

Australian Capital Territory

# Heritage (Decision about Registration of the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Dickson and Lyneham) Notice 2015

Notifiable Instrument NI2015—660

made under the

**Heritage Act 2004, s40 Notice of decision about registration**

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## **1 Name of instrument**

This instrument is the *Heritage (Decision about Registration of the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Dickson and Lyneham) Notice 2015*.

## **2 Registration details of the place**

Registration details of the place are at [Attachment A](#): Register entry for the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Dickson and Lyneham.

## **3 Reason for decision**

The ACT Heritage Council has decided that the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Dickson and Lyneham meets one or more of the heritage significance criteria at s 10 of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

## **4 Date of registration**

19 November 2015

## **5 Revocation**

The Heritage (Decision about Provisional Registration of the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Dickson and Lyneham) Notice 2015 notifiable instrument NI2015—516 is revoked.

Fiona Moore  
A/g Secretary (as delegate for)  
ACT Heritage Council  
19 November 2015



ACT Heritage Council

**AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY  
HERITAGE REGISTER  
(Registration)**

For the purposes of s.40 of the *Heritage Act 2004*, an entry to the heritage register has been prepared by the ACT Heritage Council for the following place:

**Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample**

**(part) Block 41 Section 6, (part) Block 1 Section 12, and (part) Block 4 Section 1, Dickson; (part) Block 8 Section 51, Lyneham**

**DATE OF REGISTRATION**

19 November 2015 Notifiable Instrument: 2015-660

Copies of the Register Entry are available for inspection at ACT Heritage. For further information please contact:

The Secretary  
ACT Heritage Council  
GPO Box 158  
CANBERRA ACT 2601

Telephone 13 22 81

This statement refers to the location of the place as required in s. 12 (b) of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

#### LOCATION OF THE PLACE

Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, (part) Block 41 Section 6, (part) Block 1 Section 12, and (part) Block 4 Section 1, Dickson; (part) Block 8 Section 51, Lyneham.

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This section refers to the description of the place as required in s.12(c) of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample is contained with the boundary indicated in Figure 1 and is comprised of:

- The following buildings comprising a representative sample of the original combination of five building types:
  - the two northern-most Bachelor (Bedsitter) Flats (four storeys), i.e. one on each side of Northbourne Avenue;
  - one set of Pair Houses (two storeys) and rear access alley as grouped around the second northernmost access alley off De Burgh Street;
  - one Maisonette (three storeys), the block south of the intersection of Dooring Street and Karuah Street;
  - the four northernmost Garden Flats (Courtyard Houses) (single storey); and
  - the northernmost Three Storey Flat (Owen Flat).
- The following aspects of the buildings that form the representative sample and their siting and landscaping:
  - their arrangement in groups and inter-relationships within sub-precincts;
  - the application of Post-War International style architecture across the five building types as evident across the sample of the original combination of buildings;
  - the existing rectilinear planning layout and building siting arrangements including networks of pathways and a variety of common open spaces addressing Northbourne Avenue, as evidenced within the sample of the original layout and siting;
  - the separation of vehicle and pedestrian movement and the restriction of vehicle access to secondary roads within the five building types comprising a sample of the original layout;
  - the early pattern of mature landscaping along Northbourne Avenue frontages and in the common courtyards, rear streets and cul-de-sacs, as contained within the sample of the original layout.
- This combination of buildings provides a representation of the original precinct. It does not constitute a 'precinct' as defined in the *Heritage Act 2004* Dictionary due to fragmentation, expected development and encroachment of development.

This statement refers to the heritage significance of the place as required in s.12(d) of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

### STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample (the Representative Sample), designed and constructed between 1959 and 1962, is of considerable significance for its creative achievement including its architectural style, as a distinctive design of exceptional interest, as a rare and notable example of types of public housing, for special associations with important figures in the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC), and special for its importance in demonstrating the post-war period in Canberra. The representative sample has been selected to conserve examples of each of the five types of buildings demonstrating the spatial relationships between each style.

