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**Protecting productive land and allowing urban growth? Can we
have our carrots and eat them too?**

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Planning

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by
Melissa McMullan

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This research is inspired by questioning whether the proposed approach of having two national policy statements that separately provide for protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth is the best way to manage the tension that exists between these two problems in New Zealand. Currently, the housing crisis in New Zealand has seen the creation of the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity (NPS-UDC) in 2016. The NPS-UDC requires local authorities to build into their resource management plans sufficient development capacity, with supporting infrastructure, in order to meet housing demand, and as an extension of that, business needs. However, a large proportion of urban centres are surrounded by the most productive, or versatile, soils. These soils are considered precious as they are classified as LUC I-II on the Land Use Capability Index. This index indicates that these soils require the least amount of additional inputs such as fertiliser to produce food and can typically produce more crops per year than other areas. As urban centres expand into these productive areas there has been concern expressed by Horticulture NZ that productive land is not being adequately protected. One major issue is that once productive land is lost, it will never be able to be replaced. This loss of available productive land will put New Zealand's domestic and export vegetable and fruit markets at risk. In response to this, a National Policy Statement on Highly Productive Land has been mooted and is being developed, and the NPS-UDC is also being replaced with a National Policy Statement on Urban Development. These two proposed National Policy Statements will require territorial and regional authorities to give effect to two policies that could create a tension between them. This research aims to understand how those affected by this tension believe it could be better managed.

In discussing the different planning approaches that are relevant to managing the tension between allowing urban growth and protecting productive land four are relevant: land-use, strategic, spatial and strategic spatial planning. In Christchurch there is an existing network of organisations that work together as part of the Greater Christchurch Partnership so it is therefore appropriate to also discuss the role that collaborative planning plays in this area as this is not an issue that each authority can deal with by themselves.

Keywords: land-use, strategic, spatial, strategic spatial, collaborative, urban growth, productive land, Greater Christchurch, policy, planning.

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List of Abbreviations

ALR	Agricultural Land Reserve
BC	British Columbia
CCC	Christchurch City Council
CDP	Christchurch District Plan
ECan	Environment Canterbury
GCA	Greater Christchurch Area
GCP	Greater Christchurch Partnership
GCUDS	Greater Christchurch Urban Development Strategy
LGA	Local Government Act 2002
LUC	Land Use Capability
MfE	Ministry for the Environment
NPS	National Policy Statements
NPS-HPL	National Policy Statement on Highly Productive Land
NPS-UD	National Policy Statement on Urban Development
NPS-UDC	National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity
NPS-VLHCS	National Policy Statement on Versatile Land and High-Class Soils
OLUA	Oregon Land Use Act
RMA	Resource Management Act 1991
RPS	Canterbury Regional Policy Statement
SDC	Selwyn District Council

SDP	Selwyn District Plan
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act 1977
WDC	Waimakariri District Council
WDP	Waimakariri District Plan

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Solving problems through policy and planning approaches

This research is inspired by questioning whether the proposed approach of having two national policy statements that separately provide for protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth is the best way to manage the tension that exists between these two problems in New Zealand. In New Zealand the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) provides the hierarchical framework of national and local level policy and plans that aim to achieve the purpose and principles of the RMA. The basis of the RMA is sustainable development, an idea defined in the Brundtland report, however in the RMA this is expressed as the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.

New Zealand is not alone in needing to find a solution to this problem, as there are many countries trying to implement their own strategies as well. It is an issue that numerous countries are trying to resolve through strategies, planning controls and taking an innovative approach to community creation. New Zealand differs from other countries in using an effects-based approach to land use, with the predominant approach taken elsewhere being an activities-based regulatory framework. Despite this, there are still lessons that can be learnt from other jurisdictions like Oregon and British Columbia who provide long standing examples of spatial and strategic planning which they have undertaken to try to manage rural land conversion into urban areas. These approaches are considered in more depth in Chapter 2.

Policy, according to Shaw and Eichbaum (2005), is where government intervenes to provide direction on an issue so that it may be resolved. However, difficulty arises when there is a set of policies, as Roberts (2004) argues it is unlikely that they will not contradict each other. Currently there are two proposed National Policy Statements (NPS) being developed that relate to this research: the proposed National Policy Statement on Urban Development (NPS-UD) and the proposed National Policy Statement on Highly Productive Land (NPS-HPL). With this context in mind this research sought to understand how a range of stakeholders in the Greater Christchurch Area (GCA) are negotiating the demands of urban growth and productive land protection; and what direction this should take in the future.

If policy sets the government direction on an issue, then planning is how the policy is given effect to at the local government level. The basis of planning in New Zealand is in the RMA, and elsewhere in the world it is found in town and country planning legislation. The Royal Town Planning Institute and American Planning Association both define planning in similar ways with the overriding theme being that planning builds communities as well as quality environments for people to live, work and play in. There are various planning approaches that exist, however the four that are most appropriate in the context of this research are land-use, spatial, strategic and strategic spatial planning. Collaborative planning is also discussed in this research as it is an approach already being undertaken in the GCA, however it has a different purpose to the other four approaches.

1.2 The tension between allowing for urban growth and protecting productive land in New Zealand

How New Zealand approaches its land use is of critical importance to our food security and agricultural exports, but also our urban development (or containment), housing affordability and infrastructure costs. There has been concern over how to best protect productive land and allow for urban growth for some time. This issue is critical to New Zealand's social, economic, environmental and cultural wellbeing.

There is a tension that exists in New Zealand between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. Prior to this research being undertaken a National Policy Statement on Versatile Land and High-Class Soils (NPS-VLHCS) was being proposed which, based on the limited information available, appeared to conflict with the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity 2006 (NPS-UDC). At the close of this research a National Policy Statement on Urban Development (NPS-UD) and a National Policy Statement on Highly Productive Land (NPS-HPL) are being consulted on. The role of NPS's in New Zealand's environmental policy and planning cannot be understated. Through these, central government is describing the manner in which territorial and regional authorities, particularly in areas of high growth, need to be managing the tension that exists between allowing for urban growth and protecting productive land. Whether this will be successful still remains to be seen due to neither the NPS-UD or NPS-HPL being released yet.

Curran-Cournane, Vaughan, Memon and Fredrickson sum up the need for a deeper look to be taken at the situation in New Zealand in the following way: “There is a real need to analyse the economic benefits and long term sustainability of future development against the protection of high class land for current and future production needs to provide prolonged benefits to the wider and future communities” (2014, p. 153).

1.2.1 Greater Christchurch Area

The case study area is the Greater Christchurch Area (GCA). This incorporates three territorial authorities: Christchurch City Council (CCC), Selwyn District Council (SDC) and Waimakariri District Council (WDC); and Environment Canterbury (ECan) as the regional authority. While the GCA does not encapsulate the total area of each council, it does include the most populated areas. Therefore, the 2018 census provides a good indication of the number of people included in the GCA. As at the 2018 census, CCC had 378,480 residents, SDC had 60,972 and WDC had 59,322. For CCC this represented a 7.9% increase in population since the 2013 census; with SDC achieving a 34.5% increase and WDC a 18.7% increase (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). According to the Greater Christchurch Partnership (GCP), the GCA is expected to grow by 150,000 by 2048 (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019b). Currently the GCA accounts for almost 11% of the New Zealand population. The Selwyn district was the fastest growing territorial authority in 2015, but was overtaken by the Queenstown-Lakes district in 2016 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). The majority of growth in Selwyn occurs along the ‘commuter belt’ to Christchurch, in settlements such as West Melton, Rolleston, Lincoln, Springston, Prebbleton and on lifestyle blocks (Selwyn District Council, n.d.). As of 2014 the Canterbury region (which does encapsulate an area larger than the GCA) grew 47% of New Zealand’s carrots and parsnips and 46% of potatoes for the market (Horticulture New Zealand, 2017).

1.3 Scope of this research

This research aims to understand how different stakeholders are negotiating the demands of urban growth and productive land protection in New Zealand, using the GCA as a case study. From this, it seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- To understand how territorial and regional authorities in the Greater Christchurch Area are managing/proposing to manage the tension between providing for urban growth and protecting productive land.

- To suggest options for those who are tasked with planning for both protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

1.4 The structure of this dissertation

This dissertation starts by outlining the various planning approaches that are most practical for resolving the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth, as well as providing an understanding of the role policy and planning play in achieving these objectives. In doing this, it is also important to consider the approaches that have been undertaken overseas in areas where they are also trying to deal with this issue. The research methods utilised in this research are outlined in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides an understanding of the historical development of planning legislation in New Zealand, the situation this has put New Zealand in, and a brief explanation of how urban settlement began in this country. Chapter 5 explains the Resource Management Act 1991 in New Zealand and the relevant plans and policies from CCC, SDC, WDC and ECan that is currently steering the development of the GCA. The insights from my participants, who are primarily from the planning profession, are provided in Chapter 6, and they show the widespread array of considerations that need to be made in managing the issues that face the GCA. Chapter 7 connects the findings made in Chapter 6 with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 to ascertain how the approach being taken, or being proposed, sit against the scholarship available on the matter. Conclusions made from this research are articulated in Chapter 8, with further questions which will help this matter be resolved also provided, and an understanding of where this research positions itself against the international literature.

Chapter 2

Literature review

This chapter explores five different approaches to planning: land-use, spatial, strategic, strategic spatial and collaborative planning. However, as can be seen by the RMA Framework shown in Appendix D, and described further in chapter 5, policy drives planning outcomes. Therefore, policy and planning are also broadly discussed.

2.1 Policy

Public policy aims to improve an issue that exists by government intervening to provide direction on the matter (Shaw & Eichbaum, 2005). Kraft (2004) notes that the role of government in making policy is to deal with problems that cannot be dealt with by the private sector alone. As policy is typically set by central government this means it can be used as a bridge between private sector goals and good societal outcomes. Economics can have a strong influence on policy; however, since the release of the Brundtland Report 'Our Common Future' in 1987 sustainable development has been a strong driver of environmental policy in New Zealand. Sustainable development was defined by the Brundtland Report to mean: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations, n.d.). Ensuring strong links between environmental protection, economic growth and social equity is fundamental to sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development is a key principle behind the RMA, expressed in the Act as sustainable management.

Roberts describes environmental policy as being "the key to avoiding, solving or ameliorating environmental problems" (2004, p. 40). This is achieved by a creating a set of principles and intentions to guide decision making. Roberts (2004) points out that it is important to have environmental policy as humans rely on the natural environment for survival, not only from the perspective of providing resources, but also the key role the environment plays in regulating the atmosphere to provide life-giving functions such as air to breathe. Policy making is a complex process, and while definitions point to the key role policy plays in providing direction Roberts (2004) also suggests that it is rare to have a set of policies that are structured so that they will not contradict each other. Robinson (2004) makes specific reference to this debate when discussing sustainable

development; arguing there is no single approach that can be taken to sustainable development that is correct but a process for evaluating all views is needed, which then results in political action.

While Shaw and Eichbaum (2005) and Roberts (2004) state that policy making is a form of government direction Kraft (2004) provides an alternate view that policy represents the collective view of how society wants to pursue certain goals and objectives using certain tools and often within a certain timeframe. Further, this does not come from one particular source but rather an amalgam of statutes, regulations and court decisions. Kraft (2004) also points out that what policy gets created is just as important as that which does not, and that the areas left to the private sector to resolve are an indication of the government policy on the matter. Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone and Hill (2007) state that policies try to resolve public problems that are on the government agenda, with the starting point being an understanding that there is a problem to resolve which triggers a debate on the need for a policy. This backs up the point made by Kraft (2004), that acknowledgement of an issue does not immediately lead to a policy being created as there may be other options available.

While it appears that policy is a national level tool, Miller (2009) points out that as local level government is closer to the issue, they can be in a better position to set policy. This is due to the understanding they have of the background to the issue and the best options available to resolve the matter. However, there is a key difference between local knowledge and technical and scientific expertise which government at the national level is normally better provisioned with (Miller, 2009). Creating a link between these two different levels of information is a challenge in policy setting. Practically, it means that policy is set by the level of government that decides it wants to take action on a particular issue with those that fall under the policy required to incorporate it. Healey (1998) also contributes that place and space are typically considered to be irrelevant in policy making.

Environmental policy in New Zealand is created by central government, primarily the Ministry for the Environment (MfE), and used as guidance by stakeholders to understand how to operate in the sector moving forward. In New Zealand central government policy directs how matters should be dealt with by regional and territorial authorities with little ability for local solutions to be utilised to solve potential issues. This is because there is a requirement for regional and territorial authorities to either “give effect to”, or make policy “in accordance with”, national level documents. An understanding of this framework under the RMA is provided in Appendix D. Guidance is typically

provided by the MfE to help regional and territorial authorities incorporate national policy into planning and policy documents.

2.2 Planning

Planning is the process by which a locality, or region, decides where and how an area will be developed. Planning finds some foundation in legislation. In New Zealand that is through the RMA and elsewhere in the world it is often referred to as town and country planning legislation. The American Planning Association (n.d.) defines planning as:

The goal of planning is to maximize the health, safety, and economic well-being of all people living in our communities. This involves thinking about how we can move around our community, how we can attract and retain thriving businesses, where we want to live, and opportunities for recreation. Planning helps create communities of lasting value.

The Royal Town Planning Institute (n.d.), from the United Kingdom, has a similar definition: “at the heart of their work, planners balance social, economic and environmental needs to shape the way that towns and cities grow and to create great communities for everyone.”

As can be seen through both of these definitions the role of planning is to build community and provide quality environments for people to live, work and play in while also ensuring key health and economic needs are met. In New Zealand planning is governed by the RMA which is a departure from other international approaches. The RMA takes an effects-based approach to decision making while internationally approaches still use activities-based planning. This means the RMA is focussed on the consequences of activities rather than the activities themselves. In this way the RMA is focussed on bio-physical environmental matters rather than urban and rural management (Vallance, 2007). It is due to this approach that there is an inability in the RMA to manage urban and rural tensions.

There are a number of different types of plans that can be created to achieve the goals of planning but for the purposes of this chapter land-use planning, strategic planning, spatial planning, strategic spatial and collaborative planning are discussed as they are the planning approaches most often used to resolve the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. Land-use planning is a well-established planning approach, however there is a no clear definition of spatial, strategic or spatial strategic planning which causes difficulties in arguing the benefits of one over the other. In some cases, terms are used interchangeably during a discussion of one concept. Scholars do

admit this is an issue when trying to provide a critique. Collaborative planning is included in this literature review due to the GCP already operating in this manner to try to manage issues facing the GCA.

2.3 Land-use planning

Land-use planning is the basis from which environmental planning in New Zealand is built on. Zoning is a key aspect of land-use planning and in New Zealand district plans it occurs through areas being zoned. Examples of these zones include rural, residential or rural residential, and there can be different levels within this. With zones come rules that specify requirements for the area, such as building density, coverage of a site, height restrictions and building setbacks. The role of these rules is to allow the policies and objectives set out in the plan to be achieved. Policies and objectives provide the reasoning for rules and cover issues such as: preserving amenity values and ensuring efficient use of a residential area.

Albrechts describes land-use planning as “more passive, pragmatic, and localised planning” (2004, p. 745). Whether land-use planning is sufficient enough to protect productive land in the long-term is an idea that is challenged by Kline and Alig (1999); although they do note that it does provide control over development which can be preferential for planning officials and the public. Limits on urban development put in place by zoning are not always welcomed for a number of reasons, one example being a desire held by people to live in a large house on a section of land in a high quality area with amenity value (Halleux, Marcinczak, & van der Krabben, 2012). Land-use controls also have economic impacts with Cullingworth (1997) pointing out that restricted supply of land to build on leads to an increase in prices, and that this takes time to right itself once land does become available.

Albrechts describes one of the flaws of a land-use plan as being “too much of an administrative framework for development instead of an action plan” (2006, p. 1488). This comes from land-use planning being largely focussed on ‘physical’ aspects that only provide physical solutions and do not provide the required answers to solving social or economic issues (Albrechts, 2004). Furthermore, land-use planning often limits the involvement of the community in the process, whether that be major stakeholders or marginalised groups in society, although Albrechts does base his argument in a European context. The lack of integration between land-use planning and infrastructure such as

transport networks is another issue with land-use planning as linking communities to the services they require is not something that can be dealt with in isolation.

Land-use planning is still utilised in a number of countries to manage the barrier between urban and rural, although the role and form that the separation of zones takes is changing. One way in which the United Kingdom manages the urban barrier is by having a greenbelt which acts as a line between the two zones of town and country. The concept was utilised in the pre-war period as a way of managing rapid urban growth but it does have deeper historical roots (Amati & Taylor, 2010). While green belts do play into the needs of society in terms of having a green space to provide an area for urban dwellers to escape into, it does not alleviate the housing issues in urban centres. This does make it a contested space in areas of high growth. Managing this tension is something the United Kingdom is being forced to look at as green belts are popular, but green infrastructure may now be the new space that provides a better alternative in contested urban-rural spaces (Amati & Taylor, 2010). Green infrastructure is something that not only improves, but contributes to, sustainability (Ahern, 2007). Rather than being a green belt, green infrastructure is functional. It provides space for: recreation, everyday life and public health; maintenance of biodiversity; city structure; cultural identity; environmental quality of the urban area; and biological solutions to technical problems (Sandstrom, 2002).

Land-use planning is typically expressed through zoning which primarily defines different urban, rural and rural-residential areas. This means that land-use planning is not considered to be a particularly participatory planning approach. Land-use plans appear to be most prevalent at the local level in their use as they implement direction provided by policy or strategy at a higher level.

2.4 Spatial planning

The MfE define a spatial plan as a “high-level strategy for developing a region that relates to its geography, and seeks to achieve desired broad outcomes. Developed and implemented via collaboration between multiple parties, it provides a mechanism for agreeing joint priorities, actions and investment” (Ministry for the Environment, 2010, p. 23). Baker and Wong (2013) describe the role of spatial planning as pulling together spatial dimensions from policy to coordinate, integrate and mediate solutions. However, they argue that this does not take account of the different scales between regional and urban planning – and that this is the distinction that can be made between

spatial planning and strategic spatial planning. The International Panel on Climate Change define spatial planning as a systematic and coordinated effort to manage urban and regional growth that promotes societal objectives (Seto et al., 2014). All of these definitions have the theme of pulling together different policies and strategies in order to facilitate a forward-thinking approach as to where places will develop in the long-term. Tewdwr-Jones, Gallent and Morphet provide the following quote that sums up the difficulty with defining spatial planning: “Academic definitions of spatial planning are characterised by their diversity” (2010, p. 240).

