style. The internal aspects of these dwellings are usually comprised of a living room, kitchen/dining room, wash house, two bedrooms and a sleep out.



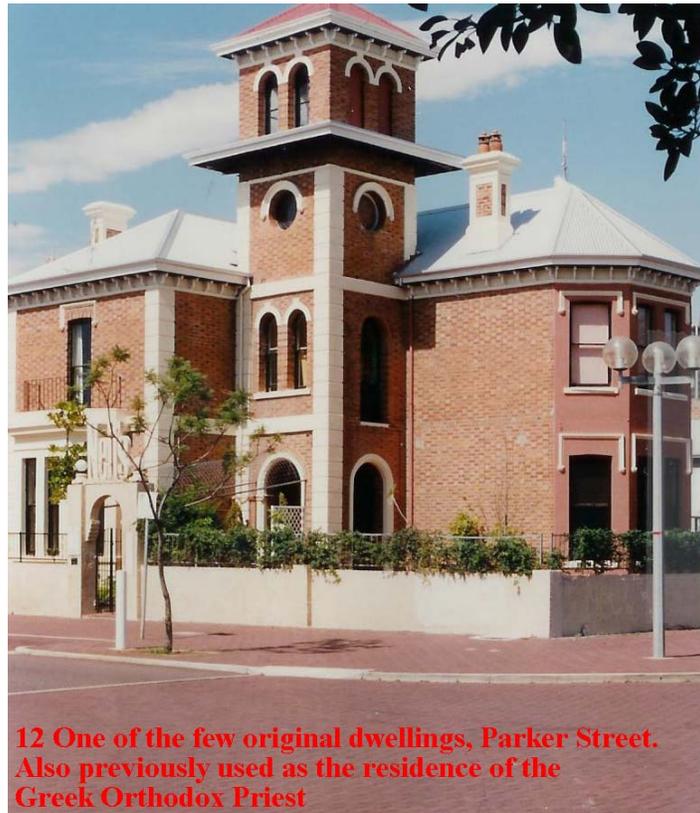
Surveys undertaken by the author detail that of the dwellings still used for residential purposes, and the original dwellings converted for non residential uses, all were constructed of either brick or stone, or a combination of both materials, with an even mixture of tin an tiled roofs.

Examination of the Perth City Council plans indicates that most lot sizes are between 200 - 450 square metres. Most dwellings have either been demolished or converted for more profitable commercial developments. In many instances of commercial succession, site inspection indicates that many dwellings have been demolished rather than converted.

Some dwellings have been converted to short term boarding houses and travellers' accommodation.

Inspection of the remaining dwellings that are still used for residential purposes reveals that there are three categories of dwellings :

1. Dwellings in good condition and currently occupied.
2. Dwellings in poor condition and used as a residence.
3. Dwellings that have been left vacant and have been subjected to vandalism.



**12 One of the few original dwellings, Parker Street.
Also previously used as the residence of the
Greek Orthodox Priest**

The number of dwellings in the area has fluctuated greatly over the last few decades. The number of dwellings used for both private homes and boarding houses has decreased by approximately 100 since 1959 (see land use maps-Appendix D).

Table 1.0 Dwelling Stock 1959 - 1993

Year	No. of Dwellings	No. of Boarding Houses
1959	149	15
1967	93	2
1970	97	1
1982	57	0
1985	41	0
1990	30	1
1993	53	5

Source : Perth City Council, and I & D Davidson

4.6 NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENTS 1940s - 1960s

To gain a social insight into the history of the area, interviews were conducted with eighteen former residents of Northbridge. The same questions were asked of each person interviewed. The questions and explanatory notation is outlined in Appendix E. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain an understanding of what it was like to live in Northbridge. All of the people interviewed had lived in at least one dwelling within the study area between the late 1940s to early 1960s, and had resided in the area between 6 months and 10 years.

Ten of the people interviewed were female, eight were male. All were aged between 60 and approximately 85 years and their countries of birth were either Greece or Italy.

Upon arriving in Australia most of the interviewees lived in Northbridge as their first place of residence. After establishing themselves financially they all moved out to new dwellings mostly in inner suburbs including Inglewood, Mount Lawley and Joondanna. Approximately half of the interviewees still live in the dwelling that they moved into upon moving out of Northbridge.

Most people interviewed were employed in the adjoining areas of Perth, East Perth, Mount Hawthorn and West Perth. Bicycles, buses and walking were the most common method of getting to work.

It was commonly stated that economic hardship was one of the most vividly remembered about living in the area. Most people were saving to move to a newer, or larger dwelling outside the area. Others were also attempting to save and send money to their families overseas.

Shopping for food and clothing was done mostly in Perth and to a lesser degree in Northbridge. Northbridge did however have food and grocery stores to cater for its resident population. Some of them including 'The Re Store' on Lake Street, and 'Kakulas Brothers' grocery store on William Street, both still operate today in the same locations.

Most of the interviewees stated that they often went to the Perth city to shop as they felt the larger stores offered better priced goods. The shops in Northbridge were seen as adequate for convenience items but in comparison with city stores were overpriced.

Entertainment centred on clubs within the area that catered for the different ethnic groups such as the 'Hellenic Club' on Parker Street, 'Italian Club' on Fitzgerald Street (the fringe of the study area), churches in the area, coffee shops where cards were played, and cinemas in Perth and Leederville.

Particularly popular was the Oxford Cinema on Oxford Street, Leederville and the Premier open air cinema on the corner of Bulwer Street and Beaufort Street, Highgate. Both of these cinemas showed films from Greece and Italy during the 1950s and 1960s.



Most of the private clubs and coffee shops are still operating today although most have undergone extensive renovations over the years.

Many of the interviewees remember the area as being friendly and safe. One respondent stated she felt more secure when she was outside her home rather than inside. The reason was that she could see people out on the street which gave her a perception of security. People generally had no fear of leaving their windows open at night and their doors unlocked.

It was common for children to be playing and people to be out walking and socialising with neighbours. There was a strong community identity. Most interviewees stated that they knew their neighbours in Northbridge better than they know their neighbours today.

The main reason these people lived in Northbridge was the affordable rent, proximity to employment, shops and entertainment. Most viewed the dwelling they lived in as offering adequate privacy although all were glad to move to larger dwellings with larger yards.

Most stated that they would not live in Northbridge today as they viewed it as being too noisy, unsafe and generally dangerous. However several stated that they might move back as they missed the vibrancy of the area compared to the lifestyle the middle and (outer) inner suburbs offer them now.

A typical weeknight for most people involved doing cleaning and other household chores. On weeknights and weekends the most common form of socialising was visiting friends in the area. This often meant a short walk to the next street.

Most of these former residents still have links with the area in the form of churches, private social clubs or occasionally visiting the restaurants in the area.

The majority did not originally live in Northbridge by choice, but rather due to financial hardship. However they retain fond memories of the area and the friendships formed. These people through the efforts of their respective communities have ensured that their history is firmly entrenched in the area.

4.7 LANDUSE CHANGES

Up to the turn of the century the predominant land use within Northbridge was residential with a scattering of commercial premises. However the gold rush was a major catalyst for economic and

commercial growth in the area. From the turn of the century to the 1940s residential uses continued to dominate. However growth of commercial uses was linked to the demand caused by the residents of the area for support services and the expansion of the city, which saw development spillover into Northbridge (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1992).

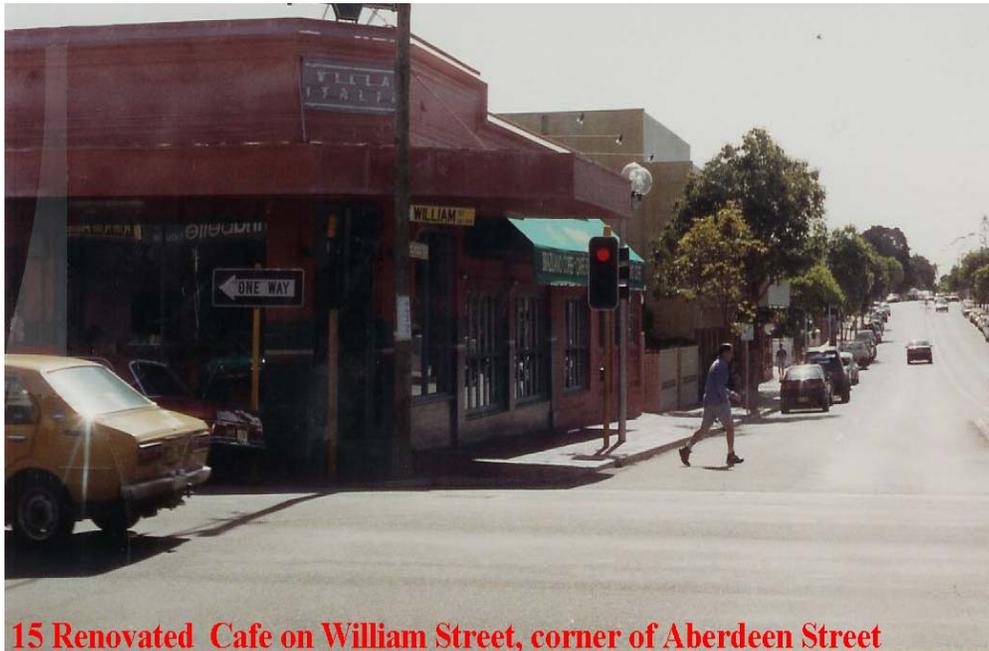
The growth of the economy after World War Two led to further increases in commercial activities in Northbridge, although the residential uses continued to maintain a significant presence.

Site inspection today reveal that entertainment uses dominate the area. Specifically restaurants, hotels, cafes and night clubs. Other recreational uses can also be found including churches, private clubs and art galleries. However there are also offices notably the Australian Taxation Office, and other professional offices such as solicitors and accountants.

There are now over 65 restaurants and 8 nightclubs/hotels in the study area.



14 Small Retail (Second Hand) Store, Francis Street



The land uses are as diverse as the people that are found in the area. The diversity of uses is what attracts a broad range of people to the area. The mixture of uses ensures that Northbridge is close to operating 24 hours a day. Office workers are on the streets during the day, whilst in the early evening there are people patronising restaurants. These are replaced in the later hours by night club patrons (DPUD, 1991).

4.8 THE ROLE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTHBRIDGE

When Western Australia was first settled there was little interest by the State Government and later the Perth City Council in Northbridge. The first interest was motivated by the sale of land to create revenue for the fledging State Treasury. The development of land during the early days of Western Australia was viewed as a step towards progress for the colony.

Whilst commercial development was focused on the Perth city area, the expansion of any commercial development was viewed as positive and to the betterment of the growth and independence of the colony (Stannage, 1980).

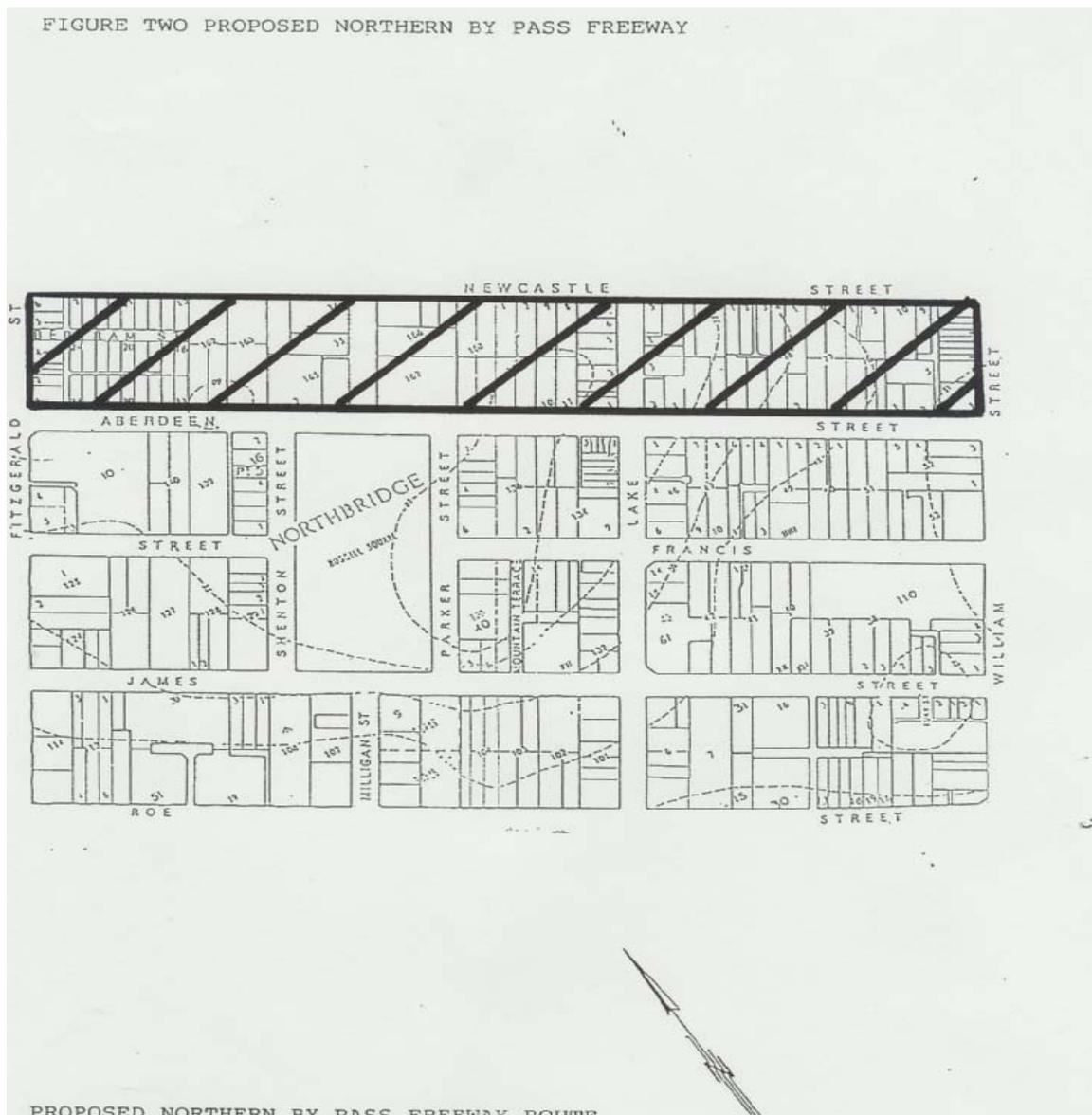
Until the 1940s there was little government intervention in Northbridge. The main involvement was initially in surveying the area, and later in building roads, connecting services and ensuring buildings were structurally sound. This lack of intervention is undoubtedly what has created the diversity of the area that is evident today (Perth City Council, 1989).

Until World War Two dwellings could be converted to commercial uses alongside existing dwellings with no intervention through the planning process. This permitted people to start businesses from home, and as the businesses grew and gradually took over the use of the whole house, the residents moved to another dwelling whilst retaining the original dwelling for commercial use (Stephenson, 1955).

From the 1950s to the late 1980s the State Government and Perth City Council viewed Northbridge as a potential area for commercial expansion. It was seen as supplementing the city centre and allowed for the commercial expansion of the city. From the Stephenson and Hepburn plan of 1955, to the Perth City Council City Zoning Scheme of 1985, Northbridge has always been designated in a statutory sense as commercial with local zoning allocated to warehouses, shops and industry. The change in zonings is detailed in Appendix F.

The suggested plan of 1955 also introduced the proposal for a City Northern Bypass freeway to cut through the study area (see Figure Two). This led to the State Government purchasing the land that comprises the freeway reserve and subsequent blighting occurring (DPUD, 1991).

The aim of the freeway was to improve access in and around the city. The freeway still has not been built, although in 1994 the State Government announced that the freeway would be developed in a tunnel. It appears that the land above the freeway will be able to be developed upon, although both the Main Roads Department and the Department of Planning and Urban Development have not prepared any detailed proposals at present. However they have advised that it is likely that no existing structures will have to be demolished to make way for the freeway.



The 1955 plan designated the area abutting the east of the study area bounded by William, Frances, Beaufort and Roe Streets for cultural purposes, and has since been developed for 'cultural' uses including the State art galleries and museum. This area abuts the central city area and the intention was to link the study area via the cultural precinct to the central city. The cultural precinct not only represents the assimilation of Northbridge into the central city planning process, but also the investment of significant funds by the State Government.

In 1989 the Perth City Council stated in the 'Northbridge Study' that the residential population of Northbridge was increasingly being comprised of lower socio economic people and that the population was decreasing as commercial uses expanded. The document did not address the residential population decrease caused by the land zonings of the Perth City Council.

In the last two years the Perth City Council and State Government have made a definite commitment to increasing inner city residential populations. This is supported in documents such as "City Living" (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1992).

The position of the State Government and Perth City Council has changed from having no interest, to zoning the land for commercial purposes, to now seeking a return of the residential uses that used to dominate the area. Similarly the planning structure of the area has now changed.

As suggested in the Mant report (1988) the Perth City Council and State Government have merged more closely, with the Perth City Council formerly being disbanded and replaced by four new local Councils in 1994. The Perth City Council now largely controls the Perth city centre and Northbridge.

This has created the potential for new directions in planning in Northbridge. Although still in its infancy, the new Perth City Council appears to be embracing the intention of residential revitalisation in the city and inner city areas including Northbridge.

4.9 RESIDENTIAL REVITALISATION

The Australia wide trend is for most inner city areas to have undergone residential revitalisation over the last decade. Whilst the inner areas surrounding Northbridge have been part of this trend, the study area itself has not significantly exhibited this process.

The recently produced reports of the State Government and Perth City Council indicates that residential revitalisation is on the political agenda for the study area.

If the publicity of the State Government and the Perth City Council is acted on it would be fair to assume that revitalisation of the area, as a residential location will progress from a conceptual idea to reality in the future. The planning process will be the vehicle for this change.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF COMMERCIAL USES ON DWELLING STOCK IN NORTHBRIDGE

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Whilst dwelling stocks have decreased in Northbridge, commercial uses have generally expanded.

There have always been commercial uses within Northbridge, however the last few decades has seen the most significant commercial expansion. This has culminated in dwelling stock being a minority land use and commercial uses dominating.

Commercial uses include any non residential use. However in the case of Northbridge these are primarily entertainment and office uses.

What requires consideration is why commercial uses have located in Northbridge, what the role of Local and State Government and the market place has been, and what patterns of commercial growth and residential contraction have occurred.

5.1 COMMERCIAL SUCCESSION OF DWELLINGS

The initial development of most inner suburbs of Australian cities has been characterised by a mixture of both residential and commercial uses (Palen & London, 1984). The degree to which commercial uses have dominated individual areas has however varied. Australian inner areas demonstrate differing degrees of commercial domination.

Some locations have been totally transformed to commercial, whilst in some instances the dwelling stock has been retained as the main use.

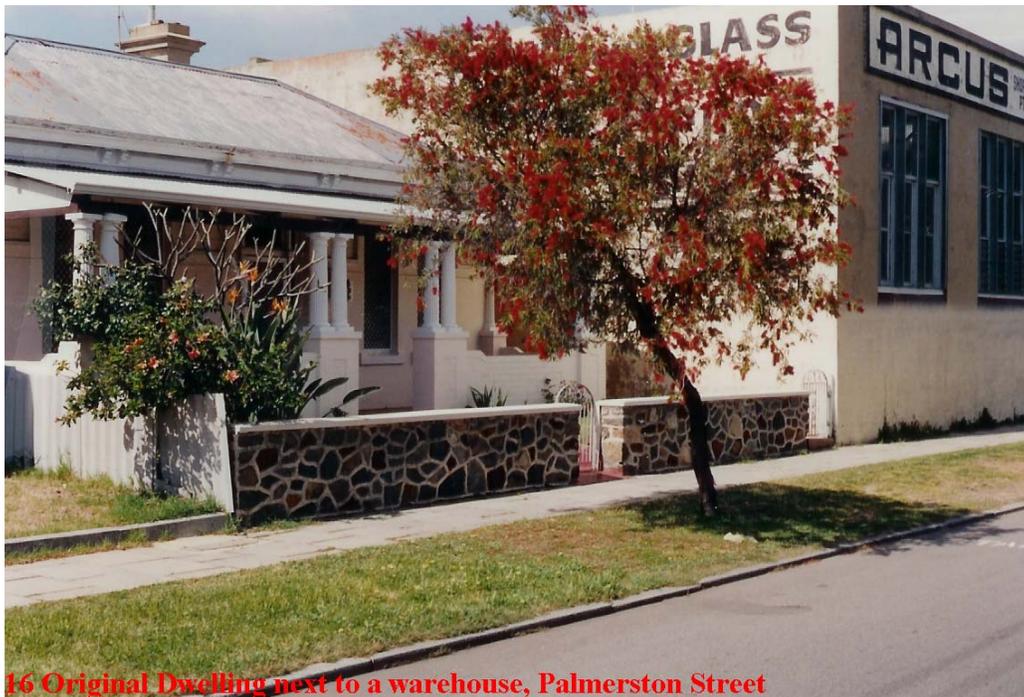
In Northbridge the first dwellings were built in the 1830s when the area was used for agricultural purposes. Commercial uses continued to grow relative to the population and the growth of the local economy.

Most significantly the gold rush increased both residential and commercial uses within the Perth metropolitan region (Crowley, 1969). Northbridge was no exception to this with commercial uses and dwellings often locating side by side.

The expansion of the resident population around the turn of the century was matched by a growth in retail activities, and an expansion of the type of commercial uses in Northbridge which included a tobacco processing factory and meat works.

Since the 1950s this trend of commercial expansion has continued to the level where there are now only a few dwellings remaining in the area.

When Western Australia was first settled there was a general lack of planning regulations; this lack of control continued well into this century (Stephenson & Hepburn, 1955).



16 Original Dwelling next to a warehouse, Palmerston Street

Until the 1950s there continued to be no control over commercial development. The prevailing attitude appeared to be commercial growth should be fostered. Indeed the Stephenson and Hepburn plan of 1955 promoted both the 'economic and social' planning of Perth. However the document itself focuses more on economic development. This philosophy has been carried through to all subsequent plans for Perth. The dominance of commercial activity in the planning of Perth has been noted by local planners such as Yiftachel (1987).

Commercial uses and dwellings were developed in Northbridge in what appears to have been a mutually agreeable situation. Certainly the interviews with the former residents outlined in the previous chapter do not suggest that there was a conflict between residents and commercial uses.

The proximity of the area to the city region and railway has been the main reason for the increase in commercial uses and decrease in dwelling stock.

5.2 STOCK OF DWELLINGS

From 1959 to 1993 the number of dwellings in Northbridge including lodging houses reduced from 164 to 53 (Source Perth City Council et al, see landuses Appendix D). These dwellings have now mostly been converted for commercial activities including offices, restaurants and night clubs.

From 1959 to 1967 the total number of dwellings and lodging houses in Northbridge dropped from 164 to 95. The loss was most significant in the southern portion of Northbridge in the area bounded by Roe Street, William Street, James Street and Fitzgerald Street. The reduction in dwellings in this area was from 17 to 4. The same block in 1982 had no dwellings.

In 1982 there were 57 dwellings in Northbridge. Most of these dwellings were located north of Francis Street in the proposed northern bypass freeway reserve land. By 1985 there were only three lots used for residential purposes south of Francis Street.

5.3 COMMERCIAL / RESIDENTIAL LANDUSE PATTERNS

Up to the 1950s commercial and residential landuses were mixed throughout the study area. Each street was recognisable by the main ethnic group that lived there, with some form of commercial activity being found in most streets. Ethnic groups including Greek, Chinese and Italian people each tended to reside in particular streets and there were a diverse range of commercial uses including agricultural, retailing and entertainment (Michael, 1993).

Land use surveys (see Appendix D) show that in 1959 there were a few dwellings located on Roe Street at the southern most portion of the study area, however by the 1980s these dwellings had disappeared and were replaced by commercial uses.

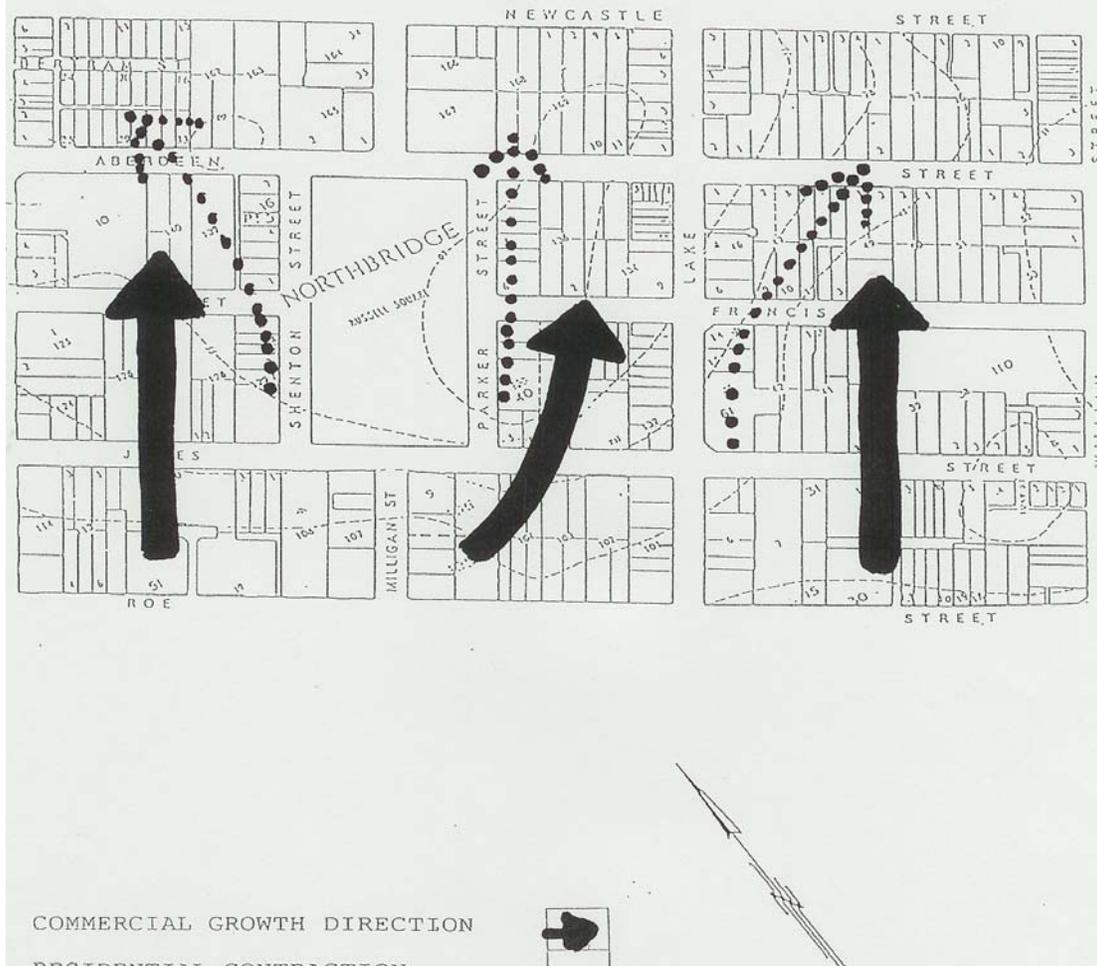
Throughout the area the number of dwellings has slowly decreased since the late 1950s as the land has been taken over by commercial uses. There is not one noticeable period where the decrease in dwelling stock was most rapid. From the late 1950s until today it has been a gradual process.