The Representative Sample is significant as an exemplar of Post-War International Style (1940-1960) architecture with examples selected of each building type to demonstrate key attributes of the style, including cubiform overall shape, expression of structural frames and large sheets of glass. [*criteria (b), (d) and (f)*]

The Representative Sample is important as evidence of a distinctive post-war government policy for the provision of subsidised housing in Canberra and makes an important contribution to the understanding of this development phase through its distinctive and innovative planning layout, design and siting. The Representative Sample contains examples of all of these design principles and is able to amply demonstrate this development phase. [*criteria (a), (b), and (d)*]

The Representative Sample is rare amongst the public housing flat development projects of post-war Canberra for its highly resolved and consistent application of Post-War International Modernism in its site planning and architectural resolution. It exemplifies a housing project that was the only one of its era to use a combination of five building and accommodation types, including single storey garden flats, two storey paired houses, three storey Maisonettes, three storey blocks of flats and four storey bachelor flats, each of which is included in the Representative Sample. [*criterion (b)*]

The planning layout and design of the Representative Sample demonstrates an important shift in the approach to providing public housing for the influx of public servants to the capital. The NCDC recognised a need to provide a range of accommodation types to meet a range of lifestyle and accommodation needs, as compared with what had previously been provided in the blocks of flats of the early 1950s. The original precinct created an innovative and strongly rectilinear composition of buildings and spaces that had not previously been attempted in the capital. The combination of five distinctly different building types and siting arrangements, 'internal' service roads, networks of pergolas and pathways and the resultant variety of common open spaces, many of which directly addressed Northbourne Avenue, represented a different approach to medium density public housing in the ACT, all of which are included in the Representative Sample. [*criterion (a)*]

The NCDC acknowledged the significance of the original precinct's location on a main approach route into Canberra and designed the place to present as a 'gateway' into the capital as evidenced in the placement of the four storey bachelor flats or 'Point Blocks' at the northern end, and in the distinctive Post-War International style architecture. The integrity of the original precinct, in respect of its 'gateway' status, has been diminished by expanding development and encroaching re-development which includes higher density buildings, and different architectural, and landscape forms. Some features of the original precinct are also not evident, including the pergolas linking and supplementing the Bachelor and Pair House buildings; and the curved rendered wall to carports on the Pair Houses. Several additions have been made throughout the original precinct impacting the integrity of the architect's original design intent. These include:

- the addition of bricked courtyard walls to the Pair Houses and Maisonettes;
- the addition of paling fences to the Pair Houses and Maisonettes; and
- the enclosure of the internal shared open space to the Garden Flats.

Future works on the buildings in the Representative Sample may partly or fully remedy this loss of integrity.  
[*criterion (f)*]

The Representative Sample has strong associations with Sydney Ancher (architect) and Sir John Overall (client), both of whom through their respective organisations, created a major public housing project that played a significant part in the development of Canberra in the early 1960s. The combination of Sydney Ancher (Senior Partner in Ancher Mortlock & Murray), a leading exponent of the Post-War International Modernist style in his domestic architecture since 1945, and John Overall, Commissioner of the newly created National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) and other senior staff, achieved a project with a high level of civic design and architectural expression. [*criteria (a) and (g)*]

The Representative Sample has been selected to retain features of the key architectural, planning and design merit of the place that highlight the identified heritage significance as defined under the criteria in s.10 of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

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### CONSERVATION OBJECTIVE

The guiding conservation objective is that the Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample shall be conserved and appropriately managed in a manner respecting its heritage significance.

The ACT Heritage Council may adopt heritage guidelines applicable to the place under s25 of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

For further information on guidelines applicable to the place, or for advice on proposed works or development, please contact ACT Heritage on 13 22 81.

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### REASON FOR REGISTRATION

Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample has been assessed against the heritage significance criteria and been found to have heritage significance when assessed against five criteria [(a), (b), (d), (f) and (h)] under s.10 of the *Heritage Act 2004*.

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### ASSESSMENT AGAINST THE HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE CRITERIA

The Council's assessment against the criteria specified in s.10 of the *Heritage Act 2004* is as follows.

