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Planning and Pragmatism

An introductory outline particularly involving the elimination of goal-achievement in the planning process

Maori participation in urban development

Challanges and opportunities for indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand

A view from the farm-gate

Farmers' perspectives on water quality

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Table of Contents

Editorial	Hamish Rennie	2 - 3
Peer Reviewed Articles		
Maori participation in urban development: challenges and opportunities for indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand	John Ryks, Philippa Howden-Chapman, Bridget Robson, Keriata Stuart and Andrew Waa	4-17
A view from the farm-gate: farmers' perspectives on water quality	Ronlyn Duncan	18-24
Planning and pragmatism: an introductory outline particularly involving the elimination of goal-achievement in the planning process	Derek Hall	25-36
Practical pragmatic planning	Derek Hall	36-50
SME environmental behaviour	Jay Whitehead and Tracey-Anne De Silva	51-55
Field Notes and Case studies		
Indigenous residential development and property investment	Michelle Ruske	56-62
The dirty dairying campaign and the clean streams accord	Phil Holland	63-69
Dialogue		
Retrospective perspectives	Malcolm Douglass	70-78
Outreach		
Planning pains? Don't panic: study abroad – undergraduate planning programmes in the USA and Canada	Hamish Rennie	79-80
Political parties planning outlook in retrospect	Nicole Reid	81-82
Where are they now?	Henry Winchester	83-84
Reports		
Young planners congress 2014: "Forging adventure: shaping a destination"	Michelle Ruske	85-87
Conference report: IAG/NZGS conference 2014, 30 June – 2 July, Melbourne, Australia	Nick Kirk, Fiona Myles and Julie Abbari	88-89
Go Pirates! Report on study leave in East Carolina University	Hamish Rennie	90-92
Opinion		
A Mount artificial surfing reef – A failure?	Hamish Rennie	93-94

Lincoln Planning Review is the journal of the Lincoln University Planning Association (LUPA) and is an online publication produced twice each year and primarily edited by students

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Front cover: Ike Kleynbos
Photo: Ike Kleynbos
Cover photo is of a sculpture by award-winning Christchurch artist, Graham Bennett. The sculpture is called 'Oversight,' and alludes to environmental issues, both globally and locally.

EDITORIAL

Planning in New Zealand in 2014 has largely been dominated by housing and urban development, potential local government and legislative reforms, and water issues. In keeping with *LPR*'s goal of linking academic research and practical, professional planning, this volume's peer reviewed research focuses on these issues, but with perspectives and issues that are outside the mainstream.

In our lead research article, John Ryks and his co-authors review the opportunities from Treaty settlements and legislative provisions and challenges for Māori participation in urban development, such as the balancing of matawaka and mana whenua perspectives. This is supported by Michelle Ruske's analysis of iwi investment in residential development. These articles are especially relevant for 2015's National Science Challenge 11 on building better, homes, towns and cities.

Water issues are picked up by Ronlyn Duncan and Phil Holland who each take constructively critical views toward some currently well-regarded approaches to resolutions. Ronlyn draws attention to the importance of appreciating farmers' framing of water quality to effectively implement new policies and plans. Phil, a former dairy farmer, analyses the Dairying Clean Streams and Sustainable Dairying – Water Accords drawing attention to missed opportunities to improve them and their credibility. While not focussed on water issues per se, Jay Whitehead and Tracey de Silva explore the views of small and medium sized enterprises to environmental issues and regulation generally. Their findings question expectations that voluntary actions are likely to substantially address the significant environmental issues facing New Zealand despite SME recognition of the importance to business of New Zealand's environmental reputation and their awareness of their effects on the environment.

In this volume, which combines Issues 1 and 2, we have reflective and somewhat contrasting contributions from two highly respected semi-retired planners that challenge aspects of New Zealand's current approach to planning.

I was delighted to learn that Malcolm Douglass (FNZPI), Canterbury United and Regional Council CEO at the time of the 1989 local government reforms and former lecturer at Lincoln, had donated his collection of personal papers to the MacMillan Brown Library archives. In doing so he produced a summary to help guide potential users of the archive as to its contents. In this 'Postscript' he sets out his major conclusions on a range of issues, including the past and more recent reforms to local government, and in advocating for a return to integrated regional spatial planning he also argues in favour of regional councils comprising a mix of central government appointees and elected local representatives.

Derek Hall, who lectured for many years at Auckland University, provides challenging review and prospective articles advocating a return to a deliberately pragmatic planning approach. *LPR* would welcome responses to these pieces.