Gardner-Hopkins and Fairgray (2011) argue spatial planning was utilised more after it became a global trend. They do not believe that the concept of spatial planning is revolutionary and instead point out that there has always been a spatial component in planning and a spatial planning approach may only mean a greater emphasis placed on these concepts in plans and regulations. Davoudi (2018) states that spatial planning saw a renewed interest in the latter part of the 20th century due to a realisation of the key role place plays in policy decisions and understanding the complex network of social, economic, environmental and cultural issues that all impact on a location. In discussing the British experience of spatial planning Taylor (2010) describes the departure from land-use planning as being a significant one in the eyes of the British government and it was subsequently described as being a needed culture change at the time. Within the United Kingdom there is a relationship between a land-use regulatory process and a spatial planning process which Tewdwr-Jones, Gallent and Morphet describe as a “parallel direction of planning” (2010, p. 248) which suggests that there is a place for both styles of planning. However, digging into this further it becomes clearer that the distinction between the role and purpose of both planning styles is emphasised between different government ministries and that there is no reference or connection between them which creates difficulties in implementing ministry directives. Haughton, Allmendinger, Counsell, and Vigar (2010) do not agree with Tewdwr-Jones, Gallent and Morphet and instead outline the differences between spatial and land-use planning; the most telling one being in implementation. According to Haughton et al. (2010) land-use planning focusses on outputs with allocations and an interest in what gets built; while spatial planning is more focussed on the outcomes through the delivery of objectives and the various elements that are part of the process. While a relationship can develop between land-use and spatial planning approaches, the differences between them are key, as each approach will have a role depending on the context of the situation to be addressed.

One advantage seen with spatial planning is that it is not focussed on boundaries and therefore is better able to manage space-place tensions (Tewdwr-Jones et al., 2010). Built into spatial planning is an understanding of the delivery of policy, and the intention behind it, as well as the interactions between citizens with where they reside and the infrastructure they need. There are various components to spatial planning which allow this to occur and these are: integration, consensus building, differentiation, strategic governance and identity-building. Hillier (2010) opines that spatial planning uses experimentation and imagination to cope with the complexity and uncertainty of the world we live in. According to Tewdwr-Jones et al. (2010) spatial planning does not sit within one particular silo and this was by design.

There is a cross-over with strategic planning in that spatial planning also has a wider scope than land-use planning and considers issues such as social, economic, environmental and land-use issues (Taylor, 2010). In the British context the connection between sustainable development and what spatial planning can achieve, particularly in the environmental context, is crucial. When planning is situated in the wider context of issues that need to be considered there is also a need for integration. Taylor (2010) describes this integration as being both horizontal (through a hierarchy of policies that flows from the national level through to the regional and local level) and vertical (government policy). Shaw and Lord (2009) do critique this integration, particularly vertical integration, as being prone to constraints as policy at the higher levels moves faster than what local development frameworks can keep up with. However, they also point to integration as being a positive experience for local planning authorities as it has allowed for resources to be pooled together, which has been particularly important for compiling a common evidence base.

An international example of a spatial plan is the Copenhagen Finger Plan. The Finger Plan was originally created in 1974 and it directs urban development along the transit lines that move out from the centre of the city. In order to achieve this there are levels of plans, from a national planning statement which provide guidelines regional plans must align with, through to the municipality plans and local plans. Local plans created by the municipal council and the most detailed of the hierarchy of plans. Regional plans set out guidelines for urban zones and where public institutions and infrastructure should be situated along with the placement of industry, retail trade, agriculture and forestry, open land protection, position of wetlands, recreation areas and the areas for quarrying and mining (Bruel, 2012). The next level down is the municipal plan which maps out different land uses, transport options, and urban renewal and redevelopment. Local plans are required if a building or

construction project is of a certain magnitude due to the impact it will have on the surrounding environment.

Faludi (2000) refers to a spatial plan as being a guide to making decisions and it must be a frame of reference that allows for decisions to be made in the future. Perry pulls this out further to say that spatial planning is how social order is provided through “political mobilisation of knowledge” (1995, p. 222). There is a degree of crossover between spatial and strategic planning. Spatial planning considers where development should occur and how that will be implemented by the local government, whereas strategic planning is not as direct about where development will occur. Most importantly they are both much more future focussed than land-use planning.

2.5 Strategic planning

It does not appear that there is one universally accepted definition of what strategic planning is. Kaufman and Jacobs (1988) describe the foundation of strategic planning as driven by the private sector. The basis for strategic planning has been the corporate model and this has then been pulled over into the public sector. Albrechts describes strategic plans as a framework for action where “vision, actions and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and may become” (2004, p. 747). Strategic planning helps to contribute to a more open type of governance and builds in key parts of planning such as sustainability and investments in regeneration and infrastructure (Albrechts, 2004, p. 747). More open governance also allows for greater accountability, collaboration and consensus building as a result. Strategic planning ideally links the top-down aspects of planning and the wider planning issues with the bottom up approach that provides local and accumulated knowledge (Albrechts, 2004). Allmendinger and Haughton (2010) state the distinctive aspects of strategic planning include: long-term strategic vision; improved integration across a range sectoral plans; supports a balanced approach to sustainable development; and improved engagement with stakeholders.

Strategic planning is a way of building vision and for this context is important, not only in terms of understanding the past and where the issue at hand has come from, but also whether the context the issue sits in is based in an economic, social, political or power sphere. Allmendinger and Haughton (2010) do critique the manner in which strategic planning has been developed however. They state that the wide-ranging understanding of what strategic planning is has led to the process

becoming a variable set of practices subject to what the local area decides to prioritise and differ over. The degree of variation in the forms that strategic planning can take was demonstrated by Kaufman and Jacobs (1988) where they identify two authors who both have five different types of strategic planning that all differ slightly between them.

In creating a vision for the future, this necessarily requires strategic planning to be suitably future focused in order to be able to foresee and respond to changes to the environment during the life of the plan. Albrechts describes strategic planning as being a “dynamic and creative process” (2004, p. 752). One part of this process is environmental scanning which was commented on by both Kaufman and Jacobs (1988) and Chambers and Taylor (1999). This involves looking to see what movements will have an effect on the environment and trying to pre-empt what the effects will be so a strategy can be implemented to limit the impact of these. This is how strategic planning differs from land-use planning in that it is forward looking, rather than describing what development can occur, or not, in a particular zone. However, because it requires a view to the future and the consideration of a number of different issues it is not necessarily something that a local authority can easily carry out in New Zealand. Land-use planning is the practical daily reality of planning, whereas strategic planning is incorporating a much wider purview of different issues that need to be considered.

2.6 Strategic spatial planning

As previously discussed, there is a degree of interchangeability between the three concepts of strategic, spatial and strategic spatial planning, sometimes within the same academic article, which does impact on the strength of discussion and comparison that can be made between each approach. This also provides difficulty in defining what strategic spatial planning is as it appears to depend on the individual writer. Oosterlynck, Albrechts and Van den Broeck confirm as much through their comment: “No clear definition of strategic spatial planning exists in the literature” (2011, p. 1). These authors see strategic spatial planning as “a method for collectively re-imagining the possible futures of particular places and translating these into concrete priorities and action programmes” (Oosterlynck et al., 2011, p. 1). Baker and Wong (2013) distinguish spatial planning from strategic planning through the concept of scale – that spatial planning does not account for the different scale between regional and urban planning – and this is a key difference.

Strategic spatial planning is described by Albrechts as being “a transformative and integrative, preferably public sector led socio spatial process” (2006, p. 1491). Being public sector led takes the power away from blueprint planning or master planning styles that can be favoured by government. In New Zealand this is unlikely to occur due to the role that government plays in policy setting and the hierarchy of planning and policy documents that fall under this. Friedmann (2004) builds on this further by commenting that in addition to being a comprehensive and integrated approach it is also a form of long-range planning for territorial development. Through this a vision with an outline of actions and implementation that show a place and what it may become are produced. In order to achieve this, strategies that take account of power structures are required at different levels of governance.

One way of describing strategic spatial planning is that it creates a framework that decisions, actions, projects, results and implementation are built into and this framework responds accordingly to monitoring, feedback, adjustment, adjustment and revision in order to achieve the aims of the plan (Albrechts, 2006). It is in this way that strategic spatial planning is one tool for dealing with complex problems (Albrechts, 2001). With such a wide-ranging number of policy agendas to incorporate, as well as the push to include social, environmental, cultural matters into the planning process, one critique of the strategic spatial planning approach is that it is not feasible in practice (Friedmann, 2004). This may be reflected in the implementation of the plan though, rather than the setting of it, and does seem a logical critique if there are a number of different stakeholders involved, at different levels, each with their own levels of resourcing. Moreover, Friedmann (2004) notes that for cities that have created a strategic spatial plan, such as Hong Kong and Vancouver, they are still required to continually update and review the document because the future that it seeks to ensure is imagined, and therefore easily subject to change.

Strategic spatial planning draws together the subtle differences between spatial and strategic planning to provide an alternative planning approach. It is another future focussed approach to planning which integrates policy together from a number of different agendas to create a framework. Whether it is an approach that is easily implemented is arguable, particularly with the differing pools of resources that territorial and regional authorities have.

In summary, the literature shows that land-use planning is essentially an administrative tool, whereas strategic planning may be (at the extreme) a high level and often aspirational approach that is future focussed but does not necessarily provide detail as to how it should be implemented. Spatial planning is also future focussed and involves the integration of policy both horizontally and vertically. Strategic spatial planning has potential and attempts to integrate land use and infrastructure to achieve a particular outcome, however whether this is an achievable approach to take is argued in the literature. Collaborative planning can be a tool that is used by territorial and regional authorities, in conjunction with the planning approaches described above. Therefore, it will now be discussed in light of the role the GCP plays in resolving issues at the local level.

2.7 Collaborative planning

Collaborative planning is a planning approach that involves communities and other stakeholders in decision making. There is no agreed definition of collaborative planning, however Ansell and Gash provide the following definition of collaborative governance:

A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. (2007, p. 544)

Other definitions refer to a more inclusive and reflexive approach. Raynor, Doyon and Beer define collaborative planning as an “inclusive dialogic approach to shaping social space influenced by an acknowledgement of the complexities of planning problems and the need to involve multiple stakeholders in decision making” (2017, p. 216). Purbani (2017) refers to the role collaborative planning plays in encouraging engagement and dialogue that allows new ideas and innovative outcomes to be reached with consensus building being a process that mediates disputes while also building institutional capacity.

A key aspect to collaborative planning is therefore consensus. Consensus is difficult to achieve, particularly as part of a political process and Margerum (2002) critiqued many processes he observed as lacking in consensus which led to them experiencing difficulties in reaching decisions. However, having consensus between stakeholders does not necessarily mean that the process will produce good outcomes. As collaborative planning encourages engagement this can lead to mutual-gain solutions being reached, with outcomes that were not necessarily thought of before the process began. Outcomes can therefore be of a high quality because of the buy in between stakeholders,

however just because there is stakeholder buy in, it does not necessarily mean that outcomes will be reached. Innes and Booher (1999) provide a critique to the collaborative process in stating that decisions reached can therefore be more durable and better implemented because of the consensus that has been reached but they can also be meaningless if conflict appears soon after an agreement is made. They summarise it as: “Agreement for the sake of agreement is not success. Quality matters” (Innes & Booher, 1999, p. 415). Margerum (2002) also highlights that the process extends beyond just plan development to also include initial consensus building and implementation. Implementation of the decisions made is a critical aspect to the process as it shows the strength of the decisions made, and whether they are actually fit for purpose. Regardless of the quality and number of decisions that are made, Innes and Booher (1999) state that participants in their study said that growing political capital that makes partners stronger when they work together rather than as individual organisations or people was more beneficial than actual outcomes.

For Margerum (2002) it is important to have a range of community interests represented in the collaborative process. However, there are issues with this as sometimes there are a vast number of interests that need to be present in order to be truly representative which gives rise to the argument that having too many people will reduce the effectiveness and efficiency of the collaborative planning process. Despite this, Margerum (2002) argues that according to the responses to his research it was more preferable for participants to ensure inclusiveness was observed, rather than group size. Raynor et al. (2017) provided a counterpoint to this that there is no objective way to decide who should be included at the decision-making table; furthermore it can be even more challenging to contact people and get them to contribute to the discussion in a meaningful way.

A key aspect to collaborative planning that was referred to by Margerum (2002) and Ansell and Gash (2007) is power in terms of: who managed the process, the power of knowledge, in refusing to collaborate together and the ability to make autonomous decisions. Inequity can be a barrier to good collaboration due to the perceived power imbalance, however the reality is that it is unlikely that there will be a collaborative process where all parties are equal. While the above definition from Ansell and Gash (2007) refers to a relationship between state and non-state actors; this differs from the GCP where it is largely government organisations at various levels that are represented. It was outside the scope of this research to examine the GCP in great detail to understand how the group itself is structured and organised, however the *Our Space 2018-2048* document that was released, and the longevity of the partnership, do show that the collaborative process does work in Christchurch. The actual relationship between stakeholders and the dynamics between councils of

different sizes is more difficult to ascertain from a desktop study. Tied into power dynamics is also the issue that can arise in collaborative approaches from 'us versus them' perceptions of the process. Ansell and Gash (2007) argue that effective leadership and an understanding of the historical context between parties is the best way of managing such an issue and ensuring that parties enter the process in a 'collaborative spirit'.

Collaborative planning provides an ability to create innovative planning solutions as it allows communities to learn from each other and decide the path forward together. This is important in spatial or strategic planning contexts due to the integration required between multiple policies. Linnenluecke, Verreynne, de Villiers Scheepers, and Ventur (2017) argue that one of the benefits of collaborative planning is the ability to gain external knowledge and ideas and to improve stakeholder relationships. An issue that can stop positive relationships from proliferating can be the potentially negative history that is shared amongst participants. In order to manage this Margerum (2002) points to the importance of setting the context for the collaborative process clearly from the beginning.

Collaborative planning is a planning approach that can be utilised to bring different groups together to engage with various issues facing an area that are complex. The GCP is an example of collaborative planning in action, however it does not fulfil the requirement of involving the community at the decision-making table. Collaborative planning is helpful for long term solutions, which means it sits within strategic and spatial planning approaches as a complimentary approach to finding solutions, it does not lend itself to land-use planning due to the narrower focus of land-use planning. There are a number of factors that are contingent upon the success of collaborative planning; namely the context, the power of relationships, leadership and representation of groups. In light of this, collaborative planning may provide the answers needed to resolve cross-boundary issues, but that may depend on a number of different issues outlined above if it is to be successful.

2.8 International approaches

Internationally there are many different approaches being trialled or utilised to grapple with managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. While some ideas do not translate easily to the New Zealand context, there is still potential for aspects of the following approaches to be incorporated into New Zealand's planning framework.

Internationally a tool used to manage the tension between rural and urban areas has been the urban growth boundary. These are not static lines but they shift in response to the needs of the urban population, normally in 10-20 year periods. Gennaio, Hersperger and Burgi (2009) argue that they have been successfully used in Switzerland, however the areas were not facing heavy pressures for development and still had adequate areas for growth which does provide one reason for their success. One feature of the study completed by Gennaio, Hersperger and Burgi was that the areas studied all developed by infill rather than pushing the urban boundary. One of the difficulties of setting boundaries for urban areas in particular, is that it can either be too restrictive or too open. This can either lead to a perception of “town cramming” or the luxury of space which leads to low-density housing areas (Millward, 2006). The decision as to what option is best depends on the needs of the urban area, but Millward (2006) does argue that the more land that is zoned for urban development allows for a more strategic approach to planning to be taken as opposed to a need for tactical decision making. Success of this is dependent on the implementation framework; as in China having a larger zone for urban expansion has led to fragmented urban expansion as the “land use plan exerted insufficient controlling influences on urban growth” (Shen, Wang, Zhang, Lu, & Lv, 2019, p. 211).

2.8.1 Oregon

Oregon is viewed by many as the initial place where large areas of farmland were set aside and protected from urban development. The Oregon Land Use Act (OLUA) created a link between the state and local government with local land use plans required to be consistent with state goals. The state goals are set by the Land Conservation and Development Commission, an institution created by the OLUA. Seven appointed members sit on the Commission and establish the legally enforceable state goals, review local plans to ensure they comply with these, ensure a public participatory process occurs and review appeals of alleged violations of the goals (Gustafson, Daniels, & Shirack, 1982). In order to carry out the goals grants are provided to local government by the state. Nineteen goals are in operation that the Commission implements. Goal 3 preserves agricultural land by requiring local authorities to identify, designate and zone the land as an “exclusive farm use” (Oregon Planning: Department of Land Conservation and Development, n.d.-a). Uses of land that have a significant adverse effect on farming or forestry are limited in these areas. However, this process is not without friction and it does not lend itself easily to a collaborative planning process due to the political economy of rural land use management (Gustafson et al., 1982). Rural residential zoning that exists outside of protected farmland complements the commercial agricultural zones and is one

management technique utilised to navigate the tension between the urban and rural areas. This has been a particularly important 30-year argument over how areas that are marginal or secondary lands should be designated. As is often the case dwellings are added to rural areas that contravene the rules regarding building density. In order to resolve this a gross income standard was established in 1992 to reflect that some areas of land are more economically viable than others and therefore required more dwellings to house staff for example (Grishkin, 2004). As Grishkin (2004) notes, protecting farmland is not enough, programmes are required in order to maintain the agricultural economy in its entirety in order for a policy such as an exclusive farm use zone to succeed. Goal 14 relates to urbanisation and emphasises the “urban growth boundary”; the purpose of which is to not only contain development but to also plan for orderly growth into the buffer zone (Oregon Planning: Department of Land Conservation and Development, n.d.-b). In critiquing the way Oregon has managed their land use planning through zoning Kline and Alig (1999) note that development of land has not been measurably different across the urban growth boundaries and exclusive farm use zones since it was implemented.