Today there are no dwellings south of Francis Street still used as a residence. In 1993 there was only one dwelling remaining that was used as a residence. This was a single house located on Lake Street. However the original owner and occupant of this dwelling died in 1994 and the dwelling was shortly after demolished.

The depletion of dwellings has continued to the point where in 1990 there were only a few dwellings remaining north of Francis Street. However this was reversed in 1993 when several former dwellings that had been converted to commercial uses, were reconverted to residential use again. However as site inspections and the land use surveys detail commercial uses dominate the entire study area.

The land closest to the Perth city centre was the first to have dwellings converted to commercial uses with this trend continuing outwards in a northerly direction throughout the study area. The reason the land closest to the city was affected first was the attraction of the commercial link with the city, proximity to the rail system, and the major road transportation routes. This northerly invasion of commercial uses is documented by Alexander (1974).

FIGURE THREE COMMERCIAL GROWTH AND RESIDENTIAL CONTRACTION PATTERNS 1950S - 1990S



The demand for commercial land has grown outwards from the Perth city centre into the study area relative to the metropolitan region growing in both population and economic activity. This has impacted upon Northbridge where growth has occurred in a sectoral form out from the city following transportation and communication routes. This assisted the land rents increasing in favour of the commercial uses which further contributed to the commercial expansion of Northbridge.

The land use surveys indicated that commercial growth has occurred along the transportation routes of Roe, William and Lake Streets with growth occurring outward along each of these routes.

5.4 CHANGING COMMERCIAL USES

The commercial uses within Northbridge have reflected the general changes in the Western Australian economy; most Australian cities have undergone changes (Sandercock and Berry, 1983).

The technology and communications now available allow local, national and international market places to be linked instantaneously, and to be able to change and respond accordingly. Commercial uses locating in Northbridge can use technology to be part of wider market places and to respond to changes in the national and international markets.

When first settled the study area was home to the primary industry of agriculture, this shifted to secondary industries and progressed to the tertiary industries of today.

Many of the agricultural activities in the area were first operated by the new arrivals who were free settlers, although during the period of gold rush many immigrants, notably Chinese people were identified with the agricultural uses in the area (Guardian Express, 1993). Regardless of who the operators of the agricultural uses were, it appears that the market for the goods was mainly the residents of metropolitan Perth with some attempts being made to ship produce back to England.

The initial primary industry base shifted at the turn of the century. From this time to the 1960s there were many secondary industries in the area that included meat and tobacco processing plants, and metal fabricators. This industrial expansion is noted by Alexander (1974) and in the interviews

undertaken by the author with former residents where it was identified that until the late 1960s a meat processing plant was located on the corner of Lake Street and Roe Street. Today there is a restaurant, clothes store and office on the same site.

Based on ABS statistics, and information from the interviews undertaken by the author with former Northbridge residents, it appears that during this secondary industry phase of Northbridge there were many small scale secondary industries that were principally owned and operated by the same person. These small scale operators used dwellings for commercial uses. This was the first step in the commercial succession of a particular lot and for the area.

It is difficult to determine the extent of secondary industry in the area. There is a lack of detailed data with the ABS only having broad general details, and the Perth City Council not having kept accurate records on the uses in the area up until the 1960s. However it appears that the commercial land uses adapted to the needs of the market place and generally changed with local, regional and national trends.

The landuse surveys of the Perth City Council indicate that in the 1970s there was a shift to tertiary sector industries locating within the area. These uses include offices, entertainment and all manner of services.



In the 1970s the first purpose built office block was constructed in Northbridge on James Street. In the late 1980s a block of approximately 3000 square metres was demolished to permit the Australian Taxation Office to be built on the corner of William Street and Francis Street (see Plate 17). At the same time an older single storey commercial structure used for retail purposes was demolished on James Street to permit a three level office to be built. These developments have reinforced the commercial focus of Northbridge.

Whilst offices are a significant land use, more influential in the area are entertainment uses. Entertainment uses are the areas trademark. As noted by the Perth City Council (1991) and Inner City Housing Taskforce (1992), Northbridge is mainly recognised for its entertainment uses which dominate the use patterns of the area.

5.5 MARKET FORCES

Australian planning has generally been a product of the needs and wants of the market place. Most major planning decisions, and changes in planning have been a response to the changing direction of their needs (Paris & Halligan, 1984).

The decision to colonise Australia was an economic decision (Stannage, 1980). It is not surprising that the market forces have subsequently been a major influence over the planning process. This philosophy has continued through to modern times with Northbridge being no exception.

The regional plans for Perth from the Boas plan of 1930 through to Metroplan (1990) have all placed the emphasis on planning a city that functions as an economic entity (Yiftachel, 1987).

The changes in the type of commercial activity from primary to tertiary industry in Northbridge is a result of the needs of the market forces including developers and investors.

Similarly the decrease in dwelling stock has been the result of an economic decision to capitalise on locational opportunities.

As the value of the land has increased, the greater rental return for commercial land has caused dwellings to be converted to commercial uses. The rate at which dwellings have been converted to commercial uses reflects the market place fulfilling demand, whilst attempting not to oversupply commercial floor space to decrease rental values (Frank Gotsis, 1993: pers comms).

Up until the 1950s there was a low level of private transport ownership which has been attributed to the high percentage of Northbridge residents which were employed locally and their low socio

economic status. It was desirable to have a dwelling stock in Northbridge for the local workforce. By the 1950s many of the dwellings were up to 100 years old, attracting redevelopment opportunities.

Landlords, unwilling to spend money on the dwellings, found suitable tenants in newly arriving migrants. The location of the dwellings to the less desirable manual labouring jobs, and the less expensive rents made these dwellings suitable homes for migrants (Bottomley & de Lepervanche, 1989).

As public transport improved, and private vehicle ownership increased, people could live further from their place of employment. There was less need for a local workforce which allowed dwellings to more easily be converted to commercial uses. The Department of Planning and Urban Development in their 1991 study of Northbridge indicate that the decrease in dwelling stock was directly linked to the increase in commercial activities.

However the renewed interest in inner city housing appears to signify a change in the commercial potential of the area.

The market is slowly realising the potential for providing dwellings in Northbridge. The demand for dwellings in the area has not been great enough until recently to warrant investment (Paul Eftos, 1993: pers comms).

During the 1950s the area was not viewed as a sought after residential location. At this time the area was viewed more as an extension of the city. When the Northern By Pass freeway was proposed in the 1950s to cut through Northbridge the newspapers of the day indicated that it was greeted with a

warm reception. It was perceived as a means of linking the area economically with the rest of the region.

However it is currently viewed as being detrimental to the character of the area, or more specifically the entertainment uses within the area. In late 1993 the Northbridge Business Association pledged support to the anti freeway publicity campaign known as "Stop the Trench". Local restaurateur Aldo Ottaviano plainly states that the freeway is not compatible with the character of the area and would be detrimental for business (Aldo Ottaviano, 1994: pers comms).

5.6 ROLE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT AND PERTH CITY COUNCIL

When first settled there was no zoning of the land in Northbridge, and there appears to have been no restraint from any public organisation as to the type or mixture of uses locating in the area.

The 1955 Stephenson and Hepburn plan identified the future uses of Northbridge as industry, warehouses and shopping. In 1963 the zoning ordinances of the Perth City Council permitted offices, shops, warehouses and showrooms in the area. The 1971 and 1993 zoning maps have varied little from the 1963 zonings.

The 1955 Stephenson and Hepburn plan did not consider the residential population of the area, other than to identify that it could diminish as commercial uses took over the area.

Thirty years later the Perth City Council City Zoning Scheme of 1985 did not recognise the residents of the study area, or the impact of commercial developments on the lifestyle of the remaining residents.

The current City Zoning Scheme encourages commercial uses. Studies undertaken jointly by the Perth City Council and Department of Planning and Urban Development (1991, 1992) recognise the importance of, and encourage a residential population in Northbridge. The City Zoning Scheme is currently being amended to permit dwellings to be more easily developed within Northbridge.



18 Insensitive commercial architecture, James Street

In the 31st December, 1987 issue of the Western Mail newspaper there was only one dwelling listed in the real estate section under Perth, it was a two bedroom apartment with river views for \$25,000. The real estate portion of the Western Australian newspaper of 14th May, 1994 listed 57 properties for sale under the heading of Perth, the cheapest dwelling was a bedsit apartment for \$46,000 and the most expensive was \$349,000. A comparable dwelling to that identified in 1987 now under construction in the study area would be a one bedroom dwelling valued at approximately \$170,000.

Market forces have realised the potential of dwellings and are increasingly promoting them in the area. Over the last ten years there have been a number of State Government initiated changes which

have increased the attractiveness of Northbridge. Planting of street trees, replacing pavement slabs with brickpaving, and the changing of the name of the area from Perth to Northbridge. These changes have improved the image of the area, assisting in the increase in the number of people visiting the area (Frank Gotsis, 1993; pers comms).

The newly created Perth City Council now excludes most of its previously held residential areas. This has the potential for the new Council, in conjunction with the State Government to focus on an economic agenda with few constraints coming from traditional opponents to economic growth, and concentrating funding on the city and inner areas such as Northbridge rather than the residential areas.

5.7 CONCLUSION

The dwelling stock within Northbridge has been reduced, and converted to commercial uses as the population and economy has grown. The growth of commercial uses within the area is linked to the growth of the metropolitan region and the increasing regional significance of the Perth city centre.

Market forces have been dominant in permitting commercial uses to locate in the area. As the demand for various goods and services has changed so has the zoning and use of the land.

The State Government decision to split the Perth City Council into four smaller Councils itself may be viewed as market manipulation to further its own ends.

Through changing the type of commercial uses within Northbridge, and reducing the number of dwellings not only have the land uses changed but also the social fabric, socio economic base, and general character of the area.

Previously Northbridge had a resident migrant population and various industrial uses which gave the area a perception as a lower socio economic area of little regard; now it is essentially characterised by few residents and a plethora of entertainment and office uses.

Today there is increasing interest from developers to construct dwellings in Northbridge. In May 1994 the Perth City Council granted consent for 120 dwellings on the former Perth City Council depot land, that is bounded by James Street, Shenton Street, John Street and Fitzgerald Street.

CHAPTER 6

DEMAND FOR DWELLINGS IN INNER AREAS - NORTHBRIDGE

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The demand for dwellings within inner areas needs to be examined before further analysis of the type and location of dwellings being sought can be investigated.

The demand for dwellings within inner areas will be ascertained through the use of available statistics, and those generated by the author as part of the research for this thesis.

These statistics will be applied to the case study area of Northbridge which will assist in determining the demand for dwellings, and the potential for revitalisation within other inner areas.

6.1 CURRENT OPINIONS

Most recent academic and government research on inner city living generally expresses support for the benefits of living in these areas. The benefits are usually recognised as; location close to the city, services and cultural facilities, decreased private vehicle dependence, and the heritage and architectural value of the localities.

These views are supported by most academics from the local, national and international arena including Lennon (1992) and Elliott (1987) from the Perth planning scene, and Morris (1992), Davison (1993) and Mowbray (1994) at the national level. Whilst in the international planning arena there have consistently been academics who have identified beneficial aspects of inner city living and these include Mumford (1945), Jacobs (1961) and Robson (1988).

At the local level the Department of Planning and Urban Development states in Metroplan (1990), that the forward planning of the Perth metropolitan region should include provisions to improve "the range of housing opportunities for people to live in, and close to, the Perth city centre".

The 1991 report of the Department of Planning and Urban Development and the Perth City Council indicates that there is a resurgence in interest in the residential areas in and around the Perth city centre, and that the flow on effect of this will be that any new dwellings within Northbridge would be expected to be in high demand. The report does not indicate or substantiate what is the level of demand, or what is causing the demand.

The report proceeds to detail that dwellings provided in Northbridge must be affordable. However it does not identify which socio economic group it is referring to, or their economic capacity.

Similarly the report of the Inner City Housing Taskforce (1992) states that "Inner city housing is important to the future of Perth...it also offers an alternative to suburban living....it also serves as a component of inner city revitalisation..." This statement demonstrates the intention and commitment of the State Government.

One reason given by this study for promoting inner city living is encapsulated in the following comment: "With the current office space oversupply, investment in residential real estate is a more attractive proposition as commercial values in the inner city recede" (Inner City Housing Taskforce, 1992).

Whilst the demand and promotion of inner city dwellings is generally supported by academics, the Perth City Council and State Government, the media has also supported the notion of the 'growing demand' for inner city dwellings.

The West Australian newspaper on Saturday, 28th August 1993 included the statement "Those who have tasted the delights of the inner city hubbub, proximity to work and entertainment, rarely want to give it up for the more predictable nature of the suburbs".

Similarly other articles in the West Australian on 28th August 1993, 30th November 1993, 11th December 1993, 1st January 1994, 15th January 1994, 12th February 1994 and 28th May 1994 have all contained articles which have supported the concept of inner city living.

The support of the media and the government for inner city living clearly contributes to the process of revitalisation.

6.2 DEMAND TRENDS

Between the 1960s and the early 1980s the number of dwellings within the study area of Northbridge decreased. It was not until the late 1980s that this trend was reversed when there was a slight increase in the number of dwellings. However this does provide an indication of possible future trends.

The late 1980s heralded the first sign that Northbridge was regaining its use as a residential area. The suburbs of North Perth and Highgate adjoining the northern portion of the study area had been going through the process of gentrification with increasing popularity over the last decade, and this flowed over into Northbridge.

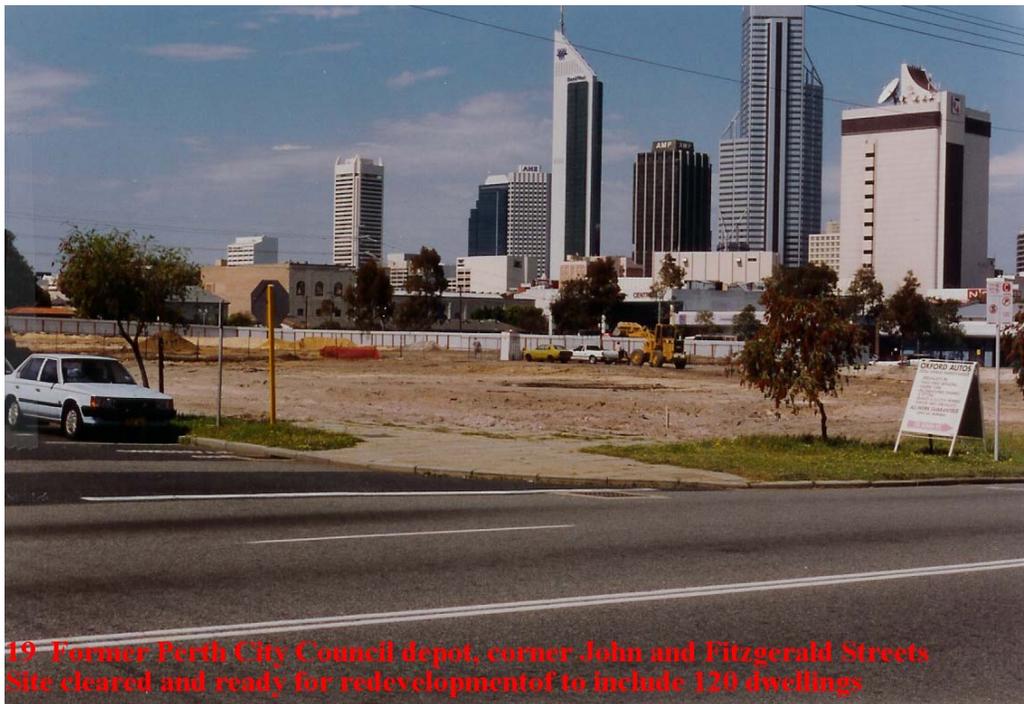
There have been two sites approved for new multiple dwellings within the study area in addition to several on the fringe.

Whilst it is important to recognise that there are factors such as government policy, the media, and the needs and wants of developers and investors that may influence the demand of dwellings in the study area, it must be realised that there is a real demand for dwellings in the area.

The value of the land within Northbridge is such that it is profitable to provide dwellings. However it is impractical from a developer's perspective to provide low density dwellings, whilst higher density blocks of dwellings are extremely profitable and can provide a range of dwelling sizes on a small land area (Paul Eftos, 1994: pers comms).

The consensus in the local real estate industry is that the demand for dwellings within Northbridge is increasing. The role of the area as a commercial and entertainment centre is shifting to include a residential component. This is seen as a market led trend created by the demand of prospective residents and investors (Frank Gotsis, 1993: pers comms).

This is supported by the fact that on the former Perth City Council depot site over half of the 120 dwellings approved had sold within eight weeks of being approved prior to any construction commencing. This was undertaken with little marketing or expenditure on sales or promotion (Gary Tomlinson 1994: pers comms).



The change in demand for dwellings in Northbridge is not a local trend. Australian cities including Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide have experienced similar interest in inner city living.



Given the trend to smaller household sizes, growing environmental awareness, and the increasing number of leisure pursuits, it is not surprising that inner city dwellings have become popular. The trend back to these dwellings has been led partially by the demand from people seeking an alternative to the middle and outer suburban house type and lifestyle (Collins, 1993).

Given the current situation within Perth of affordable interest rates for housing loans, and the private sector provision of inner city dwellings, it is unlikely this trend to inner city living and revitalisation will alter. However a change in government policy, market attitudes or the media could quickly reverse the trend.

6.3 STATISTICAL INDICATORS

In 1992 a study was undertaken by Fenton which found that of a survey of 586 people within the Perth metropolitan region, 3.6% would consider purchasing a dwelling in the central Perth city area which includes Northbridge, or the adjoining suburbs including West Perth, Highgate, Leederville, West Perth and Subiaco.

A further 12% were identified by Fenton as considering the purchase of a dwelling in the inner suburbs adjoining these areas.

Significantly this represents marginally in excess of 15% of households that would consider living within the inner areas. In terms of the overall metropolitan regions population, this represents a potential of an additional 100,000 inner city residents.

Fenton further investigated the likelihood of people moving into the inner city area (i.e. Perth city, West Perth, East Perth, Northbridge) if they were to move. Whilst 3.5% said it would be very likely that they would, a further 8.5% stated that it would be 'likely', with the remainder of the sample group stating it would be unlikely. The overall figure of Fenton's survey should be taken as a total of 12% who would possibly live in the inner city.

Fenton's survey predictably found that most people stating an intention to move to the inner city were from smaller households mostly comprised of single people, and childless couples.

The research by Fenton is supported by the Housing Preferences and Intentions Survey undertaken by the Australia Bureau of Statistics in 1988. This survey found that of the households planning to move within the Perth metropolitan region, 16.9% intended to move into the inner suburbs.

In 1993 the Inner City Housing Taskforce surveyed 157 people living within the Perth inner city area. This study area was bounded by the Freeway, Wellington Street, the Swan River and West Perth. This survey and subsequent analysis was intended to provide a demographic profile of existing inner city residents and revealed that the households were generally smaller, and had fewer children than middle and outer suburban households.

These studies support the notion that there is a demand for inner city dwellings. The population of the Perth metropolitan region in 1994 is approximately 1,239,436 (ABS). If the proposed proportion of the population identified by Fenton seeking to live in the inner areas is reduced from the identified 12% to 10% it still provides a potential 12,000 people that are willing to live in the inner city, in addition to the existing population of these areas.

Research undertaken by the author involved 120 inner city residents within the Perth metropolitan region participating in a questionnaire (see Appendix B). As with the Inner City Housing Taskforce's survey, this questionnaire only surveyed those people already resident in inner areas. However in terms of established demand for inner city dwellings it reveals that of the 120 people surveyed 34% had been resident in the same dwellings for the last five years, whilst approximately 66% had lived in at least two, and up to four different dwellings within the last five years.

Of this 66%, approximately 50% had moved from either a middle or outer suburb into the inner areas in this five year period.

6.4 GENERAL PERCEPTIONS

The portrayal by the media, and the publications by the Perth City Council and State Government indicate that there is support for inner city living. The West Australian newspaper regularly publishes articles and information updates on the benefits of inner city living, with a focus also on the rising property values.

This has not only provided a picture of the area for existing and potential residents, but also for potential investors and developers. Other local printed media including the Guardian Express and The Western Review have provided similar support for inner city living. The media is one of the most influential methods of affecting public opinions and perceptions on any issue.

Similarly the Perth City Council and State Government have supported inner city living through the publication of material, establishing government departments to promote the concept, and amending planning laws (zoning) to further encourage the trend.

The State Government and Perth City Council have also assisted in raising the profile of the study area through investment of public funds. In the mid 1950s the report of Stephenson and Hepburn (1955) proposed a cultural centre for the area approximately in the location it is today, on the eastern border of the study area. Over the ensuing decades the State Government developed on this site a museum, art gallery and library. Similarly the Perth City Council has invested public funds in upgrading the streetscape of Northbridge.

The investment of public funds has assisted in changing the social and physical fabric of Northbridge. It has assisted the area to have a regional attraction whilst ensuring that is more closely linked with the adjoining Perth city centre. Investment of public funds in the area indicates the importance of the area by public bodies.

Whilst significant public funds have been allocated to Northbridge, this is also true of many other inner areas including East Perth, West Perth and Highgate which have been subject to redevelopment and urban design programs.

The demand for dwellings in inner areas including Northbridge has certainly been influenced by the actions of the Perth City Council and State Government. If a concept is supported by government this will potentially attract many people to the idea. The backing of inner city living has undoubtedly influenced the attitudes of many people and hence had a major impact on perception of inner city living.

The market place and more specifically developers and investors, are the most influential factor in shaping the perception of inner city living. These market forces have influenced the Perth City Council and State Government to have the land zoned to permit inner city dwellings and by virtue

of ownership and commercial links, have utilised the media to report inner city living in a positive fashion.

The result has been the views of the public have been shaped in an indirect manner by the needs and wants of the market. This has created a new emerging spatial form within Northbridge characterised by the trend to more dwellings.

As the demand for the dwellings rises, the land value rise. This increases the value of future dwellings. This may create higher priced dwellings with further polarity between those that are able to afford the dwellings.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The demand for dwellings is imperative to the process of residential revitalisation of inner areas. The statistics indicated that there is a demand for dwellings within the inner areas of Perth including Northbridge.

The statistics indicate that over 10% of the population of the Perth metropolitan region would like to live in the inner areas. The statistics generated by the author as part of the research for this paper in conjunction with the recent approvals by the Perth City Council for new dwellings in the study area of Northbridge, indicate that Northbridge is most definitely in the search area of people seeking to live in the inner areas.

In support of the statistical indicators, the land valuation and real estate professions within Perth have also recognised that there is a growing demand for dwellings with Northbridge, and other inner areas.

If 10% of the population seeks to live within inner areas this creates the potential for a totally new population to locate in the area, if the dwellings were available. Whilst 10% is a significant figure, a much lower figure of even 1% of the population that would be willing to move into the inner areas would have a significant impact on the inner areas.

The demand for inner city dwellings is beneficial to the process of revitalisation. Whilst changes in lifestyle, technology and expectations make it unlikely that these areas could ever be recreated to their former residential status, an increase in vitality and uses would assist in retaining part of the residential heritage of these areas.

CHAPTER 7
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

To better plan for the needs of people wanting to live in inner city dwellings it is important to determine their demographic characteristics. This will assist in providing dwellings more appropriate to the occupants needs.

Lack of consideration of the needs of the occupants has created dwellings that have not always matched lifestyle choices.

The demographics of the people creating the demand for inner city living dwellings will be examined and will include analysis of their age groups, ethnicity and occupational characteristics.

Particular focus will be on the potential residents of the study area of Northbridge.

Subsequent chapters will examine the type of dwelling, and the location of the dwellings that are in demand.

The statistics presented within this chapter are a combination of research undertaken by the author and existing data.

The statistics generated by the author are based on questionnaires undertaken with 120 inner city residents within the Perth metropolitan region and have been formulated to expand on the available data.

The author's statistics were undertaken within the inner areas of Highgate, West Perth and Fremantle (see Appendix B for locational map). These areas were chosen as they represent inner

areas that have a mix of residential and commercial uses, and types of dwellings which are deemed to be indicative of Northbridge's character. Forty questionnaires were undertaken in each of the three sample areas. The focus on the questionnaires was on age, family, socio economic and career status and lifestyle.

The aim of these questionnaires was to construct a profile of who the inner city residents are, what problems they see with inner city living, what type of dwellings they are demanding, and what price of dwelling they can afford.

Currently there is a lack of accurate statistics that represent Northbridge. The intention of these statistics is to best represent a potential Northbridge population.

Other statistics used are from the Inner City Living office, Inner City Housing Taskforce and the research of Fenton (1992).

Statistics generated by the Inner City Living office and Inner City Housing Taskforce concentrate on the existing residents of Perth's central city area, and middle and outer suburban dwellers that are seeking to live in the inner areas. Whilst the results are useful, the central city is significantly different to Northbridge in terms of uses, built form, density of development and spatial layout.

Similarly the survey of middle and outer suburban dwellers indicated what people from middle and outer suburbs want, rather than actual inner city residents.

The statistics generated by Fenton (1992) have randomly sampled potential residents of inner areas from across the metropolitan region rather than the actual inner city residents.

The statistics of the Inner City Living office, Inner City Housing Taskforce and Fenton are useful in providing a base from which the author's statistics may be supported and expanded.

The authors statistics have concentrated on actual inner city residents to obtain an accurate picture of their characteristics, in order that the demographics of the potential residents of Northbridge may be ascertained.

7.1 AGE AND FAMILY / HOUSEHOLD TRAITS

7.1.1. AGE

A random survey of Perth residents aged from 18 to 89 years found that approximately 10% of people have a preference for inner city living; the median age of the people wanting to live in an inner area is 46.2 years. This suggests that the people most likely to want to live in inner areas are aged under 50 years (Fenton, 1992).

A survey of the central Perth City residents identified that 5% were aged under 6 years, 41% aged between 25 - 40 years, 12% were aged between 40 - 55 years and 20% were aged over 55 years.

The total of people aged between 25 - 55 years was 53%, whilst the single largest age group was 25 - 40 years (ICHT, 1993).

These statistics support the notion that most inner city residents are aged under 50 years.

TABLE 2.0 NORTHBRIDGE POPULATION 1991

AGE	% OF POPULATION
0-19	12.2
20-24	24.3
25-40	28.3
40-55	15.0
55+	20.2

SOURCE: ABS

When considering the data of the Australian Bureau of Statistics for Northbridge it must be remembered that there are numerous forms of short term accommodation for travellers available in Northbridge. Traveller and short stay accommodation has had a long history of locating in Northbridge. This is unlikely to change in the future.