In assessing the nomination for Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample, Lyneham and Dickson, the Council considered:

- the original nomination and documentary evidence supplied by the nominator, the National Trust of Australia (Australian Capital Territory), dated 13 August 2015;
- information provided by a site inspection on 23 April 2014 by ACT Heritage;
- The Act Heritage Council's *Heritage Assessment Policy* February 2015 and
- the report by ACT Heritage titled, *Background Information Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample*, November 2015, containing photographs and information on history, description, condition and integrity.

Pursuant to s.10 of the *Heritage Act 2004*, a place or object has heritage significance if it satisfies one or more of the following criteria. Future research may alter the findings of this assessment.

**(a) importance to the course or pattern of the ACT's cultural or natural history;**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample meets this criterion.

The Representative Sample is important to the course of the ACT's cultural history as evidence of the post-war government's push to relocate public servants to the ACT by the provision of subsidised high-quality modern housing. The high quality planning, building and landscaping is distinct from the earlier attempts at government housing for public servants that were not as well designed; and it is different to later public housing that would only provide a basic level of accommodation for those in need.

The provision of public housing is an important and distinct historical theme within the context of the ACT. Within the wide variety of residential buildings erected in Canberra by the Commonwealth Government in the inter-war and post-war decades, the Representative Sample makes an important contribution to an understanding of the Government's development and provision of public housing in response to the need to accommodate the expanding public sector workforce in the 1950s and 1960s. In particular it signifies the early and very direct intervention of the newly formed National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) in a massive and urgent campaign to provide accommodation for a huge influx of public servants.

With the decision to complete the transfer of Government departments from Melbourne to Canberra, at the end of the Second World War, government housing provision in Canberra entered a new phase of medium density development. At the time the National Capital Planning and Development Committee (NCPDC) made a clear distinction between Commonwealth provision of public housing elsewhere in Australia as part of the post-war reconstruction program, and the provision of housing that would meet both the standards of planning and design in the national capital and the needs of public servants. (NCPDC 41<sup>st</sup> meeting 6-7 October 1944)

When the NCDC was established in 1957 to take charge of and complete the development of Canberra as the seat of national government, it continued this distinction. Housing for the public sector workforce was developed as part of the national capital building program rather than under Commonwealth-State Housing agreements until the 1970s. At this time, as a result of NCDC policies, private housing began to exceed public housing and provision of public housing in Canberra gradually became more aligned with the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreements concerning low-income social housing. (Hutchison, 2005:p.50)

When it came into operation in 1958, the NCDC streamlined the relationship between government bodies concerned with housing construction and allocation and sought to address issues of cost and delay in construction. The original precinct was one of the earliest large scale housing projects (originally conceived as 150 dwellings) adopted by the NCDC to encourage the establishment in Canberra of large scale building contractors who could then deliver the urgently needed housing. It was also developed in the context of tight planning and construction budgets and time frames designed to meet the prevailing policy of basing rental charges on construction costs. The quality of its internal planning layouts and provision of facilities reflected not only standard government and NCDC policy, but the NCDC's response to the National Council of Women's advice on the standards for many housing projects in Canberra.

**(b) has uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of the ACT's cultural or natural history;**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample meets this criterion.

The Representative Sample provides rare evidence of a distinctive post-war government policy for the provision of subsidised housing in Canberra.

The Representative Sample is rare in the public housing development projects of post-war Canberra for its highly resolved and consistent application of Post-War International Modernism in its site planning and architectural resolution. It was the only large scale medium density housing project designed by Sydney Ancher, although his firm, with the 1964 inclusion of Ken Woolley, went on to be a major innovator in such housing in Canberra and New South Wales.

In accordance with the design brief and the configuration of the site, the project was the only project of this era to utilise a combination of five building and accommodation types, ranging from single storey garden flats, two storey paired houses, three storey Maisonettes, three storey blocks of flats and four storey bachelor flats; at least one of each of which are included in the representative sample to demonstrate the combination of different types. Its arrangement of each accommodation form into a distinctive architectural and planning layout achieved an outcome that had not been attempted previously for the provision of medium density accommodation in the national capital.