2.8.2 Canada

The Province of British Columbia (BC) has created a provincial zone called the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR). The ALR was created in 1972 and prior to its establishment it was estimated 6,000 hectares of farmland was lost to urban expansion each year (Hanna, 1997). The ALR protects approximately 4.6 million hectares of land across BC (Provincial Agricultural Land Commission, n.d.), this is 5% of the total BC land base. This zone considers agriculture to be the priority use of the land and restricts other uses of land in the zone. Agricultural land becomes part of the ALR by designation of the Provincial Agricultural Land Commission. A ‘farm use’ is defined as a number of things including the legal growing of cannabis, forestry, agri-tourism and alcohol production (British Columbia Regulations, 2019). Subdivision is severely limited in the ALR and recent amendments have limited the ability to build further dwelling houses on land as well, even if it is to house workers or family members; but this change has been a source of contention (Blats, 2019). It does cover land that is part of Metro Vancouver, of which 79% is not currently farmed, and is mainly comprised of golf courses (Ministry of Agriculture, 2014). Despite the housing crisis in Vancouver there is hesitation to convert land under the ALR to housing as it might be the start of a ‘slippery slope’. One of the aims of the ALR has been to preserve the family farm however this has not occurred due to the economic factors that influence the value of farmland and agriculture are not commensurate with the realities of zoning (Hanna, 1997). This has seen areas of farmland fall idle as they have been unable to make the returns from farming cover the capital invested in the land.

2.9 Summary

There are policies from central government that shape what local government can do and how they do it. In the face of two potentially conflicting NPS's this research sought to ask what stakeholders, who were predominantly planners, thought about this and how the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth could be managed. The literature suggests options include land-use, spatial, strategic and strategic spatial planning approaches may all be utilised in managing this tension. Collaborative planning was also included in this literature review as it is already a part of the GCP process and there is a relationship between collaborative planning and spatial planning in terms of the integration that is required both horizontally and vertically. Whether collaborative processes are successful in the GCP and will help lead to solutions that will help manage the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth was also a matter discussed by participants as part of this research. Internationally, approaches taken to managing the tension that exists show the difficulties that face decision makers, but that there are aspects of planning approaches that have been successful through plans such as the Copenhagen Finger Plan.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Qualitative research provides the researcher with an opportunity to understand how people view the world around them (Aurini, Heath, & Howells, 2016). Each person has their own context and meaning that they use to make sense of the world and qualitative research aims to capture this to better explain how various conditions inform perspectives and choices. A qualitative approach was undertaken to understand how the many different stakeholders affected by this issue believe it should be managed and to understand what options are considered to be viable solutions to the matter at hand. To achieve this a non-exhaustive list of stakeholders was created to canvas as many perspectives as practicable. This approach is described by Creswell (2013) as being a 'purposeful sampling'. At the outset of the research the list comprised a range of different groups including: CCC, SDC, WDC, ECan, Horticulture NZ, Federated Farmers, Ngāi Tahu, residents' groups in the GCA area, developers in the GCA and Healthy Christchurch. Participants were approached by an initial email being sent to a generalised email address for the organisation and contact was then made with suggested participants, or interviews were directly set up with those that replied. Replies were received from the following people and interviews were subsequently arranged: six planners from across two territorial authorities and the regional authority, an elected representative, a community representative and a representative from the horticultural industry.

The research questions I hoped to answer were kept broad to provide the flexibility required to adapt to the answers provided by participants. This also allowed open questions to be asked, rather than leading questions that would not challenge my own preconceptions about the issue. My research was centred around the two following questions:

- How are territorial and regional authorities in the Greater Christchurch Area managing/proposing to manage the tension between providing for urban growth and protecting productive land?
- What options are available to those who are tasked with planning for both protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth?

Data was collected through analysis of primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected through interviews while secondary data was collected by reading submissions, discussion

documents for the NPS-UD and NPS-HPL, journals, books, relevant policy and planning documents and other relevant material.

3.1 Case study

A case study approach was taken for this dissertation because as Yin states a case study allows: “an in-depth study of a phenomenon in its real-world context” (2018, p. 127). While Gerring highlights the various definitions that exist for a case study his overall definition of a case study is an “intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units” (2004, p. 342). This appropriately explains the approach taken by this research. The issue of protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth is a national one and using the GCA as an area to explore what could happen nationally is the purpose of this research.

The case study is limited to the GCA in the South Island of New Zealand. Christchurch is the largest city in the South Island and central to the province. According to 2018 census data CCC had 378,480 residents, SDC had 60,972 and WDC had 59,322 (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). Christchurch is considered to be a High Growth Area according to the NPS-UDC, which therefore requires CCC, with SDC and WDC as neighbouring districts also affected by this growth, to create the required strategies for growth. Therefore, these three territorial authorities were approached to partake in interviews. ECan were also approached as the regional authority relevant to the area.

The GCA was selected as the case study area due to the proximity of the location to the researcher, the high growth it experiences as outlined above, and because the GCA border sits alongside productive land that produces fruit and vegetables for the local and export market.

3.2 Literature review

My research began by understanding the policies and plans that relate to my topic. These documents extend from the national level through to the local level and are described in Chapter 5. At this time the NPS-HPL and NPS-UD were being talked about by planning professionals, but discussion documents that invited public and professional submissions on them were not released until after my interviews had been completed. These documents were therefore reviewed after my interviews.

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) state the purpose of the literature review is to set the stage for the research that is to be undertaken by summarising the past research that is relevant to the topic. As the options that are being considered in resolving this tension are couched in different planning approaches analysis of the relevant planning and policy approaches was undertaken with land-use, spatial, strategic and strategic spatial planning all considered. Currently in Christchurch there is a Greater Christchurch Partnership (GCP) which is a collaborative planning effort. To analyse the role of the GCP and the way it functions collaborative planning literature was also reviewed to understand whether the GCP process was a functional one that would contribute to the resolution of the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. This is particularly relevant when the classification of Christchurch as a High Growth Area requires there to be cross boundary solutions found between CCC, SDC, WDC and ECan.

3.3 Secondary data analysis

In order to try to get a wider picture of the views of the public analysis of the submissions to *Our Space 2018-2048* were also analysed. This was carried out by a random sampling of 22 out of the 91 submissions being taken. Every second submission was analysed until it became clear that there were some strong themes that were coming through on a repeated basis. The pertinent parts of the submissions were placed into a spreadsheet and coded based on the view expressed regarding whether urban development should be encouraged or not. It was also noted whether the submission was from a private citizen or a developer if this was clear from the information provided on the cover sheet. From here, the submissions were grouped into different views expressed to get a picture of what members of the public believed should occur in the GCA.

3.4 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are a common way to collect data in qualitative research. Gillham (2000) defines an interview as being where an interviewer is able to control the situation as they seek answers from the interviewee for a particular purpose. Semi-structured interviews were used in this research to provide the ability for different options to be discussed by participants that may not have been considered prior to the interview being undertaken. The pre-planned questions provided the foundation for this discussion to be built on. A copy of the interview questions is included in Appendix C.

Participants were provided with a copy of the questions prior to the interview being undertaken and all participants consented to being recorded which allowed transcription and analysis to be completed following the interview. In being invited to take part in my research participants were told that the interview could take between 30 to 60 minutes. Most interviews stuck to this timeframe unless there were time constraints with professionals required to return to work within a short timeframe, or participants who had a lot of information to share about their area of expertise which then pushed the interview past the 60-minute mark. Transcription of the interview was carried out following the interviews which then allowed data analysis to occur.

3.5 Data analysis

Data analysis followed the approach laid out by Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007) of: immersion; reflecting; taking apart/analysing data; recombining/synthesising data; relating and locating your data; knowing when to stop and presenting the data. A key part of the process is the systematic processing of data due to the large volumes that can be collected. Immersion first took place at the literature review stage, and once the interviews were transcribed it was possible to sit back and look at the entire data set as a whole. From here particular themes and different perspectives became apparent which then allowed thematic analysis to occur. In carrying out thematic analysis interview responses were split up and placed under theme headings so comparison of different perspectives could occur. While there was some desire to continue to collect more data it was not possible to continue due to time constraints. The lack of engagement from some organisations that had been invited to take part also hindered my research. I therefore turned my attention to presenting the data that I had collected. In presenting the data it became clear that there was a difference in national level and local level responses that participants had discussed so this provided a broader theme that responses could then be structured under.

In order to present a range of potential options for managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth the data from interviews was then triangulated with the options being utilised internationally and the relevant planning approaches, as described in the literature review in Chapter 2. Triangulating data sources is described by Aurini, Heath and Howells (2016) as a way of adding credibility to research findings by providing different kinds of evidence and understanding to the area under consideration.

3.6 Ethics

Due to my intention to interview members of the public through residents' groups ethics approval was sought from Lincoln University's Human Ethics Committee. The approval letter from the Committee is in Appendix A. Informed consent was also sought from participants. Aurini et al. (2016) point out that the by obtaining informed consent it reassures participants that their participation is voluntary, and that they will be treated with respect through being anonymised if they wish and provides the opportunity to review any quotations that are attributed to them. For the purposes of this research all participants were anonymised to treat everyone uniformly.

In approaching potential participants an email was sent to organisations, through generic contact email addresses or online contact forms, introducing the topic and providing a Research Information Sheet which also explained how interview data from participants would be treated. Before the interview began participants were required to sign and return a consent form which covered how any issues would be dealt with. A copy of the consent form is provided in Appendix B. The consent form was sent out to participants once interest in taking part in my research was shown.

3.7 Limitations

The picture presented by this research is not as complete as it could be due to some potential participants not responding to invitations to take part. Attempts were made to contact participants by phone call if they did not reply to the initial email invitation, however in some instances this was still ignored. Therefore, this research does not include the perspectives of tangata whenua, developers, or a representative from Healthy Christchurch and Federated Farmers. Following initial unsuccessful attempts to contact participants other people were approached through my own network, unfortunately this was still unsuccessful. Not every territorial authority responded to the invitation either, however the opinion of planners is well-represented in this research by participants from different specialty areas across rural and urban councils, as well as the perspective provided by the regional council and it should be noted that the majority of participants are from the planning profession. Having a relatively short window of opportunity to complete this research also led to having to call an end to seeking participants so that I was able to complete my analysis.

Chapter 4

New Zealand context

This chapter describes the settlement of New Zealand and the various approaches that have been taken to develop and plan for urban and rural areas since that time. A brief description of the planning legislation that has been enacted is also provided, with an emphasis placed on the difference between the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 and the Resource Management Act 1991. Finally, the Canterbury context is described, as well as a description of the current climate that this research is situated in.

4.1 The history of New Zealand settlement and development

In the hopeful early stages of European settlement in New Zealand the approach of Wakefield, as part of the New Zealand Company that founded Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin, was to have systematic planned settlement (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015a). This was carried out by the Company's planners and surveyors. Elsewhere in places like Auckland plans were drawn up by central government officers. While plans existed, these were generally overridden by commercial concerns and the realities of settling a new colony took precedence (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015a). While prime urban land in Wellington and Auckland that was set aside for public use was subsequently developed, Christchurch did maintain the promise of a large park, central square and market place (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015a).

Provincial governments were the initial providers of regulations around building and planning, before this was taken over by central government. The Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1842 and Waste Land Regulations adopted between 1855-1857 are two examples of early local authorities being given power to provide for infrastructure and urban issues affecting the public. Specific town planning legislation came into effect in 1876 with the Plans for Towns Regulation Act 1875 and was concerned with town layout, reserves, rubbish disposal areas and gravel pits.

Despite the best intentions of the settlers and city developers in New Zealand the urban space was not achieving the promise of the new colony. Slum areas existed in cities and the haphazard nature with which some urban areas had been created had caused some social problems as a result, such as

health crises spread through the lack of appropriate infrastructure. In order to combat this the focus came to be on beautification through international initiatives such as the “Garden City” movement (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015a). Powers to regulate and limit the use of land came in the enactment of the Town-Planning Act 1926. This Act placed control over planning with central government. Territorial authorities were able to prepare the plan, however approval for these plans and consideration of requests for changes was a role left to central government. A Town Planning Board controlled by the Minister of Works was a key feature of this Act. The Town-Planning Act 1926 saw zoning be introduced to New Zealand. While the Act had the features of modern planning it struggled with implementation with little interest in planning from local government and a lack of enforcement from central government being an issue. As a consequence, urban development in New Zealand continued to be piece-meal and poorly co-ordinated.

The post-war period is the first instance of concern being raised regarding the suburban ‘sprawl’ and the loss of productive agricultural land. This concern, along with the ‘slum’ areas in cities that was still a dominating conversation lay the foundation for the creation of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. In order to encourage enthusiasm for planning local authorities were given the powers previously held by central government.

4.2 Legislation

4.2.1 Town and Country Planning Act 1977

The Town and Country Planning Act 1977 (TCPA) was the precursor to the RMA and replaced the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. The TCPA had a strong focus on keeping urban and rural areas as distinct areas that were managed by different zoning regulations and controls exerted by territorial and regional authorities. Section 3 of the TCPA outlines matters of national importance. Listed among a number of matters which were to be recognised and provided for is:

(d) the avoidance of encroachment of urban development on, and the protection of, land having a high actual or potential value for the production of food;

(e) the prevention of sporadic subdivision and urban development in rural areas;

(f) the avoidance of unnecessary expansion of urban areas into rural areas in or adjoining cities.

The TCPA focussed on activities-based planning and rather than outlining a hierarchy of planning documents from the national to the local level it instead provided a basis for regional planning,

district schemes and maritime planning. A regional planning scheme was to have regard to national, regional and local interests and the resources available when creating objectives and policies for the future development of the region (Town and Country Planning Act 1977, s 11). National direction was provided through incorporating two statutes: the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act 1941 and the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967 into section 4 of the TCPA, titled the 'Purpose of regional, district and maritime planning'.

One critique of the TCPA that led the discussion around resource management law reform was the un-coordinated and wide-ranging suite of environmental legislation that existed. This led to a number of different authorities and procedures that made the environmental law process difficult to navigate (Robertson, 1993). This meant there were delays and higher costs involved with the process.

4.2.2 Resource Management Act 1991

The Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), and subsequent amendments, is the foundation of land-use planning in New Zealand. The RMA outlines a hierarchy of planning tools. The functions of most of these tools will be outlined in Chapter 5 but broadly the RMA provides the basis for national environmental standards, national policy statements, coastal policy statements, national planning standards, Mana Whakahono a Rohe (iwi participation agreements), regional policy statements, regional plans and district plans. All of these documents must be created with Part 2 of the RMA – the purpose and principles – in mind. There are four sections to Part 2. Section 5 outlines the purpose of the RMA – the promotion of sustainable management of natural and physical resources. Section 5(2) defines sustainable management as:

Managing the use, development and protection of natural and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural well-being and for their health and safety while-

- (a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and*
- (b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and*
- (c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.*

Matters of national importance that shall be recognised and provided for by those exercising functions and powers under the RMA are outlined in section 6. Section 7 outlines other matters that decision makers shall have particular regard to when carrying out their functions. Section 7 includes two relevant areas to this research: (b) the efficient use and development of natural and physical resources and (g) any finite characteristics of natural and physical resources. Part 2 of the RMA is completed by section 8 which stipulates that the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi must be taken into account in achieving the purpose of the Act.

The protection of high-quality soils from inappropriate development in the TCPA did not translate to the RMA, although the focus of the RMA is on enhancing the natural and physical environment. Matters of national importance in the RMA include: the preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment, wetlands, lakes and rivers; the protection of outstanding natural features and landscapes; the protection of areas of significant indigenous vegetation and significant habitats of indigenous fauna; the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taonga; and the protection of historic heritage from inappropriate subdivision, use and development (Resource Management Act 1991, s 6). Protection for productive land is absent.

The enactment of the RMA saw a sharp change to how New Zealand regulated land use. The original purpose was to promote “sustainable management of all national and human resources” (Palmer, 2015, p. 2). The RMA was a result of the neo-liberal approach being taken by the Government in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Sir Geoffrey Palmer QC, former New Zealand Prime Minister and instigator of the law reform process that led to the RMA being created, states that the Brundtland Report was the international inspiration for the reform (Palmer, 2015). However, the key driver of the Brundtland report was sustainable development. Robertson (1993) describes sustainable management as being a narrowing of the wider concept of sustainable development. Practically, as Memon and Gleeson describe, the market came to be the regulator of the environment as “the clear specification of property rights, seen as tantamount to ownership rights, was deemed an efficient way to improve environmental outcomes” (1995, p. 115).

The RMA approach to planning is ‘effects based’ which is a departure from the ‘activities based’ focus of the TCPA. This change in approach did raise concerns as to whether the RMA provided the correct

tools to manage the diverse planning needs in the urban area (Memon & Gleeson, 1995). Of particular concern to some was the lack of reference to terms such as 'city', 'town' or 'urban centre' in the RMA (Grundy & Gleeson, 1996). In response to this the Local Government Act 1974 was amended in 1996 to provide local government with a better ability to financially plan for the long term (Dixon & Dupuis, 2003). However, the Local Government Act is more concerned with infrastructure and service provision than land use and urban areas have continued to expand rapidly in some places. The change of direction brought about by the RMA is considered to be one of the reasons why urban environments developed in the manner they have, as the market drove the development of land in the peri-urban space, and territorial and regional authorities did not have the legislative ability to control it. Furthermore Palmer (2015) highlights that giving local government control over development, coupled with the lack of guidance provided by central government in their areas of responsibility has led to a period of time where skill and capacity had to be built up to deal with the issues.

4.2.3 Local Government Act 2002

The Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) replaced the 1974 Act with the hope of improving the strength of "grassroots democracy" (Department of Internal Affairs, 2002). The LGA was amended in 2013 and the purpose of the LGA is described in section 3 of the Act to:

- (a) state the purpose of local government; and*
- (b) provides a framework and powers for local authorities to decide which activities they undertake and the manner in which they will undertake them; and*
- (c) promotes the accountability of local authorities to their communities; and*
- (d) provides for local authorities to play a broad role in meeting the current and future needs of their communities for good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions.*

The LGA describes the purpose, structure, status and powers and core services to be provided by local authorities but also requires local authorities to have a long-term plan, annual plan and financial management strategy prepared in order to provide for the infrastructure required by the community. When carrying out functions as a decision maker local authorities are also required, as a mandatory consideration, to consider the views of those persons either likely to be affected by, or that have an interest in a matter. This does not necessarily require a consultation process or

procedure but local authorities must be able to show they have incorporated this into their decision making process (Local Government Act 2002, s 78). A long-term plan must cover a period of at least 10 consecutive financial years and describe the activities of the local authority, provide a long term focus for decision making and provide a basis of accountability to the local community (Local Government Act 2002, s 93). An annual plan must be prepared by a local authority for each financial year (Local Government Act 2002, s 95). The annual plan helps contribute to the accountability of the local authority to the community and contains the proposed annual budget and funding impact statement.