TABLE 3.0 INNER CITY HOUSEHOLD AGE GROUPS 1993

AGE	% OF HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED
0-19	11.3
20-24	13.6
25-40	45.5
40-55	19.3
55+	10.3

* Households surveyed - 120

* Number of people surveyed - 264

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1993

The statistics of the author and the ABS do differ. The difference being mainly in the 20 - 24 year age groups which the ABS statistics are almost double that of the author, and the 25 - 40 year group which the ABS details as approximately 17% less than the authors statistics.

The reason for the difference is because of the stock of short term accommodation within Northbridge, and the lack of variety and stock of dwellings to attract permanent residents. Travellers occupying short term hostel style accommodation are traditionally younger people attracted to this type of inexpensive accommodation.

The statistics of the author are a result of surveying people who reside in a range of dwelling types in inner areas including single houses and higher density multiple dwellings. This variety of dwellings is more representative of inner city areas. It would be expected that an increase in dwelling stock within Northbridge would be matched by an increase in their type, size and tenure.

7.1.2 MARITAL STATUS

The research by Fenton (1992) concludes that single people are more likely to move into inner city dwellings than any other group of people.

This is supported by the Inner City Housing Taskforce (1993) which state that most people presently living in the Perth central city are single.

The 1991 ABS census data reveals that in Northbridge that 5.8% of people are either married or living in a defacto relationship.

However research by the author reveals that 45% of inner city residents are either married or in a defacto relationship.

As with the population statistics of the preceding section, the high number of single residents of Northbridge is a result of the limited available dwelling types. Fenton's conclusion that most people moving into inner areas are single is not disputed. The authors statistics show that couples comprise less than half of inner city residents. However the assertion by Fenton is that few couples move into the inner areas does not appear to be correct.

It would be reasonable to assume that an increase in dwelling types and variety within Northbridge would attract more couples into the area.

As stated by the East Perth Redevelopment Authority (1993), a diversity of dwelling types and sizes is essential to cater, and attract a range of household types to reside within an inner area.

The majority of dwellings within the Perth metropolitan region are single dwellings on an individual block, which have always been marketed to couples. If households other than single people, including couples are to be attracted into inner areas such as Northbridge then dwellings with more room than a single bedroom apartment would have to be provided.

7.1.3 YOUNG PEOPLE

People aged under 15 years are generally not acknowledged as part of the permanent inner city population.

The Inner City Housing Taskforce (1993) does not acknowledge them as potential residents of the inner city, similarly the statistical analysis of potential inner city residents by Fenton (1992) does not identify them as potential residents. However other statistics detail that young people are part of the inner city population.

The Inner City Living Survey (1993) of the central Perth city area found that 5% of city residents were aged under 6 years whilst a further 2% were aged between 6 - 17 years being 8.4% of the population (ABS, 1991).

In 1991 in Northbridge there were no people aged up to 6 years, with the number of people aged 6 - 17 years being 8.4% of the population (ABS, 1991).

The authors statistics detail that 7.5% of people within inner areas are aged between 0 - 14 years, with a further 3.7% aged between 15 - 19 years.

The number of people aged 14 years and less is particularly interesting in that it represents a significant portion of people that are still under the care of a parent or guardian, and further suggests that not all households of inner areas are characterised by childless people.

The fact that almost a tenth of inner city population is dependent on a parent/guardian means that the appropriate services need to be incorporated into the planning process.

7.2 ETHNICITY

Inner city areas have traditionally been the first place of residence for migrants. The reasons for this include inexpensive accommodation, proximity to employment opportunities and access to public transport.

This is true of most Australian inner city areas. The differing waves of migrants from varying countries has generally occurred at the same time in each state. However over time most of these people have moved out to a new home in a middle or outer suburb (Bottomley & Lepervenche, 1989).

Interviews conducted by the author with former residents of Northbridge, all of whom were migrants, revealed that Northbridge was a place that most migrants wanted to move out of as soon as they were able.

The proportion of people from other countries resident within inner areas has decreased over the last three decades whilst migration has correspondingly decreased.

Since the 1970s the Perth metropolitan region has experienced a steady decline in the number of migrants in inner areas. However the number of migrants has still remained high within inner areas relative to the average of the metropolitan region.

The reason for this is that some of the migrants that settled in the area in the 1950s and 1960s have remained as permanent residents of the inner suburbs. Also whilst migration has decreased over the last two decades, many of the people migrating today still make the inner suburbs their first home (Bain, 1989).

Statistics generated by the author reveals that 15% of inner city residents were born in other countries, approximately 8% from the United Kingdom, 2% from Vietnam, Italy, and Canada and 1% from New Zealand and the USA.

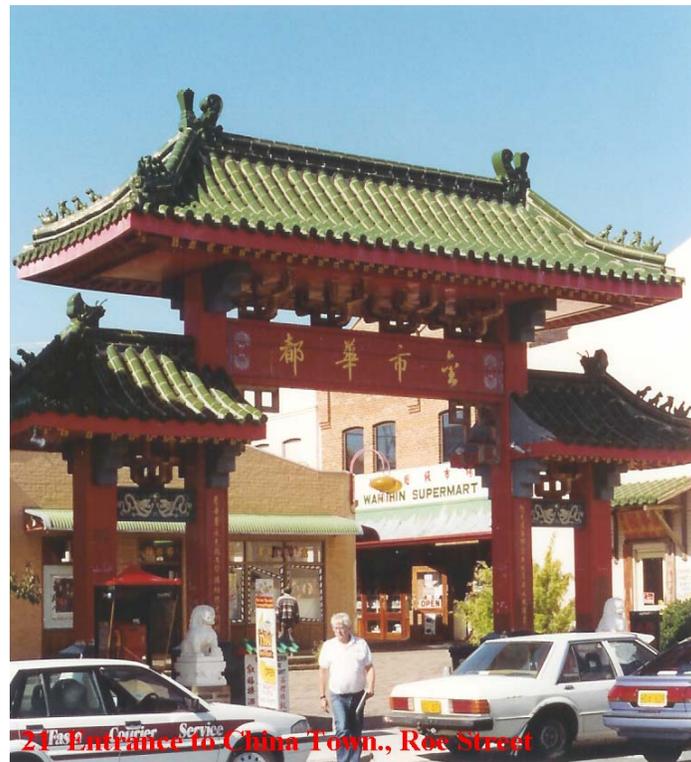
These statistics were compromised by the fact that most people who appeared to be from countries other than Australia were reluctant to participate in the survey. The main reason being lack of communication skills, and in some cases people appeared to be suspicious of the motives for the questionnaire.

TABLE 4.0 COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENTS 1986 & 1991

COUNTRY	1986	1991
	%	%
United Kingdom	11.2	20.9
Vietnam	5.9	5.5
Italy	4.3	4.1
Former Yugoslavia	4.1	3.8
New Zealand	10.8	2.9
Greece	2.6	2.0
Australia	30.0	25.0
Other Countries	31.1	35.8

SOURCE: ABS

The 1991 statistics for Northbridge detail a higher proportion of people born in countries other than Australia than for the average figures from the metropolitan region. Most suburbs have approximately 7% of people born in countries other than Australia, whilst Northbridge has approximately 23% of people born in countries other than Australia.



The statistics from the 1960s and early 1970s do not use the same sample areas as the 1986 and 1991 ABS data, hence accurate analysis is difficult. However from these statistics it can be concluded that higher proportions of people from Greece, Italy and the former Yugoslavia were resident in Northbridge. The decrease in number of those migrating since the early 1970s has been slightly offset by an increase in the number of people migrating from Vietnam and the United Kingdom.

7.3 EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND OCCUPATION

The location of employment is a significant factor in determining where a person resides (Fenton, 1992). This notion is also supported by the research of the Inner City Housing Taskforce (1993).

TABLE 5.0 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CENTRAL PERTH CITY RESIDENTS

CLASSIFICATION	%
Unemployed	10.0
Students	20.0
Retired/Pensioners	25.8
Professional/Managerial	25.2
Trade/Clerical	10.0
Other	9.0

SOURCE: INNER CITY HOUSING TASKFORCE, 1993

TABLE 6.0 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENTS

CLASSIFICATION	%
Unemployed	24.0
Students	8.0
Retired/Pensioners	16.0
Professional/Managerial	20.0
Clerical	12.0
Trade	10.0
Other	10.0

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1993

The average figure of unemployed people within the metropolitan region is 10%. Hence the proportion of inner city residents unemployed is higher. However the proportion of people in professional and managerial positions is also higher within inner areas whilst the number of trade, clerical, labouring and other unskilled positions is lower than the metropolitan region. The number of retired people is approximately the same as the rest of the metropolitan region.

7.3.1 INCOME

Compared to the average figures for the metropolitan region the proportion of people resident in Northbridge earning over \$16,000 is marginally less than the average of the metropolitan region, whilst the number of people earning less than \$16,000 is higher \$60,000 (ABS, 1991).

TABLE 7.0 INCOME

	Annual Income less than \$15,000	Annual Income \$15,000 -\$30,000	Annual Income \$30,000 -\$60,000	Annual Income \$60,000 and over
Residents of Perth Central				
City Area	43%	25%	26%	6%
Residents of				
Northbridge	56.4%	14.6%	27%	2%

SOURCES: INNER CITY HOUSING TASKFORCE, ABS, 1993 & 1991

TABLE 7.1 INCOME OF NORTHBRIDGE STUDY AREA RESIDENTS □ □

ANNUAL INCOME	%
Less than \$16,000	29
\$16 - 30,000	30
\$30 - 60,000	33
\$60,000 +	8

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

The statistics for Northbridge detail a greater than average proportion of people on lower incomes, that is less than \$16,000.

A diverse range of dwelling creates varying levels of affordability, thereby attracting people of different incomes.

7.3.2 LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Fenton's research in 1992 revealed that of a survey of inner city residents 37% located in inner areas to be closer to their employment.

The ICHT (1993) survey of central Perth city residents found that 69% of respondents worked in the central city area, with the remainder in the adjoining inner suburbs.

The desire to live close to work is supported in the 1988 Housing Preference and Intentions Survey (ABS) which found that 13.1% of people perceived living close to work as an advantage, a further 6% stated that the disadvantage of their current residence was that the distance to their employment was too far away. This survey asked the question of why people moved from their previous residence; 9.9% stated to be closer to employment, whilst being closer to family and friends rated only 3.5%.

The statistics generated by the author found that 16% of inner city residents stated that the main advantage of their dwelling was being close to work. The only other advantage that rated higher was being close to entertainment facilities.



The same respondents were generally found to live close to their employment; 11.6% lived and worked in the same area, whilst 65% worked in the suburb adjoining where they lived. Thirteen percent were employed within 5 kilometres of their residence, 6% were employed more than 10 kilometres from their residence, with the remainder not being employed in any set location.

Of the people that were employed in the same or an adjoining suburb, 82.6% stated that the location of their residence to their place of employment was a significant reason for moving into the area. Of those not employed in the area in which they lived, 57.1% stated that they would like to be employed in the same suburb they resided.

Most inner city residents live in the same suburb, or the suburb adjoining their place of employment.

7.4 MODES OF TRANSPORT

In terms of car ownership and road space per head of population, residents of Perth are ranked the third highest of major international cities. The only other cities to have a higher ratio are Brisbane and Houston (Newman, 1989).

The Perth metropolitan region growth patterns reflect the needs of private vehicle users. The car is firmly entrenched as part of the culture of the people of Perth.

Whilst this appear true for most of the metropolitan region, inner city residents are the exception to the general trend. Fentons research (1992) found that people wanting to live in the inner city were less likely to need a garage or private parking area. These same people created more demand for public transport, and wanted more cycleways and facilities such as storage for bicycles.

This is supported by the fact that 35% of occupants of the central Perth city area do not own a car at all. The average number of cars per household is 0.7, this compares with approximately 1.3 as the average figure for the Perth metropolitan region (ICHT, 1993). However the Perth city area is difficult to walk through because of the preference given to cars (Gehl, 1994).

TABLE 8.0 CAR OWNERSHIP OF NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENTS

Households Owning One Vehicle	61%
Households Owning Two Vehicles	19%
Households With No Vehicles	20%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1993

These statistics represent a higher percentage of car ownership amongst inner city residents than those stated by Fenton and ICHT. However the statistics generated by the author still indicate a lower car ownership ratio than that for the Perth metropolitan region.

The statistics of the author are more likely to represent a true picture of vehicle ownership of inner city residents, and the potential residents of the study area. The statistics generated by the ICHT were the result of a survey of central Perth city residents; dwellings located in the Perth central city area are mostly multiple dwelling types or multi storey with few parking facilities, and little provision for long term street parking.

The central city by virtue of the available dwelling types, and availability for parking does not encourage car ownership, or create a demand for car usage.

The participants in the authors survey came from a variety of dwelling types which is likely to more closely resemble Northbridge in the future.

The authors statistics further indicate that only 10.8% of inner city residents find parking availability difficult. Of those people that found parking a problem, the most common reason was because of visitors to the area.

Inner city residents have a lesser ratio of car ownership than the rest of the metropolitan region. However the figure of car ownership is still approximately 0.7 cars per household, which means that vehicles are going to be an important consideration in future planning.

7.5 THE INNER CITY RESIDENT

A general demographic profile of inner city residents can be formulated. Most are aged between 25 - 40 years, with a second significant group aged between 45 - 55 years.

Approximately one tenth of an inner areas population is aged 15 years and less.

Forty five percent of households are characterised by people who are either married or living in a defacto relationship.

The remainder of people live in a variety of household types including single people in shared accommodation, and single parent households with children. The variety of dwelling types, lifestyles, and access to services are reasons behind this mixture of household types.

The ethnic population of inner areas is generally mixed. The 1960s and 1970s saw a decrease in southern European migrants, and a rise in Asian migrants. Whilst the number of migrants locating in inner areas is less than in previous decades, many of the former migrants still choose to initially

live in these areas which has led to a higher than average proportion of non Australian born people in the inner areas.

Inner areas have two distinct employment/occupation characteristics. There is a generally higher proportion of unemployed people, and of those in the workforce there is a greater than average number of people in professional and managerial positions. The other occupation groups are relatively evenly mixed with a range of people in clerical, trade, machine operation, sales and service positions.

The incomes statistics reflect the employment structure and occupation types. Average income per household is relatively evenly distributed from those earning less than \$16,000 to those people earning up to \$60,000. Few people within the inner areas earn in excess of \$60,000.

Of the inner city residents that are employed, most live in the same suburb, or the suburb adjoining their place of employment. These people have a lower ratio of car ownership than middle or outer suburban dwellers.

These statistics portray a general picture of who the inner city residents are and who they might be. These statistics would be true for most inner areas, which generally have similar access to services, and a range of dwelling types with varying levels of affordability.

The population of inner areas is as diverse as the uses located in these areas. Whilst it is not possible to accurately define the typical person that lives in these areas, it is possible to identify within general terms who these people are. The diversity in the type of people that live in these areas is generally accepted as one of the most important things that makes inner areas interesting places to live and work.

CHAPTER 8
DWELLINGS IN DEMAND

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Essential to the provision of inner city dwellings is that the needs of occupants be recognised. This will permit dwellings to be designed to suit their needs.

The essence of this chapter is to determine the type of dwelling in demand within inner areas.

To understand the needs and wants of inner city residents an analysis of the mobility of these people will be included in conjunction with the form of tenure that they are seeking.

Design criteria pertaining to dwellings such as the size of dwelling and the private open space required will be examined, in conjunction with an analysis of affordability.

The major source of this analysis is the research undertaken by the author, in which 120 people from the inner areas of West Perth, Highgate and Fremantle participated in a questionnaire.

8.1 NON RESIDENTIAL USES AND INNER CITY RESIDENTS

The statistics generated by the author detail that the most popular reason for living in the inner city is proximity to entertainment facilities with the next highest reason being closeness to employment. Other reasons include access to shops and public transport.

TABLE 9.0 REASONS FOR INNER CITY LIVING

Entertainment facilities	38%
Proximity to employment	22%
Close to shops	15%
Good public transport	9%
Like the area in general	15%
Grew up in the area	1%
TOTAL	100%

Source: Davidson, 1994

From this table it may be concluded that inner city living reduces travelling time to work, and increases time available for enjoying the benefits of the entertainment facilities available in the city and inner areas.

The location of entertainment and cultural facilities supports an inner city lifestyle where entertainment is a frequent activity and can more easily be undertaken outside of the home.

Other than good access to entertainment uses, the smaller lot areas and dwelling sizes generally found within the inner areas, in comparison to most middle and outer suburban dwellings contributes to encouraging entertainment and recreating outside of the home.

These conclusions are supported by the statistical analysis of inner city residents and potential residents undertaken by Fenton (1992), and the Inner City Housing Taskforce (1993). Whilst not

statistically supported, the joint report of the Perth City Council and Department of Planning and Urban Development (1991) on Northbridge, reinforces the notion that people are attracted to inner city living to take advantage of the lifestyle offered through proximity to entertainment facilities, and the reduction in travelling time to work.

Of the sample group surveyed by the author 82% stated that the location of their inner city dwelling in relation to non residential uses was a significant reason in attracting them to live in the area.

Non residential uses are a main attraction of living in inner areas. Of the people surveyed by the author 55% stated that they would consider living above or next to a shop, office, cinema, restaurant or any other compatible non residential uses.

Several of the people surveyed by the author had previously lived on top of a shop and indicated that it was a positive experience.

Of the people surveyed by the author that stated that they could not live on or next to a non residential use, the most common reason was that they perceived that there would be less privacy, inadequate parking facilities, and unacceptable noise levels. All of these factors could be rectified by careful consideration of the design of mixed use developments. The potential for people living on or next to non residential uses may then be potentially a sizable demand for dwellings in a mixed use arrangement.

It must be remembered that of those people that stated that they would not live next to or on top of a non residential use, these people are currently inner city residents and generally live within the vicinity of non residential uses. So there is already a degree of acceptance and tolerance of the non residential uses by these people.

This would lead to the conclusion that inner city residents do have a greater tolerance to non residential uses than middle or outer suburban dwellers, where land use separation generally occurs.

Inner city residents live in these areas to be close to the non residential uses, specifically employment and entertainment. The focus on the inner city lifestyle is on accessing the uses of the area and recreating more out of the home. These people have a higher degree of tolerance and acceptance to living on or near non residential uses. Non residential uses are viewed as favourable to the inner city lifestyle. In terms of people wanting to live next to or on top of non residential use, it is considered that there is a demand that is presently unfulfilled.

8.2 LOCATION, MOBILITY AND DWELLING TYPES PREVIOUSLY OCCUPIED

In the last five years 33% of inner city residents have moved from a middle or outer suburb into an inner area.

TABLE 10.0 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Residents that have lived in same dwelling For last 5 years	35%
Residents that have moved twice	33%
Residents that have moved three times	23%
Residents that have moved four times	9%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

Most inner city residents (that is 67%) have lived within an inner area for at least the last five years, although they have mostly changed dwelling at least once within this time period. When changing residence they have chosen to stay within the inner suburbs.

The fact that many inner city residents have changed dwelling at least once leads to the conclusion that it is likely that there is a large stock of rental accommodation within inner areas. People with mortgages or who own a dwelling are less likely to move as often as people that rent. It is reasonable to assume the people that are most mobile are those that rent dwellings.

Rental accommodation is an important avenue for granting access to an area that may otherwise be out of financial reach, and also permits people to be mobile in terms of where they choose to live. It would be expected that in providing dwellings in the study area of Northbridge that there would have to be a mix of dwellings that catered for those people that would be renting as well as seeking to purchase a dwelling.

8.2.1 DWELLING TYPES

The number of people who have lived in a dwelling other than a single house within the inner suburbs in the last five years totals 42%.

When compared to most middle or outer suburbs which are almost entirely comprised of single houses, the figure of 42% reveals that there is a significant proportion of people living in dwelling types other than single houses within inner areas.

TABLE 11.0 DWELLING TYPES OCCUPIED BY INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Residents having occupied as a single dwelling in the last 5 years	58%
Residents having lived in either a semi detached, row, terrace or townhouse	39%
Residents having lived in a multi-storey dwelling(ie: flats)	3%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON 1994

Whilst it is reasonable to assume that there will always be people that have a preference for single houses, it must be recognised that most of the inner city suburbs of Perth are characterised by what is classified as single houses. However the inner city single houses are different to those within most middle and outer suburbs, as they are generally smaller in dwelling and land area.

It would be fair to assume that the single house of the inner suburbs would not meet the design requirements of many middle or outer suburban residents.

In the last five years 33% of inner city residents have moved from an outer or middle suburb into an inner area. It is likely that they have moved from a larger single house into a smaller dwelling.

It appears that there is a degree of acceptance by inner city residents of generally smaller dwellings, and of dwellings other than single houses.

8.3 DWELLING DESIGN CRITERIA

The preferred number of bedrooms, and the figures of the actual number of bedrooms in the dwellings of those surveyed as below, detail only slightly different results.

Those with a preference for a two bedroom dwelling totalled 45%, whilst 33% sought three bedrooms, with 10% seeking a four bedroom dwelling, 9% and 3% seeking one and five bedrooms respectively.

TABLE 12.0 DWELLING TYPE PREFERENCE OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Semi detached, terrace or townhouse	58%
Single / separate dwelling	41%
Multiple storey dwelling	1%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

TABLE 13.0 NUMBER OF BEDROOMS IN DWELLING OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Residents occupying a one bedroom dwelling	14%
Residents occupying a two bedroom dwelling	50%
Residents occupying a three bedroom dwelling	35%
Residents occupying a four bedroom dwelling	1%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

TABLE 14.0 NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS OF INNER CITY DWELLINGS

One person per dwelling	0%
Two people per dwelling	79%
Three people per dwelling	17%
Four people per dwelling	3%
Five people per dwelling	1%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

Of those surveyed 95% stated that they found the size of the existing yard area of their dwelling large enough and did not seek a larger yard area. The remainder of 5% were dissatisfied with their yard area.

TABLE 15.0 PREFERRED PRIVATE OPEN SPACES

Courtyard	59%
Traditional single house with rear yard area	33%
Common open space	6%
Balcony only and no other open space	2%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

Whilst 33% of people preferred a yard area associated with a single house, it must be considered that many of the people surveyed are already living in a single house in an inner area, and that the yard area of these inner city single houses is significantly smaller than those of middle and outer

suburbs. Single houses within inner areas commonly have total land areas of 300 - 400 square metres, hence the yard areas are smaller than the 800 square metre average size lot of the outer suburbs.

Previous research by the Department of Planning and Urban Development (1991), the Perth Inner City Housing Taskforce (1992) and Fenton (1992) all agree with the notion that people seeking to live in inner areas want smaller yard areas with less maintenance, and dwellings that are more suited to smaller households.

Whilst these documents promote these ideas, the author's research details statistical support for the fact that most inner city residents live in a household where there are two people who would prefer to live in a semi detached, terrace or townhouse style of dwelling with two bedrooms being the most preferred number. Most people surveyed found their existing yard area of their dwelling large enough, with the most preferred type of yard area, or private open space being a court yard.

8.3.1 TENURE

Research by the author found that 54% of inner city dwellers either own or are purchasing their dwelling, with the remainder of 46% renting. Of these people that are renting 68% stated they would like to purchase a dwelling within an inner area.

Of the people that either own or are purchasing a dwelling it would be reasonable to assume (based on ABS and statistics of the author) that these people are a mixture of long term residents that purchased a dwelling prior to the price rise when inner areas were more affordable, and more recent purchasers that are middle and high income earners.

The combination of the generally high cost of inner city dwellings, together with the large number of unemployed people and low income earners resident within the inner areas, makes it reasonable to assume that many people are priced out of purchasing a dwelling in an inner area.

The high number of people renting concurs with the statistics of the author that indicate inner city dwellers are mobile in terms of changing dwellings, while staying within the inner areas.

The rental market plays an important role in permitting mobility between dwellings.

Rental accommodation is an important means to not only permit people to live in an inner area that is otherwise not affordable, but contribute to the vitality of inner areas.

This form of accommodation ensures a flow of new residents, which, in conjunction with the varying dwelling types and differing levels of rent price, ensures that the people renting are from different backgrounds.

The combination of owner / occupiers and people renting encourages a mixture of people to live in inner areas. This is one of the factors contributing to the diverse nature of these areas that further draws people to want to be a part of the inner urban community.

8.4 PERCEIVED PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY LIVING

The problems pertaining to inner city living most often referred to by the media, and in general and academic discussions tend to focus on the issues of security, privacy, vandalism and noise.

The statistics generated by the author asked the question if inner areas offered an acceptable level of security, 87% of respondents stated in the positive. When the question was asked if the respondents felt secure living in an inner area, 93% stated yes.

Whilst most people tend to feel secure residing in an inner area, 57% of people stated that they thought vandalism was a problem. The type of vandalism most commonly referred to was graffiti with the defacing and destruction of street signs, bus shelters and public telephones being referred to. However whilst this is a recognisable problem, it was not referred to by any of the people surveyed as making them feel threatened, or having an impact on their lifestyles.

8.4.1 PRIVACY

The perception of privacy for inner city residents is different to that of middle or outer suburban residents. This perception is partially shaped by the older stock of inner city dwellings which are mostly built closer together, and designed with generally less regard for privacy.

Most inner areas are characterised by non residential land uses such as specialty stores and entertainment venues which often have a regional attraction. This creates a continual flow of visitors from middle and outer suburbs to the inner areas.

The combination of the design features of these dwellings and the volume of visitors leads to the conclusion that there is less privacy for inner city residents. However despite this the author's statistics revealed that 87% of inner city residents felt that their dwelling offered an acceptable level of privacy.

It is fair to assume that these people have a different perception and tolerance to what is generally less privacy than middle and outer suburban dwellers.

The greater opportunity for out of home entertaining and recreating for inner city residents means less time spent at home. This would contribute to the perception of privacy by inner city residents. The less time these people are using their dwelling for entertaining, means less opportunity for issues such as privacy to be noticed and assessed.

8.4.2 NOISE

Noise is an important issue in inner city living. Often the media refers to inner city living in the vein of the 'hustle and bustle' lifestyle. This provides an impression that noise is a by-product of the activities of inner areas and is to be accepted as part of the lifestyle.

The research by Fenton (1992) of potential inner city residents found that one of the most significant things that would have to be changed about the inner city, before the people surveyed would consider living there, was the high level of noise.

Critics of inner city living use noise as a key reason why inner areas offer unacceptable levels of amenity, that can only be rectified by residing outside inner areas.

The statistics generated by the author revealed that 66% of inner city residents did not perceive noise as an identifiable problem.

Of those people that stated that noise was a problem, there were two identifiable areas of concern: noise generated by vehicles, and that created by anti-social behaviour of people leaving hotels, nightclubs and restaurants.