**(c) potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the ACT's cultural or natural history;**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample does not meet this criterion.

The Council acknowledges that the Representative Sample can provide information that contributes to an understanding of the cultural history of the ACT, however there is insufficient evidence before it to demonstrate that it has provided, or is likely to provide, information that will contribute significantly to a wider understanding through its use or potential use as a research site, teaching site, type locality or benchmark site.

**(d) importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of cultural or natural places or objects;**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample meets this criterion.

The Representative Sample is an important example of Post War International Style (1940-1960) and strongly demonstrates the principal characteristics of this class. Identified under Criterion (f), it is an important example of medium density housing constructed in the post-war environment, and is the only example of such work by important Modernist architect Sydney Ancher.

The key attributes of Post-War International Style (1940-60) the Representative Sample demonstrates include:

- Cubiform overall shape;
- Expression of structural frame; and
- Large sheets of glass.



Other indicators of the style represented within the Representative Sample include:

- Plain, smooth wall surfaces (all housing types);
- Contrasting non-rectangular shape (Bachelor flats);
- Overhang for shade (Owen Flats); and
- Cantilever elements (Maisonettes).

The Representative Sample is also important in demonstrating principal characteristics of medium-density public housing constructed to house the post-war influx of public servants in the 1950s. Public housing has a strong representation in Canberra's history because, unlike other cities, in Canberra a large program of public housing established from 1927 provided housing for all classes of society. Many other comparable examples exist such as the Griffith Flats (1948), Braddon and Reid Flats (1951), Ainslie Flats (1952), Allawah and Bega Courts (1956/57), Northbourne Flats (1959), Stuart Flats (1959), Red Hill Housing Precinct (1961) and Kanangra Court (1965).

The Representative Sample is important in demonstrating this class of place because of the range of five distinctive housing types provided a very unusual quality in medium-density public housing developments and is the reason why all five types are included in the representative sample.

**(e) importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by the ACT community or a cultural group in the ACT;**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample does not meet this criterion.

The Representative Sample is included, in its original extent, on the Australian Institute of Architects' Register of Significant Twentieth Century Architecture and has been classified by the National Trust. It was included on the Register of the National Estate.

However limited evidence available suggests that this design quality is not valued by the broader ACT community or a cultural group.

While valued by the Australian Institute of Architects (the Institute), the Council's *Heritage Assessment Policy* interprets a cultural group as a 'group of people within a society with a shared ethnic or cultural background' or 'a group of people connected through the same way of living, which has been transmitted from one generation to another'. The Council therefore does not consider the Institute to be a cultural group for the purposes of the criterion.

In addition, there is insufficient evidence before the Council to demonstrate that the Representative Sample exhibits other outstanding design or aesthetic quality(ies) which are valued by the ACT community or a cultural group.

**(f) importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement for a particular period;**

Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample meets this criterion.

The Representative Sample demonstrates a high degree of creative achievement by showing qualities of innovation in its architectural expression and a new approach to planning layout. In both its architectural expression and site planning, the Representative Sample is considered to

demonstrate the pinnacle of the Post-War International style as it was applied to medium density housing developments in mid 20th century Canberra.

The planning layout and design of the original precinct from 1959 to 1962 demonstrates a significant shift in the approach to providing public housing for the influx of public servants to the capital in the post-war period. The NCDC acknowledged a need to provide a range of accommodation types to house a range of lifestyle and accommodation needs, in comparison with the blocks of flats constructed by the Commonwealth Department of Works 1948-58 under the advice of the National Capital Planning and Development Commission 1948-58. The original precinct created a strong rectilinear composition of buildings and spaces intended to enhance the Northbourne Avenue entry to the city. The original precinct's combination of five distinctly different building types and siting arrangements, 'internal' service roads, networks of pergolas and pathways and the resultant variety of common open spaces, and their relationship to Northbourne Avenue, represented a different approach for medium density public housing in the ACT. Furthermore, the NCDC considered the civic design of the site to be critical, given the importance of the site on the main approach route into the capital and was therefore designed to present as a 'gateway' into the capital, as evidenced in the placement of the bachelor flats or 'Point Blocks' and its distinct Post-War International style architecture. The planning layout also demonstrates influences of Radburn planning principles, evidenced through the separation of pedestrian and vehicular movement.