4.3 Horticulture

4.3.1 New Zealand industry

New Zealand's geographic isolation makes a strong domestic supply to the local market preferable. Horticulture New Zealand estimates that 99% of New Zealand's broccoli, cauliflower, lettuce and kumara is consumed or processed in New Zealand; with cabbage (97%), tomatoes (96%) and carrots (91%) being other notable statistics (Horticulture New Zealand, 2017, p. 9). Due to the wide ranging local market New Zealand imported 107,000 tonnes of vegetables with a cif (cost, insurance and freight) value of \$243 million in 2017 (Plant and Food Research, 2017, p. 16). Conversely, vegetable exports in 2017 were worth \$617 million to New Zealand. New Zealand's fresh fruit export industry was worth \$2.66 billion in 2017.

Canterbury lends itself well to growing vegetables and crops due to the flat plains and relatively easy access to groundwater. According to a 2017 report by Horticulture New Zealand, the Canterbury region was responsible for producing 47% of New Zealand's carrots and parsnips in 2014, as well as 46% of the potatoes produced in the country (Horticulture New Zealand, 2017, p. 11).

4.3.2 Concerns over changing horticultural land use

There has been concern from the primary industry, led by Horticulture New Zealand, that there has been a lack of protection afforded to New Zealand's productive land. Productive land is classed as LUC I and LUC II land in the Land Use Capability Survey, updated by AgResearch and Landcare Research in 2009, and can also be referred to as versatile soil or versatile land. While it has been updated, the information that is used to classify land is still based on information in the 1960s and it

is accepted that this system does need further improvement. It is important land for the arable sector in particular because it is land that does not require excessive additional inputs in order to yield vast quantities of produce. Good soil structure is one aspect of productive land, with factors such as favourable climatic conditions and topography of relatively flat or gently rolling land also being important (Curran-Cournane, Golubiewski, & Buckthought, 2018).

The *Our Land 2018* report released by the Ministry for the Environment and Statistics New Zealand also discussed the vulnerability of the productive land New Zealand has. Between 1990 and 2008, 29% of new urban areas were on LUC I and LUC II land. Canterbury (4,800 hectares) and Auckland (2,600 hectares) had the greatest areas of conversion (Ministry for the Environment & Statistics New Zealand, 2018, pp. 58-59). A map showing the versatile soils in Canterbury is below in Figure 1. The release of the *Our Land 2018* report also drew comment from national law firms such as Simpson Grierson who gave a summary of the findings and indicated the creation of a NPS would be the likely next step (Conway, Scott, & Winchester, 2018).

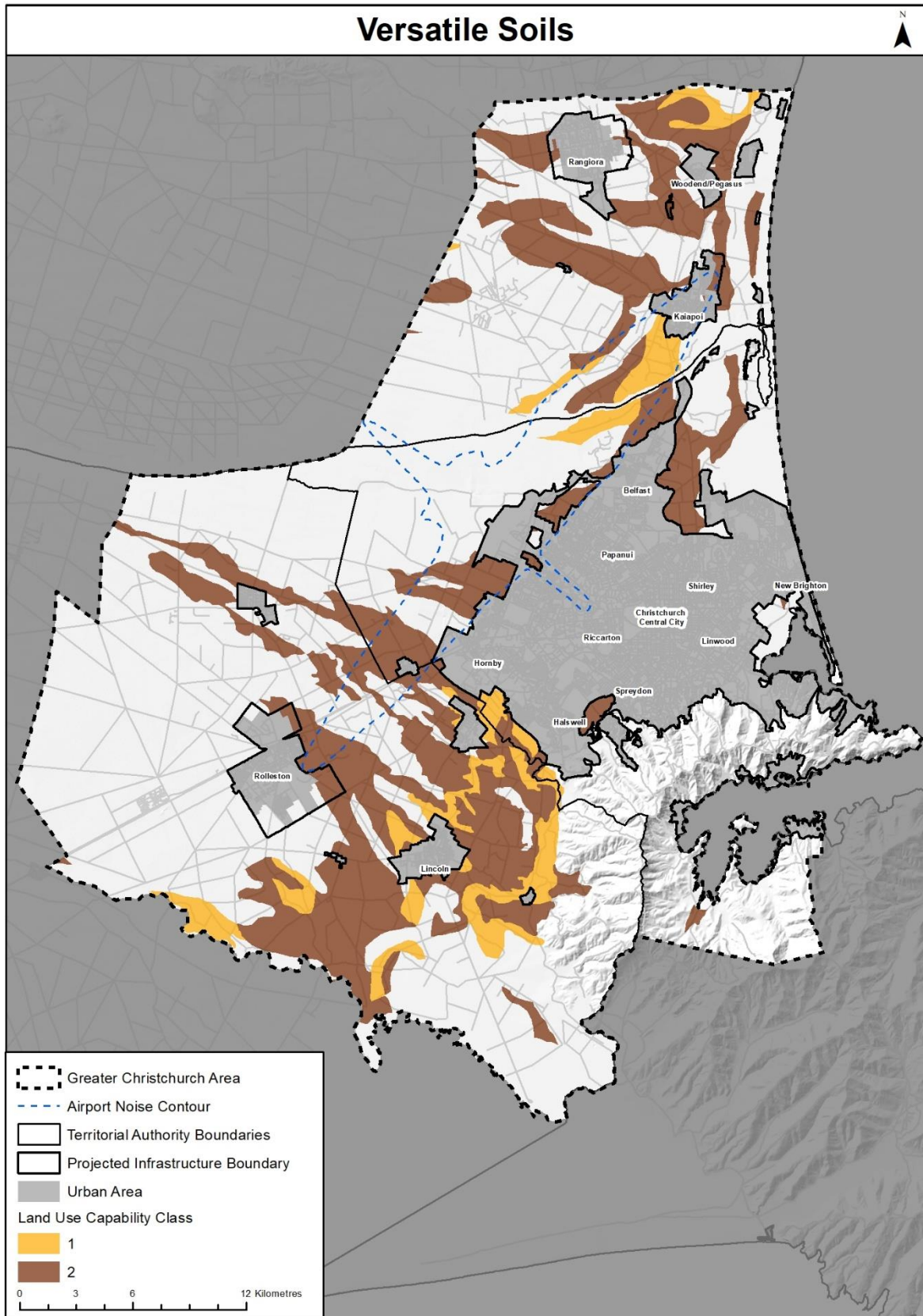


Figure 1 Versatile Soils in the GCA (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a)

4.3.3 Pressures on productive land

For the horticultural sector the primary concern is that the conversion of farmland to urban housing disproportionately affects the high class and productive soils (Curran-Cournane et al., 2014). In Auckland for example, Pukekohe has been an area proposed for future urban growth as the city grapples with trying to find room for an additional 400,000 dwellings by 2040 (Curran-Cournane et al., 2014). Pukekohe is one of the most prolific fruit and vegetable areas in the country.

Productive land is facing a number of competing demands. The high dairy price led to a large number of farm conversions to dairying in Canterbury as farmers chased 'white gold' while the market allowed them to. While not all of these conversions were from vegetable and fruit producing farms there are more widespread effects that have arisen since the conversions began. Water management is now a central issue in Canterbury. Of particular interest is how water is managed, used and disposed of by the agricultural industry. One of the Labour election policies at the last election was a proposed 'Water tax'; despite being subsequently scrapped as part of a coalition agreement with New Zealand First the tax was an area of concern for the horticultural industry as it would have put difficult financial strain on their business model (Burrows, 2017). While the tax has not eventuated the public discussion around water is still contentious. Commercial water users have been asked to operate without causing detrimental harm to the environment. In response to this the 'Good Farming Practice: Action Plan for Water Quality' was released in 2018 following a joint development process between primary sector groups, regional councils and the Ministry for the Environment and Ministry for Primary Industry (Federated Farmers, 2018). One of the most relevant aspects of this for a horticultural grower is the importance placed on the management of irrigation inputs to limit leaching and runoff. Another element of the programme is the need to have a Farm Environment Plan which is audited to ensure that compliance is reached. The creation and implementation of a plan can be an expensive additional cost depending on the size of the operation and as a result if the Plan requires a radical change it can have a marked effect on the financial viability of farming practices.

Climate change is another issue that feeds into the viability of farming as the effects of more frequent and harsher droughts place pressure on farmers, an issue which is exacerbated by debates around water. The Emissions Trading Scheme is the current approach New Zealand has taken to meet its international obligations to limit the effects of climate change. Currently the agricultural sector is not part of the Emissions Trading Scheme, however a Zero Carbon Bill which aims to get to

net zero emissions by 2050 has been introduced. In reaching 'net zero' there are three options that are being proposed: net zero carbon dioxide; net zero long-lived gases and stabilised short-lived gases; and net zero emissions (Ministry for the Environment, 2018b). The horticultural sector is wary of the 'net zero' options proposed effecting jobs, income and GDP, especially because a large number of the industry are small to medium sized businesses and increased costs can impact their ability to remain profitable (Horticulture New Zealand, 2018).

The burdens farmers face as a result of climate change and water allocation are two examples of pressures affecting financial viability which can contribute to the desire of farmers to sell their land and move out of farming. Putting further incentive on this is that in some areas land has a higher value if it is used in development, rather than used as a productive farm which makes the idea of subdivision attractive to some (Grundy & Gleeson, 1996).

4.4 Peri-urban space

The peri-urban space is a contested space between the urban and rural areas. This land is not being developed into high or medium density housing that will help alleviate the housing crisis.

Development in the peri-urban space in Canterbury typically attracts those who value amenity and access to the outdoors, the ability to escape a less-desirable area, those looking to turn over a house quickly for a financial windfall and others seeking a sense of community (Vallance, 2014). The peri-urban space is facing limits on the landscape available that makes it part of the urban edge due to the rising real estate prices and demand for housing in the space (Cadieux, 2008). This is converting this space to urban, rather than peri-urban as development continues. One reason for the proliferation of the urban zone has been a shift in land-use planning approaches following the enactment of the RMA (Cadieux, 2008).

The peri-urban space is not without conflict. Reverse sensitivity has been one issue that has become problematic in some areas (Curran-Cournane et al., 2014). For some farmers the solution has been to sell their land and move away, rather than adapt to the changing landscape around them. Noise, heavy transport, smell and abnormal hours of operation are part of the agricultural landscape and there is no easy path to mitigating these issues. While an NPS is unlikely to resolve this potential conflict, being aware of the issue is still important as territorial authorities need to find a way for people to live near rural activities.

4.5 Housing crisis

The housing crisis in New Zealand has developed relatively quickly. Home ownership rates are at a 60-year low, and it has become an issue that the current Labour government has decided to act on (Johnson, Howden-Chapman, & Eaqub, 2018). The previous National government had also recognised there was an issue that they tried to manage by providing an Emergency Housing Special Needs Grant and increased the amount of emergency housing available. The housing shortage in Auckland in 2018 was 45,000 units, and this had increased by 8,000 units in the space of a year (Johnson et al., 2018).

The concern with the housing crisis is the detrimental effects that poor quality housing is having on the outcomes for New Zealand children across various measures of success: health, infant mortality, education, social and emotional growth are just a selection of these (Peters, 2013). It is more beneficial for the government to have people experiencing housing independence rather than relying on a government handout (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, 2017). There are a number of reasons that there is not enough good quality housing stock available for New Zealand. A key aspect of this is the land market. According to the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2017) this has been perpetuated by restrictive planning rules and the incentive for landowners to land-bank as a consequence of high land prices. Furthermore, with new housing there must be infrastructure that is provided along with it and because this requires a significant investment from the territorial authority before any housing is actually built, this makes it difficult for territorial authorities to pre-emptively construct infrastructure services.

The current Labour government is proposing act on the housing crisis in a number of different ways. Current attempts to alleviate the housing crisis include: Kiwibuild – a scheme that has become part of Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities and is attempting to make home ownership for first time home buyers a more achievable goal (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2019a); and the development of an Urban Growth Agenda which aims to deal with the issues raised in the previous paragraph (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2019b).

4.6 Summary

There is a long history of urban planning in New Zealand and the RMA has changed the way in which planning is carried out since its inception in 1991. There is a relationship between the RMA and LGA that prescribes to those public authorities that fall underneath them the manner in which they need to plan and provide for their communities. There are a number of issues that New Zealand is faced with and pressures on productive land and the housing crisis are just two of them. The management of these two issues falls under the purview of planning and the RMA, but local government plans and policies do not have total responsibility for resolving these issues, as can be seen by the other government initiatives that are being developed to help to alleviate the housing crisis. Nevertheless, planning does have an important role to play in directing where development should go so this research aims to understand what can be done in this area to alleviate the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

Chapter 5

Overview of policy framework and planning documents

The RMA outlines a hierarchy of policies and plans that must be filtered down to be implemented at the local level. There are many different aspects to this hierarchy but only those that are relevant to this research are included in this chapter in the interests of brevity.

5.1 National level documents

5.1.1 National Policy Statements

A national policy statement (NPS) sets objectives and identifies policies to provide direction from a national perspective to achieve the purpose of the RMA (Resource Management Act 1991, s 45). Local authorities and other decision makers working under the RMA must incorporate this guidance into their policies and plans as the issues are considered to be of national significance (Ministry for the Environment, 2018a). There is scope within the NPS for specific areas, or territorial and regional authorities to be targeted as part of the NPS (Resource Management Act 1991, s 45A).

NPS's sit near the top of the hierarchy of planning documents in the RMA. NPS's in operation cover the following areas: Urban Development Capacity, Freshwater Management, Renewable Electricity Generation, Electricity Transmission and a New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement.

National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity (NPS-UDC)

In 2015 the Productivity Commission carried out an inquiry called 'Using land for housing'. This report recommended a national policy statement to instruct territorial authorities to accommodate urban growth demand to overcome constraints on development capacity (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015b). In response to this report, the NPS-UDC was released in 2016. The NPS-UDC requires local authorities to build into their resource management plans sufficient development capacity, with supporting infrastructure, in order to meet housing demand, and as an extension of that, business needs. The NPS-UDC is a future focussed policy statement with an emphasis on planning to ensure wellbeing of communities in the short and long-term (Ministry for the Environment, 2016). There is a focus on ensuring that the market is not exacerbating housing inequality, and that there is enough land supply to meet demand. There are a range of requirements

territorial authorities must meet with different tiers of policies for high and medium growth areas. For high growth areas a future development strategy that shows feasible and sustainable development capacity in the medium and long term, and the setting of minimum targets to achieve this, are mandatory requirements. This is something that other territorial authorities may do, but is not mandatory.

Proposed National Policy Statement on Urban Development (NPS-UD)

The NPS-UD is a proposed replacement to the NPS-UDC that is currently being developed. Public consultation on the NPS closed on 10 October 2019 with submissions now being summarised. The NPS-UD is expected to take effect in the first half of 2020. MfE and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development are responsible for the development of the NPS-UD. The NPS-UD does retain some parts of the NPS-UDC, however it is aiming to have a broader focus than just providing greater development capacity (Ministry for the Environment, 2019). A feature of the NPS-UD is a new requirement for major urban centres to have a future development strategy. This is described as forming the basis for “integrated, strategic and long-term planning.” (Ministry for the Environment, 2019, p. 21). A goal of the future development strategy is to promote spatial planning and to create a spatial planning framework as it is noted that there is a gap in the RMA in providing for this planning approach. The NPS-UD as currently proposed will also require: better engagement with iwi and hapū; territorial and regional authorities to make informed planning decisions based on evidence; a focus to be placed on creating a quality urban environment; circumvention of current planning restrictions with respect to carpark requirements for new developments; consideration of greenfield development in places where it is not currently identified; better intensification around transport networks and amenities; and for territorial and regional authorities to point to where they expect development to occur so the community can understand how their community will develop.

Proposed National Policy Statement for Highly Productive Land (NPS-HPL)

The proposed NPS-HPL is being promoted as a way of maintaining highly productive land for primary production by protecting this land from inappropriate development (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2019). In deciding what is inappropriate the proposed NPS-HPL would put this in the hands of the territorial and regional authorities as local context is important in determining the impact of an activity. A current issue that occurs in areas of intersection between rural and urban activities is the issue of reverse sensitivity. ‘Sensitive activities’ are to be defined in the proposed NPS-HPL to provide a framework for territorial and regional authorities to determine how to manage this issue. Finally, there is provision for help from the national level as the proposed NPS-HPL includes technical

assistance and guidance to be provided by the Government for regions facing the highest pressures on their land. In announcing the consultation period for the NPS-HPL was open Minister for the Environment David Parker presented the problem as “We cannot afford to lose our most highly productive land. It brings significant economic benefits including employment for nearby communities, and adds significant value to New Zealand’s primary sector” (Parker & O'Connor, 2019).

National direction integration

As part of releasing the NPS-HPL and NPS-UD at the same time the Government has said that this is so that the national direction can be developed alongside one another. Both NPS’s refer to each other in their respective discussion documents and also refer to other national directions such as the National Policy Statement and the new National Environmental Standards for Freshwater Management (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2019; Ministry for the Environment, 2019). However, no guidance is provided on how this integration would actually occur.

5.1.2 National Planning Standards

National planning standards are an amendment to the RMA following the Resource Legislation Amendment Act 2017. The purpose of the national planning standards is to assist in achieving the purpose of the RMA and to provide uniformity in either the structure, content or format of regional policy statements and plans if the Minister of the Environment (unless it is a coastal marine matter in which case the Minister for Conservation is the decision maker) considers the matter (Resource Management Act 1991, s 58B(1)(b)):

- (i) requires national consistency;*
- (ii) is required to support the implementation of a national environmental standard, a national policy statement, a New Zealand coastal policy statement, or regulations made under this Act;*
- (iii) is required to assist people to comply with the procedural principles set out in section 18A.*

National planning standards must give effect to national policy statements and be consistent with national environmental standards, regulations made under the RMA and water conservation orders. Objectives, policies and methods in plans and regional policy statements can all be specified by a national planning standard, with rules in plans also included in this. The first set of national planning standards were released on 5 April 2019. These standards require a standardised structure across all regional policy statements, regional plans and district plans among other matters.