Use of traffic control devices to restrict speed, flow and parking of vehicles, could possibly alleviate most traffic related problems.

Modifying the behaviour of people is more difficult. If the landuses of the inner areas such as restaurants and hotels were closed down, it would stop the anti-social behaviour of some of the patrons. However it would also detract from the diversity of landuse activities that make inner areas attractive and unique.

The author's statistics detailed that only 33% of inner city residents found noise to be a problem. In general, for most inner city residents noise is not considered to be a significant problem.

8.5 LAND USES AND FACILITIES UTILISED

Proximity to a variety of land uses is one of the key attractions to living in inner city areas. It is not surprising that inner city residents mostly use the retail and entertainment facilities within their own, or adjoining suburbs.

TABLE 16.0 WHERE INNER CITY RESIDENTS DO FOOD AND CLOTHES SHOPPING

In the same suburb they reside in or an adjoining suburb	92%
At shops up to 5km from their residence	5%
At shops up to 10km from their residence	0.8%
No preference	2.2%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON, 1994

When asked where the sample group mainly went for entertainment and recreation, similar responses were received. Ninety five percent of people used the entertainment facilities in their suburb of residence, or an adjoining suburb. The remainder of 5% indicated that they travelled up to five kilometres to reach the entertainment and recreation facilities that they most used.

Most food and clothing retail outlets, and entertainment facilities are in close proximity to inner city residents. This points not only to less dependence on private vehicles, but also to a level of amenity for inner city residents unequalled throughout the metropolitan region purely through access to these uses.

Whilst inner city residents have good access to most land uses, there are some facilities which are perceived by inner city residents to be of an insufficient standard. According to the surveyed inner city residents the facilities requiring most improvement are street lighting, community drop in centres, police, corner stores, supermarkets and child minding facilities.

TABLE 17.0 FACILITIES TO BE IMPROVED AS RANKED BU INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Better Street Lighting	19%
More Supermarkets	14%
More Police	11%
More Visitor Car parking	11%
More Drop In Centres	10%
Corner Stores	9%
Child Minding	7%
Sports Clubs	5%
More Street Trees	3%
More Parks	3%
More Taxis	2%
Better Public Transport	2%
More Community fetes/fairs	2%
More recycling facilities	2%

SOURCE: DAVIDSON 1994

As detailed in Table 17.0 the facilities identified as being most in need of improvement are those that are generally the responsibility of Local and State Government. Other than financial constraints there is no reason that these facilities could not be improved by the public sector.

The perceived need for more supermarkets, corner stores and taxis relate to private sector activity. It would be expected as the population of an inner area increases that the market place would ensure these facilities are supplied to the expected demand. Some inner areas have large, although

non permanent populations. For the market to supply more retail outlets (for example super markets), the permanent resident population of an inner area would have to increase. Transient people such as those on holiday generally have less demand than permanent residents for retail facilities such as supermarkets.

The study area of Northbridge generally has good access to food and clothing retail outlets, and especially entertainment uses. Although the area is lacking in supermarkets, there are several on the fringe of the study area that are in walking distance. With an increase in the permanent residential population of Northbridge it would be reasonable to expect an increase in retail outlets.

A growth in residential population means more people paying rates to provide the money to supply the required public goods, and also more people creating pressure on the public authorities to supply these goods and services.

8.6 DWELLING COSTS

The dwellings that are appreciating in value at the fastest rate within the Perth metropolitan region are those within the inner suburbs. The West Australian newspaper reported on 23rd July, 1994 that inner city suburbs have appreciated in value at a rate higher than any other suburbs since the early 1980s.

TABLE 18.0 AVERAGE DWELLING COST 1983 - 1994

Location	1983	1994
Highgate (inner)	\$53,000	\$159,000
East Perth (inner)	\$58,000	\$168,000
Greenwood (middle)	\$54,000	\$109,000
Armadale (outer)	\$33,000	\$76,000

SOURCE: REIWA, 1994

The 30th November, 1993 edition of The Times includes an article from The Inner City Living Office stating that people wanting to purchase a dwelling in an inner suburb should be prepared to spend between \$120,000 to \$220,000.

On the fringe of the Northbridge study area in inner suburbs such as East Perth, Highgate, West Perth and North Perth there are a variety of dwelling types both old and new presently on the market. The price of these dwellings vary with size, design and location. All of the new dwellings that have been built, or have had approval granted, are in a multi storey style.

Of the new dwellings within these areas the least expensive is a \$90,000 one bedroom flat on Bronte Street, East Perth. Based on the price of dwellings currently for sale, most new one bedroom dwellings within the inner suburbs range from \$90,000 up to \$145,000 with most priced at approximately \$125,000.

A new two bedroom dwelling within the inner suburbs would cost between \$160,000 to \$200,000, with three bedroom dwellings in the range of \$200,000 - \$250,000.

These prices represent the current range of prices for most dwellings that are on the market in the inner suburbs of Perth. These dwelling prices detail the most common prices of available dwellings, although there are more expensive dwellings that are priced in excess of \$2 million, though they form a minority in the current stock of dwellings.

Whilst in a different price range, within the Perth central city area at present there are several new multi storey residential developments proposed. These are generally higher priced than most of the inner city proposals and are not indicative of the inner areas.

The most recent central city proposal presently on the market is a 36 storey development with 262 units located at 250 St. George's Terrace. The dwellings range in size from an open plan of 35 square metres, with no views and priced at \$230,000, through to a four bedroom, three bathroom dwelling with maximum views priced at \$2.72 million. The architect of the proposal revealed that the emphasis of the proposal was to provide a standard of city living not available in Perth, that offered the best in security, views, standard of internal fittings, design and the best capital growth (Rod Camm, pers comms, 1994).

Within the study area of Northbridge there are only two new residential developments that have been approved and are to be constructed. One development is on the former Perth City Council Depot site which is on the land bounded by James Street, Fitzgerald Street, Shenton Street and John Street. This site will have 120 dwellings, the developer, Fini Homes, have advised that the price range for these dwellings will be \$170,000 for a one bedroom dwelling and approximately \$300,000 for a three bedroom dwelling.

The second development is at 181 James Street and proposes 40 multiple storey dwellings, with prices ranging from \$194,000 for a one bedroom dwelling to \$250,000 for a two bedroom dwelling.

Due to the variables that must be considered when valuing land it is difficult to develop a standard value for similar dwellings in the same area. The approved dwellings within Northbridge each have a value that reflects the size of each unit, internal and external design, views, security system and car parking. The most significant reason for the generally high value of dwellings in Northbridge is proximity to entertainment and cultural facilities, and the fact that the area abuts the central business district.

Although it is feasible that through modifying the dwelling design, floor space and features, dwellings could be supplied, at less than the currently available cheapest dwelling which is \$170,000. However it must be remembered that the role of the developer is to maximise profits and it would be highly unlikely that there will be any privately supplied dwellings in Northbridge that are less than \$170,000 (Paul Eftos, pers comms, 1994)

8.6.1 AFFORDABILITY

Statistics generated through the author's research found that of inner city residents there is a relatively even distribution of single people earning between \$5000 - \$60,000 per annum. Though half of these single people earn less than \$30,000 per annum.

Of inner city households with two incomes, the combined income is mostly between \$40,000 - \$70,000. However only 45% were characterised by people in either married or de- facto

relationships. It is only this group that should be borne in mind as having a combined income that could be committed to a mortgage.

To determine the amount of money a bank would loan on a dwelling the author held interviews with three major banks during June 1994. The amount of funds each would loan on a dwelling was basically the same. The main variation between banks was the fees that they charged for administration.

None of the banks would give a loan without a deposit, most indicated that \$10,000 was generally required for a deposit. The following tables detail the funds most banks would loan to a single person, and a household with two incomes with a deposit of \$10,000.

TABLE 19.0 SINGLE PERSON - MAXIMUM HOUSING LOAN POSSIBLE AS AT JUNE 1994
(ASSUMING A \$10,000 DEPOSIT)

Annual Income\$	Maximum Loan\$
20,000	50,000
30,000	75,000
40,000	100,000
50,000	120,000
60,000	152,000

TABLE 20.0 COMBINED INCOME OF TWO PEOPLE - MAXIMUM HOUSING
 LOAN POSSIBLE AS AT JUNE 1994 (ASSUMING A DEPOSIT OF \$10,000)

Annual Income\$	Maximum Loan\$
30,000	75,000
40,000	100,000
50,000	120,000
60,000	152,000
70,000	176,000
80,000	201,000

As detailed in these tables, banks are interested in total income with no differentiation between single people and couples.

Assuming a dwelling in Northbridge would cost approximately \$170,000 and accounting for a deposit, the only single people that could afford a dwelling in the area would be those that earned at least \$60,000 per annum. These people represent only 8% of the survey group. For the majority of single people purchasing a dwelling in Northbridge would not be possible.

Of the two income households, assuming that these people are either married or in a defacto relationship, the combined income would have to be at least \$60,000 to afford a dwelling in the study area. Forty percent of two income inner city households earn in excess of \$60,000. For this 40% of couples a dwelling in Northbridge would be affordable.

Most single people cannot afford to purchase a dwelling in the study area, however if they are willing to move in the inner suburbs adjoining the study area their level of affordability increases. Purchasing a dwelling within Northbridge would only be in the reach of two income households and a small minority of single income households.

Renting would be the only option for many couples and single people seeking to live in Northbridge. Based on the new dwellings to be constructed in Northbridge, a single bedroom dwelling with a value of \$170,000 would rent for approximately \$125.00 per week, whilst a two bedroom dwelling valued at \$200,000 would rent for approximately \$165.00 a week (Frank Gotsis, pers comms).

The authors statistics revealed that 67% of inner city residents currently renting a dwelling wanted to purchase a dwelling within an inner area. For over 90% of single people and 60% of couples, purchasing a dwelling in Northbridge would not be attainable. Most of these couples and single people could afford to rent a private dwelling in Northbridge, although for the single low income earners it would be impossible for them to rent unless there was more than one person sharing the dwelling.

Whilst there are many people who cannot afford to purchase a dwelling in Northbridge, there are speculative investors seeking to purchase these dwellings. These investors increasingly seek these

dwellings purely because of their appreciation rate being generally faster than middle or outer suburban dwellings. Through these investors, a large stock of rental accommodation is supplied.

Whilst most people could then afford to live in Northbridge either as owner/occupiers, or private renters, there would still be some households that could not afford the private rental accommodation. However demand of potential residents would still not be met as the statistics detail that the people that are renting want to purchase a dwelling, and not rent, in Northbridge.

8.7 SUMMATION OF DWELLINGS IN DEMAND AND REVITALISATION

The aim of this chapter has been to identify the needs of the occupants of inner city dwellings. Some of the factors examined included desired dwelling size, private open space (court yard, back yards), affordability and what services and facilities residents require.

The main attraction to living in an inner city location is to be close to the non residential uses namely employment and entertainment. Inner city residents use the facilities of these areas more and generally place a greater emphasis on recreating out of the home. These people have a higher degree of tolerance and acceptance to non residential uses.

Most non residential uses are viewed as a favourable component of the inner city lifestyle.

Most inner residents felt that the area offered an acceptable level of security and privacy and that neither of these factors was a problem.

However vandalism was recognised as a problem, with the most common problem being graffiti with the defacing and destruction of street signs, bus shelters and public telephones also being referred to.

Most inner city residents are satisfied with the existing level of facilities although better street lighting, more police and corner stores were perceived to be required.

With regards to mobility, or changing residence, most inner city residents (that is 67%) have lived within an inner area for at least the last five years, although they have mostly changed dwelling at least once within this time period.

When changing address all those surveyed indicated that they chose to stay within the inner suburbs. This leads to the conclusion that there is a large stock of rental accommodation within inner areas, as this form of tenure permits high mobility.

Amongst inner city residents there is a high degree of acceptance of a generally smaller dwellings, and of dwellings other than single houses.

Most inner city residents live in a household where there are two people and have a preference for semi-detached, terrace or townhouse style of dwellings, with two bedrooms being the most preferred number. Most people surveyed preferred a small yard area, or private open space such as a courtyard.

Fifty four percent of inner city dwellers either own or are purchasing their dwelling, with the remainder of 46% renting. Of those people that are renting, 68% stated they would like to purchase a dwelling within an inner area.

The rental market plays an important role in permitting people to change residence to give access to lower income earners to inner areas. Rental dwellings additionally contribute to the vitality of inner areas by ensuring a flow of new residents.

The combination of owner/occupiers and people renting encourages a mixture of people to live in inner areas. This is one of the factors contributing to the interesting nature of these areas.

However the dwellings under construction in Northbridge are amongst those that are most expensive of the inner suburbs. A one bedroom dwelling will cost approximately \$170,000, whilst two bedroom dwellings will cost upwards of approximately \$200,000.

It was found that the majority of single people that wanted to, could not afford to purchase a dwelling in Northbridge, although approximately two thirds could afford a dwelling in an adjoining inner suburb. However approximately one third of single inner city residents would not be able to afford a dwelling in an adjoining inner suburb of Northbridge.

Whilst most single people and couples are not able to afford to purchase a dwelling, renting a dwelling in Northbridge is a realistic option. Although the low income earner single people would not have access to private rental stock unless they lived in shared accommodation. However the main problem for people renting is that the statistics indicated they they seek to purchase a dwelling in the area, which most cannot afford what the housing market is supplying.

Low cost dwellings in Northbridge are necessary to give access to people of varying socio economic status, and to thereby satisfy potential resident demand, and also to assist the process of revitalisation.

Low cost dwellings in Northbridge would be most likely to be provided by the public housing sector. The public housing sector does not discriminate and houses a variety of household types including those of varying ethnic backgrounds, traditional family households, single people, single parent households, retired people, students, disabled, and unemployed people. The common trait of these people is generally their low socio economic status, and lack of disposable income for entertainment.

The lack of money to spend on entertainment, together with the fact that a portion of the people in public housing are not in full-time employment (such as students, retired people, pensioners, and unemployed people) means that many of these people have longer leisure hours.

The option for many of these people is to use the public areas such as streets, parks, and public squares as part of their social life through going for walks, visiting friends, or simply standing and talking. Northbridge would be suitable for this lifestyle with little need for a private vehicle and free public access to the activities in the cultural centre of Northbridge, and the concerts and displays in the malls within the Perth city centre.

These low income public housing residents by virtue of their lack of disposable income to spend on entertainment, would be more visible by the amount of time they spend of their social life in public areas. Site inspection reveals this to be the case in the public housing projects in East Perth.

These people contribute to the social activity of the city and add to the life and vitality of the streetscape.

Private rental dwellings whilst giving access to those not able to afford to purchase, are usually only available to people that are employed and have met the criteria of the person letting the dwelling. Private dwellings do generally not cater for same diversity of people as public housing.

However the rental price of the new dwellings is rising significantly to become increasingly affordable for middle and upper income earners only. Lower income earners are mainly catered for in the older dwellings.

Private dwellings are mostly owned by speculative investors who seek middle and upper socio economic people as tenants.

Investors are less likely to rent new dwellings out to lower socio economic groups, and as such they may be attributed to not contributing as much as they could to the process of revitalisation.

To afford the rent price the people in private rental stock within Northbridge would most likely be employed. The lifestyle of these people would be comparable to the higher income earners that would be potential owner/occupiers in Northbridge. These people would be more likely to leave for the office early each morning, return late in the afternoon, and possibly venture out for a meal or a coffee in the evening. Their contribution to the life of Northbridge and its vitality is secondary when compared to the potential of the public housing occupants.

The trend is towards Northbridge catering for high income earners. The purchasers of these dwellings are a select market. For most single people and many couples who want to live in Northbridge, the rental market would appear to be the most accessible option, although there are doubts as to whether the private rental market would greatly assist in revitalisation.

To achieve revitalisation life is required to be injected back onto streets and public areas. Whilst private dwellings would assist this process, public housing would have a potentially larger impact.

CHAPTER 9
POTENTIAL NEW DWELLINGS IN NORTHBRIDGE

9.0 INTRODUCTION

There is a demand for dwellings in inner city areas. Unlike most inner areas, Northbridge has few existing dwellings. Although there are many underutilised sites and some existing structures that could be used for residential purposes.

The statistics generated through the author's research reveal that the most preferred dwelling type for people wanting to live in the inner city are terraces/attached dwellings, and town houses.

However of those people surveyed 55% stated that they would also consider living on top of a retail complex such as a shop, restaurant or office. A mixture of dwelling types within Northbridge would be required to satisfy demand.

Within Northbridge there are two forms of potential development sites; vacant land which includes sites where there are disused dilapidated buildings, and multi level commercial sites which have unoccupied upper levels that could be converted for residential purposes.

Most of the existing commercial buildings within Northbridge that are available for conversion are two or three storeys only. Redevelopment of these buildings would be easier than newer buildings as they mostly have wooden floors and wooden and plaster walls, as opposed to the few, newer commercial buildings within Northbridge which have solid concrete walls and floors. The construction of these older buildings allows for more infrastructure including water, gas, and electricity to be more easily extended and connected within the wall and floor cavities. Although it is still possible with newer buildings, although their solid concrete construction makes it a much more difficult and expensive task to extend the infrastructure required.

Of the identified sites the number of dwellings permitted will be determined on the basis of one dwelling for every 62.5 square metres of land area, or floor space. This density is what the Perth City Council is presently proposing as part of an amendment to the existing City Planning Scheme.

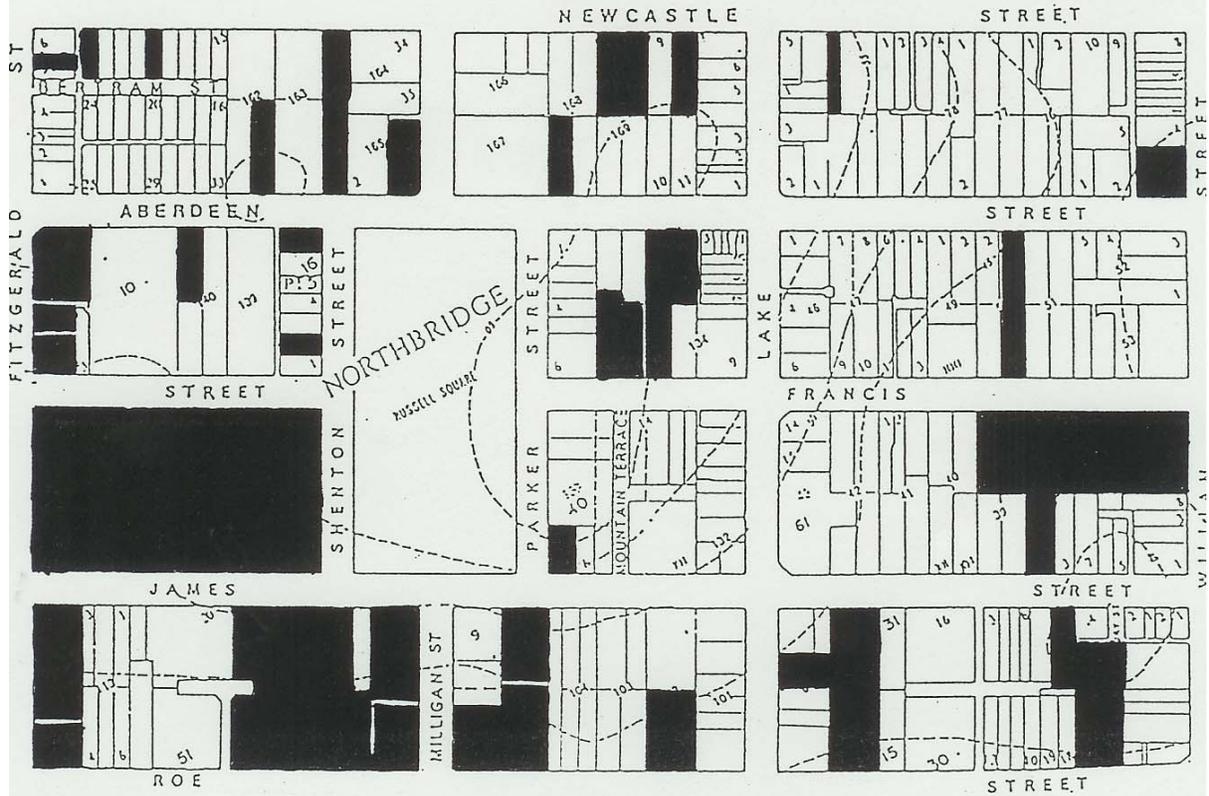
Where there is an identified existing multi level commercial building, with vacant upper floors, the number of dwellings that may be developed will also be determined on the basis of 62.5 square metres of floor space per dwelling. Multi level commercial buildings that are currently fully occupied will not be considered for residential purposes within this research. This research only includes those sites and buildings that are currently available.

The identified vacant sites do include carparks. The reason for this is that the zoning of these sites permits them to be used for residential purposes. Also many of these sites are privately owned, and it is feasible that given the appropriate price being paid, these sites could be redeveloped for residential purposes. However Northbridge has a regional attraction and consequently does have a need for carparking.

Although the development of the carparks within Northbridge for dwellings would be of greater benefit to the area, for both visitors, and residents. The multi storey carparks of the Perth central city area are generally underutilised on weekends and could be used to cater for the extra demand if the stock of carparking in Northbridge was reduced. The Perth central city area and Northbridge adjoin each other and are well linked for pedestrians. It is only a short walk between the two areas and whilst it may find initial opposition, the distance could easily be walked by most people.

There are many dwellings in Northridge that have been converted for a range of commercial uses. These dwellings are not all suitable for conversion back to their former residential use as most have had extensive internal and external changes, although this could be overcome.

FIGURE FOUR SITES AVAILABLE FOR DWELLING DEVELOPMENTS



The size of the identified lots and the floor space areas of existing multi level commercial buildings has been obtained through the records of the Perth City Council. The potential location for dwellings will be presented on an individual block basis. Each block being referred to as a Precinct.

9.1 PRECINCT ONE

Precinct One is bounded by William, Roe, Lake and James Streets and has three potential dwelling sites as detailed on Figure 4.

Site 1 is a carpark, it is clear of all structures, and provides excellent views to the city. It also has direct access to Roe Street and James Street. The adjoining lots are a mix of retail and entertainment uses. This part of Roe Street presently has few night time uses. The development of this site would help promote life in this generally under utilised location. The land area is approximately 1966 square metres which would permit a maximum of 31 dwellings.

Site 2 is a combination of a ground level only, and a multi storey carpark. It is bounded by restaurants, nightclubs, taverns and cafes. The site offers views to the city and the hills of the Darling Ranges to the east from upper floor levels. This site would permit a maximum of 62 dwellings.

Site 3 has been developed for a two level commercial building which is used as a restaurant on the ground floor and unused storage space on the first floor. The first floor could be converted to dwellings however there would be no parking facilities. This site would add a different use to the surrounding lots which are mainly entertainment uses, which would benefit the streetscape and

diversity of uses of the immediate area. The upper floor leasable area is approximately 320 square metres which could be converted to 5 dwellings.

Within Precinct One a total of 98 dwellings could be developed.

9.2 PRECINCT TWO

Precinct Two is bound by Roe, Milligan, James and Lake Streets and has two potential dwelling sites.

Sites 4 and 5 are similar in that they are both two storey commercial developments which have a mixture of retail and office uses on the ground floor with vacant first floors.

There is 480 square metres vacant on the first level of Site 4, which could be used for 7 dwellings, whilst the first floor of Site 5 has an area available of 1700 square metres which could be used for 27 dwellings.

The benefits of both of these sites is that they have existing security systems, and parking. In between these two sites facing Roe Street is a seven day a week market place which retails all food items, in addition to clothing stores and other retail shops.



Sites 4 and 5 offer city views and both sites have the potential to enliven Milligan and Roe Streets which have no immediate night time uses, other than a tavern on the corner of Milligan and James Streets. Both streets are presently infrequently used in the evening.

Site 6 is currently being developed for forty multiple level dwellings. The development of Site 5 would reinforce the residential nature of this precinct through the visual residential link it could create with Site 6.



Excluding the dwellings being built on Site 6, an additional 34 dwellings could be further developed within Precinct Two.

9.3 PRECINCT THREE

Precinct Three is bound by Roe, Fitzgerald, James and Milligan Streets. There are five identified sites within this Precinct.

Sites 7 and 10 both have existing disused warehouses in neglected condition. Site Seven has an area of 1206 square metres which would permit 19 dwellings whilst Site 10 has an area of 911 square metres which would permit 14 dwellings.

Dwellings on both sites would add diversity and use to an area that is largely unused in the night. There is a market style retail complex on Roe Street out of the study area approximately 200 metres

to the west of Site 10. The development of these sites would create a link with this retail complex and allow it to form part of the potential residential community and integrate it with Northbridge.

Site 8 is part of what was the former Perth City Council depot site and has an area of 1652 square metres, which would permit 26 dwellings. The site would reinforce the potential residential nature of Milligan Street and assist in bringing life back to the street during the evening, and could use the abutting Russell Square park land as a positive feature.

Both Sites 9 and 11 are vacant. These sites have areas of 8820 square metres and 2125 square metres respectively, which would give dwelling yields of 141 and 34 dwellings.

The large size of Site 9 would permit a scale of development which could provide a visual link with the abutting Russell Square park land.



Site 11 combined with Site 10 could create a continual residential streetscape on Fitzgerald Street.

The advantage of Precinct Three is that there are several key sites which would permit larger, integrated designs to create small scale developments, whilst giving views to the city, Russell Square and promoting more life and vibrancy to the Roe and Fitzgerald Street immediate localities. This Precinct could further develop the residential streetscapes of Precincts One and Two on Roe Street.

Within Precinct Three a total of 234 dwellings could be developed.

9.4 PRECINCT FOUR

Precinct Four is bounded by James, Lake, Francis and William Streets and has two sites available for dwellings.

Site 11 is an existing four level office complex with the Australian Taxation office as the major tenant, with retail and entertainment uses including a restaurant on the ground floor. This site presently has a total of 2560 square metres for lease.

This would permit development of 40 dwellings. This site offers city views, parking, separate access and full security.

On Site 12 there is a six storey office block. The building is approximately 20 years old and has recently been renovated. It is currently unoccupied and has been predominantly vacant for the last three years. Assuming the ground and first floor are developed for commercial purposes, the top floor levels, excluding areas such as stairwells, lifts and foyers, would give a total floor area of approximately 1600 square metres, this would permit 25 dwellings. This site is ideal for dwellings

as it has parking, security system, city and river views, and is in the midst of a diversity of entertainment and retail uses.

A residential component on Sites 11 and 12 would add to the existing diversity of activities which include retail, entertainment and office uses within the Precinct.

Within Precinct Four a total of 65 dwellings could be developed.

9.5 PRECINCT FIVE

Precinct Five is bounded by Lake, James, Parker and Francis Streets. This precinct is mostly characterised by restaurants, cafes and assorted retail outlets and several nightclubs. There are two potential dwelling sites.

Sites 13 and 14 are used as ground level only carparks. Site 13 has views across to the Russell Square park land.