The consistent architectural expression and arrangement of various building groups created a variety of distinct addresses to Northbourne Avenue that combined to achieve a high standard of urban planning and architectural outcomes. The aesthetic qualities of the overall composition were complemented by the use of a carefully considered park-like landscaping approach using carefully selected species of deciduous and evergreen trees, some shrubs and large areas of grass.

An important aspect of the overall planning layout of the housing group was the spaces created between the buildings and linking to Northbourne Avenue. The spaces provided walkways across the site and created a distinct setting for the housing blocks, articulating a spatial pattern that is part of the essential character of the layout. They gave a human scale, and offered opportunity for planting larger trees in grassed areas. The result created a sense of buildings in a park-like setting. Without the well-thought use of space between the buildings the scheme would not, from an overall planning perspective, have achieved its distinctive sense of place.

The integrity of the original precinct, in respect of its 'gateway' status, has been diminished by expanding development and encroaching re-development which includes higher density buildings, and different architectural and landscape forms. Some features of the original Precinct are not currently evident, including the pergolas linking and supplementing the Bachelor and Pair House buildings; and the curved rendered wall to carports on the Pair Houses. Several additions have been made throughout the original precinct impacting the integrity of the architect's original design intent. These include:

- the addition of bricked courtyard walls to the Pair Houses and Maisonettes;
- the addition of paling fences to the Pair Houses and Maisonettes; and
- the enclosure of the internal shared open space to the Garden Flats.

Future works on the buildings in the Representative Sample may partly or fully remedy this loss of integrity

The adoption of the Post-War International Modernist cubiform architectural imagery and planning arrangements by Sydney Ancher demonstrated his abilities to transpose leading European architectural and mass housing trends in the inter-war decades into the Australian post-war context. Most notable of these examples were Le Corbusier and Max Dubois and their Dom-ino housing ideas, particularly as built in Pessac, near Bordeaux in France (1923), and the German mass housing estates (Siedlungen) erected in the late 1920s and early 1930s in cities such as Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Berlin, with their Bauhaus, Existenzminimum and New Objectivity inspirations.

Its separation of pedestrian and vehicle movement, using a combination of service roads and drive courts, reflects the Radburn planning philosophies of pre and post-war housing estates in the United Kingdom and United States.

**(g) has a strong or special association with the ACT community, or a cultural group in the ACT for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;**

Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample does not meet this criterion.

The Council recognises that the place currently provides public housing for some members of the ACT Community and therefore may be valued by its current or past tenants as a place which represents home. The Council also acknowledges that the Institute places value on the place for reasons of educational associations for its ability to demonstrate the Post-War International Style (1940-1960) as demonstrated through its listing on the Register of Significant Twentieth Century Architecture (RSTCA).

The Council's *Heritage Assessment Policy* interprets a cultural group as a 'group of people within a society with a shared ethnic or cultural background' or 'a group of people connected through the same way of living, which has been transmitted from one generation to another'. The Council therefore does not consider the current tenants or the Institute to be a cultural group for the purposes of the criterion.

Limited evidence available suggests that the place is not highly valued by the broader ACT Community for reasons of strong or special religious, spiritual, cultural, education or social associations.

**(h) has a special association with the life or work of a person, or people, important to the history of the ACT.**

The Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample meets this criterion.

The Representative Sample has strong associations with Sydney Ancher (architect) and Sir John Overall (client), both of whom, through their respective organisations, created a major public housing project that played a significant part in the development of Canberra in the early 1960s. The combination of Sydney Ancher (Senior Partner in Ancher Mortlock & Murray), a leading exponent of the Post-War International Modernist style in his domestic architecture since 1945, and John Overall, Commissioner of the newly created National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) and other senior staff, achieved a project with a high level of civic design and architectural expression.