5.2 Plans, policies and strategies in the Canterbury region

5.2.1 Greater Christchurch Partnership

The Greater Christchurch Partnership (GCP) consists of: Christchurch City Council; Environment Canterbury; Selwyn District Council; Waimakariri District Council; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu; New Zealand Transport Agency; Canterbury District Health Board; Greater Christchurch Group – the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and Regenerate Christchurch (Greater Christchurch Partnership, n.d.-a). The GCP has been in place since 2003 and runs by a joint committee comprising of representatives from each organisation. There is a relationship of collaboration that also extends to all levels of partner organisations, outside of the commitments of those involved in the joint committee. Outputs from the GCP include a series of documents that are focussed on the long-term direction of Greater Christchurch. Three key documents are: the Greater Christchurch Urban Development Strategy (GCUDS); the Resilient Greater Christchurch Plan and the Greater Christchurch Transport Statement. The GCA incorporates parts of the Christchurch City, Selwyn District and Waimakariri District Councils. The area is outlined below in Figure 2.

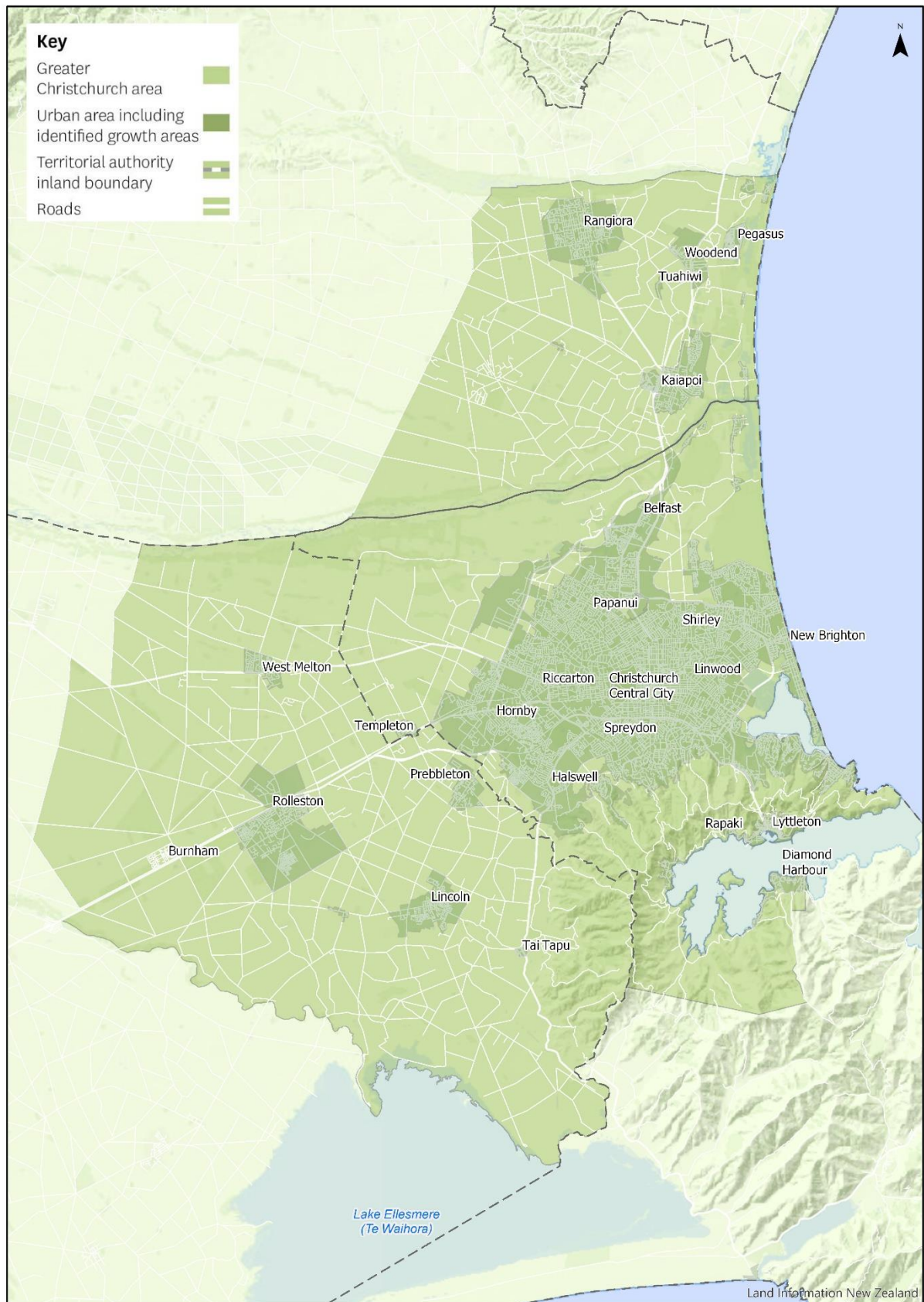


Figure 2 The Greater Christchurch Area (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a)

Greater Christchurch Urban Development Strategy

The GCUDS was created in 2007 and is to provide the vision for Greater Christchurch until 2041. The living environment, transport network, employment options, access to retail, health and community services and location of future housing options are all part of this strategy (Greater Christchurch Partnership, n.d.-b). Following the earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 in Greater Christchurch the GCUDS was updated in 2016 as transport, housing availability and community amenities were all areas that required attention during the recovery period and the direction of development changed as a result of the earthquakes. The Food Resilience Network was a product of the response to the earthquakes as the Strategy partners sought to work with non-profits to create a network which would make Christchurch the best edible garden city in the world. This focusses on food growing within the urban boundary that will feed the city but does not consider the productive land that lies at the city edge. The GCUDS does not speak to how the productive land that surrounds the urban zones will be incorporated into the Food Resilience Network. The only mention of Canterbury's horticultural production was in describing the flow-on effects of wider Canterbury to Greater Christchurch's economy through transport, service, manufacturing and export infrastructure (Canterbury Regional Council, 2016).

Our Space 2018-2048

The Greater Christchurch Partnership Committee agreed on the final version of the *Our Space 2018-2048* document on 14 June 2019, which partner councils adopted at their next meeting. The document was developed in response to the NPS-UDC and aims to plan for the GCA to grow to 640,000 people by 2048, an increase of 150,000 (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a).

Our Space 2018-2048 highlights that there will be a range of different housing types required to meet housing demand in the GCA with smaller housing types becoming focussed on in the City and the larger towns with large sections also part of the housing demand equation throughout all three territorial authorities' areas (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a). In discussing the challenges that face the GCA *Our Space 2018-2048* does highlight that higher density housing is required in order to accommodate growth and achieve a consolidated urban form (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a). The protection of versatile soils is mentioned alongside a number of other constraints on development such as coastal and flood hazard areas and groundwater aquifer protection. The foundation of the settlement pattern principles to promote a sustainable urban form

come from the GCUDS and are applied in *Our Space 2018-2048* to continue the connection between the documents and collaborative partners.

Our Space 2018-2048 does propose that Chapter 6 and Map A of the Canterbury Regional Policy Statement (RPS) (see Figure 3 below) be changed to identify medium term capacity needs. The initial focus of this change would be to focus on Rolleston, Rangiora and Kaiapoi and it is thought that the change will provide the capacity required over the medium and long term (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a). Another direction provided by *Our Space 2018-2048* is the minimum net densities for housing that will be followed by the territorial authorities operating under it.

Our Space 2018-2048 also identifies a number of different aspects to the GCA in various maps. This includes: the Greater Christchurch transport network with existing, planned or proposed routes; proposed locations of future development (indicative only); a Christchurch spatial plan; natural hazards; the Christchurch Groundwater Protection Zone; Versatile soils; and Outstanding natural landscapes (Greater Christchurch Partnership, 2019a).

5.2.2 Environment Canterbury

Canterbury Regional Policy Statement

The Canterbury Regional Policy Statement (RPS) became operative on 15 January 2013. The Land Use Recovery Plan for Greater Christchurch, created in response to the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011, required the addition of Chapter 6 into the RPS – Recovery and Rebuilding of Greater Christchurch. The RPS contains Map A, shown below in Figure 3, which highlights the Greenfield priority areas for development. This is the map that is used by CCC, SDC and WDC in writing their District Plans and directing future development of urban areas.

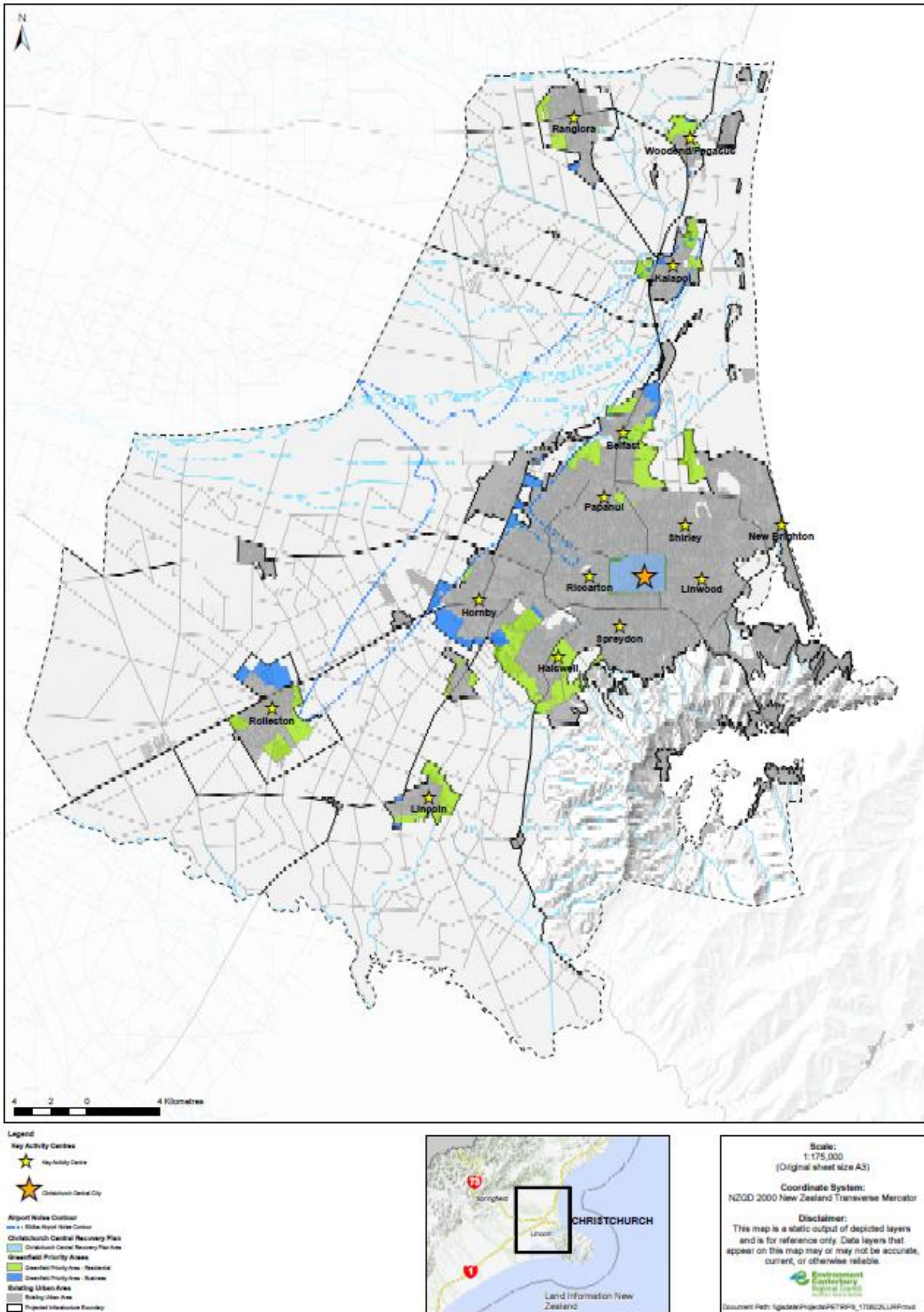


Figure 3 Map A from the RPS (Canterbury Regional Council, 2019)

In discussing the urban footprint, the spread of growth is considered important from the perspective of energy use, as limiting dispersed areas requires less energy use and reduces the travel patterns as people are ideally situated close to their employment, recreation, education and retail needs. Furthermore, a more consolidated urban footprint is preferable from the standpoint of infrastructure provision. An issue that is clearly described at the start of the chapter is that unplanned growth can impact on the rural land resource. In discussing the rural residential impact the importance of limiting the creation of adverse effects which give rise to reverse sensitivity issues is highlighted where unconstrained rural residential development occurs. Further issues with this type of development include dispersed settlement patterns and difficulties with the provision of services and inefficient development. In managing the settlement pattern and urban form the RPS sets some targets for intensification as well as the need to provide a range of mixed use development and a range of housing types. In managing this the role of outline development plans is integral as development must occur in accordance with these plans according to policy 6.3.3. In policy 6.3.7 minimum residential intensities are prescribed in those areas described as greenfield priority areas. For Selwyn and Waimakariri it is 10 household units per hectare with Christchurch City required to achieve 15 household units per hectare. For intensification development within Christchurch City 50 household units per hectare are required in the Central City, with 30 household units per hectare required for intensification elsewhere.

5.2.3 Selwyn District Council

The Selwyn District has various different zones with High Country, Port Hills, 8 different Living zones, 3 different Business zones, and the inner and outer plains. There are four geographic areas in the district: the Canterbury Plains, Port Hills, Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere and the Hill and High Country. Due to the variation within the Canterbury Plains the area is split into the Inner and Outer Plains in the Selwyn District Plan (SDP). The Rural Volume is where the issue of rural subdivision is dealt with. It is noted that there is demand for residential development, particularly within 30km of Christchurch City.

Versatile Soils are discussed in the Natural Resources Chapter in the rural volume of the SDP. Here the issue is described as being that between 5% and 10% of New Zealand's versatile soils are located in the Selwyn District but the population of the Selwyn District is projected to grow at some of the highest rates in New Zealand over the next 10 and 20 years (Selwyn District Council, 2019). The concern is that most of the projected growth in the district is likely to be on these versatile soils. In

order to combat this the Council has decided to consolidate urban expansion as it carries out further investigations as to how the effects on versatile soils can be monitored and mitigated. In Selwyn residential development is defined as “subdividing and erecting houses at a higher density than 1 house per 4 hectares” (Selwyn District Council, 2019, Policy B1.1.8)

5.2.4 Christchurch City Council

The Christchurch District also has a great deal of variation across the different types of zones in the Christchurch District Plan (CDP). The rules for subdivision are set out in Chapter 8. Versatile soils are only mentioned in this chapter as a matter of discretion in the rules for Earthworks – where “versatile soils would be lost to production...” and in discussing additional matters with regard to whether the clustering of development would have an impact on the ability to use versatile soils (Christchurch City Council, n.d.).

An objective listed under Chapter 3 – Strategic Directions reflects the need to plan for the long term and stipulates that 17,400 dwellings between 2018 and 2028 and 38,550 dwellings between 2028 and 2048 need to be enabled, at a minimum, and this needs to come about through a range of different housing types, densities and locations through intensification and brownfield and greenfield development (Christchurch City Council, n.d., Objective 3.3.4). Another objective listed is to ensure that development of a consolidated urban form and high-quality urban environment is a priority and needs to occur within the areas designated by Map A in the RPS (See Figure 3). The rural environment is also included in this chapter through objective 3.3.16 and requires provision for a range of opportunities to be enabled for the rural environment that allow efficient use of the resource and for the area to contribute to the economy.

The requirements around density from the RPS regarding households per hectare are reflected in Policy 14.2.1.1 Housing distribution and density in the CDP. These are also referred to again in Policy 8.2.2.8 Urban Density in Chapter 8 Subdivision, Development and Earthworks. In the rural chapter Policy 17.2.2.7 requires residential units to avoid creating new sites less than 4ha and to avoid changing the land use from rural to urban activities or rural residential development among other requirements relating to amenity values and reverse sensitivity issues.

CCC has a Food Resilience Policy, adopted in November 2014, that has as outcomes: health and well-being; close knit and self-reliant communities; lifelong learning; thriving local food economy; resilient and sustainable food system; stewardship of public places; celebrating our garden city heritage; and growing a beautiful and bio-diverse garden city (Christchurch City Council, 2014). There is also a Canterbury District Health Board led intersectoral collaborative partnership that exists to create a healthy city, based on the World Health Organisation Healthy Cities model. The idea of the group is to give those with a role that would create a healthy city, whether that be through transport, employment, youth or environmental enhancement an opportunity for collaboration. The charter that the group has created has over 200 signatories from groups across the city.

5.2.5 Waimakariri District Council

The Waimakariri District has 6 Business Zones, 9 Residential Zones and 3 Rural Zones. Previous rural-residential zones are now captured as part of Residential zone 4 as the nature of the zone has “increasingly taken on urban characteristics” (Waimakariri District Council, 2019, Chapter 17). The Waimakariri District Plan (WDP) manages subdivision and development issues under Chapter 18. A part of the policy involves protecting the life supporting capacity of soils in considering an application for subdivision (Waimakariri District Council, 2019). This is reinforced further in Policy 4.1.1.6 where versatile soils are to be promoted for their life supporting capacity and their availability for future use. Concern regarding the growth of the District is raised in Chapter 15, and the WDC refers to the need to manage the growth in a sustainable way, particularly as communities want the quality of their township to be maintained. For that reason, a policy framework and regulations were the tools put forward to manage the growth (Waimakariri District Council, 2019).

5.3 Summary

At the national level there are different national directions that are provided through NPS and National Planning Standards. The National Planning standards, proposed NPS-HPL and proposed NPS-UD are yet to be implemented, or are not yet fully integrated into the policies and plans at the local level. The local level policies and plans show that there are efforts being made to manage productive land and urban development, however due to the issues described in Chapter 4 understanding the perspective of planners on the effectiveness of these current approaches is a key objective of this research so that different options could be considered in light of this.

Chapter 6

Findings

The Greater Christchurch Area was the focus for the case study due to its status as an area of high growth while also being a food bowl for New Zealand's fruit and vegetables. Six planners from across two territorial authorities and the regional authority, an elected representative, a community representative and a representative from the horticultural industry were interviewed about their understanding of the current situation, what planning approaches might be useful in managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth and whether this issue is best dealt with at a national or local level. This information was also supplemented by analysis of submissions to *Our Space 2018-2048*. The results of my analysis are presented below.