Sites 13 and 14 have lot areas of 263 square metres and 513 metres respectively. This would permit four and eight dwelling on these lots.

This Precinct forms part of the core of the entertainment uses within Northbridge and is mostly developed. The two identified sites are important to this precinct in that they have the potential to bring back a diversity to the central area of Northbridge where the uses are predominantly entertainment with lack of variation.

9.6 PRECINCT SIX

Precinct Six is the former Perth City Council depot site. Construction is currently being undertaken on the site to develop 120 dwellings. This will also include retail floor space and entertainment uses such as restaurants and cafes. This site has been designed to create a village atmosphere with an emphasis on pedestrian links both internal and external to the site through Russell Square.

The proposed non residential uses within this site should ensure that the Precinct maintains its vibrancy during daylight and evening hours whilst also providing services to the residents.

9.7 PRECINCT SEVEN

Precinct Seven is bounded by Francis, Lake, Aberdeen and William Streets. It has a mixture of dwellings, entertainment and office uses. Most of the buildings are at a human scale which in conjunction with the variety of uses makes it attractive.

There are two identified potential dwelling sites, Sites 15 and 16. Both are occupied by two level commercial buildings. Each site has existing security systems, parking with some city views available from Site 15.

The ground floor of Site 15 is used as an office, whilst the first floor is vacant and has a floor area of 300 square metres which could be used for 4 dwellings.

The ground floor of Site 16 is used as a restaurant, whilst the vacant first floor has an area of approximately 250 square metres which would permit 4 dwellings.



Sites 15 and 16 would reinforce the existing residential component of the Precinct, and diversity of land uses, whilst providing an alternative dwelling type.

The combined dwelling yield of Sites 15 and 16 is eight dwellings.

9.8 PRECINCT EIGHT

Precinct Eight is bounded by Francis, Parker, Aberdeen and Lake Streets. The precinct has a good mix of use including restaurants, nightclubs, churches, shops and private social clubs.

Sites 17 and 18 have been identified as potential dwelling development sites.

Site 17 is used as a carpark and has frontage to both Francis Street and Aberdeen Street. It has an area of 2054 square metres which would permit 32 dwellings.

Site 18 is used for car yard sales and has an area of 1484 square metres which would permit 23 dwellings.



As these two sites are adjoining there is the potential to create one overall village style development. This could create pedestrian links through Aberdeen Street to Francis Street, whilst permitting the residents to take advantage of the proximity to the Russell Square park. Dwellings within this Precinct would add, and reinforce the diversity of existing uses.

The total number of dwellings that could be developed in Precinct Eight is 55 dwellings.

9.9 PRECINCT NINE

Precinct Nine is bounded by John, Fitzgerald, Aberdeen and Shenton Streets.

The main uses within this Precinct are warehousing, showrooms, and the storage of machinery and goods. There are several entertainment uses within the Precinct. There are six potential dwelling sites.

Sites 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 are vacant and undeveloped. Site 19 has an area of 437 square metres and could be developed for 6 dwellings. Site 20 has an area of 390 square metres which would permit 6 dwellings.

Site 21 has an area of 683 metres and could be developed for 10 dwellings. Whilst Site 22 has an area of 6622 square metres and could be developed for 105 dwellings.

Site 23 has an area of 488 square metres and could be developed for 7 dwellings. This site adjoins Site 24 which has upon it a hotel that has been closed since 1990, it previously operated under the name of the Fitzgerald Hotel and is three levels high and is approximately 100 years old.

The Perth City Council have advised that this building has a heritage classification which means that it is unlikely to be demolished. The Perth City Council have advised that conversion of the building for residential uses would be likely to be accepted. Whilst the land area of the site is 607 square metres, the floor area of the structure is unavailable. However Perth City Council have advised that there was previously approximately 20 single rooms for guests in the hotel. To convert these rooms into floor areas that are consistent with the size of dwelling in demand, it would be feasible to assume that conversion of the site would create a minimum of 10 dwellings.



The Fitzgerald Hotel Site (Site 24) has the potential to create a focal point for this precinct. If the two vacant sites to the north of the Fitzgerald Hotel site (Sites 22 and 23) were developed in conjunction with the Fitzgerald Hotel site, an overall development could be designed in the style of the Fitzgerald Hotel to create a mini village with an existing focal point and historic link.

Development of the dwellings within this precinct would assist to increase the use and life of this area which presently has little activity in the evening. More dwellings would help revitalise the Precinct.

Within Precinct Nine, 144 dwellings may be developed.

9.10 PRECINCT TEN

Precinct Ten is bounded by William, Aberdeen, Lake and Newcastle Streets. This precinct is dominated by entertainment uses such as restaurants and cafes, with retail and various commercial outlets including a church, furniture store and bridal shop.

Precincts Ten, Eleven and Twelve are located within land reserved for the proposed Northern By Pass Freeway. If the freeway is developed as per the original plan of the State Government in 1955, all of the land within these Precincts would be required for the freeway. However on 21st October, 1994 it was reported in the West Australian newspaper that the Premier of Western Australia, Richard Court, had announced that the freeway through Northbridge would proceed as a tunnel. This tunnel would not disrupt the existing uses and once constructed, the land above the tunnel could potentially be further developed for a variety of uses.



Further discussion with the Department of Planning and Urban Development and the Main Roads Department have revealed that once complete, the land above the tunnel would be capable of being developed for any use. This was a matter of the tunnel being designed to withstand a certain level

of development above it. However there are no formal details or definite plans for the tunnel at present.

Within Precinct Ten there are two potential dwelling sites. Site 25 presently has a two level commercial building. It was built approximately during the 1930s and has a ground floor of restaurant and cafes whilst the upper floor is vacant. The upper floor has an area of 400 square metres which could be developed for 6 dwellings. The site has car parking and existing security system, the second level offers views across to the city.



Site 26 is currently used as carpark and is undeveloped. It has an area of 549 square metres which would permit 8 dwellings.

This Precinct is used on a 24 hour basis, mainly through the combination of day time commercial activities and night time entertainment uses. The addition of dwellings in this Precinct would add to the positive mix of uses.

The total dwellings that could be developed within Precinct Ten is 14.

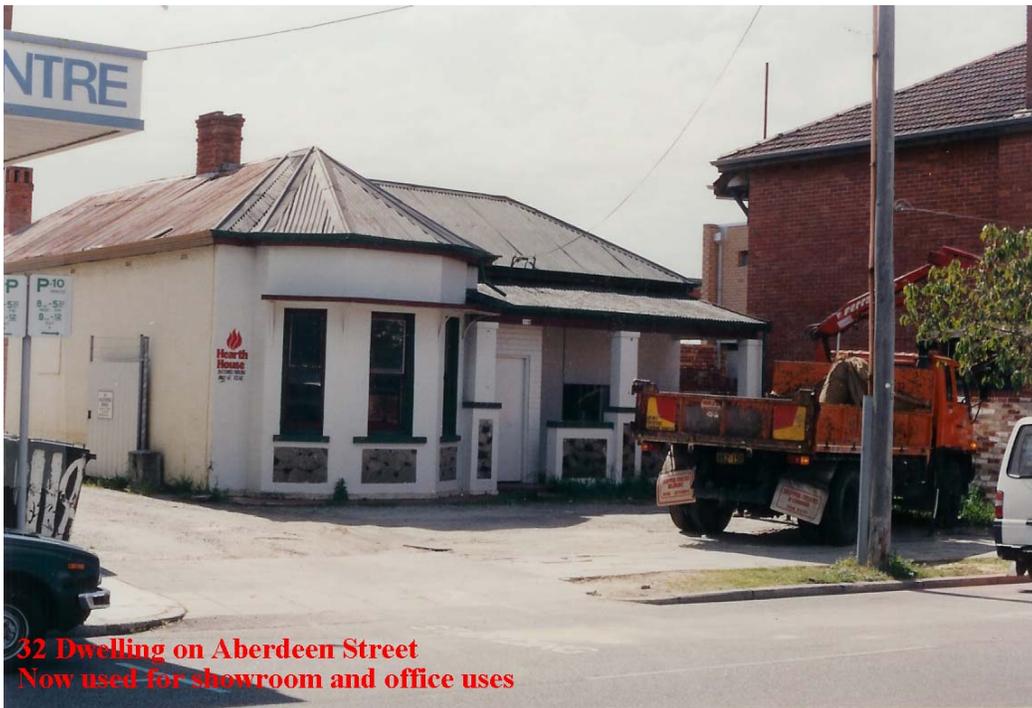
9.11 PRECINCT ELEVEN

Precinct Eleven is bound by Aberdeen, Palmerston, Newcastle and Lake Streets. It is characterised by a mix of uses including residential, warehouses, offices, and entertainment uses including restaurants and an art gallery.

There are four potential sites for dwellings. Site 27 is vacant and has an area of 438 square metres which would permit 7 dwellings.

Site 28 is also vacant and is used for storage of vehicles and machinery, it has a total area of 751 square metres which would permit 12 dwellings.

Site 29 is undeveloped land, it has a total area of 1520 square metres which would permit 24 dwellings.



Site 30 has a disused dwelling upon it which has been used for commercial purposes. The structure is run down and is no longer used, if redeveloped for dwellings the lot area of 759 square metres would permit 12 dwellings.

This Precinct has an established residential core, the identified dwelling sites all adjoin existing residential lots. The development of the identified lots would serve to reinforce the residential nature of this Precinct, and the diversity of uses.

The number of dwellings that could be developed within the Precinct is 55.

9.12 PRECINCT TWELVE

Precinct Twelve is bound by Palmerston, Aberdeen, Fitzgerald and Newcastle Streets. This Precinct is similar to the adjoining Precinct Eleven as the main uses are residential, warehouses, restaurants and offices.

Within the Precinct there are seven potential dwelling sites, all are presently undeveloped and vacant.



Site 31 has an area of 938 square meters and could be developed for 15 dwellings, whilst Sites 32 and 33 have lot areas of 873 and 860 square metres which would permit a potential of 13 dwellings per site.

Site 34 is undeveloped and has an area of 873 square metres and 488 square meters. Sites 35 and 36 could be developed for 4 dwellings each, whilst Site 37 could be developed for 7 dwellings.

This Precinct has the advantage of an established residential core. New dwellings in this precinct could build on the existing neighbourhood social fabric. Further residential development with the Precinct would permit the residential nature to be reinforced and to add to what is currently a piecemeal residential streetscape on Newcastle and Aberdeen Streets.

The existing dwellings in this Precinct do not appear to have suffered any negative effects from the non residential uses; there is no reason this will not continue in the future with the development of more dwellings.

The total number of dwellings that could be developed within this precinct is 69.

9.13 CONCLUSION

Within Northbridge there is a stock of land that is available for residential development. Mostly this land has few site constraints which makes it suitable for redevelopment. The infrastructures is existing, as are most support services a residential population requires, and most of the land is free of structures.

There are also several multi level commercial buildings that are generally occupied at ground floor level, with upper levels unoccupied. They provide the potential for dwellings on the vacant upper levels. Most of these buildings offer city views, security systems and undercover carparking.

A range of dwellings can be supplied in Northbridge that satisfies the identified design criteria of the inner city residents, and the development criteria of the Perth City Council.

Within Northbridge there are 37 potential dwelling sites. Seven of these sites are multi level commercial buildings with vacant upper floors. Thirty sites are mostly vacant sites with several having old warehouse in various conditions of neglect.

Of these 37 sites there is the potential to provide a maximum of 788 new dwellings. This is in addition to the existing dwellings and the 160 dwellings presently approved and under construction within Northbridge.

The authors research revealed that an average occupancy ratio of inner city households is two people per household, based on this the 788 potential dwellings would have the ability to increase the population by 1576 people.

The potential dwelling sites are mostly located on the periphery of the study area. The central core of Northbridge is dominated by entertainment and office uses.

On the southern border of the study area the identified sites are concentrated on Roe Street whilst on the western border they are mainly on Fitzgerald Street. Both of these locations are characterised by the fact that they have previously been used for light industrial and other commercial uses, which because of down turn in demand have become vacant as businesses of this nature have move to other locations. The redevelopment of these sites has been slow because of their proximity to the central area of Northbridge. If left, the entertainment uses of Northbridge would be expected to spread to these sites. The existing pattern is for entertainment and related uses to be concentrated within the core of the study area and for growth to occur outwards.

The vacant land is a result of speculation. Landowners are waiting for the maximum potential of the land to occur to warrant development. The exception to this speculation is the land within the freeway reserve (Precincts Ten, Eleven and Twelve) which has been allowed to be blighted by the threat of the proposed freeway.

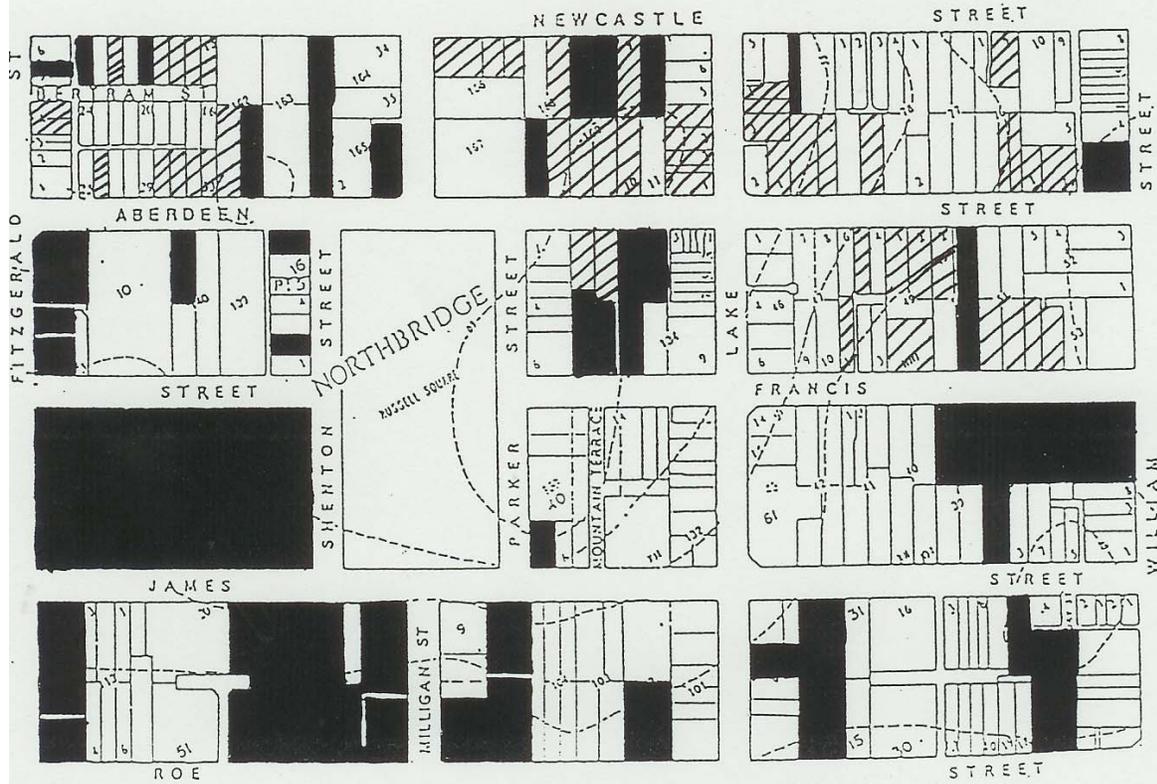
Most of the existing dwellings are in the north of the study area in the path of the proposed freeway. Further residential development of land within the freeway reserve would consolidate the existing residential land uses and would permit a smoother transition of uses from the study area, to the predominantly residential uses to the north of the study area (that is to the north of Newcastle Street).

Most other potential sites face either Fitzgerald Street or Roe Street. Development of dwellings on these sites would define the border of Northbridge, and potentially create a visually interesting periphery to Northbridge where there is now disused buildings and vacant sites.

The identified larger sites have the potential to create villages, mixing commercial uses with dwellings to serve the residents and non residents. These villages could be developed with distinct design themes to give each its own identity.

The development of any site, either small or large scale has to be sensitive to the surrounding uses, design and scale of development.

FIGURE FIVE POTENTIAL DWELLING SITES AND EXISTING DWELLINGS

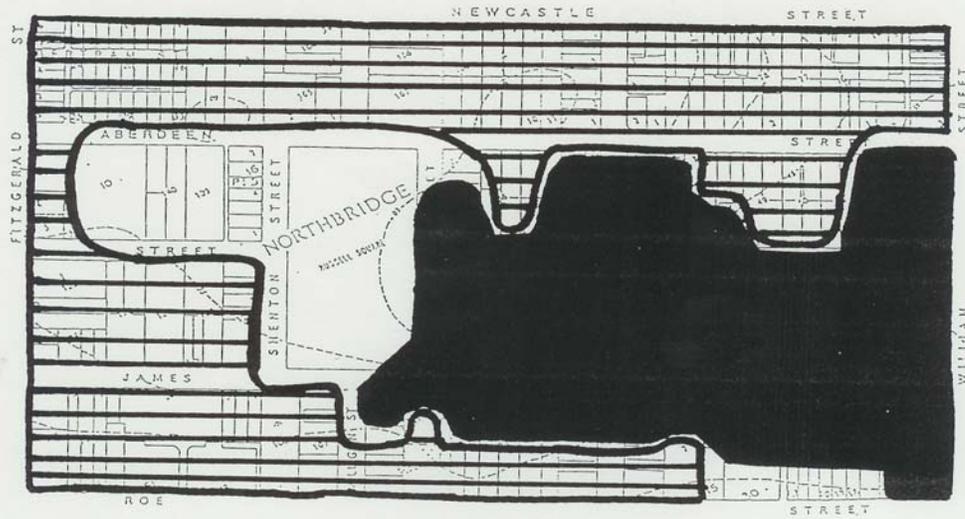


POTENTIAL DWELLING SITES
 EXISTING DWELLINGS

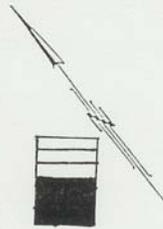


SOURCE - D & I DAVIDSON

FIGURE SIX GENERAL LOCATION OF ENTERTAINMENT USES AND POTENTIAL DWELLING SITES



POTENTIAL DWELLING SITES
GENERAL LOCATION OF ENTERTAINMENT USES



SOURCE : D & I DAVIDSON

Most existing non residential uses abutting the potential dwelling sites are day time uses, that would have little impact on a resident population.

The identified dwelling locations are mostly in ideal locations as they are not alongside entertainment uses where there is the potential for the greatest conflict of uses.

The biggest problem for the sites that face Roe, Fitzgerald and Newcastle Streets however is the high volume of traffic. Although this could be overcome through traffic calming methods to make it easier for people to get in and out of these sites whilst permitting the traffic flow to be maintained, although on more acceptable levels. The noise generated by this traffic would have to be considered in the design stage.

Development of sites bordering Russell Square is vital to this park land. For many years it has been dark, unused and generally not inviting to most people. New paths, lighting, seating and waterfalls installed during 1993/4 have increased use of the park. Dwellings abutting the park would be a major measure in the park being reclaimed for use by more people.

An ideal situation for Northbridge would be a series of small village style developments on the large sites forming part of an overall residential component. This would help to reinforce the future residents feeling of belonging in the area as opposed to a multi storey unit development that has no focus, and is not a part of the local community, and does not promote community acceptance and responsibility amongst its residents.

There is available land within Northbridge for dwellings, and it can be developed to meet the criteria of the potential residents and the Perth City Council.

The development of some of these sites would ensure that the residential nature of Northbridge is returned, and that the diversity of the area is maintained for the foreseeable future rather than the area continuing as an entertainment and commercial district. Dwellings in Northbridge will help to ensure it does not become an extension of the Perth city centre.

CHAPTER 10

PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS AND INNER CITY DWELLINGS - NORTHBRIDGE

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Whilst demand for inner city dwellings is established by market forces, it is public organisations that determine if the dwellings may be built.

The Local and State Government departments within Western Australia collectively determine the parameters for dwellings to be developed within Northbridge.

The Perth City Council is the Local Government which controls Northbridge in conjunction with several State Government departments including Department of Planning and Urban Development, Inner City Living Office and Homeswest.

The policies, statutory provisions and opinions of these organisations will be examined with a focus on the residential revitalisation of Northbridge.

10.1 PERTH CITY COUNCIL

In 1994 the Western Australian Liberal State Government chose to split the Perth City Council into four Local Governments. This was done with no public consultation.

The newly defined Perth City Council includes the geographic area of Perth which incorporates the central business district, and Northbridge.

The decision to retain Northbridge under the control of the central city planning body indicates the importance of the area to the State Government.

Until the 1980s the Perth City Council showed little interest in Northbridge. Development was permitted with no regard for the history or individuality of the area. The commercial zoning given to the area indicated it was perceived as an appendage of the Perth City Centre, to cater for spillover economic activity.

In the late 1980s the growth in historical awareness, and preservation of our past, saw an increase in interest in the planning of Northbridge. This was reflected by the Perth City Council undertaking studies, and reviewing their Town Planning Scheme to incorporate greater consideration in the forward planning of the area.

The initial indication of renewed interest in Northbridge was in 1989 when a discussion paper was released by the Perth City Council entitled 'Northbridge Study'. The early 1980s saw a rise in the area as an entertainment location with a corresponding rise in profile amongst local people and visitors to Perth. The publication of this paper was timely.

The paper examined the history of Northbridge, existing uses and users of Northbridge, and the sensitivity needed in the future planning of the area. This paper officially represent the views of the Perth City Council in 1989 concerning Northbridge. The following quote appears in this paper: "Businesses may be the heart of Northbridge, but it is the visitors who give it life." The paper concludes with a recommendation that further studies be made of Northbridge to benefit "...the residents, the businesses and the general public" of Northbridge.

This represents the first significant study by the Perth City Council specifically on Northbridge. It reflects a cautious, although positive attitude towards the area from the Perth City Council.

From this paper the Perth City Council, and the State Government through the Department of Planning and Urban Development, undertook a further study of Northbridge. This culminated in the "Northbridge Study" (1991).

This research had two goals: to permit the area to evolve as a diverse location, whilst increasing the stock of dwellings; and to more closely examine the social and built form of Northbridge.

It put forward a series of ideas as to what the future of Northbridge might be. These focused on urban design issues. The study did not give definite directions, rather it recognised that the diversity of the area required to be nurtured, and that dwellings had a place in the area.

The report recommended that communication between the Perth City Council, and public and private organisations be promoted to encourage an exchange of ideas and information on the future of Northbridge. This report was adopted by the Perth City Council as a policy to direct the future growth and uses within Northbridge.

The Perth City Council City Zoning Scheme (CZS) was first gazetted in 1985. It is a legal document that requires that any proposed development or use of land comply to specific land use and building criteria. The CZS designates land with Northbridge either Commercial CC or Commercial C1 .

The Commercial CC zoning permits any use (residential or commercial) other than noxious or general industry. All forms of dwellings are permitted under the Commercial CC zoning, however the Commercial C1 zoning only permits 'multiple dwellings' (that is multi storey dwellings).

The land dedicated in the 1950s for the future freeway in the north of the study area was not given a zoning, rather reserved as land for the future freeway.

The CZS provides a statutory framework for determining where uses may be located within Northbridge.

Under the CZS the development criteria of a dwelling proposed in a Commercial zone of Northbridge is the same as a dwelling in a middle or outer suburb. The CZS has no specific criteria for dwellings to be designed to compliment the built and social fabric of Northbridge.



The CZS does not encourage or discourage any particular use, with residential and commercial uses being subject to the same process to obtain approval. Whilst permitting multiple uses provides flexibility and has the potential to encourage diversity, the ultimate determinant of the use of the land is left to the market place to decide within the range of permitted uses. In the case of Northbridge the higher capital return on commercial uses has led to this use currently dominating. Permitting residential uses within commercial zoned land is not enough to encourage residential

developments.

It is a statutory requirement of the Town Planning and Development Act (1928) that all Local Governments in Western Australia review their Planning Scheme every five years. In the early 1990s the Perth City Council initiated a review of its CZS. The public documents pertaining to the proposed planning changes stated that the intention of the review was to "...respond to changing urban issues within the city and to recognise the different character of city localities".

Whilst it was a statutory requirement that the CZS be reviewed the preceding quote indicates that the Perth City Council realised the need for change and approached it in a positive manner.

Whilst the CZS review is not yet complete, part of the process has been to amend the existing CZS. The future planning for Northbridge is encapsulated in the document referred to as Amendment 51 which is in the final stage of obtaining approval. When approved it will form part of the CZS and will be used as the basis for planning in Northbridge.

This is the first statutory planning measure that specifically focuses on Northbridge.

Amendment 51 makes provision to permit residential development within the study area on all land at a density of R160; this translates to a ratio of one dwelling for every 62.5 square metres of land area.

It places a height limit on developments that is equal to half of the width of a road reserve in front of a given development site.

Plans of the Perth City Council reveal that most road reserves in Northbridge are approximately 20 - 22 metres, this would permit an average building height of approximately 10 metres. This will keep the height of buildings more uniform, and at a human scale which is characteristic of most older buildings within the area.



The height limitation will be enforceable as a law once Amendment 51 is given final approval by the Minister for Planning.

Town Planning Scheme amendments usually concentrate on technical matters only, such as the amount of land that can be built on, what land can be used for, building line setbacks and carparking requirements. Amendment 51 differs from the norm in that it identifies a range of general criteria to provide more of a guide for development in Northbridge, rather than imposing absolute standards.

The following extracts are taken from the amendment document: "to maintain the evolution of Northbridge as a varied and dynamic precinct"

"to ensure that new development does not detract from its diverse character"

"to encourage...opportunities for people to live and work in Northbridge"

"to achieve a cohesive built environment of height and bulk that maintains a human scale and that ensures continuity of building and activity along the street frontage to accommodate the variety of uses that characterises Northbridge"

"to create attractive and human spaces"

"Northbridge continues to be a place where people can move about comfortably on foot"

"to ensure that proposed (commercial) developments will not unduly affect the existing or future use of the land for residential purposes"

These excerpts reveal the flexibility of Amendment 51 and the intention of the Perth City Council to permit a variety. Every proposed use would be judged on its individual merits, and what it could bring to benefit the area. Amendment 51 places an emphasis on the Perth City Council planners making value judgements on what is good for Northbridge.

The Perth City Council is not involved in the development of dwellings. However in Northbridge it has indirectly participated when in 1993 it sold its depot site on the land bounded by James, John, Fitzgerald and Shenton Streets.

This site is now being privately developed for dwellings.

From early 1992 to mid 1994 a series of interviews were undertaken by the author with planning staff of the Perth City Council. The focus of these interviews was on the role of the Perth City Council and the forward planning of Northbridge, in particular the future provision of dwellings in the area. It was repeatedly shown that there is a positive attitude and enthusiasm to the future of Northbridge by the Council. The Council recognises Northbridge as a unique area within the Perth metropolitan region, and consequently believes that care is required in its planning.