The Australian Institute of Architects considers that Sydney Ancher was one of the most important Australian architects of the mid-century and a pioneer of the Modern Movement. It is

considered that his work ‘forged a link between Australian tradition and twentieth century architecture’, especially evidenced by the influence his work had in Sydney from 1945-1956. It was noted that Robin Boyd referred to Sydney Ancher’s houses as ‘in the best Australian tradition of horizontally bleached colours and decorative shadows... a line of development, unaffected, uncomplicated, and an undeviating search for simplicity’ (*Architecture Australia*, 1980). It is these characteristics of Sydney Ancher’s house designs that are evident in the design concept for the original precinct and found within the Representative Sample.

Ancher’s reputation as a Post-War International Modernist architect was based on his ability to transpose the essential tenets of major European architects such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier into an Australian context. His individual houses undertaken prior to this project had demonstrated the possibilities of developing a new architecture specifically suited to Australia. The particular demands of a large scale medium-density housing project meant that the lightly expressed, Mies van der Rohe inspired architectural language of his individual houses was not appropriate. Ancher looked back further to his knowledge of Le Corbusier and the German large scale housing projects of the inter-war decades. He produced a unique planning layout containing a unified collection of diverse building types with a strong, cubiform composition, large expanses of flat external walls finished exclusively with pre-coloured textured Tyrolean render, and consistent architectural detailing.

Ancher’s output was not extensive and the original precinct is his only large medium density housing design and also the largest project in extent and cost he completed. Furthermore, it is one of only two of his projects to be built in Canberra (the other being the original ANU Students Union Building, now the Pauline Griffin Building).

The original precinct was among the first medium density public housing schemes undertaken by the NCDC, as it commenced several decades as the major driving force in the development of Canberra and its consolidation as the national capital. It provided an opportunity for John Overall and senior Commission staff throughout the design and construction to provide strong guidance on the desired direction and outcomes for the project. The original design brief specifically stipulated a mix of dwelling sizes and called for a high level of civic design.

As the Commissioner, John Overall maintained a close watch on the development of the master plan and subsequent sketch designs, often requiring meetings with Sydney Ancher to resolve issues or request additional resolution of design matters. Overall had also been steeped in International Modernist architecture and planning through his pre-war membership of the Modern Architecture Research Society, and post-war involvement with William Holford and other leading planners in the United Kingdom.

Other senior NCDC staff who contributed to the outcome included the Associate Commissioners Grenfell Rudduck and William Andrews, Chief Town Planner Peter Harrison, Executive Architect John Goldsmith, Secretary Manager Robert B. Lansdown, Landscape Architect John Grey, and later in the project Gareth Roberts, who became the NCDC’s first Director of Architecture. The architects were also requested from time to time to discuss the project with Professor Denis Winston from the Department of Town and Country Planning at the University of Sydney. Professor Winston was a consultant to the Commission on town planning matters. The landscaped outcome for the completed project reflected the NCDC’s commitment to the overall landscaping character of Canberra. The Department of Interior Parks and Gardens Section was an important contributor, in addition to the NCDC’s Chief Landscape Architect, Richard Clough.

As a matter of policy, the NCDC consulted the National Council of Women regarding the functionality of the proposed flats. Their comments lead to a major re-design of what became the single storey Garden Flats.

All of these people and organisations made significant contributions not only to the place but to the development of Canberra as the national capital in the post-war decades.

As noted under criterion (a), the Representative Sample makes an important contribution to an understanding of the development and provision of public housing in post-war Canberra – an important historical theme within the context of the ACT. It also signifies the early and very direct intervention of the newly formed National Capital Development Commission in a massive and urgent campaign to provide accommodation for a huge influx of public servants from Melbourne and Canberra. The original precinct was one of the earliest large scale housing projects (originally conceived as 150 dwellings) adopted by the NCDC to encourage the establishment in Canberra of large scale building contractors who could then deliver the urgently needed housing.