6.1 Policy

6.1.1 National direction

From a professional planning viewpoint there was widespread agreement from both the regional and territorial authorities that national guidance is sorely needed to help manage the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. Planner C had the following comment to make on how it would be helpful to their councils aims, as what they hope to achieve for their area is also reliant on the actions of councils across their boundary:

Yeah that's why I'm really supportive of the NPS-HPL. One of the issues that we are struggling with in the city, obviously we just control what is in our boundaries but most of the productive land is within wider Canterbury – Selwyn, Waimakariri and wider - and obviously that's where we get a lot of our food and we would like to have more food resilience but CCC doesn't have control of that area so it's about the relationship between the people who eat the food and the people who create the food so it probably needs to be a national level to ensure that both needs are catered for otherwise if it was just left to local councils those cross boundary effects of food resilience for a city won't always be front and centre.

Planner D was also supportive of an NPS-HPL and thought it would be good to have something that is weighty and clear so that they would know how to implement it. It was difficult for participants to comment on the proposed NPS-HPL as it was still being drafted at the time of the interviews. Planner D provided further reasoning as to why it would be helpful for planners for more weight to be given to productive land:

Even as planners we know it shouldn't be developed on. We know. We're idealists and it's what's trained into us that certain areas shouldn't be developed on and as much as we don't want to allow development in that sort of fashion but we can't do anything about it.

6.1.2 Integrated and coherent national directions

While there was agreement that some national direction is needed in managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth, participants indicated that having coherency across different policies is key. In discussing the potential difficulties of having two NPS's that on the face of it conflict with each other Planner E provided the following snapshot as to what had occurred so far and the feedback that territorial and regional authorities had given as part of the workshop process:

MfE assure us they are looking at the two together, so we've certainly flagged it, I went to some of the workshops for the NPS national direction on highly productive soils because they landed on an NPS but they are still going to consult on a range of options, one of which is an NPS, you know that point was very clearly put by the districts in particular that you can't on the one hand say free up more land for housing but don't ever put it over here so it'll be interesting to see what cross referencing they do or how they address it at a national level.

Even if coherent and integrated NPS's were achieved at the national level concerns were expressed about the workability of national direction at the local level. Planner E pointed to the disconnect between central and local government, particularly because of the RMA framework that stipulates how national direction is to be incorporated into different levels of documents. The framework is outlined in Appendix B.

I think national direction will definitely help. It won't, it's never miraculous, having worked in central government often they have quite a naive idea how much of an effect national policies are going to have by the time its filtered down through all the layers to on the ground through the local government but I do think having a clear statement in a national tool that's saying this is an important issue will definitely help give it more weight.

This shows the difficulties between local and central government and that the lack of understanding around scale and the different layers of planning at the top level can constrain the success of policy on the ground.

The integration that occurs at the national level is something that is closely followed by those that need to give effect to it as the territorial and regional authorities must implement the national direction at the local level. Planner F first acknowledged the NPS-HPL before describing the proposed changes to the NPS-UDC and provided their analysis of what it might mean when the proposed NPS-UD and NPS-HPL are in operation together:

...But at the same time they'll be consulting on a NPS on Urban Development, slightly different from an NPS on UDC so you're dead right you look at it on face value and there's a contradiction of protect your soils but provide the land so I'll be interested with what they come out with, with their slightly amended NPS on UD. I think it will be stronger around how we can enable good intensification so less need to be going outwards instead of upwards but unless you see them next to each other it's kind of hard to know how they will marry up with each other.

This is another example that also refers to the importance of the detail in national level policy. This shows that while national direction is important, it is critical that it provides the right level of direction so that regional and territorial authorities are able to successfully implement them. Furthermore, those details become even more important when trying to find workable solutions to two conflicting problems that can only be managed by looking at all the appropriate issues together.

While there are distinct advantages to having a national direction in terms of what it will allow territorial and regional authorities to place emphasis on in their plans and policies, there can be issues with implementing national direction, particularly if there is an already existing framework in place. Planner B also pointed out that national policy can cause more problems than it solves, especially in the case of the GCA where there are already potential solutions being found through the creation of documents like *Our Space 2018-2048*:

The NPS (NPS-UDC) has got its issues with being a national down direction and it's (NPS-UDC) potentially causing a lot more issues than what it's solving because it's applying over the top of an already existing framework. It's also costly to us to work through, with additional monitoring, upskilling, interpretation and things like that.

In Chapter 5 the various NPS that exist were outlined. This is only one part of the national tier of matters that territorial and regional authorities must give effect to. The structure of the RMA framework is provided in Appendix D. Another aspect that will impact on the current approach to land-use planning through zoning is National Planning Standards. National Planning Standards have recently been introduced and provide a standardised approach to planning. This will influence how

territorial authorities zone their districts, and it is not clear what effect this will have at this point in time. It is another example of national level policy driving what happens at the local level; however the issue is that there is currently a lot of uncertainty as to what this will look like. Planner A had the following comment to make on how they will impact zoning moving forward:

I was thinking in terms of future land use and demand we have 50 different residential zones across the district. So we have categories and then township specific subcategories. So, the National Planning Standards and the district plan review are going to streamline it back to four district wide categories from what I understand... So, I don't really know what the zones specifically look like, I think it's still large residential development. I don't know what the lot sizes are for the little ones, whether it's a comprehensive residential zone. So, it will be interesting to see how that plays out. Existing developments - how will it affect existing and new developments.

6.1.3 Matters that fall outside the purview of policy

National direction will often give rise to other issues that commonly need to be managed by territorial and regional authorities. Planner B discussed the issues that can arise from national direction being set by policy. While national direction will give territorial and regional authorities the ability to protect soils there will be a flow on effect to the economic value of land that is near the urban fringe in particular. In a market driven regulatory system people will typically do what will give them the best return from their land, and it shows the widespread nature of issues that policy setting needs to take into account. Furthermore, the reasoning behind why particular areas are protected would also require careful consideration, as while it is easy to focus on the importance of protecting productive land and managing how urban centres grow and develop the consequences of this also need to be considered. Planner B had the following point to make about the matter:

You would want some direction on it, that soil is worth more than just its economic value, it has value that might not be able to be captured in a model, but it needs to be considered. You would probably need some kind of national guidance saying here's our evidence why we want to protect it. If they said this is worth more than its value and we are going to protect it and you can't build on it, that would be one way around it but I think it would go too far the other way and lead to disjointed towns. Maybe there's some middle ground that no one would be happy with so that would be a good outcome.

One of the key concerns with policy setting is how the issue of cumulative effects is dealt with. Cumulative effects that arise in allowing for urban growth, as well as protecting productive land, are both issues that need to be built into the policy documents according to some participants as it is not something that is currently managed well in district and regional plans. Planner B's analysis was that

if it could be accounted for and monitored it would make a difference and that this requirement would need to come in at the policy level:

Cumulative effect should probably be captured at the policy level. Understanding it as a whole and then weighing it against those other things, and that's probably why you want a national direction – do you have to provide for it, protect it, have regard to it or what do we do with it. At that regional level when you're looking at that township expansion its taking into account all the matters of importance. The effect can be so small it doesn't get captured (thus leading to issues of cumulative effects in the long term).

While planners are concerned about the implementation of national directions and whether they will provide practical solutions to the issues they are dealing with, the wider context of the community also adds another layer of complexity. For New Zealanders lifestyle and amenity play a key role in where people want to live. From the perspective of Elected Representative A they were not sure whether the policy proposed by central government would actually be useful, based on the demand for certain types of housing they were seeing in their district:

People, New Zealanders have a love of cars and a love of the quarter acre. We see people coming to Rolleston where they can buy a home on poor ground, for \$500,000, walk in, double glazed, log burner, fenced, landscaped, ready to go. They are coming there with their families and they don't see themselves wanting to bring up their kids in the cities where the housing stock is older. I had this conversation with Twyford (Phil Twyford – then Minister for Housing) late last year that they seem to have this dream that young people are going to live in apartments with kids in the city, with a New York lifestyle. They are not. They don't want to. I've had the same argument with Liane (Dalziel – Christchurch Mayor), the Young Professionals will come and live in apartments and work as a first step up the ladder but when it comes to having a family, they are going to want to move out to where there is space. You are always going to have that tension.

6.1.4 Local direction

The RPS provides policy at the local level. Participants mentioned that the RPS is in need of an update and that it does not provide the direction that would help facilitate some of the issues that the GCA is facing. Planner D provided the following evaluation of the RPS:

I think the RPS as it stands it does undermine the ability for us to protect our productive land because the definition for rural activities is anything over 4ha, if its under 4ha its allotments or density, it becomes an urban activity so that's the threshold between urban and rural.

6.1.5 The relationship between policy and planning

Policy drives what planners can place a higher emphasis on in local level policies and plans. At a local planning level, in Canterbury at least, the different councils are aware that there are issues in what they can achieve because of the lack of national direction currently provided. Planner D provided the following description of how the lack of national direction limits what they can do from a planning perspective:

*Regarding the productive soils side of things, without a higher-level planning document, an NPS or something along those lines, when we look at development, application for development, plan change, private plan change, the loss of soils is just a consideration, its not **the** consideration. The RMA is a balancing act and so you weigh the positives and negatives and if it is less than minor then it goes through because versatile soils haven't been given that escalation – we can't hang our hat on that and say no. Ideally we would have an NPS which says these need to be protected, you can't build on this sort of stuff, then that really helps us out because it gives us a tool to decline those private plan changes or resource consents.*

6.2 Planning

6.2.1 Zoning

At the local level the focus is typically on implementation which is seen through the use of zoning. The overwhelming response from planners operating in the GCA was that currently zoning is the way in which they manage where development occurs; and that they are currently constrained by an RPS that needs updating as well as a lack of national direction. However, the GCP does play a role in this area as it creates strategic documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048*. In discussing the tools we currently have Planner C provided the following description:

We don't currently have national tools. We manage it through the RMA and zone certain areas for urban development growth and certain areas for rural productive land. Rural and residential zones are shown on the plan and the rules on the rural zone discourage residential while the rules in the residential obviously encourage it. But there hasn't been much national guidance on this issue.

The effectiveness of zoning appears to depend on the area and what pressures it may be facing. In areas of relatively little development zoning rules can be all that is required to manage that area. In describing the success of zoning Planner A shared the following understanding:

The outer plains is pretty much one home per 20 ha and that's the minimum lot size. I think as far as land goes in that regard, we are probably doing a pretty good job and that's just a reflection of it being a bit further away from the city.

While zones are typically set by the council, these areas are still open to challenge by those who might want to develop or do other activities that are not permitted by the district plan. While councils do have the ability to manage these applications through conditions and other matters, a big part of the decision-making process is the context. Planner A had the following comment to make:

I guess zones are probably the biggest tool, especially for the rural area. Just being able to set a benchmark for residential density and this is what is anticipated by the plan just because quite frequently you get people saying these are my circumstances, can I subdivide for half of what's required, and I guess its very contextual.

There are also differences across councils between how development is managed, but this is also driven in some ways by the different types of land that are available. Community Representative A considered the development seen in Selwyn and Waimakariri to be of a very different nature to the development seen in Christchurch and that was due to the available land resources and the lifestyle that people wanted to create for themselves. One area that is well utilised by these people is the peri-urban zone. However, as it is an area that typically attracts people shifting out from the cities this means there can be issues that arise - specifically of the expectations of lifestyle versus reality for these people. As a long-time resident in the peri-urban zone Community Representative A had witnessed many people come and go. Their analysis of the situation was that there are those that are long-standing like they were, whereas others were not aware of the realities of what a lifestyle block requires thus creating a higher turnover of lifestyle blocks, which also aligns with the age of the children of the family:

but as they grow up your need for that recreation for them, they don't even want to go on holiday with their parents as they grow, it's a fact of life! , Also schooling, we see a lot of people come out for the lifestyle dream, it's great when the kids are at the local school but when it comes to the high school education they are finding they have to travel and there is a cost in time and obviously to feed the motor vehicle to get to their various schools depending on where they want to go... They tend to buy short term and sell.

Therefore, it would appear that there is a need for lifestyle blocks to be provided for in local plans, but it may not be something that needs to be controlled in the same manner as urban growth due to its potentially self-sustaining nature. Furthermore, if they are provided for there must also be

provisions that deal with matters like reverse sensitivity which are a key complaint councils receive from these areas.

6.2.2 Encouraging development

One of the key issues at the local level is that developers can have a lot of power, and those in local government are powerless to force these people to develop areas at a time when local government would like development to happen. This also has flow on effects to the market, which is in a housing crisis at the moment. In discussing this issue Planner D highlighted the importance of enabling people to develop in the way the council wants them to, primarily through providing the right framework to encourage the right development:

It's up to us to provide an enabling environment through our planning rules to enable higher density development within existing residential areas. So if you enable it, it makes it cheaper to occur and eventually once it hits a certain price point it becomes more lucrative to remove that single dwelling and put 3 townhouses on it so I guess that's the first part of our responsibility, to enable the type of development that we want so if we want higher densities then we need to have our planning rules represent that so it needs to have, to be allowable for certain density types, might need no carparking, height restrictions, setbacks and recession planes they all need to be enabling of the type of development we want... Go through aerials of Christchurch City and you'll find massive backyards on some houses which is just prime for subdivision and another house being put on and they're all land banked all the time because the landowners know the potential development ability of their land... We can't force people to develop, we can't force them to go to that density or force them to remove a house or whatever. We can only enable them. Pretty much you can take the horse to water, but you can't make them do it.

Therefore, it will take more than just planning solutions to manage this tension and developers need to be incentivised to develop areas to help manage the housing crisis issues we are facing.

6.2.3 Planning for the long-term

There are a range of matters that need to be taken into account at the local level in resolving this tension. One of the issues for local authorities is ensuring that there are a range of housing options available in several different places that allows the market to provide what people want, while still trying to only allow development in places where the local authority wants development to occur.

Furthermore, trying to convince people to return to central Christchurch now that development for housing has resumed to pre-earthquake levels is a real challenge for the GCA in particular and it is not clear what a national direction will do to encourage people to shift back into the city. The connectivity of all the issues that need to be considered was highlighted by Planner F:

I think you need to provide the range of good housing options because people are always going to have different needs and demands. It's hard to tell people where to live if you provide an attractive option elsewhere that might attract people. I think if you look at what the projections say about our changing household formation, changing demographics and things like that maybe over time those smaller homes for smaller households might be more attractive but I know for Greater Christchurch one of the big things is we've got a central city that could really do with some people living in it at the moment and how do we attract people in there.

In an already existing urban environment, there are issues with development that reconfigures neighbourhoods. Planner C discussed how they were developing the urban areas and what issues that was throwing up for residents affected by intensification:

We are seeing a lot of intensification around the periphery of the four avenues, around Richmond, St Albans, Linwood, Addington, Riccarton. And that's had its own challenges. You may have seen in the paper complaints about people not liking the development that is occurring. Multi-storey town houses shading neighbours, the loss of trees, the loss of amenity, more cars parking on the street all those sorts of issues. So one of the plan changes we are looking at is to improve requirements so we have better intensification. So while we are getting a lot of complaints, we are getting a lot of public feedback and the fact we are getting complaints shows development is happening. There is also a lot of development that is happening which is good.

Planner C had the following to say about transport and how they are managing growth in an already largely built up area as a result:

Much of our greenfield land has already been developed, and we have sufficient capacity zoned for the next 30 years, so we don't need to expand greenfield areas any more. Rather we are trying to encourage intensification and growth up. Protection of versatile soils was one of the main reasons for that focus on intensification. Furthermore intensification has benefits of having people living and working closer together so people don't need to travel more than they need to. Also one of the issues for Christchurch to the west is the airport noise contours. So our District Plan has provisions to avoid residential in that area as well.

Getting urban dwellers to reside in places that are currently zoned for residential use is important for local authorities as it means that they are able to manage their infrastructure costs by not needing to constantly extend sewage and water services, for example. A key issue that a number of participants spoke about was the key role the transport network plays in connecting people. This network has to connect people today, while also considering the future and how technology may disrupt the plans being made, as building transport networks comes at a big cost to the ratepayer. Elected Representative A had the following perspective on the issues at hand:

You have to have a keen eye on your carbon footprint as well - transport corridors, multimode public transport in the future. There is a new motorway coming in shortly and it may have a multioccupancy lane in that running to encourage express buses... Electric vehicles are changing everything and are a disrupter as well.

In terms of transport connectivity Stakeholder (Professional) A referred to the fact that for the people they represent it is ideal for them to be within close proximity to their domestic market:

it is important for a domestic food supply to have growing areas close to populations to reduce transport and we do have growing areas still quite close to our populations and I think people get confused and they think New Zealand is like America or something and there is great distances that food travels but that's not really the case here but to maintain the system that they have with growing areas spread around it is important to enable that sort of thing by not, you know by having some rules around reverse sensitivity.

The need to future proof society against problems such as limited fuel supply was a situation discussed by Elected Representative A.

We really need to have space to grow what we eat close to our urban centres so it's easy to transport it. We're not seeing that with the pattern we've got. Even the areas in the North of Christchurch where I grew up, Marshlands Road, which were all vegetable growers, they're no longer producing there because the way in which the supermarkets are buying produce means you have to grow a huge amount of it to have ready the next day and that's not helping either.

Planner F spoke of considering the outskirts of urban areas as not just being 'houses' but rather there are a whole array of things that local authorities have to take into account when considering where urban areas should be:

I don't know to be honest I think you just need to provide those options (in terms of different types of housing) and as [Planner E] says as part of our planning if we can take into account, not just homes, but what is the whole life cost of somebody living on the outskirts. There's the cost of housing but there's also the cost to the public purse about people travelling and what that means for the road network and things like that.

Community views

The Submissions received for the *Our Space 2018-2048* document show an array of different opinions as to how various community stakeholders perceive the GCA should be developed and planned for. Residents portrayed strong opinions from the need to protect productive land to the need to urgently open up tracts of greenfield development to manage the growth issues facing the GCA. The differing views from the community were also reflected in the views of stakeholders spoken to in the community who referred to the issue not being front of mind for the community they were representing, except for those it directly affects, such as growers. As a holder of a position within the community, they could see that there was a need to protect the productive soils but difficulty lay in getting people on board to understand that greenfield development can be problematic when it encroaches upon productive land. These concerns show that for some people they want to see policy be set that will provide the best outcomes for themselves economically rather than taking a wider, long-term view.

6.2.4 Solutions at the local level

Participants were asked about the best option for managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. The predominant response was that having some national direction on the need to protect productive soils would be the best move going forward. Tied together with this was the importance of updating the RPS which is currently due to be updated. Other solutions were also offered that could be implemented at the local level, once the RMA framework allows.