The opinions of the staff interviewed indicated that the key to the future of Northbridge is in the diversity of the area, and that a part of this is a strong residential component. All agreed that the area should not become an appendage of the central city area. It was indicated that there is a definite need for all uses in the future to be sensitive to each other. Too much of one use would have the potential to detract from the area.

The staff of the Perth City Council that were interviewed have a positive outlook for the future of Northbridge, the finalisation of Amendment 51 will empower them to sustain the diversity of uses in Northbridge.

Whilst the position of the Perth City Council on the future of Northbridge is positive, in terms of formalising development criteria, and the outlook and perceptions of the staff, the future of Northbridge is still largely under the control of the market place. The Perth City Council can provide the framework, but it is the market forces that will dictate what the land is used for. If a preferential demand for dwellings exists they will be provided.

Amendment 51 may be interpreted as a result of a growth in interest by the general public in Northbridge, and inner city living in general. The actions and interest of the people have caused the Perth City Council to take action to preserve the integrity of the area.

There have been many years of inactivity by the Perth City Council in their involvement in Northbridge. For Northbridge this has probably been fortunate, greater involvement may have led to the area becoming an extension of the city centre with none of the character that has created its uniqueness. As attention increasingly turns to Northbridge as a unique area within the metropolitan region, the focus of the Perth City Council has moved to the area.

This was first characterised by reports and discussion papers and later by more legal methods via Amendment 51.

This will give the Perth City Council more power to control future development within Northbridge, importantly it will also permit the consideration of any site as a potential dwelling development site.

10.2 WESTERN AUSTRALIA STATE GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

The Western Australian State Government has generally taken an active role in promoting inner city living. This started in the early 1990s with the then Labor Government and has continued with the change in Government to the Liberal leadership which won majority votes in the March 1993 State Government elections.

The Labor Government established the framework and initiated the commitment to promoting inner city dwellings, the Liberal Government has continued this with modifications to suit their policies and ideology. Both Governments recognised the decline in the inner city population was an attributable reason to the lack of life within the city centre.

The policies and the intentions of the State Government are implemented and achieved through various Departments.

In the last few years there has been a new Department established to specifically promote inner city living, and there have been several key studies on inner areas.

State Government departments mostly deal with issues on a broad scale. It is not reasonable to expect them to deal with one location such as Northbridge. However what needs to be identified is what the State Government is doing in regards to inner city dwellings in general, to ascertain the impact of this on Northbridge.

The first research the State Government was involved in was the Northbridge Study (1991) which was a joint venture with the Perth City Council. From this point a commitment was made to increase the population of inner areas. The next phase was the establishment of the Perth Inner City Housing Taskforce in late 1991. The taskforce was funded by the State Government Departments of Planning and Urban Development and Homeswest, as well as the Perth City Council and Federal Government Department of Health Housing and Community Services.

The result of this taskforce was a study entitled "City Living" which was released in March 1992. The study examined the inner areas of West Perth, East Perth, Northbridge and the Perth City area. It analysed the financial, marketing, planning and environmental considerations for increasing inner city dwelling stock.

This report made several key recommendations including incentives to developers via land tax and water/sewerage connection charge reductions, as well as the need to identify State Government owned land that could be redeveloped for dwellings.

This report also led to the creation of the Inner City Living office in December 1992. The mission statement of this office is:

" to promote and facilitate the development of inner city housing and associated support services".

The office provides an important service to potential inner residents through information updates on new dwelling developments, and liaising with developers on the type and cost of dwellings potential residents are seeking.

The Inner City Living Office operates within the ambit of the Department of Planning and Urban Development and does not have a specific service area that examines inner city living.

However the Department does assess any proposed zoning changes put forward by the Perth City Council. Once its assessment is made the zoning change proposal is then given to the Minister for Planning for final determination. The Department also assesses applications for use or development on the land that forms the freeway reserve in the north of the study area.

The Department of Planning and Urban Development has little regular involvement with the planning of Northbridge, this is mostly undertaken by the Perth City Council which has the staff, resources and skills to focus on this area. Although the Department plays an important role in assessing proposed changes to zonings within the area.

In 1993 the State Government and the Perth City Council jointly funded the international planner Jan Gehl to undertake a study of the Perth central city area and Northbridge, to make Perth a better

place to live and work in for both the people of Perth and visitors. This study essentially sought to make Perth a more inviting place.

From this report the Premier of Western Australia, Richard Court, established the Capital City Committee. This Committee revealed on 21st October, 1994 in the Western Australia newspaper its plan for the Perth city area and Northbridge. This plan appears to have incorporated many of Gehl's (1994) ideas, and generally seeks to make the city and Northbridge more attractive for people, with the development of a variety of entertainment and cultural uses, stronger links between Perth city and Northbridge, more pedestrian planning, and more public places (parks and public squares). Although this plan recognises the need for more inner city residents, it does not incorporate any publicly funded dwelling proposals.

The East Perth Redevelopment Authority and Homeswest are two State Government Departments involved in inner city dwelling provision.

The East Perth Redevelopment Authority has been established by the State Government to redevelop the East Perth area for a mixture of dwellings and commercial developments. Mostly this land has been disused over the last decade, although in previous years it has thrived as a residential and industrial area. Clearance and subdivision are leading the way for this area to be redeveloped. The catalyst for this redevelopment was the Labor Government who originally proposed to have a significant public housing component in the area. This would have created a social mix amongst residents, more in keeping with the previous socio economic base of the area. However the Liberal Government have revised the plan to exclude all public housing, and have increased the amount of land zoned for commercial purposes.

The intention of the East Perth Redevelopment Authority (EPRDA) is positive in that it will provide more dwellings and increase the population of East Perth, although it will create inequity in the access to the dwellings. This will probably establish the area as an upmarket area for higher socio economic groups; totally removed from the socio economic history of the area, or what the Labor Government intended.

Homeswest, the State Government's public housing body, has undergone a similar change in direction as the EPRDA. The Labor Government made a commitment to inner city dwellings using the public sector. However the Liberal Government does not seek to create any more inner city public dwellings other than those existing. Homeswest, under the Labor Government, approved six inner city multiple storey dwelling developments in the early 1990s. One in central Perth, one in West Perth and four in East Perth. These are all complete. The Liberal Government, have not initiated any new developments within the inner city or city centre since coming to power.



Homeswest have advised that they have no policy on the provision of city or inner city dwellings. Discussions with Homeswest led to no commitment from the staff other than that there were no

immediate plans for any future dwellings. The lack of information and commitment from Homeswest led to a written request by the author to the Executive Director of Homeswest, Mr. Greg Joyce, for information on past and current policies on inner city dwellings, and if any funds had been budgeted for new dwellings or studies on inner city living. This was responded to in writing on 23rd August, 1994 where it was stated by Mr. Joyce that:

"Homeswest has no specific policy on the provision of inner city accommodation....There is no specific budget allocation of funds for inner city housing...."

In a discussion with a senior staff member of Homeswest in August 1994 the author was informed that it would be unlikely that under the current State Government that Homeswest would be involved in the provision of inner city dwellings. The author was also informed that many of Homeswest staff feel that this was a backward step for this organisation to ignore inner city living for public housing tenants.

Withdrawal by Homeswest in the provision of inner city dwellings is a direct result of current government policy. Whilst this appears to create inequity it is in keeping with the general ideology of Liberal Governments, now and in the past.

Overall the State Government of Western Australia had developed a framework to promote inner city living, and the development of more dwellings, whilst not actually being involved in the construction of the dwellings. The main method to achieving this has been through the Inner City Living Office which has helped developers identify the market demand for residential dwellings. This office itself may be seen as the means of promoting development through inner city living, and ensuring that vacant space is not left idle within inner areas.

The Liberal Government have stepped away from providing dwellings, whilst encouraging the private sector to take on this role. This will ensure that dwellings are provided but only for a small percentage of the market.

For Northbridge, the actions of the Inner City Living office, and the studies of the State Government may be attributable to having assisted the private sector dwelling developments currently under construction in Northbridge. The State Government has not taken on the role of examining specific areas, other than East Perth, nor should it be. The planning of East Perth is a total redevelopment and has best been achieved through the establishment of a separate State Government Department. Although this could be likened to a small Local Government and justifiably needs this separate department.

10.3 CONCLUSION

The Perth City Council and State Government are both committed to increasing the stock of dwellings in inner areas. Both have undertaken studies and research into inner city dwellings which have shown positive results that have been presented in a manner to promote inner city living.

In regard to Northbridge, both organisations have indicated through research and statutory measures that dwelling stock should be increased in the area. The statutory framework has been provided by the Perth City council for the private sector to design and develop dwellings with Northbridge.

The main initiative of the Perth City Council at present is the amendment to its City Zoning Scheme to permit dwellings to be built throughout Northbridge. This formalises the requirements

to provide a basis from which developers may consider potential sites. This amendment permits land within Northbridge to be developed for either residential or commercial uses, leaving the choice to the landowner.

Less formal, although equally if not more important, is the attitude of the staff of the Perth City Council. The staff appear to be enthusiastic in the promotion of inner city dwellings in Northbridge.

The current State Government policy is not to provide public housing in the inner city. There is no likelihood of this changing under the existing State Government.

This contrast sharply with the previous State Government which was in power until March 1993 initiating the first inner city dwelling projects by Homeswest.

The State Government operates a department that assists developers identify what the needs and wants are of people demanding inner city dwellings, and keeps potential inner city residents informed of new dwelling developments. This department functions to assist in promoting new dwelling developments in all inner areas including Northbridge. The Department does fulfill the role of promoting inner city dwellings which is a positive step.

CHAPTER 11
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.0 INTRODUCTION

The hypotheses and objectives put forward in Chapter One will be examined to determine their status in view of the analysis put forward in the preceding chapters. This will be followed by an examination of the conclusions drawn from this research, recommendations and a summation of the thesis and findings.

11.1 HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS ONE: Existing planning controls/policies do not promote dwellings within inner city areas.

The statutory planning provisions of the Perth City Council do not encourage or promote dwellings within inner areas, specifically Northbridge.

The Perth City Council is currently amending its City Zoning Scheme to incorporate more specific design and development criteria within Northbridge. This will permit, although not encourage dwellings in Northbridge.

The Perth City Council and State Government have co-produced reports that encourage inner city living. Resulting from these reports the State Government has established an office to promote inner city living in all areas including Northbridge. The establishment of this office is a form of planning control, although not in the traditional policy or statutory sense.

Hypothesis One is partially true. The planning measures and controls of the Perth City Council do not promote dwellings within inner city areas. Although the State Government through its Inner City Living office is actively promoting inner city living through the increase in dwellings in all areas.

HYPOTHESIS TWO: There is a demand for dwellings within inner city areas that is not being met.

Over the last decade the demand for inner city dwellings has been increasing; the growth of the inner areas has been from people moving from outer and middle areas into the inner areas.

Approximately 10% of the metropolitan region population would like to live in the inner areas, although they do not because of the lack of dwellings.

Hypothesis two has been proven to be correct as there is a demand for dwellings within inner areas that is not being fully met. For this demand to be fulfilled a diverse range of dwelling types and designs would have to be supplied of varying levels of affordability.

HYPOTHESIS THREE: Dwellings can be integrated into the existing built form of inner city areas without compromising their integrity and character.

It would be unlikely that there would be any conflict between residential and commercial uses within inner areas. This is with the consideration of the fact that most inner city residents are attracted to the non residential uses of these areas, and have a higher degree of tolerance to them.

However the development of commercial and residential uses must be sympathetic to each other, there are many commercial uses compatible with residential developments, although development

of a residential use near certain night time entertainment uses would have to address noise arising from the activity.

A range of dwelling types are in demand within inner areas, this variation in dwelling types permits a variety of sites to be considered for development including vacant land, offices and warehouses for conversion to dwellings, or vacant space on top of commercial premises. The design of the dwellings could be integrated with the existing structures.

Hypothesis Three has been proven to be correct as dwellings can be developed in inner areas, including Northbridge without compromising their integrity or character because the type of dwellings in demand varies, as are the available development sites, thus they can be adopted to a variety of potential development sites and can be integrated with the non residential uses.

HYPOTHESIS FOUR: Dwellings within inner city areas will enhance the areas role as an entertainment/service node.

Whilst Northbridge abuts the central business district, it is unique because of its diversity of uses which includes a small stock of dwellings.

Inner areas are generally perceived as interesting because of the mix of residential and non residential uses. This is what contributes to their distinct identity and desired residential locations.

People move into inner areas because of the proximity to non residential uses. The inner city residents create further demand for the entertainment and service uses in these areas which further reinforces their presence.

The planners of the Perth City Council view the future of Northbridge as having a strong residential component to mix with the non residential uses. This mix of uses is perceived as positive to both the lifestyle of the residents, and the non residential uses of the area which are expected to become more diverse as the population of the area increases.

Similarly the opinion of the State Government largely parallels that of the Perth City Council.

Hypothesis four has been proven to be true as dwellings within inner areas will enhance the role of inner areas as entertainment and service nodes.

HYPOTHESIS FIVE: Current policies for the area will fail to attract residents in inner city areas due to the operation of the land market.

There are several statutory and non statutory measures that have been undertaken by the Perth City Council and State Government to permit and promote inner city dwellings.

Of the new developments within the study area of Northbridge the least expensive is a one bedroom dwelling priced at \$170,000. It is identified that this would be likely to be the lowest priced dwelling in the future to be found within the study area.

The people creating the demand for dwellings within Northbridge can be split into single and two income households. Eight percent of single income households wanting to purchase a dwelling in Northbridge can afford to do so; 40% of two income households could afford to purchase a dwelling in Northbridge.

Hypothesis Five is partially proven to be true. The operation of the land market will attract residents as well as investors. Current policies of the Perth City Council and State Government have established the framework for dwellings to be provided, although the price of the dwellings has been set by the land market. For the minority of households the price of dwellings will prohibit many potential residents from purchasing a dwelling, the surplus of dwelling this will create would attract investors.

11.2 CONCLUSIONS

THE DECREASE AND INCREASE IN DWELLING STOCK IN NORTHBRIDGE

Until the early 1960s Northbridge had a significant residential population. Until this time the area was recognisable by its growth of both residential and commercial uses. The population and dwelling stock was maintained in Northbridge until the 1960s for a variety of reasons including the lack of private transport, less demand by commercial uses on the land, cheap accommodation for arriving migrants, and proximity to shops and employment. Northbridge was an attractive place for people wanting to live close to employment, shops and with good access to inexpensive accommodation, which created demand for dwellings in the area.

Until the 1960s the lack of private transport made it beneficial for the local commercial activities to have a resident workforce. The growth in private transport permitted people to live further from their place of employment, which contributed to the decrease in population, and permitted more commercial activities to locate in the area through converting dwellings to commercial uses.

Proximity to the Perth central business district furthered the commercial growth of Northbridge as commercial uses spilt over.

One of the biggest single actions to remove the resident population was in the mid 1950s when the State Government proposed to reserve the northern portion of Northbridge for a proposed freeway, which was subsequently officially reserved for this use in 1963. This caused a large portion of the population who were living in the path of the freeway to be removed from the area with subsequent blighting occurring.

There is now renewed interest in the area as a new residential location, which is resulting in construction of new dwellings. This has been caused by a variety of factors. Household structures are changing, there are now more smaller households that demand smaller dwellings and less private open space. For these people there is a greater emphasis on out of home entertainment. The smaller dwelling size and less yard areas mean less upkeep for these new emerging households, whilst permitting them to take advantage of the cultural and entertainment facilities of the inner city.

The demand for dwellings is being met by the market place. High land values and dwelling prices has caused the market place to encourage and maximise development potential in the developments undertaken to date. It has transformed under utilised land to become profitable for its owners.

The decrease and now the increase in dwelling stock in Northbridge appears to be largely created by the market forces. The decrease in dwelling stock is attributed to the decrease in need by the commercial activities for a local residential population, and the need for more commercial land close to the city centre. Whilst it is recognised that people are now creating the demand for a new inner city lifestyle, it has largely been the need to create more profitable uses for underutilised land that has led to developers, landowners and investors promoting the development of new dwellings in Northbridge.

DWELLING TYPES IN DEMAND IN NORTHBRIDGE

The type of dwelling in demand in Northbridge is a two bedroom dwelling, in either a terrace or attached dwelling style, with a courtyard and carparking. Approximately half of potential Northbridge residents indicated they would also consider living on top of a shop or commercial use.

The type of dwelling that these people are seeking are varied and cater for all site and development conditions.

The people creating this demand are mostly aged between 25 - 40 years, with households being a mixture of single people and couples although few children. These people seek to live in Northbridge to be close to the entertainment and employment facilities.

These people do not object to living in close proximity to non residential uses, in fact it is viewed as an attraction to the area. Mixing residential and commercial uses should not present a problem providing it is appropriately considered in the design stage. However it is recognisable that there are problems living in close proximity to late night entertainment uses, mainly through the noise and behaviour of people leaving these establishments.

To remove or limit the entertainment uses in Northbridge would detract from what make the area unique, and in fact most inner residents appear to accept these problems as part of the lifestyle of the area.

The potential dwelling sites within Northbridge have been identified on the periphery of the area, whilst entertainment uses are concentrated in the centre of the area. There is a degree of separation

between potential dwelling sites and commercial uses. It would be expected that dwellings could be developed with minimal conflict with other uses.

POTENTIAL AND LOCATION OF DWELLINGS IN DEMAND IN NORTHBRIDGE

Within Northbridge there are 37 potential dwelling development sites of which 30 are vacant and undeveloped, whilst 7 are multi level commercial buildings with unoccupied upper levels available for conversion to dwellings. At the density permitted by the Perth City Council a total of 788 new dwellings could be developed in Northbridge.

Several of these sites would permit over seventy dwellings to be developed on the one site. There is the potential on these sites to create small scale village style developments with a recognisable community, whilst being part of the larger Northbridge community.

The dwelling sites are mostly on the border of the study area in the land bounded by Newcastle, William, Aberdeen, Shenton, Roe and Fitzgerald Streets. The concentration of the potential dwelling sites is in the north and west of the study area, whilst the entertainment and the commercial uses are located primarily in the east and centre of the study.

The potential dwelling sites and entertainment uses are separated which as previously indicated would assist in minimising conflict.

The location of these dwellings would permit the entertainment uses to be concentrated primarily in central Northbridge. This would help create a focal point.

Locating dwellings in the north and west of the study area would create a border to the entertainment uses, whilst in the south the railway line would create another border, with links over the rail line to the city by paths, overpasses and roads. The cultural centre would provide a border to the east separating Northbridge from East Perth. These borders would allow for activities to be focused within the centre of Northbridge, whilst being linked to the activities and uses that surround it.

If left to spread outwards the result may be to the detriment of Northbridge. This is what has occurred in the Perth city area, where entertainment uses are spread throughout the city, which has created underutilised and uninviting pockets in the evening between lively areas. Entertainment uses could continue to grow through the within the centre of Northbridge being more fully developed, whilst new dwelling developments could occur on the north and west borders integrated, and in harmony with the non residential uses.

AFFORDABILITY

Of the dwellings being developed in Northbridge there are only 8% of single income households, and 40% of two income households that are demanding the dwellings that can afford to purchase these dwellings. The market has identified this and is supplying dwellings which only this select group can afford.

The majority of people that seek to live in Northbridge cannot afford to do so. If higher socio economic people move into Northbridge, it would be expected that the uses within the area may also start to change to a degree to cater for new emerging demand. More commercial activities which cater for people with high disposable incomes would be likely to locate in the area, with the

potential to force out uses that have been in the area for many years such as the clothing stores, tailors, jewellers, second hand stores, and private clubs.

The private housing market has the potential to make purchasing a dwelling in Northbridge not affordable for most people.

PERTH CITY COUNCIL

The role of the Perth City Council is to provide a framework in which to guide the use of land, type, design and scale of development, and to ensure uses of land are mixed appropriately.

The Perth City Council is undertaking statutory changes to its City Zoning Scheme to permit residential and non residential uses to be developed within Northbridge, with control over scale and density of development, as well as the mix of uses.

These statutory measures of the Perth City Council are positive as they permit dwellings to be developed within Northbridge and give the Council the power to control not only the density of development and normal building requirements, but also the design of the developments.

The staff of the Perth City Council appear to have a committed and encouraging attitude to the future development of Northbridge, and specifically to dwellings in the area.

The statutory measures, and attitudes of the staff, should ensure that the Perth City Council creates a positive mix of uses within Northbridge, whilst permitting dwellings to be developed and integrated into the area. However whilst the Perth City Council has provided the framework to permit dwellings to be developed in Northbridge, they are not actively promoting the idea.

STATE GOVERNMENT - DEPARTMENTS & NORTHERN BYPASS FREEWAY

Various organisations of the State Government have interests in Northbridge. Significantly the proposed northern bypass freeway land consumes all that land bounded by Newcastle, William, Aberdeen and Fitzgerald Streets. This freeway comes under the control of the Department of Planning and Urban Development.

This research has identified this land as a potential redevelopment location within Northbridge to create a residential focal point. The State Government have indicated that the freeway will be in the form of a tunnel. The State Government organisations have advised that the tunnel could proceed with no disruption to the existing uses, and that further development of the land above the freeway could occur, if planned for in the engineering design of the tunnel. However no final decision has been made as to whether the land above the freeway will be available for further development.

Certainly the decision to make the freeway a tunnel will be better for the area than an above ground freeway which would be a totally incongruous activity and would severely detract from the areas character, uses and amenity.

Positively the State Government has established the Inner City Living office. It has been established to promote inner city living in all areas including Northbridge. It seeks to assist potential inner city residents and developers.

The establishment of this office appears to have been motivated by the State Governments recognition that the central city and inner areas had become less popular with the rise and growth of suburban areas. Promoting dwellings in the inner city is a means of maintaining the Perth city as a

focal point, and for ensuring that it does not go under utilised or lose its regional significance, thereby protecting public and private investment in the city centre.

Homeswest is the State Government public housing body. It is presently undertaking several inner city housing developments, although none in Northbridge. These projects were initiated under the previous government. Homeswest have advised that they will not be providing any more inner city dwellings. This position of Homeswest reflects the current Liberal Government policy to public housing.

Unless Homeswest is to provide dwellings in Northbridge, most people wanting to live there will not be able to. The lack of dwellings in Northbridge, and inner areas being supplied by Homeswest creates limitations on dwelling access in these areas.

Under the existing Liberal Government there is no indication that public housing will be provided in Northbridge. The Liberal Government clearly believes that inner city dwellings should be provided through the private housing market.

The State Government has a large degree of control over Northbridge. It owns a significant portion of Northbridge through the land reserved for the future freeway, development of this freeway as a tunnel would be the only option for this freeway not to be detrimental to the area, with further development being permitted above it. The State Government through the Inner City Living Office is taking a positive step to inner city dwellings through promoting them, which is speeding the process of revitalisation. Although in a negative sense it is creating inequity in access to dwellings in inner areas including Northbridge through not supplying public housing.

11.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Through the research undertaken within this report it is apparent that there are several means in which change would assist the residential revitalisation of Northbridge and other inner city areas of Perth. The following recommendations have been formulated with the intention of strengthening the existing public resources to promote an increase in dwellings in an equitable manner, and a diverse range of uses within inner areas, with a particular focus on Northbridge. The recommendations are:-

THAT THE NORTHERN BYPASS FREEWAY WITHIN NORTHBRIDGE BE PERMITTED TO PROCEED ONLY AS A TUNNEL, WITH NO DISTURBANCE TO THE EXISTING USES OR STRUCTURES, AND THE FREEWAY TUNNEL BEING DESIGNED TO PERMIT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAND ABOVE IT.

There are many existing dwellings within the freeway reserve used for residential purposes, whilst others are disused or abandoned, as well as commercial uses. The freeway should be permitted to proceed as a tunnel whilst not disturbing the existing character of remaining dwellings and uses which are an integral part of Northbridge. It is important that this tunnel be designed to permit further development above it to maximise the use of the land for future expansion and redevelopment.

THAT THE STATE GOVERNMENT PUBLIC HOUSING BODY, HOMESWEST, BECOME ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE SUPPLY OF NEW INNER CITY DWELLINGS IN ALL INNER AREAS INCLUDING NORTHBRIDGE.

To permit a wider range of access to inner city dwellings Homeswest needs to be supplying dwellings in inner areas. The majority of people cannot afford the dwellings being privately supplied. Unless Homeswest changes its unwritten policy from not providing any further new dwellings in inner areas, the private sector developments will potentially create inner areas with increasing numbers of residents of higher socio economic status. Public housing will cater for lower socio economic groups. Creating a mix of socio economic groups is important to promote the diversity of Northbridge. If there was only one socio economic group of residents in Northbridge it would be to the detriment of the area, relative to having a mix of groups. This recommendation would promote equity and would give Homeswest a clear direction in inner city housing provision.

THAT THE STATE GOVERNMENT PUBLIC HOUSING BODY, HOMESWEST, PURCHASE ONE IN EVERY TEN EXISTING AND NEW DWELLINGS BUILT BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN NORTHBRIDGE AND ALL INNER AREAS.

To ensure equitable provision of public housing in Northbridge and all inner areas, Homeswest should provide a stock of dwellings. Purchasing dwellings supplied by the private sector would ensure that potential public housing tenants be integrated with the existing communities of these areas, and would permit the supply of a range of dwellings available for differing household types. This recommendation could be adopted as a policy by Homeswest.

PERTH CITY COUNCIL REDUCE COUNCIL RATES, COUNCIL DEVELOPMENT APPLICATION AND BUILDING LICENSE FEES, WATER RATES, LAND TAX, AND CONNECTION FEES FOR SERVICES BY 50%, TO ANY NEW DWELLING DEVELOPMENT SITES WITHIN NORTHBRIDGE AND ALL INNER CITY AREAS.

Reducing these fees and charges would make inner city developments more attractive, which would hopefully promote further incentive to private developers to create more dwellings in inner areas. Whilst reducing these fees may not be the sole reason for making inner city developments more attractive for developers, it would certainly be one means of assisting.

THAT THE INNER CITY LIVING OFFICE CONTINUE TO OPERATE

This office has been operational for the last two years, although inner city housing is still in the early stages of gaining acceptance. The benefits of this office are evident in the new inner city developments that are occurring. To assist the process of promoting and assisting people wanting to live in the inner city, this office fulfills a valuable role which has no reason to be discontinued. whilst the Perth City Council establishes the statutory parameters of inner city development, the Inner City Living Office has a role as being a promotional and advisory body to the public this is best achieved by an organisation such as this which is independent in its operation from other

Local and State Government organisations, where there is the potential for conflict in either policies or operations.

THAT THROUGH THE INNER CITY LIVING OFFICE, HOMESWEST AND LAND DEVELOPERS OF INNER CITY DWELLING PROJECTS BE INFORMED OF WHAT DESIGN FEATURES POTENTIAL INNER CITY RESIDENTS WANT FROM THEIR DWELLINGS.