# SITE PLAN

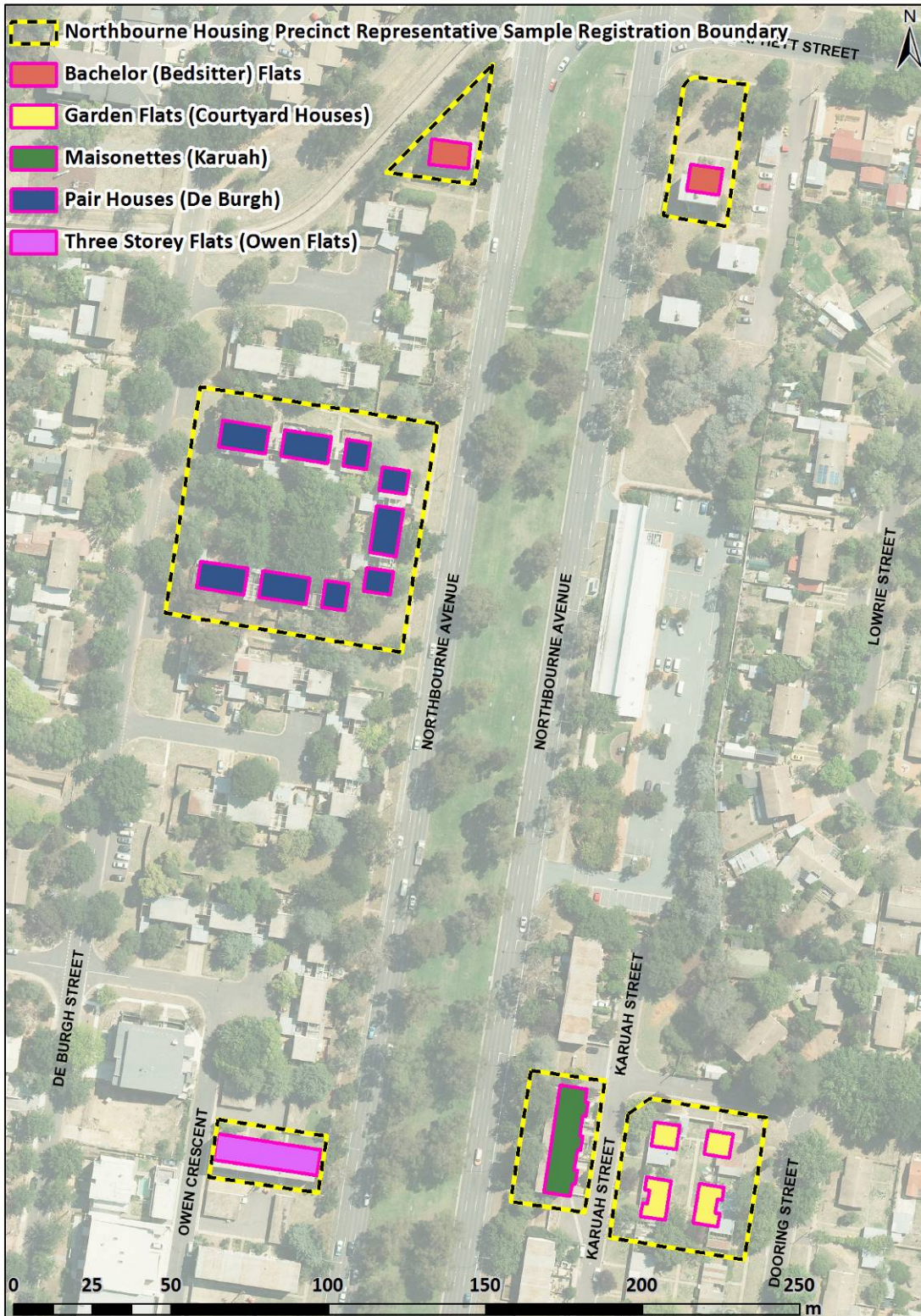


Figure 1 Northbourne Housing Precinct Representative Sample registration boundary