The issue of housing demand is not likely to subside quickly and for everyday people where they live is very important to them in terms of community values and amenity. In limiting development it can lead to not only fragmentation of townships but also a loss of community Planner D highlighted that allowing some fringe urban development can stem the flow of wider fragmentation where development capacity is an issue:

Also I guess going back to what we discussed first with Map A and those red lines, it would be good to have the power to say that is a certain soil type nothing on it, or very very high density, or low density, it depends on how you look at it. But also to be able to allow development on the town fringes. It can be better off extending your town out a little bit, you know putting on 20, 50, 100 houses on the edge of it rather than saying no we can't do that

and then they go and carve up a whole lot more 4ha lifestyle blocks out of 300ha, for the same amount of houses.

Currently this is not something that is able to be done because of the restrictiveness of the policies and plans that the territorial authorities must give effect to. In suggesting a solution to this issue Planner D suggested that more control be given to the territorial authority:

We can't do that because it is against the RPS so I guess it comes back to the District Council having the ability to set those but still being consistent with a regional statement so maybe not having the map within the regional plan but having the objectives and policies set out in the Regional Plan to guide our development because the District Council can be trusted. We are not going to go allow willy-nilly development, well Waimakariri kind of did, but people have sort of learned from that. We want a coherent district that is easily serviceable and doesn't affect the character and amenity of the rural space but also provides enough growth in some of the townships to grow up there, build there and continue those sorts of relationships in those townships. The big issue we have is a lot of our townships are full, they pretty much can't develop anymore. Because of the red line (in Map A).

The evidence that is relied on in setting policy and plans is also important and Planner D also referred to the information they have used in undertaking a District Plan review that helps them to understand what works best in their area. Utilising that information to set rules around density, coupled with better RPS direction would help at the lower level:

But a lot of the economic analysis we've received from the District Plan review is that all the land this side of the state highway 20ha is your minimum productive unit to be able to farm and do it at a profit and other side of the state highway is 40ha so there's quite a disconnect between those two things so maybe tools for density setting so we do have the ability to do it but it would be good to have greater direction from the RPS so at the moment its saying 4ha is acceptable in the rural zone and you get a situation like WDC where half the district is 4ha blocks now and half of its not farmed anymore and you had massive sheep holdings all the way through there and its all lifestyle blocks now. And that's not productive anymore.

The ability to provide future direction has already shown some promise in the GCA. In discussing whether there is a demand from people within the Halswell area to protect productive land Community Representative A provided this comment:

Its always been known as a growth area. In saying that there is one gentleman in our area who has been very passionate to keep his market gardens. One thing I remembered him saying is its such good land. I can make a living. In saying that I would question the scope and scale that he is growing at as opposed to where we get our staples from the supermarket.

Only at a scope and scale can you produce. He is the only gentleman I know who is opposed to building on versatile soils.

The South West Area Plan 2009 had marked the area for future development and those within the area knew that was what to happen in the future so they could plan accordingly. This shows the power in providing long term plans and policy as it gives people certainty about how their neighbourhood will develop over the long term so they can plan accordingly.

6.3 Legal challenges to policy and plans

While policy is set by both national and local government it can also be open to challenge through judicial processes such as the Environment Court. This can therefore have an impact on the policy as a precedent is set as to how that direction should be applied across the country. As somebody who has dealt with this process from the perspective of both a challenger and an elected representative Elected Representative A had the following remarks to make:

From what I've seen from the Act and the purposes and principles then the legal challenges to that Act, I have seen judge made law. I have seen precedent set that makes it very difficult for that argument to be made again. That's what I've seen in the RMA so the ability to protect those soils – we've lost the tool in the toolkit. It's interesting I'm starting to see it swinging back the other way. It seems to be more of an emphasis back on soil type but I'm not seeing it come through in decisions.

There are different ways that the courts can impact policies and plans. In setting district plans Elected Representative A, who also sat as a Hearings Commissioner, described the difficulties for a local authority in defending an Environment Court decision, and that this caused issues in terms of the precedent that decisions could set for the future:

As far as being able to protect it its very hard when you're sitting in a hearing with a Resource Management lawyer pulling out all these precedents of how this was allowed on this type of land and you're saying you can't and you know if you turn it down it will end up in the Environment Court and they will win and you're going to cost your ratepayers 70-80,000. To my mind we need more emphasis in the RMA.

The long-term impact of court decisions is reflected in the current matters the RPS places emphasis on in Canterbury. A critique from a number of participants was that the current RPS does not provide

for protecting productive soils which has been a serious constraint on their ability to be more proactive in dealing with the issue. Planner E confirmed this, and how that situation came to pass:

The RPS, our current one, isn't particularly strong on weighting protection of highly productive soils... Cause look it really was hard in Canterbury. It certainly was a factor taken into consideration, but it didn't probably get as much weight as it could have because of the particular history here of having tried to have an RPS that gave some weight to protecting versatile soils and then that basically fell over in the courts. It was quite a line of case law. It's a terrible policy in the RPS and I remember there was one famous Prebbleton case that said oh well people like to garden on versatile soils so that's a good use of them, urbanising them.

6.3.1 The role of elected officials

The role of elected officials in the process of managing the tension cannot be overstated. Through the course of interviews some comment was passed on how elected representatives can diverge from the opinion of planners which can be problematic if it opens a local authority up to legal challenge in the Environment Court. Conversely, if something is not challenged by a submission this will become a part of a plan or policy which can be equally problematic for planners and policy makers as they then have to work with something that goes against their professional opinion.

Therefore, the role the public plays in not only electing councillors but also providing a check and balance by challenging plans and policies is crucial. This also shows there can be flaws in leaving the issue to be dealt with by those at the local level; however local understanding of the community and the land generally does have a place in the process as evidenced by planners sharing their knowledge of the different zones within their council area and the various ways development has affected it.

6.4 The Greater Christchurch Partnership

The GCP is an example of collaborative planning that is being undertaken in the GCA to attempt to resolve cross-boundary issues between councils and manage various issues as outlined in Chapter 5. The GCP is something that each planner commented on as being the vehicle through which the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth is managed at the moment. Interestingly, there was divergence between how the collaborative process was viewed with some planners referring to it as a situation with a lot of infighting, while others viewed it as a positive process which was going to achieve the desired outcomes. Planner C described the development of *Our Space 2018-2048* in the following way:

It's been difficult with Our Space because the NPS-UDC essentially just says if you have a housing demand just provide for it and doesn't give us support to constrain to protect productive land. In order to provide for housing some productive land has been "eaten up", so the new one should make it a bit easier to protect these areas.

However, there can be good reasons for tensions to arise between councils, particularly when it comes to deciding who will have the most development capacity. This will allow a council to increase their ratepayer base which greatly impacts on the services they are able to provide their community. Planner D provided a view of the issue:

There was a lot of discussion around what development each council wanted to happen in their area. More development means more rates, more people, more money and you can spread the costs around a lot more... I guess there's always going to be that conflict between the various authorities in this area.

However, not all of those involved in the GCP thought that there was cause for concern with Planner E providing a more positive spin on the process while highlighting that it had not all been smooth sailing:

But I think my view is that we've got good urban growth planning as we do in Christchurch, not to say its perfect but you know it's a good partnership and its delivering good results.

While there are tangible outcomes from the GCP that can be seen in the release of documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048* the process that was undertaken in developing this document is also important. If the process was full of conflict, although there are conflicting reports on this, it does give rise to questions as to the eventual workability of the solutions that are reached by collaboration partners, especially if there are long-standing ramifications from decisions that are made. Planner D did express concern about whether the GCP would be able to capitalise on the decisions that had been made following the process that was undertaken in reaching decisions:

Effectively the end result is something that isn't going to be workable, not accurate and that's just going to be disregarded, the whole document and strategy at the end of the day.

While there may have been internal reports of conflict, this was not necessarily reflected in the comments from the public. Community Representative A had the following comment to make, watching the GCP process from the outside:

The territorial authorities and ECan - I don't see them out there waving a flag saying no you cannot develop here. Because under the GCUDS... that's been really successful in terms of getting people around and working together but I don't see their role as protecting the good soils. I think it's by cooperation that they are trying to work together, probably another

example of that is the CCC won't allow rural residential development they have no zoning for that. It's either residential or rural. I don't see them, to the same degree as SDC and WDC, allowing lifestyle blocks.

6.5 Summary

In summary it is clear my participants, who were predominantly planners, believe that there is a need for national direction to manage the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. However, in order to be effective both NPS's will need to be integrated well and provide coherent directions to those who operate underneath them. Furthermore, in the GCA the GCP provides an already existing framework that is trying to find solutions to problems already, so a national policy can sometimes not sit well with existing local solutions. It was noted that sometimes there can be a disconnect between the ideals of central government and the actual implementation of policy on the ground. There was also concern expressed as to how ancillary issues such as cumulative effects would be managed as a part of setting policy. At a local level the lack of weight given to productive land in the RPS was highlighted as a key issue for territorial and regional authorities. Finally the collaborative process that was undertaken as part of the GCP was critiqued by participants, however the GCP is still providing directions through documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048* so it will take some time to understand how effective documents like this will be.

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.1 Revisiting the literature and the research questions

The aim of this research is: to better understand how stakeholders are negotiating the demands of urban growth and productive land protection in New Zealand. The literature review in Chapter 2 discussed different planning approaches that are available for managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. These were: land-use, strategic, spatial, strategic spatial and collaborative planning. These planning approaches were considered because they appear to be the best planning tools available for managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

However, there are difficulties in defining strategic, spatial, strategic spatial and collaborative approaches as there is not widespread agreement on what each planning approach does. There is also a degree of crossover between the definitions of spatial, strategic and strategic spatial planning which does add some complexity to discussing the positives and negatives of each. Therefore, this research sought to understand if there were particular aspects of these planning approaches that might be best suited to managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. This research also took into account the context within which the situation New Zealand finds itself in was created – namely through a lack of national direction as the market was left to regulate development. Zoning, a feature of land-use planning, is the tool that territorial and regional authorities have relied on to direct where this development should occur.

This research set out to ask different stakeholders what they believed is the best way forward for managing this tension. The research questions that focussed this study are:

- How are territorial and regional authorities in the GCA managing/proposing to manage the tension between providing for urban growth and protecting productive land?
- What options are available to those who are tasked with planning for both protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth?

7.2 Policy

In Chapter 2 public policy was defined by Shaw and Eichbaum (2005) as government intervention on an issue that needs improvement so direction is therefore provided. Participants, who were predominantly planners, described a real need for national direction on protecting productive land as the lack of weight that was currently ascribed to it left councils in a position where they were unable to do anything about it being developed on. As the market has regulated how towns and cities have developed that has led to the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth to become more heightened and the need for national direction supports the contention by Kraft (2004) that the role of government is to create policy to deal with issues that cannot be managed by the private sector alone.

Roberts (2004) suggested it would be rare to have a set of policies that are structured so they do not contradict each other. The difficulty that arises from having two NPSs' in operation that appear to focus on different issues was a key driver of this research, and it was a concern that was shared by participants. My findings show that it is important to some planners to be able to view the whole package and to understand how it would work together, as well as within the wider framework of plans, policies and other issues that exist at the local level. Robinson (2004) describes the approach to sustainable development as a process where no single approach is correct but instead it is important to evaluate all views which policy then flows from. My results show a national direction is needed to make protecting productive land a key consideration, however there are a number of matters to consider such as the importance of the transport network in connecting communities, as well as other national directions. This suggests that rather than having two NPSs' that potentially contradict each other more emphasis should possibly be placed on managing the process through which development or protection needs should be analysed and decisions therefore made.

Creating policy is not as simple as setting a national direction which is then put into action by those institutions that fall under it. Kraft (2004) said policy is an amalgam of legislation and court decisions, and this was reinforced by my findings. Those that had been involved in policy setting, argued that precedent set in the courts had set policy. The precedent that had been set had also not changed in light of proposed changes, such as the proposed NPS-HPL, as this change in central government thinking had not necessarily filtered into court decisions yet. Therefore, in setting policy at a national level it is important to consider that it is not necessarily the final form policy will take so there is a

need to provide robust policy to provide a degree of certainty for those that are tasked with implementing it at the local level. For Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone and Hill (2007) public policy resolves public problems that are on the government agenda, however action on policy is typically only taken following a debate as to whether there is public desire for policy. It would appear based on my findings that there is a desire for public policy to protect productive land and allow for urban growth. However, this can be dependent on the context and the person that the policy will affect, as can be seen by the submissions to *Our Space 2018-2048* where there was clear desire by those who had land close to the urban edge that they wanted the ability to develop their land. Kraft (2004) argues a lack of policy direction actually can be a policy in itself. As the market is currently the regulator of development this reflects the national policy direction on the matter and is also consistent with the justification behind the shift from the TCPA to the RMA. This has constrained the ability of local government to therefore protect productive land as it was only 'a consideration', not 'the consideration'. However there is an argument that in some instances this has been successful, as it appeared to Community Representative A that lifestyle blocks in the area around them appeared to have a stable turnover, therefore in that instance the market was acting as it had been intended to. Kraft (2004) also argued that a lack of policy can allow for other options to be utilised. This was not something that was reflected in my findings where there was a strong preference for national level intervention on the matter. Participants discussed how they were largely stuck because they were unable to give weight to productive land in their planning decisions because there was no national direction.

Miller (2009) points out that local level governance can also be a good level of governance to set policy due to their proximity to and knowledge of the issues. This would not appear to be the case based on my results where participants placed a strong emphasis needing a national direction. Furthermore, out of date local level policy in the form of the current RPS was lamented by planners as being out of date (they did accept it was due to be updated), as protecting productive land or versatile soils was not a consideration given much weight. This situation may be reflective of the RMA framework that prescribes what may be considered by regional and territorial authorities in their policies and plans in a restrictive way. The inability of local level policy to be updated in a reflexive way to respond to issues is also something that potentially holds back local level policy to be as effective as it possibly could be.

A challenge in setting policy is linking the national and local level, as there are advantages in setting policy at both levels. These issues of scale and place are confirmed by Healey (1998) who states these

factors are typically irrelevant in policy making. My interviews showed that creating this linkage is helpful because there can be a disconnect between the policy set at the national level and how it is applied in the local context. These difficulties can arise from lack of resourcing, and as my findings show, a lack of understanding as to how policy set by central government is implemented on the ground. This can be due to the fact that central government is removed from the practical application of the policy they set so there is a lack of understanding of the reality of policy implementation.

7.3 Planning

The definitions of planning provided by the Royal Town Planning Institute (n.d.) and the American Planning Association (n.d.) state planning builds community and provides quality environments for people to live, work and play in; while also ensuring key health and economic needs are met. Where urban areas should develop is an issue that planners are required to manage, with national direction through documents like the NPS-HPL and NPS-UD providing the overall policy framework. However, when there is no policy on the matter planners are restricted on where they are able to control the direction of growth to in some instances. The difficulty for planners, as shown in my findings is that they know they are allowing development on productive land but are unable to do anything about it. The ability to stop that relied on national policy to be set that would also allow good social outcomes to be achieved.

Ensuring there is a good enabling environment that makes it desirable for developers to build more houses rather than land-bank blocks of land is something that was mentioned in my findings as being a way of ensuring that development occurs in the way that society wants it to happen. This is one example where there may be solutions that exist outside of planning approaches that need to be looked at in order to help manage urban development and pressures on productive land.

7.3.1 Land-use planning

In discussing the current approaches to managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth each of the councils spoken to referred to zoning as the predominant tool they currently have available to them. Zoning is an output seen from land-use planning approaches. This aligns with Albrechts description of land-use planning as “more passive, pragmatic and localised planning” (2004, p.745) in that it may not be looking to the wider, more long-

term needs of society. Kline and Alig (1999) argued that land-use planning does provide control over development, however that did not appear to be the case with the development seen in all GCA territorial authorities. However, this may be contextual as one planner did describe how zoning situated further out from areas of urban growth demand did seem to be successful. While Kline and Alig (1999) did provide an argument that land-use planning does control development, they also did not believe that land-use planning would protect productive land in the long term, an idea that is supported by my findings where participants said they could not act to protect productive land because there was not the weight of national direction behind it.

Halleux, Marcinczak and van der Krabben (2012) argued negative public perceptions of directing development in a restricted way was one of the reasons that putting limits on urban development was not enthusiastically adopted. Directing development was also discussed by community and elected representatives. It was their view that trying to direct development into the centre of Christchurch would not be successful as it was not the environment that families wanted to raise their children in. This speaks to another consideration that needs to be made in the complex planning network of issues – the actual preferences the public have for different housing types.

Albrechts (2006) argued land-use planning did not provide an action plan as it was an administrative framework that showed how the physical aspects of an area would be developed. Albrechts (2004) also argued that land-use planning also deals with the physical aspects rather than solving social or economic issues and this was reflected in my findings with planners stating that zoning was the predominant tool for local level planning, with national level policy direction required to make any difference on the way areas were physically developed.

7.3.2 Spatial planning

Baker and Wong (2013) describe spatial planning as pulling together spatial dimensions from policy which then coordinates, integrates and mediates solutions. Integration was an aspect that was focussed on by my participants, particularly in light of the current proposal to have two separate NPS's. Davoudi (2018) refers to how spatial planning helps foster an understanding of the complex network of social, economic, cultural and environmental issues that all impact on a particular location. Haughton et al. (2010) agree with this and add that spatial planning focusses on the delivery of objectives and the various elements that are part of the process. My findings show there is a need

to consider the complex network of issues in planning out where development should occur. These were discussed in my findings as including issues such as transport networks, cumulative effects, connecting food to consumers quickly and reverse sensitivity. Spatial planning could help integrate a number of these issues into one plan, however this does need to be managed carefully as it is unlikely all issues will be able to be brought together, particularly ancillary issues that are not necessarily provided for by policy direction.

Tewdwr Jones et al. (2010) discuss how spatial planning delivers an understanding of policy and the intention behind it as well as an understanding of citizen interactions and infrastructure needs. In deciding where people should live there is a need to consider the infrastructure that will need to be provided to service these areas. As this is a cost that is borne by the ratepayer it is important that this is planned for carefully. The importance of transport networks is reflected in my findings, but there is another facet to this raised by Planner F – that there is a whole cost involved with a person living on the outskirts that requires there to be a consideration made as to what that means for the public purse. Therefore, infrastructure and transport networks are two key considerations that need to be made. Understanding the costs of having people living on the urban fringe to know how these fringes should be developed does sit within Perry's definition of spatial planning as providing social order through "political mobilisation of knowledge" (1995, p. 222). The emphasis placed on transport networks means something similar to the Copenhagen Finger Plan could be a potential model urban development could be set against.