This would ensure that the suppliers of all future developments are informed of what the potential residents want from the dwellings. Whilst this has largely occurred to date, by maintaining a program of informing these people it will ensure that it continues in the future, rather than a complacent attitude occurring. However it would still be at the discretion of the suppliers of the dwellings to incorporate the design features in demand.

THAT UPON AMENDMENT 51 TO THE PERTH CITY COUNCIL CITY ZONING SCHEME BEING GAZETTED THAT IT BE REVIEWED EVERY FIVE YEARS

Amendment 51 to the City Zoning Scheme pertains to Northbridge only. It is a requirements of section 7AA of the Town Planning and Development Act (1928) that Schemes be reviewed every five years, although most Local Governments tend to take longer than five years. For such a sensitive area, the amendment 51 document should be reassessed within five years to ensure that it is able to cater for any changes that may occur, or any new emerging influences on the physical or social activities within Northbridge. There are many different activities and forces interacting within Northbridge, to effectively guide the planning of the area would require that the planning tool of the Perth City Council, that is Amendment 51, be reviewed accordingly.

THAT WHEN PERMITTING COMMERCIAL USES TO LOCATE IN NORTHBRIDGE THAT THE PERTH CITY COUNCIL ENSURES THAT THE USES ADD TO THE DIVERSITY OF NORTHBRIDGE, COMPLIMENT THE EXISTING USES, AND THAT THE RECREATIONAL ROLE OF NORTHBRIDGE IS RETAINED.

Careful attention is required to the uses locating in Northbridge. Too much of the one use would be to the detriment of the area. Offices and related uses could cause the area to become increasingly similar to the central business district. The Perth City Council has the ability to monitor the uses going into Northbridge as all commercial uses require planning approval from the Council before being permitted to operate. The Council could monitor the uses going into the area when applications are made, and through their records and site inspections could assess the impact of the proposed uses on those existing.

ENTERTAINMENT USES NOT COMPATIBLE WITH RESIDENTIAL USES BE CONFINED TO THE CENTRAL AREA OF NORTHBRIDGE BOUNDED BY WILLIAM, NEWCASTLE, LAKE, ABERDEEN, PARKER, JAMES, MILLIGAN AND ROE STREETS, AND THAT RESIDENTIAL AND COMPATIBLE ENTERTAINMENT USES AND ALL OTHER COMMERCIAL USES BE PERMITTED IN ALL OTHER AREAS OF NORTHBRIDGE.

The aim of this would be to concentrate the entertainment uses within central Northbridge, the reason for this is to give the area a clearly defined focal point and 'heart', and also to ensure that any potential conflict from entertainment uses such as night clubs and hotels be separated to a degree from residential uses. However residential uses mixed with appropriate entertainment and commercial uses should still be permitted and encouraged in appropriate areas of Northbridge.

Whilst inner city residents view the commercial uses favourable to the areas diversity, it is only where the commercial uses are appropriate. Mixing low impact entertainment uses such as cafes, restaurants would be encouraged within residential areas for the benefit of the residents, the visitors, and the amenity of the area.

THAT THE LAND WITHIN NORTHBRIDGE BOUNDED BY ABERDEEN, LAKE, NEWCASTLE, FITZGERALD, ROE, MILLIGAN, JAMES AND PARKER STREETS BE ZONED RESIDENTIAL.

At present the zoning in place by the Perth City Council, and the amendment to the City Zoning Scheme devised to guide future planning in Northbridge, permits multiple uses including both residential and commercial to locate on most sites in Northbridge. In the past the housing development sector has created few dwellings in Northbridge, preferring to develop the land for commercial uses. To promote dwellings in Northbridge it would require that land be zoned for this use specifically.

This recommendation should be considered in conjunction with the other recommendations put forward. The intention is to promote dwellings in Northbridge whilst permitting compatible commercial uses to be integrated with the residential uses. Mixing uses is of benefit to the vitality and diversity of the area.

Residential and non compatible commercial uses would mostly be separated. The residential uses would be concentrated in the west of Northbridge, whilst commercial uses being in the east. This would assist to minimise the potential for conflict.

There is a stock of dwellings in Northbridge, particularly in the north of the study area which would be ensured of being preserved if the land was zoned for residential uses.

Development of the land for dwellings in the the north of the study area would assist in providing a continuous link from Northbridge, to the predominantly residential uses to the north of the study area.

To implement this recommendation would require an amendment to the City Zoning Scheme of the Perth City Council to zone this land for residential uses.

ALL FUTURE INNER CITY DWELLING PROJECTS BE PERMITTED TO HAVE A COMMERCIAL COMPONENT SYMPATHETIC TO THE RESIDENTIAL USE OF THE LAND AND NOT COMPRISING MORE THAN 25% OF THE TOTAL FLOOR SPACE.

Inner city residents generally have a positive attitude to non residential uses. Permitting appropriate commercial uses within new dwelling developments would serve to promote the vitality and diversity of new developments and contribute to the existing social and physical fabric of the area. It is important that a limit be placed on the amount of commercial floor space to ensure that the commercial uses would continue to add to the vitality of the residential use of a site, whilst not dominating it.

THAT NO DWELLING BUILT PRIOR TO 1950 WITHIN NORTHBRIDGE BE PERMITTED TO BE DEMOLISHED, WHILST ANY EXTENSION OR REFURBISHMENT BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE DESIGN AND STREET SCAPE.

To promote and protect the history and heritage of Northbridge all dwellings built prior to 1950 should be retained. Although further redevelopment of the sites should be permitted providing that refurbishment and renovations be sympathetic to the existing design. This would permit an existing

structure to be incorporated into the design of additions to it, with extension occurring either side, behind and on top of the existing structure to create a new building that incorporates the existing, and permits maximum use of a site. This could form part of a policy statement by the Perth City Council and could be enforced when the Council assess applications to develop or demolish structures within Northbridge.

THAT THE STATE GOVERNMENT INCREASE THE NUMBER OF POLICE IN NORTHBRIDGE AND UPGRADE STREET LIGHTING, WHILST THE PERTH CITY COUNCIL PROVIDE A COMMUNITY CENTRE, CHILD MINDING FACILITIES AND RELAX PLANNING REGULATIONS TO PERMIT MORE CLOTHING AND FOOD STORES TO LOCATE IN NORTHBRIDGE.

These services and facilities were found to be what is lacking in Northbridge. These facilities are the responsibility of the Perth City Council and State Government. However food and clothing stores are usually provided through the private sector, which the Perth City Council could assist in promoting in the area through possible relaxation of the regulations to encourage them in the area.

11.4 SUMMATION

The purpose of this research has been to examine the residential revitalisation of inner city areas, adopting Northbridge as a case study.

Most current research focuses on the benefits of inner city living, whilst lacking in detailed analysis of who is creating the demand for these dwellings, what type of dwellings are in demand, and what can those creating the demand afford.

This is particularly pertinent to Northbridge where there have been recent reports which have assumed that residential revitalisation would benefit the area with no identification of the demand for the proposed dwellings. This has been the reason for this research.

To provide a detailed analysis on the potential for residential revitalisation of Northbridge this research identified who the potential inner city residents are, what dwellings they are demanding, and how this relates to the relevant private and public organisations involved directly and indirectly in the supply of inner city dwellings.

The revitalisation of inner areas, including Northbridge is occurring with the assistance of public organisations through statutory and non statutory measures. However the supply of dwellings in Northbridge is undoubtedly dictated by the terms of the market forces.

Over 60% of people wanting to purchase a dwelling in Northbridge cannot afford to do so. If this trend continues, with no intervention from the public sector, most dwellings being supplied will continue to be unaffordable for most people that want to live in Northbridge.

A result of this trend that the market place is creating tends towards speculative investors increasingly purchasing the dwellings.

Investors will not contribute to the revitalisation of Northbridge as do permanent residents.

Investors are concerned with the rate at which a dwelling will appreciate, rather than the vitality of the area. As stated in the West

Australian Newspaper on 2nd February, 1995 in a report on inner city living: "Nice place to invest, but you wouldn't want to live there". Whilst dwellings purchased by investors will provide rental

accommodation, the rent price of these dwellings would be expected to be high enough for them not to cater for low socio economic groups. This rental stock would cater for employed middle and upper income earners. This would be detrimental to the process of revitalisation; a mixture of socio economic groups is required so that there are a variety of people using the area in different ways.

Low socio economic groups including the unemployed and pensioners with less disposable income for recreating, would use the public areas of Northbridge more than higher income earners. These people would add a visible presence to Northbridge which is what revitalisation is about. Hence the need to cater for these people as residents.

There is an increasing inequity in the access people have to both rental and owner/occupier dwellings in Northbridge. Whilst this is not a favourable option to revitalise Northbridge, it is achieving an increase in dwelling stock, and potentially more residents.

Whilst intervention by the State, and the planning system, may seem to be a remedy to create more equitable access to dwellings in the area, and indeed to assist revitalisation, the scope of this type of intervention is limited. One method of reducing dwelling costs in Northbridge would be to increase the density of residential development to permit high rise dwellings. Whilst this would possibly reduce the cost of dwellings, it would create a type of dwelling that is not what those creating the demand want, and would have a severe impact upon the prevailing low density of Northbridge.

Whilst not being able to remedy the inequity of access to dwellings, the planning system can control the density of development and mix of land uses to protect Northbridge from losing its uniqueness. Whilst the planning system is a servant of the market forces, it still has some control.

Based on the current market trends, the residential population of Northbridge has the potential to be increasingly characterised by higher socio economic groups. Whilst this is not as beneficial for revitalising Northbridge as a mix of socio economic groups would be, it is indeed better than having no residential population within Northbridge.

Historically Northbridge has always had a residential population characterised by mostly low socio economic people with a strong sense of community. The market supplied dwellings of today will assist in maintaining a residential population and, with the planning system, hopefully will assist in Northbridge maintaining its unique identity, although with a different population base.

The process of revitalising Northbridge is occurring, although in a market led, inequitable manner.

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APPENDIX A

PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED

APPENDIX A

Persons and Organisations Interviewed

The following is a list of organisations and individuals that participated in the course of this research.

I am grateful for the time and assistance given by the organisations and their staff, and the individuals who participated in interviews, undertaking questionnaires and assisting in many other ways in the course of this research.

ORGANISATIONS

Department of Planning and Urban Development - Don Newman

Homeswest - Greg Joyce, John Saville

Inner City Housing Taskforce

Inner City Living Office - Derwent Southern

Fini Homes - Gary Tomlinson

Perth City Council - John Bruning, Gavin Ponton

Land Valuer - Frank Gotsis

Eftos Estates - Paul Eftos

Gioia Cafe - Aldo Ottaviano

Building Owner's and Managers Assn. - Tony Packer

Master Builders' Assn. - Gavin Forster

Bankwest Bank

Westpac Bank

Challenge Bank

Richard Ellis (Project Marketing) - Dale Ritchie

Architect - Rod Camm

Office of the Minister for Planning - Hon. Richard Lewis

Valuer General's Office

Western Australia Water Authority

Main Roads Department - Terry White

INDIVIDUALS

Constantinos Ghemitzis

Stavroula Ghemitzis

Athena Tsambos

Maria Gemitzis

Sevasti Gelavis

Sevasti Pynes

Michael Pynes

George Gotsis

Anastasia Katselas

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire - Sample

This questionnaire is aimed at obtaining information on the characteristics of the people that live within this area, and the effect that local commercial activities have on residential lifestyles.

The results of the questionnaires will be used in a study examining how inner city areas may accommodate additional residential population, whilst at the same time permitting commercial activities.

The answers given in the questionnaire will be treated in confidence. Your household has been randomly chosen to answer this questionnaire. Your assistance is appreciated.

DEAN DAVIDSON

Before commencing the questionnaire could the interviewer please circle one of the following dwelling types that best describes the type of residence of the person participating in the questionnaire:

HOUSE

UNIT

MULTI STOREY FLAT

A BUILDING THAT HAS RESIDENTIAL AND ANY FORM OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY
IN THE SAME BUILDING

1. In which suburbs have you lived over the last five years?

Last

Second Last

Third Last

Fourth Last

2. What type of dwelling did you live in during your stay in these suburbs? If you lived in more than one dwelling type, place a tick in the box that corresponds to the type of dwelling.

Separate House

Semi-detached, row, terrace or townhouse

1,2 or 3 storey block 4 or more storey block

Other

3. What type of housing would you prefer to live in?

Separate House

Semi-detached, terrace or townhouse

Multi level flat / apartment

A mixed use building*

* A mixed use building is where there are residential and commercial uses within the same building

4. How many bedrooms are there in your current dwelling?

1

2

3

4

Other

5. How many bedrooms would you like to have in your preferred dwelling type?

1

2

3

4

Other

6. What were the main reasons you were attracted to live in this area?

7. Was the location of your current dwelling to non residential uses such as offices, shops or entertainment uses a significant reason for deciding to live in this area?

Yes

No

If answered No, go to question 8

If Yes, which particular non residential uses attracted you to the area?

Office

Shops

Entertainment

Other

All of the above

8. Would you consider living above or next to a shop, office, cinema, restaurant etc, or any other non residential use?

Yes

No

If answered Yes, go to question 9

If answered No, ask the interviewee what they see as potential problems.

9. Do you own a:

Car

Yes

No

Motorbike

Yes

No

10. Do other members of your household own:

Cars

Yes

No

Motorbikes

Yes

No

If answered No, go to question 11.

If Yes, how many vehicles are there in total amongst all the members of your household?

11. Do you find parking in this area difficult?

Yes

No

If answered No, go to question 12

If Yes, what do you believe causes this problem?

12. Do you feel that this area offers an acceptable level of security?

Yes

No

13. Do you feel secure living in this area?

Yes

No

14. Do you think that this residence offers you an acceptable level of privacy?

Yes

No

15. Is vandalism a problem in this area?

Yes

No

16. Is noise a problem in this area?

Yes

No

If answered No, go to question 17

If answered Yes, what do you think is the cause of this noise?

NOES FOR QUESTION 17 & 18

The answers for questions 17 & 18 should be in the form of suburb names, not the name of a particular activity centre, for example: if a person shops in Coles in Fremantle, the answer for where the person shops is Fremantle, not Coles.

17. In which suburbs/areas do you shop for:

Food

Clothing

18. Which suburbs/areas do you mainly go for entertainment?

19. What extra services or facilities do you think are required in this area?

20. Do you find the size of your garden/courtyard big enough?

Yes

No

21. Of the following list of private open space areas, which type would you prefer?

Traditional suburban back garden

Courtyard

Communal/shared private space

Balcony

No outside private open space

22. What are the advantages of living in this area?

23. What do you dislike about living in this area?

24. Are you employed?

Yes

No

25. What is your occupation?

26. In which suburb do you work?

27. If you are employed locally, did this play a significant role in deciding to reside in this area?

Yes

No

28. If you are not employed in this suburb, would you like to be?

Yes

No

29. What form of transport do you use to get to work?

Bus

Train

Car

Motorbike

Bicycle

Walk

Other

30. If there are other members of your household that are employed, in which suburbs are the employed?

31. What form of transport do other members of your household use to get to work?

Bus

Train

Car

Motorbike

Bicycle

Walk

Other

32. What are the occupations of your other household members?

33. Are you:

Married / De Facto

Single

34. Are there any children in this household?

Yes

No

35. How many people reside permanently in this household?

Number _____

If more than one person, are they related?

Yes

No

36. What country were you born in?

37. What age group does each member of your household fall into?

PERSON 1-PERSON 2-PERSON 3-PERSON 4-PERSON 5

0 - 14 years

15 - 19 years

20 - 24 years

25 - 29 years

30 - 34 years

35 - 39 years

40 - 44 years

45 - 49 years

50 - 54 years

55 - 59 years

60 - 64 years

65 - 69 years

70 - 74 years

75 - 79 years

38. I. Do you rent this dwelling?

Yes

No

II. Do you own or are you purchasing this dwelling?

Yes

No

If you are renting your dwelling, would you like to purchase a dwelling in this area?

Yes

No

39. Which of the following income categories does your gross annual income fall under?

\$5001 - 8000

8001 - 12000

12001 - 16000

16001 - 20000

20001 - 25000

25001 - 30000

30001 - 35000

35001 - 40000

40001 - 50000

50001 - 60000

60001 - 70000

over \$70000

Not stated

40. Which of the following income categories does your gross household annual income fall under?

\$5001 - 8000

8001 – 12000

12001 - 16000

16001 - 20000

20001 - 25000

25001 - 30000

30001 - 35000

35001 - 40000

40001 - 50000

50001 - 60000

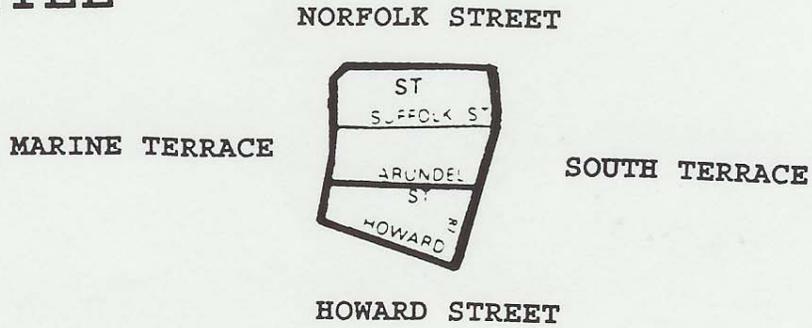
60001 - 70000

over \$70000

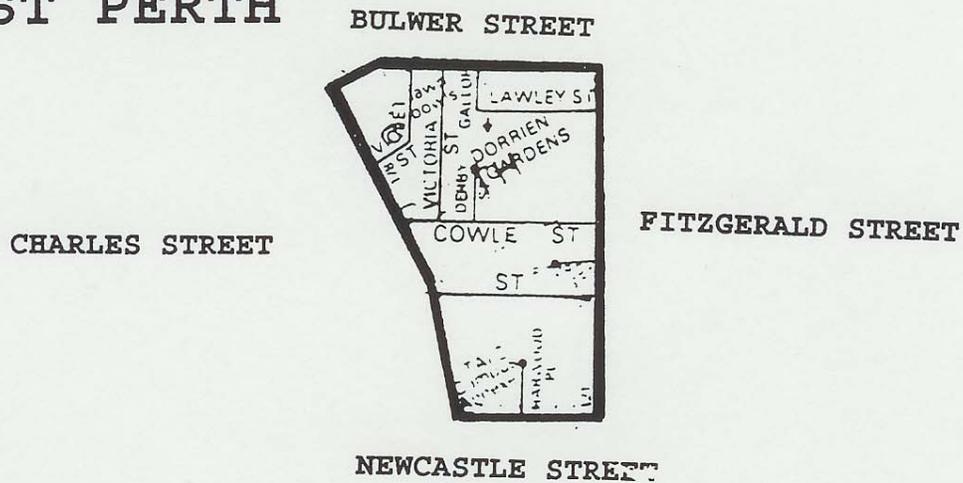
Not stated

LOCATION OF WHERE QUESTIONNAIRES WERE UNDERTAKEN

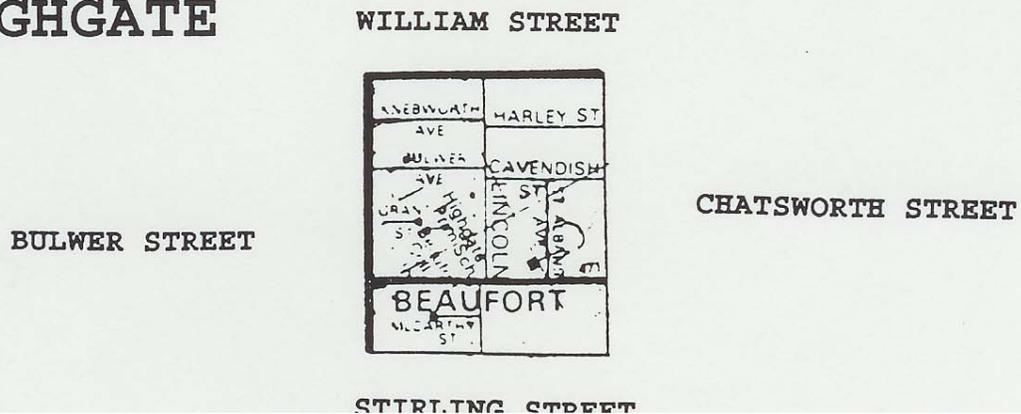
FREMANTLE



WEST PERTH



HIGHGATE



APPENDIX C

FORMER NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENT INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX C

Former Northbridge Resident Interviews

Interviews were undertaken with people that used to live in Northbridge between the years of 1940 to the mid 1960s. Eighteen former residents were interviewed; the common characteristic of these people were that they were migrants or were first generation Australian. The results of these questionnaires are expanded upon in Section 4.6 of this thesis.

The interview structure reveals that some questions were asked more than once in each interview.

Particular questions were chosen to be repeated where it was thought that asking a question second time, in a slightly different manner, may prompt the interviewee to remember an anecdote, or particular incident that had not previously been remembered. In some instances this did work.

For many of the people interviewed, English was a second language. In some cases an interpreter was present during the interviews, however this was not possible in all interviews. Consequently some interview results were fragmented.

Summary of Interviews

All persons interviewed were born in either Italy or Greece and had shifted into Northbridge into attached dwellings because of inexpensive rent, proximity to shops and employment, and other residents in the area from similar backgrounds.

All interviewees now live in single, detached houses and only two former residents wanted to return to live in Northbridge.

When residing in Northbridge, other than one person who worked in Midland, all interviewees worked within Northbridge or surrounding inner suburbs.

The demand for food, clothing and entertainment was met by shops within the Perth city centre and Northbridge. Shops within Northbridge that were used mainly located in Lake, Brisbane and Williams Streets.

Other than movies, ethnic clubs catered for all other entertainment needs of the interviewees. These clubs including the Hellenic Club on Parker Street which is still in operation, the Alexander the Great Club which has moved from Northbridge and now operates in Inglewood, and the Italian Club which is now run from Fitzgerald Street, North Perth.

There are still some cafes in Northbridge that have been in operation since the early 1950s, however they have been renovated many times over.

The public open space within the area was generally under utilised, however this is probably a result of most persons that were interviewed not having children at the time of living in Northbridge.

Most of the former residents did remember children playing in the area as an everyday occurrence, these children appear to be from the families that were permanent residents and not the newly arrived migrants.

Most persons interviewed indicated that they knew their neighbours very well, compared to the relationship that they have with their neighbours today. It was generally indicated that when residing in Northbridge neighbours were part of every day life.

Those interviewed moved out of the area in order to buy their own homes. It appears that none of those interviewed ever considered living permanently in Northbridge, mainly because of what they perceived to be a poor standard of housing within the area.

The most common weeknight activity amongst those interviewed was socialising and talking with family, neighbours and friends. The area was viewed as quite safe and people would walk freely at night to friends homes.

Most persons interviewed looked back on the time that they lived in Northbridge with pleasant memories, although it appears that it was a time of hardship for most of them in terms of trying to save money, and learn the english language.

Most interviewees viewed Northbridge today as being generally unsafe and not a suitable place to live. However, the renovations and new developments were viewed favourably.

FORMER NORTHBRIDGE RESIDENTS INTERVIEW STRUCTURE - SAMPLE

1. Gender:

Male

Female

2. What age group do you fall within?

30 - 40

40 - 50

50 - 60

60 - 70

70 - 80

80 +

3. What country were you born in?

4. What suburb do you presently live in?

5. What dwelling type do you presently live in?

6. How long did you live in Northbridge for?

_____ years _____ months

7. What year did you move into and leave Northbridge?

8. When you left Northbridge, which suburb did you move into? Is your present home the one that you shifted into after you moved out of Northbridge?

9. How old were you when you shifted into and left Northbridge?

10. If you were still under the care of your parents do you know why they shifted into Northbridge?

11. What was the address of the house(s) you lived in? If you lived in more than one house, why did you move?

12. What type of house did you live in?

13. How many bedrooms were in this house?

14. How many people lived in this house? What were their ages?

15. If there was more than one person living in this house, what was their relationship to each other?

16. When you lived in Northbridge in what area did you work?

17. How did you get to work?

18. When you lived in Northbridge, which suburb did you go to for:

Food

Clothing

Entertainment

19. When you lived in Northbridge, were the shops in the area adequate to meet your need for food and clothing?

20. What forms of entertainment and any other recreational activities were in Northbridge when you lived there that you actually used?

21. If you had children of school age when you lived in Northbridge, where did they go to school?

22. Were there enough facilities for your children in the area, eg: parks?

23. Do you remember many children playing in the area?

24. Were there any particular clubs or organisations that you used to belong to in Northbridge?

If yes, what were they and do you still go to these clubs?

25. When you lived in Northbridge, did the shops and support services (banks, social security, public transport, medical facilities) meet your needs?

26. When you lived in Northbridge did you know your neighbours well?

27. Did you know your neighbours better than you do now?

28. What do you think of Northbridge as it is today compared to when you lived there?

29. Do you think that Northbridge was a safe place to live?

30. Did the home that you lived in offer you enough privacy?

31. Was there enough park land in Northbridge to meet your needs?

32. Why did you live in Northbridge?

33. Would you have rather not live in Northbridge? If yes, why?

34. Would you like to live in Northbridge now?

35. Why did you shift?

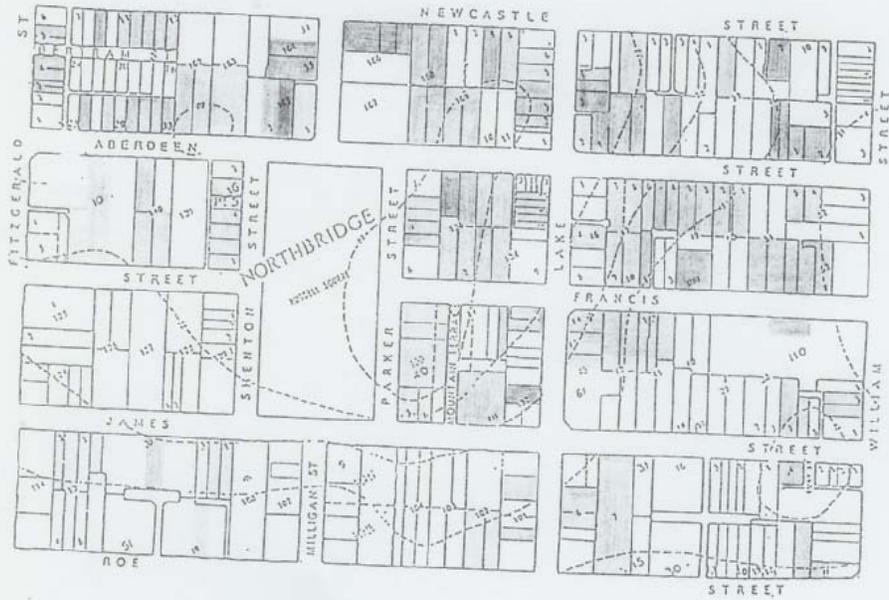
36. Are you glad that you shifted out of Northbridge?
37. When was the last time you visited Northbridge? Was there a particular reason?
38. Do you go to Northbridge regularly?
39. What is your most pleasant memory of living in Northbridge?
40. What was the least favourite thing you felt about living in Northbridge?
41. What is the thing you remember most about living in Northbridge?
42. What was the best thing about living in Northbridge?
43. How would you best describe a typical weeknight from 6 pm until the time you went to bed when you lived in Northbridge?
44. What are the things that you remember most about the weekends when you lived in Northbridge?
45. Was there anything in particular that used to happen on Saturdays?
46. Was there anything in particular that used to happen on Sundays?
47. If you have to pick one thing that used to happen on most weeknights when you lived in Northbridge, what would it be?