The ongoing seismic events that shook Canterbury this decade have enhanced our appreciation of the need for planning for resilience and 2014 has seen many researchers and local authorities co-creating a research programme to respond to the Government's National Science Challenge 10 Resilience to Nature's

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Challenges. This is a truly global challenge and 2015 and the subsequent decade will see significant reinvestment in this furthered domestically and internationally. Planning is fundamental to enhancing resilience and the role of urban Māori in this forms part of the Ryks et al. article.

In our outreach part of this Volume we include the response of some political parties to questions put to them about planning by LPR team member Nicole Read. While the election is long past we felt it interesting to report their comments here as we follow developments with planning legislation over the coming years. I took study leave for part of 2014 and report on some reflections on planning from that visit and a list of accredited professional planning programmes in the USA to assist New Zealand students seeking to spend a semester abroad. Other reports come from our students who attended major planning or geography conferences and our regular item tracking some of our graduates and what they are doing now.

Finally, Lincoln University appears to have turned a corner after the earthquakes, at least in the planning programmes, with Su Valance becoming a full member of the New Zealand Planning Institute in 2014, a new planning staff member Tabitha (Tab) Combs arriving in December and a new Masters in Planning being offered in 2015 (and as this goes to press we have heard it has been Provisionally Accredited by the NZPI). We expect these changes to result in improved timeliness in the publication of future volumes of *LPR.*

Hamish G. Rennie, Editor-in-Chief

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Maori participation in urban development: challenges and opportunities for indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the effects of colonisation and urban growth on Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. It describes how recent developments in compensatory reparations, and legislative and policy changes have created new opportunities and challenges for Māori participation in urban development. Our analysis identifies three change catalysts for Māori involvement in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi settlements; central government policy change and local government reform; and disaster planning. We reflect on how these catalysts can enable Māori beliefs and values to be represented within urban landscapes. Our title, Tāone Tupu Ora, refers to cities and towns growing in a life-affirming and healthy way.

Keywords: Cities. Māori and indigenous planning. Urban development. Urban planning.

1. INTRODUCTION

… urban iwi, may we rise up and be counted.
may our voices be heard in this whenua,
that is our home.
may we pull the mana of our tupuna from
within our globalised selves, and breathe again.
Tihei Mauri Ora! There is life within us!
(Cruickshank, 2003).

Many cities in nations such as the United States, Australia and Aotearoa[1] New Zealand were established in areas traditionally inhabited or used by indigenous peoples. As a result, these cities were places where historically, indigenous peoples interacted, traded and came into conflict with settler groups, and where many became alienated from their land, resources and social structures. Today, tribes that originally inhabited these lands have, or are seeking the return of, lands and restitution for harms caused by colonisation.

The urban migration of indigenous peoples during the twentieth century has been recognised as a worldwide phenomenon (Del Popolo, *et al.*, 2007; United Nations, 2007, 2010). Factors influencing migration away from rural areas include dispossession of traditional lands, lack of employment opportunities in rural communities, deterioration of traditional livelihoods and perceived better living opportunities in cities. However, many of those who move to urban areas face significant disadvantages such as lack of employment, inadequate housing, and the discrimination and erosion of language, culture and identity (Gandhi & Freestone, 2008; Pestieau & Wallace, 2003; Sandercock, 2003).

For Māori (the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), urbanisation accelerated following World War Two and has been recognised as one of the most rapid internal migrations by a population globally (Barcham, 1998; Kukutai, 2011). This was partly due to those urbanisation 'push' factors already described as well as concerted efforts by the New Zealand government to encourage Māori to move to cities as a workforce to boost post war industry. Policies and incentives included offers of

[1] Aotearoa (land of the long white cloud) is one of the original names for New Zealand. We follow a common practice of using both names.

accommodation, employment and additional social assistance (Barcham, 1998; Meredith, 2000), which resulted in a rapid increase in life expectancy and a drop in relative inequalities in relation to the European population.

Māori experienced significant disadvantage as result of urban migration (Chapman, *et al*., 2013), this disadvantage compounded by post-war government assimilationist policies. These policies included dispersing Māori families among other urban migrants and further discouraging Māori speaking their own language in schools and workplaces. Such policies resulted in the atrophy of traditional Māori social structures such as whānau (extended family) and led to a profound degradation of cultural, social and physical living environments. Today, Māori living in cities (urban Māori) experience poorer health outcomes compared to other New Zealanders, disproportionately feel the effects of economic recession, receive poor education, and are less able to access quality housing (Robson & Harris, 2007).

While much of the literature focuses on the negative impacts of urban living on the wellbeing of Māori it is important to recognise Māori as proactive actors in the urban environment. Over the last 30 years urban Māori have made gains including some material restitution for lost resources, taking advantage of investment opportunities for the collective good, improved (albeit limited) input into local government decision-making, and the establishment of new organisations to provide social and everyday support needs. These gains are accompanied by, and related to, a strong resurgence and reassertion of Māori values and identity (Byrnes, 1999).