Integration is a key part of spatial planning – and as Taylor (2010) described this is in both horizontal and vertical directions. My findings show that it can be difficult to align national direction with existing local policy, as national direction is not always a natural fit with existing policy. Integration can be particularly difficult when there are a number of different national level directions that need to be taken into account – such as the various NPS and other matters such as National Planning Standards. The structure of the RMA Framework can be challenging for territorial and regional authorities to manage in this way as they have to take account of a number of national level directions before they even begin to look at other issues such as cumulative effects and transport networks. An additional challenge can also be the integration horizontally at the local level as the process involved with the GCP was not described as being an easy one. Therefore, in setting national policy it needs to be clear how territorial and regional authorities are expected to integrate everything they need to consider into a plan if spatial planning is going to be an effective tool for resolving the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

Faludi (2000) refers to spatial plans as a guide to making decisions and a frame of reference for future decision making. My findings show evidence of this working well in Christchurch with the description of the South West Area Plan 2009 which had marked the future development of Halswell to become a residential area. This meant that the community knew what to expect in their suburb as it developed over time which limited potential conflict as Community Representative A could only point to one person who believed there was a need for versatile soils in the area to be protected, and this was because of the future direction that had been provided by the plan. This shows the power of the spatial plan in this instance as people in the area knew what to expect in the future. Due to the potential issues with spatial plans when it comes to integration across multiple scales, it is therefore possible that smaller scale spatial plans at the local level may provide a good solution.

7.3.3 Strategic planning

Strategic planning is said to help create a vision for the future according to Albrechts (2004). My findings show that the focus for my participants in resolving the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth is more on the policies that they will actually utilise to structure their policy and plans rather than thinking more broadly to visualise what the future might look like. However, there were still opinions provided in my findings that show that considerations are being made about where development will occur in the future, but this is currently contained by the lines in Map A unless a local authority was more concerned with intensification. Intensification created its own set of issues for local authorities having to deal with development in that manner as well.

Albrechts (2004) also discussed how strategic planning led to more open governance, however this was not reflected in my findings as being a solution to the tension at hand. However there were other aspects of Albrechts (2004) definition that were seen in my findings such as my participants demonstrating how there was a need to plan for investments in regeneration through intensification and infrastructure so that they had the ability to support the various housing types that are being developed within the boundaries of the local authority. As there is a clear desire for national direction as a lack of it is having an impact at the local level my findings also support the strategic planning approach described by Albrechts (2004) where top down aspects of planning are linked with local and accumulated knowledge. With the GCP and the work it has completed to create documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048* it is possible that if national direction provided more protection for

productive land that a document could be created or amended to deliver a strategic vision for the GCA that provides good outcomes for protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

Environmental scanning is a feature of strategic planning according to Kaufman and Jacobs (1988) and Chambers and Taylor (1999) which involves pre-empting the effects of movements on the environment and implementing a strategy that limits the impact of these. My findings show that cross boundary perspectives of what is happening in other parts of the GCA is something that planners did notice. Therefore, managing relationships in the GCP becomes important to managing such issues and a strategic planning framework could provide the future focussed direction and framework that allows these issues to be mitigated. Strategic direction would be best suited to the GCP process rather than the territorial authority level as it is a “dynamic and creative process” as described by Albrechts (2004, p.752) so therefore the ability to resolve cross-boundary issues and share resources is a better place for this to be implemented.

If national direction is developed and there is a shift in the approach taken by territorial and regional authorities to be more future focussed and dynamic then there is the ability for some aspects of strategic planning to have an impact on helping to manage the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

7.3.4 Strategic spatial planning

Friedmann (2004) states that having such a wide-ranging number of policies while also considering social, cultural and environmental issues makes strategic spatial planning not feasible in practice. As my findings show, there are a number of considerations that need to be made in terms of different and potentially conflicting policies, and the other connected issues like transport networks, reverse sensitivity and cumulative effects. It is clear from the interviews that there is an understanding of these different issues, however greater emphasis was placed on needing a national direction for protecting productive land and the relationship between this and urban growth, rather than a consideration of how to manage everything at a holistic level. This may be reflective of a pragmatic understanding from participants of what regional and territorial authorities are actually able to achieve with their resources, however it does raise a question as to whether such restricted thinking is going to provide the solutions that are required.

Albrechts (2006) describes strategic spatial planning as providing a framework that decisions, actions, projects, results and implementation are built into and this framework responds accordingly to monitoring, feedback, adjustment, adjustment and revision. Whether this is achievable is difficult to know and it is not an approach that is supported by my findings as while there was acceptance that there are a number of issues that need managing there was not emphasis placed on managing this through a flexible planning approach.

There are a number of complex issues that need to be considered in trying to protect productive land and allow for urban growth, as has already been discussed in this chapter. Elected Representative A added another element to this discussion in mentioning the impact that disrupters such as electric vehicles will potentially have on settlement patterns as they circumvent current societal issues such as high fuel prices. This is where the advantages of strategic spatial planning as described Friedmann (2004) are important as he describes strategic spatial planning as dealing with a future that is imagined. However, it is important to note that Friedmann was critical of this as it meant that plans were subject to change so they did not provide the long term stability that other future focussed plans might provide. Nevertheless, if planning needs to be adaptive to potential disruptors than strategic spatial planning may provide the flexibility needed.

7.3.5 Collaborative planning

Collaborative planning involves consensus building and an emphasis on creating a dialogue between stakeholders to find innovative solutions according to Raynor, Doyon and Beer (2017) and Purbani (2017). While there is dialogue between GCP stakeholders this does not extend to members of the public being included around the discussion table. This was not something that was discussed by my participants who instead focussed on the outcomes the GCP was creating. Margerum (2002) found in the collaborative processes that he observed that there were difficulties finding consensus that created difficulties in reaching outcomes. While the GCP does develop strategies and documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048* there were reports of difficulties and infighting as part of the process however as *Our Space 2018-2048* has only just been adopted it is difficult to say whether my findings support Margerum's position. Innes and Booher state that "Agreement for the sake of agreement is not success. Quality matters." (1999, p. 415) in discussing outcomes that come from collaborative planning processes. While some participants did think the GCP was still generating good outcomes, there were opinions also expressed that did not believe the agreed outcomes would be workable at

the end of the day. As there is a divergence in opinion as to the strength of the processes of the GCP my findings show the perceived strength of collaborative planning potentially depends on the perspective of the person. Innes and Booher (1999) also state that regardless of the outcomes reached some participants in their study found that the process grew political capital between them and as a consequence this led to better relationships. My findings do not touch on whether a better working relationship between GCP participants has developed as a result of the collaborative process.

There is a lack of grassroots community involved in the GCP, however this may be because the matter of representation has been considered by those in charge of the process and as a result the GCP is best kept with just the organisations it has currently. Limited community involvement does occur in the submission process on documents such as *Our Space 2018-2048*. Whether the GCP is representative enough was not something that was discussed by participants. Furthermore, as Raynor, Doyon and Beer (2017) state there is no objective way to decide who should be at the discussion table so this suggests the GCP may work well as it is.

Inequity in the collaborative process as described by Margerum (2002) and Ansell and Gash (2007) can be a barrier to good collaboration due to the power imbalance between parties. As the GCP involves a number of different public authority entities rather than stakeholders with a range of different resources such as community members and interest groups this does appear to be something that is not supported by my findings, however the GCP does not follow a typical collaborative planning process because of the parties involved. Power imbalances were not considered to be an issue in the GCP process, rather it was the way the parties dealt with each other that appeared to be an issue. In managing issues in a collaborative process Ansell and Gash (2007) argue that effective leadership and an understanding of the historical context are important. The various leadership roles in the GCP were not discussed by my participants, however an understanding of how other areas in the GCA had developed was shown by some participants, but this did not appear to make the relationship between parties to be any better because of this knowledge.

In summary, there are issues with the collaborative process through the GCP however the GCP also does not strictly follow the collaborative planning approach as it does not include a range of different

stakeholders due to only including public authorities. The relationships within the GCP could be strengthened in order to improve this relationship. The GCP and the collaborative process it partakes in do have a role in managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth, particularly in providing strategic and spatial solutions to the matter as discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Though there is debate in the literature about when and how to use different forms of planning – strategic, spatial, strategic spatial or land-use – my results from interviews with, predominantly planning professionals, showed some support for national direction to help manage the tension that exists between allowing for urban growth and protecting productive land. However, this simple dichotomy neglects other issues that will play a significant role in shaping future development beyond planners' control including the role of the Courts, the timing of planning and policy documents, elected members and electoral cycles, the market and cultural preferences. A better understanding of these may be critical in considering options for managing the sprawl/protection dilemma.

My research identified a number of options for managing this dilemma. The first is through the development of National Policy Statements. This has the benefit of making protecting productive land not just a consideration, but a consideration that needs to be made with weight behind it. The drawback is that setting policy can exclude other matters that are ancillary to the primary policy focus. However, taking a very holistic policy view also has its challenges as it can be difficult to implement. Alternatively, it is possible that this tension could be addressed through spatial planning at a more local level. This has the advantages of outlining to communities where future development will occur so they know how their suburb will develop into the future. However, some disadvantages include the need to integrate national and local level direction which can prove to be very problematic. There is also a role strategic planning could play in managing this tension, but it would rely on collaborative processes and having the right dynamic combination of national top down direction and bottom up local knowledge in order to be successful.

Care needs to be taken using a collaborative process such as the GCP, particularly where there is limited public involvement. However, because there are widespread cross-boundary issues the approach is important to managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth across different territorial authorities who have their own outcomes they are striving to achieve. The collaborative process does play a part in providing a solution to the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth, particularly in an area such as the GCA where the growth of Christchurch impacts the neighbouring SDC and WDC townships.

A change in the way rural and urban land was managed and protected came about as a result of the introduction of the RMA. The introduction of the RMA, and subsequent amendments to it, have brought about the RMA framework and hierarchy of planning documents that are now relied on in New Zealand. A lot of participants focussed on how the framework impacts the ability of those at the local level to protect productive soils and allow for urban growth, however this conclusion is also influenced by the lack of breadth across the participants' backgrounds. It is important to consider how by removing the explicit references that were in the TCPA, the market has now regulated this space and this is another potential factor which has placed pressure on the housing market and productive land in New Zealand. The reflections of those at the local level – that more weight needs to be given to productive land – is an example of the cyclical nature of planning, as well as a rebuke of using the market as a regulator. The RMA is centred around the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, however without more focus placed on considering the need to protect productive land and allow for urban growth – with a relationship between these two ideals that allows those at the local level to be able to implement it successfully and coherently, it is unlikely New Zealand will be able to sustain itself if the current situation does not change. If New Zealand society is to have functional productive land (their carrots), and high quality housing (to allow people to eat their carrots too), then policy must be integrated both horizontally and vertically throughout the framework, long-term certainty needs to be given through planning approaches that take a long-term view, and government regulation needs to be stronger than market regulation.

8.1 Implications for theory

The literature describes different types of planning approaches that can be used to manage the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth. However, the subtle differences, and lack of agreement, between strategic and spatial planning definitions are not helpful for discussion of how planning will occur into the future. Despite this, my research shows that there is no one correct approach that should be taken in its entirety as there are aspects of approaches that fit with achieving particular outcomes. What should be applied relies on the context of the situation and this means that there must be flexibility in frameworks to allow this to occur. However, this research was constrained by the breadth of participants, so there does need to be a degree of caution taken with the proposed options as they are more reflective of the approach preferred by the planning profession.

8.2 Future areas of research

The role that lifestyle blocks play in pushing out into productive land and whether this is something that needs to be controlled is an area that was not considered by this research, however it was something that was alluded to by participants.

The findings from this research also show that there is a need to consider how land prices will be managed if land is not to be developed on but is close to an urban area. Currently there is no model suggested for how this should be calculated and managed.

The collaborative process in the GCA was not something that was explored in depth, however as the GCP did not fit within the standard definition of collaborative planning more analysis could be made of the GCP and if there are any ways this could be improved.

Appendix A

Human Ethics Committee approval

Research Management Office

T 64 3 423 0817
PO Box 85084, Lincoln University
Lincoln 7647, Christchurch
New Zealand
www.lincoln.ac.nz

11 June 2019

Application No: 2019-23

Title: Allowing urban growth and protecting productive land: Can we have our carrots and eat them too?

Applicant: M McMullan

The Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee has reviewed the above noted application. Thank you for your response to the questions which were forwarded to you on the Committee's behalf.

I am satisfied on the Committee's behalf that the issues of concern have been satisfactorily addressed. I am pleased to give final approval to your project.

Can you please inform the committee of the result of your discussion with your supervisor concerning the potential consultation with Maori.

Please note that this approval is valid for three years from today's date at which time you will need to reapply for renewal.

Once your field work has finished can you please advise the Human Ethics Secretary, Alison Hind, and confirm that you have complied with the terms of the ethical approval.

May I, on behalf of the Committee, wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Grant Tavinor
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

PLEASE NOTE: The Human Ethics Committee has an audit process in place for applications. Please see 7.3 of the Human Ethics Committee Operating Procedures (ACHE) in the Lincoln University Policies and Procedures Manual for more information.

Appendix B

Interview consent form

Consent Form

Protecting productive land and allowing urban growth: Can we have our carrots and eat them too?

The objective of this research is to explore what options are available, if any, for managing the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth.

I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results with the understanding that a) anonymity will be preserved if requested and b) I will have the opportunity to review any quotations attributed to me before publication. I also understand that I may withdraw from the project up to 19 September 2019 (including withdrawal of any information I have provided) by contacting the lead researcher.

I provide consent to (please tick one or all of the following options):

- Having an audio recording taken.
- Having notes taken of the interview.
- Being identified by name.
- Being identified by my profession or role.

Any other requests from participant about confidentiality and anonymity:

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

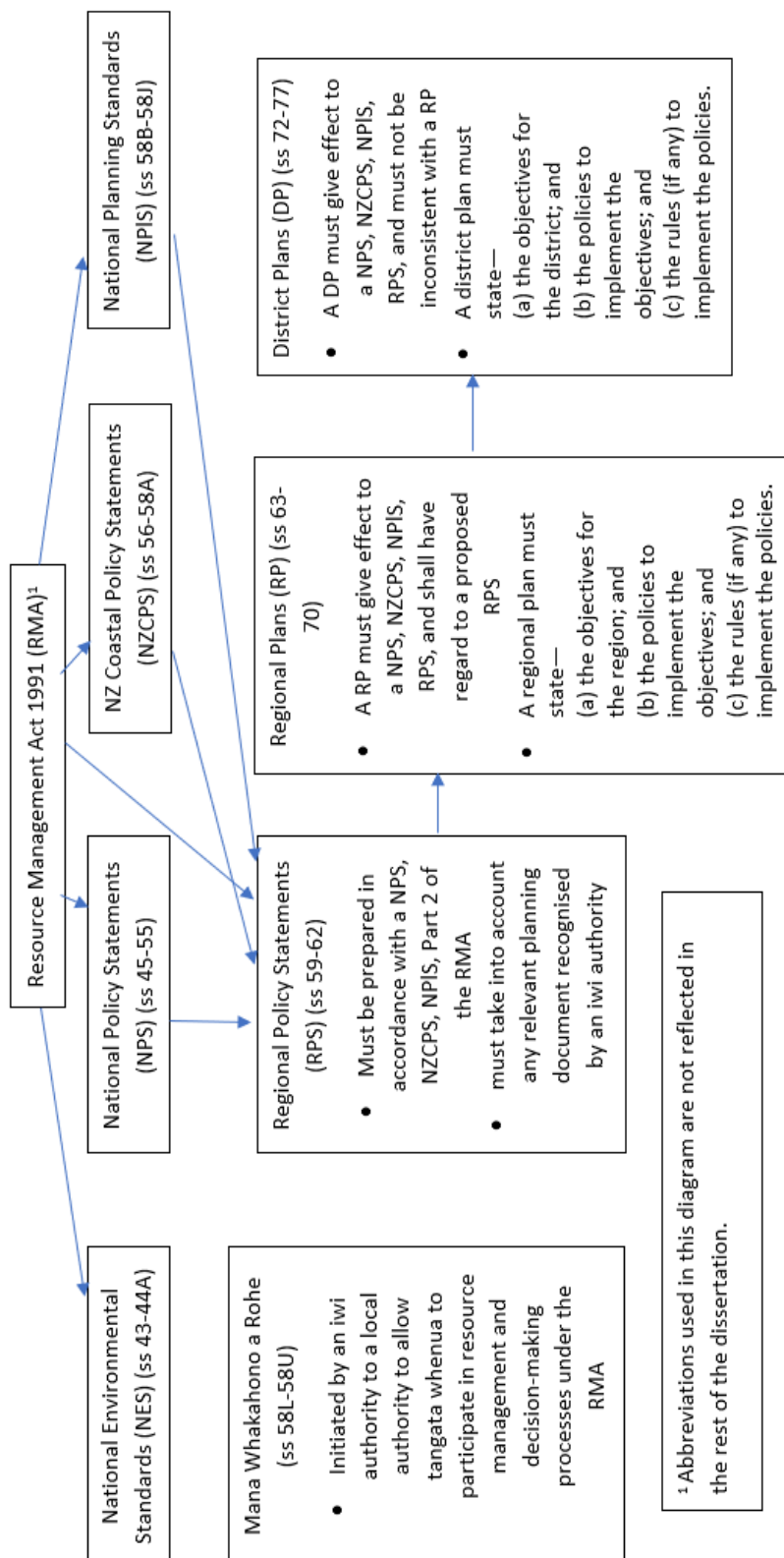
Appendix C

Interview questions

1. Thank you for taking time out of your day for this interview. Can you please tell me a little about your role/occupation?
2. What is your understanding of how territorial and regional authorities are negotiating, or proposing to negotiate, the demands of urban growth and protecting productive land in New Zealand?
3. Do the tools we currently have (policies, the RMA and plans) allow us the ability to manage the tension that exists between protecting productive land and allowing for urban growth?
4. What options do you think regional and local authorities should consider for managing the tension between protecting productive land and allowing urban growth?
5. Do you think this is an issue best dealt with at the national level or are local solutions preferable?
6. Are there any other points you would like to discuss?
7. Do you have any questions about how you will be referred to in my final report?

Appendix D

RMA framework



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