This may be something that you or your family did, or something that may have happened in one of your neighbours houses, something that happened in another street, or a particular person doing something.

APPENDIX D

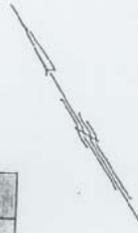
LAND USE MAPS 1959 – 1993

1959/1993 COMPARATIVE LANDUSE

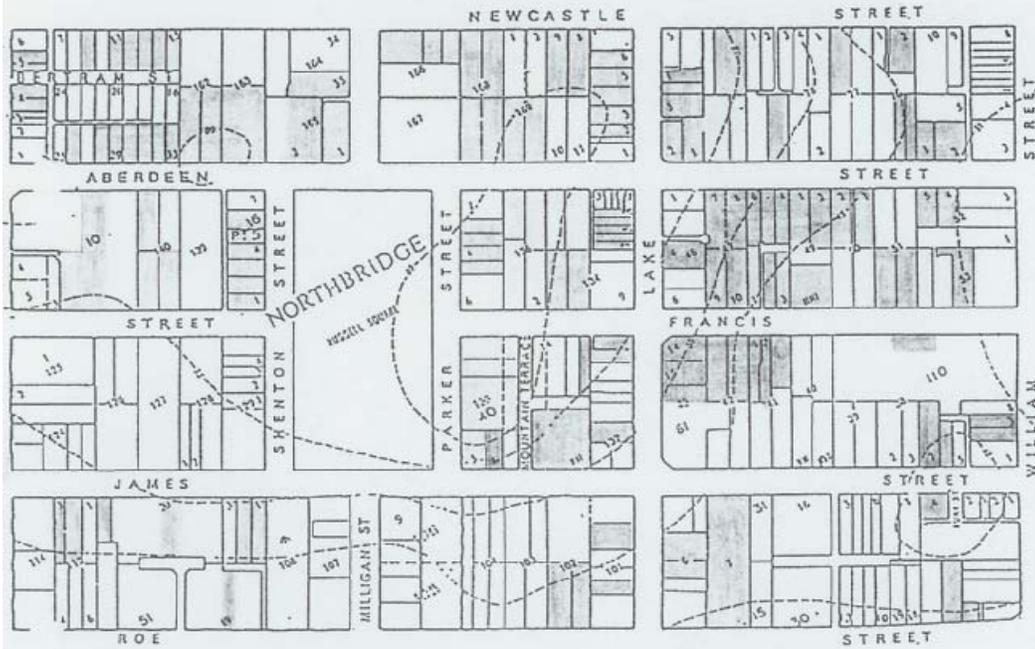


LAND USED FOR RESIDENTIAL/LODGING HOUSE IN 1959 USED AS RESIDENTIAL IN 1993

LAND USED FOR RESIDENTIAL/LODGING HOUSE IN 1959 USED AS NON RESIDENTIAL IN 1993



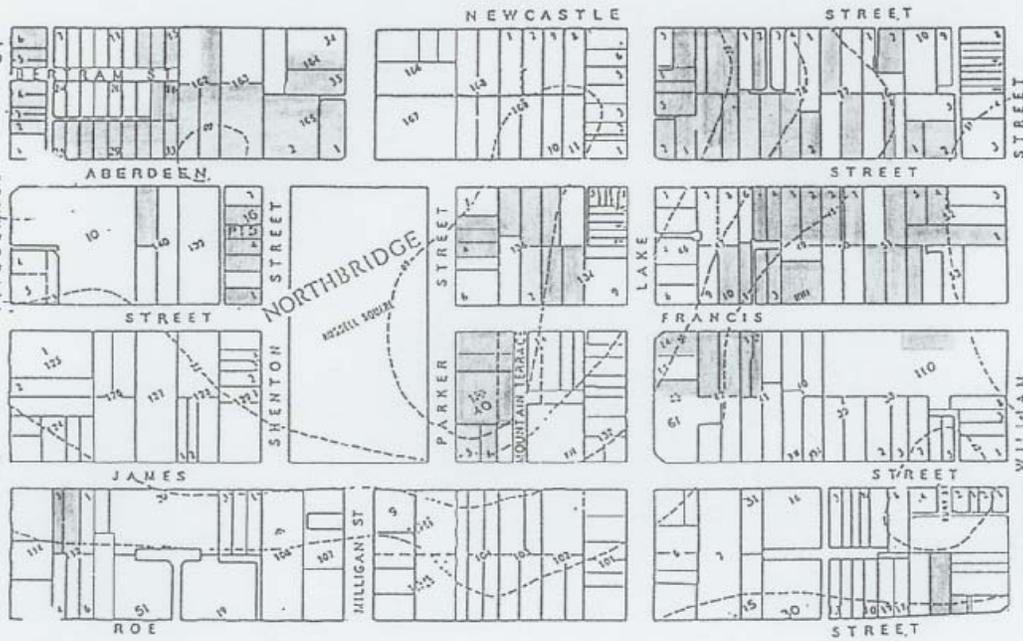
SOURCE : PERTH CITY COUNCIL AND D & I DAVIDSON



RESIDENTIAL (INCLUDING SINGLE, GROUPED AND MULTIPLE DWELLINGS)

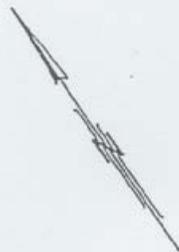
LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS

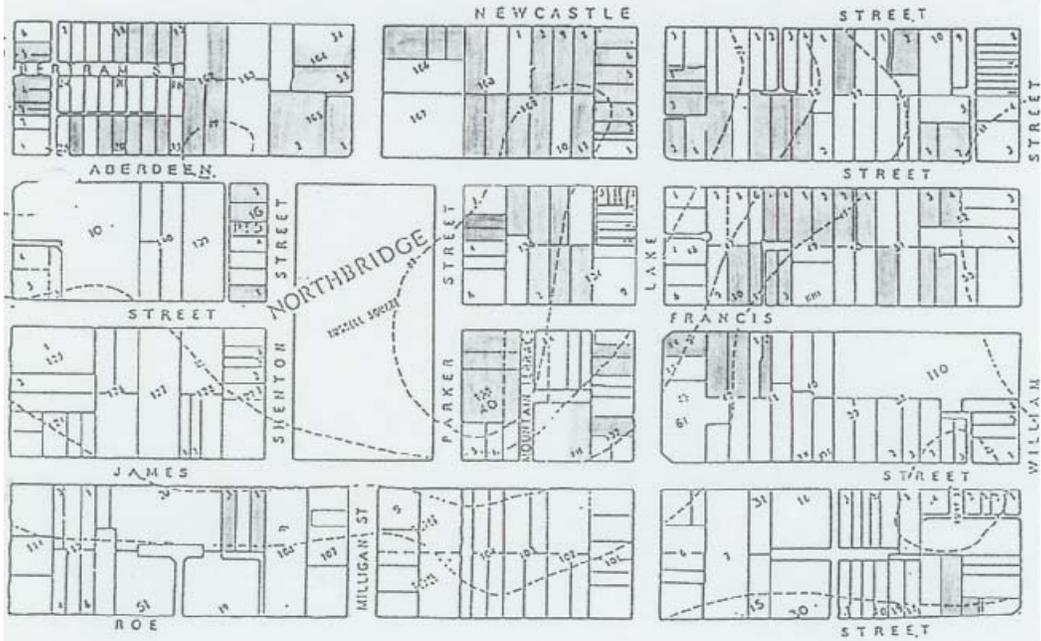
SOURCE: PERTH CITY COUNCIL



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GROUPED AND MULTIPLE DWELLINGS)

LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS

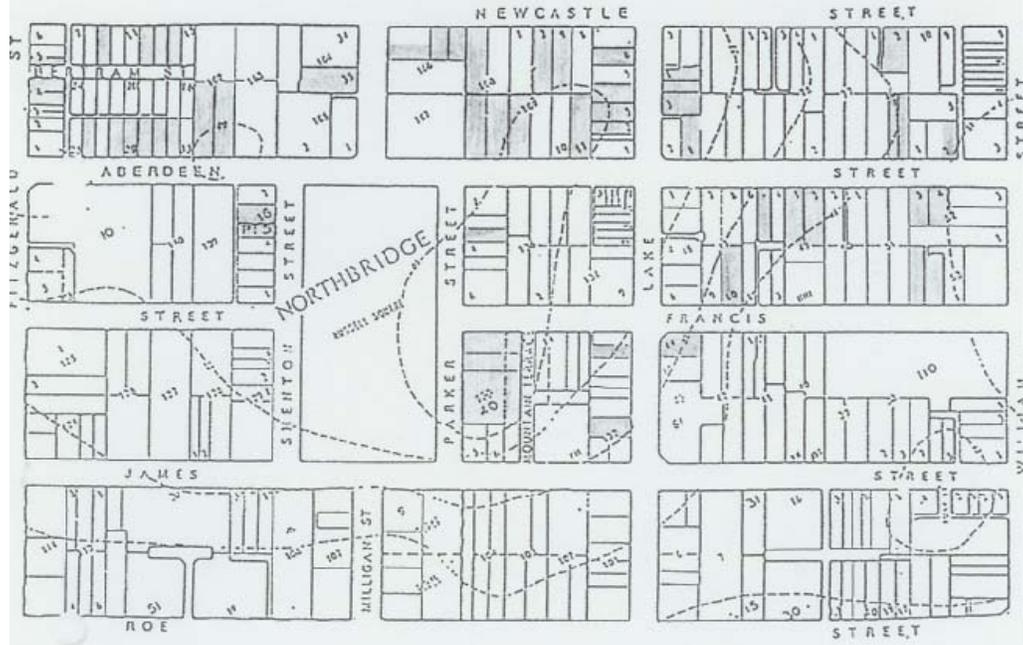




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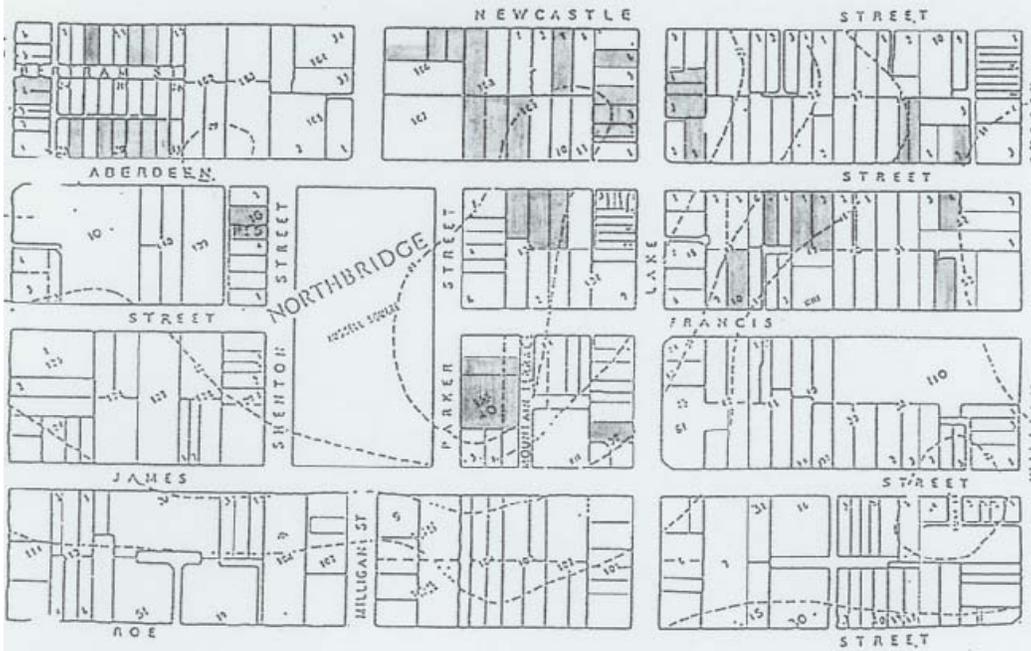
LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS





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LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS



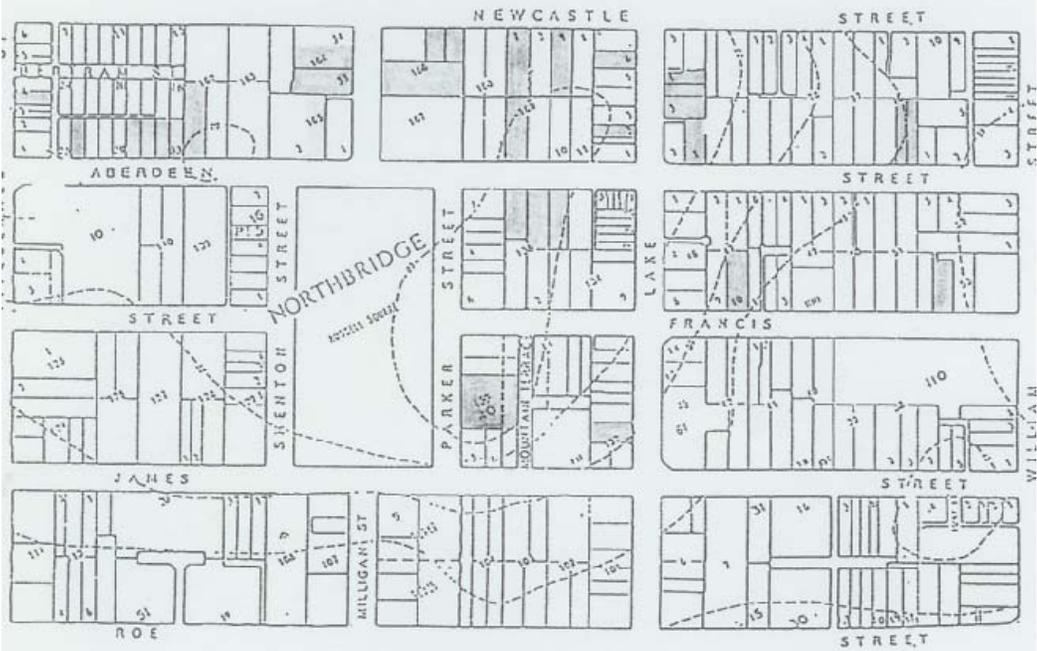


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GROUPED AND MULTIPLE DWELLINGS)

LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS



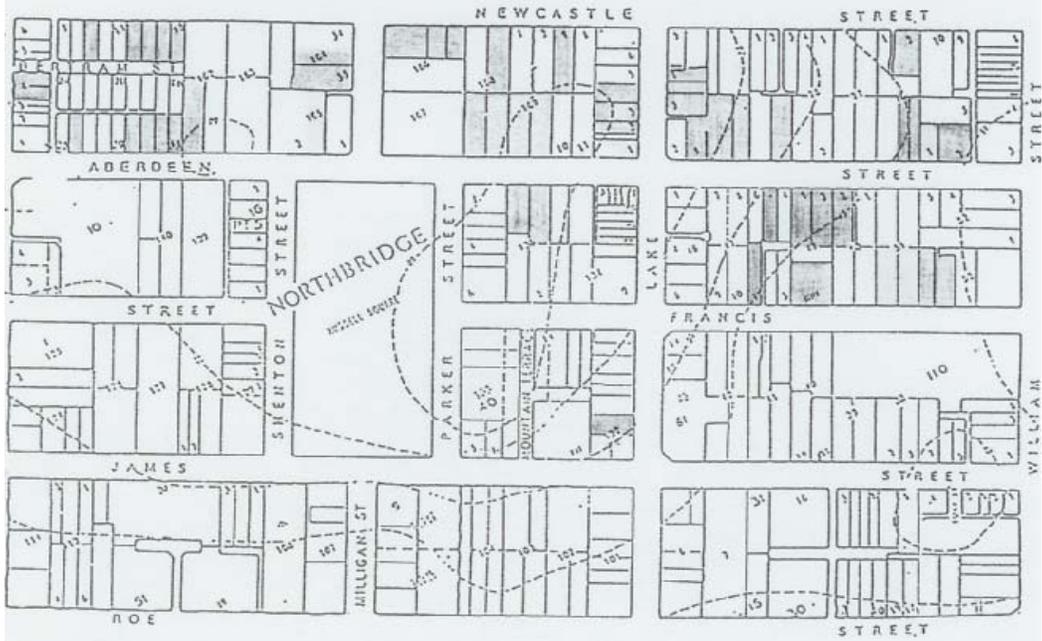
1990 LANDUSE



RESIDENTIAL (INCLUDING SINGLE,
GROUPED AND MULTIPLE DWELLINGS)

LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS

SOURCE: PERTH CITY COUNCIL



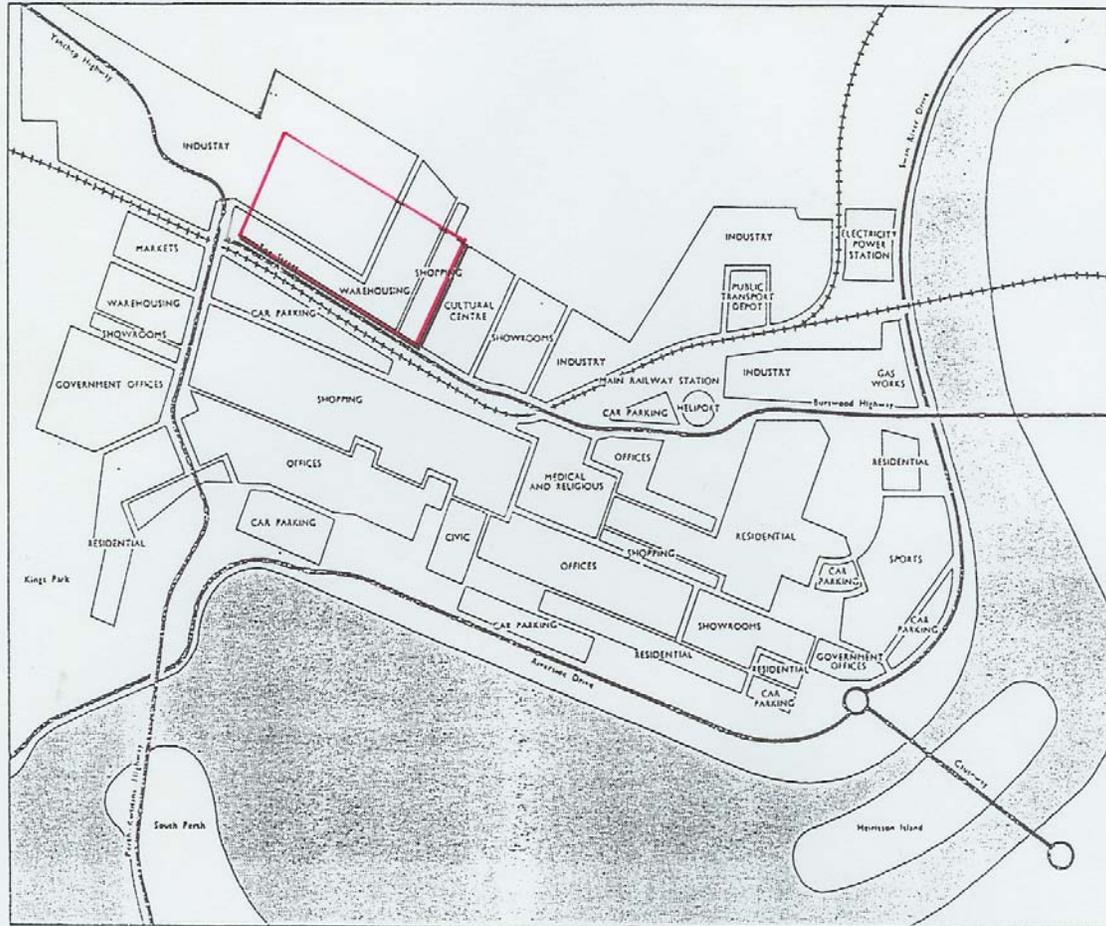
RESIDENTIAL (INCLUDING SINGLE,
GROUPED AND MULTIPLE DWELLINGS)
LODGING HOUSE & HOSTELS



APPENDIX E

ZONING MAPS 1955 – 1993

Development Proposed by the 1955 Stephenson and Hepburn Plan

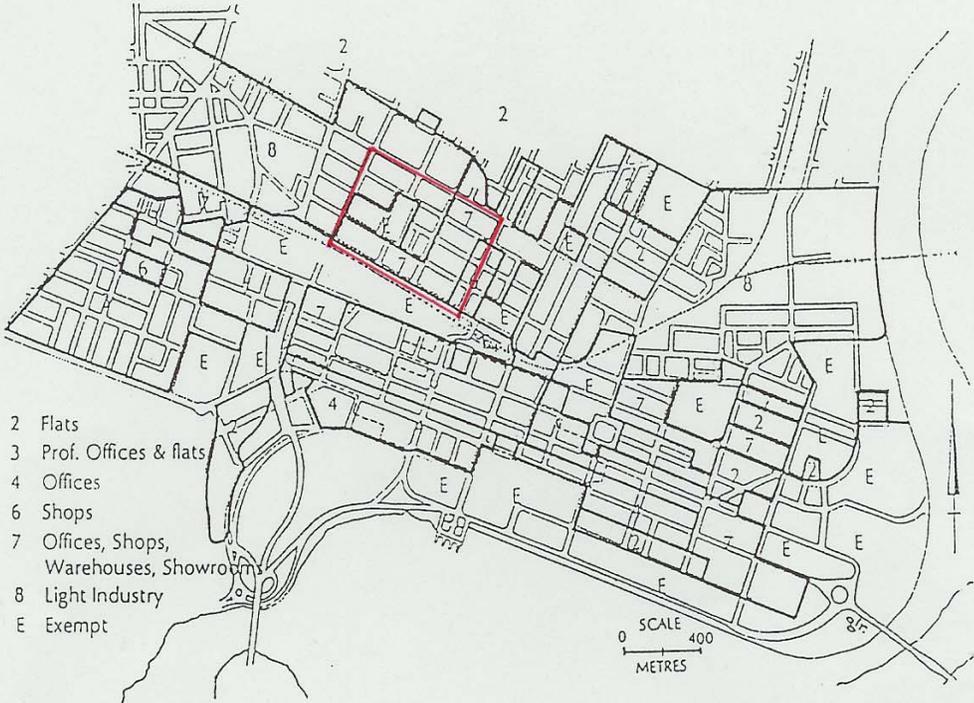


SIMPLIFIED DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS : PERTH CENTRAL AREA.

Study Area Boundary ———

Source: Stephenson and Hepburn, 1955

1963 Zoning Ordinances



Study Area Boundary ———

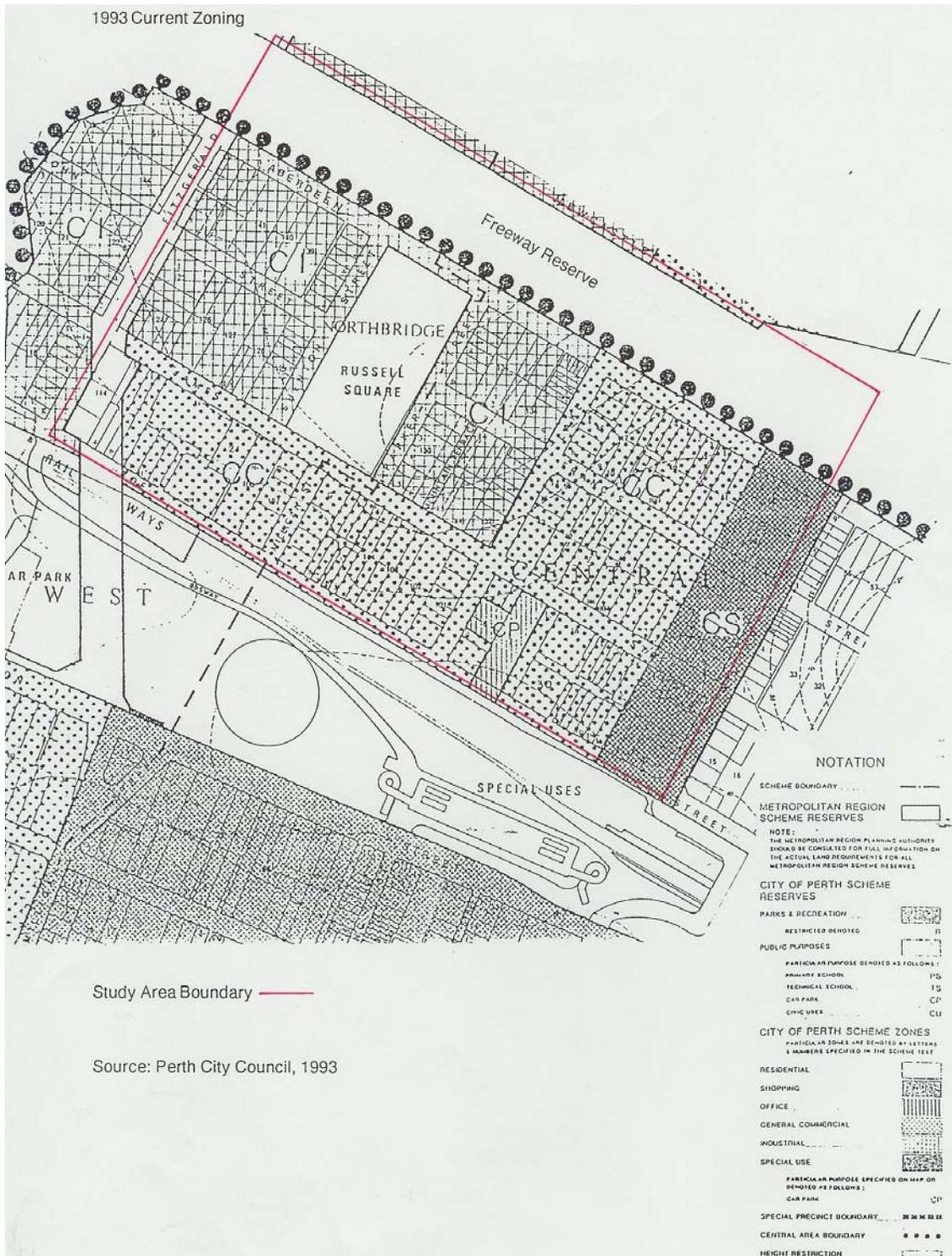
Source: Alexander, 1974

1971 Zoning Ordinances



Study Area Boundary —

Source: Alexander, 1974



Study Area Boundary ———

Source: Perth City Council, 1993