In light of traditional histories and indigenous responses to urban living, modern cities are rich with indigenous histories and culture. However, the degree to which these histories and culture are valued and recognised by urban decision makers varies (Love, 2010). With changing population demographics and varying social, economic and environmental challenges, cities must, in order to survive, be dynamic, capable of adaptation and reflect the unique faces of all peoples living within them.

The experiences of Māori provide a case study of the effects of colonisation and urban growth on indigenous peoples. In this paper we explore three potential change catalysts for the way Māori are involved in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi settlements; local government reform and changes in central government policy; and disaster planning. These are used as case examples that exemplify many of the challenges and opportunities faced by Māori living in urban settings in the 21st Century.

Finally, we explore what is known about urban Māori, propose areas for future research and identify and propose better ways for urban authorities and Māori to work together to make Aotearoa New Zealand's cities more vibrant, resilient and sustainable.[2] Our title, *Tāone Tupu Ora*, conveys the meaning of towns growing in a life-affirming and healthy way.[3]

2. URBANISATION AND MAORI

Before European contact, Māori society was primarily organised around kinship ties: *whānau* (immediate and extended family); *hapū* (a clan of families), and confederations of *hapū* forming *iwi* (tribe). In the large part, iwi and their constituent hapū and whānau settled in specific geographical areas (Kingi, 2008; Sheppard, 2005). Most cities in Aotearoa New Zealand were built around, or on top of, existing Māori settlements (Love, 2010). For example, Auckland (Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city) has a rich history of occupation by various tribes. Within its boundaries

[2]The definition of *sustainable development* is continually debated, especially as applied to urban centres. In this paper, we use Thompson-Fawcett's (2010: 13) elements of a sustainable city: "… people-oriented, equitable, participative, vibrant, resourceful, bio-diverse, energy- efficient, healthy, functional and regenerative." Drawing on indigenous development, community development and natural disasters research, we use *resiliency* in its broadest sense to describe the "human capacity to deal with, overcome, learn from or even be transformed by the inevitable adversities of life" (Grotberg 2003:1). In the context of Māori and their historical and contemporary roles in Aotearoa New Zealand's urban spaces and places, we extend this definition of resilience to also refer to how Māori have shown strength in the face of adverse experiences associated with colonisation (Homel, Lincoln & Herd 1999).

[3]We acknowledge the gift of Wiki Walker, who originated the name *Tāone Tupu Ora.*

Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), an icon of the Auckland environment, was a small urban centre that developed from the sixteenth century and became one of the largest fortified structures in the Southern hemisphere (Blair, 2010; Kawharu, 2009).

Similar to other colonised nations, many of Aotearoa New Zealand's cities originated as ports or trading hubs. Foreseeing the economic benefits that such communities could bring, local iwi leaders often invited traders to set up alongside or inside existing settlements (Durie, 2009b). However, as towns evolved into cities during the 19th and 20th centuries, most of the lands originally held by local iwi were lost. Often this was through involuntary land acquisition and seizure (Kingi, 2008). Land wars, dispossession of resources, illness and colonial governance also eroded the economic base and mana (authority) of iwi (Barcham, 1998).

This period of urban development influenced significant demographic change for Māori. The effects of colonisation, including introduced diseases, land and economic loss, and social disruption, reduced the Māori population from around 100,000 in 1769 to about 42,000 in 1896 (Pool, 1991).

For Māori the process of urbanisation has been rapid. In 1926, 84% were living in rural areas, many in traditional tribal settlements that were directly connected to their iwi and marae (Māori community meeting place). Following the Social Security Act 1938, which initiated the first welfare state to include indigenous peoples, living patterns started to change significantly at the end of the Second World War. By 1966 the proportion of Māori living in urban areas (towns and cities) had increased to 62%. This increased to almost 80% by 1986 and almost 85% by 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). A side-effect of twentieth century urbanisation was accelerated population recovery, although growth has slowed since the 1970s.

According to 2012 estimates 682,000 (15.4%) people identify as Māori out of a national population of 4,433,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Projections indicate by 2026 the Māori population will increase its share of Aotearoa New Zealand's population to 17% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Māori form a significant part of the current population of Aotearoa New Zealand that live in cities – in 2006 this ranged from 7.6% in Christchurch to almost 20% in Hamilton (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Mana whenua and mātāwaka: Māori as traditional inhabitants and migrants to cities

Within an urban setting, Māori manifest as diverse groups with different experiences and interests (Wikitera, 2011). For the purposes of this paper 'urban Māori' is used as a collective term for any person or group living in an urban setting who identify as Māori. Urban Māori can be separated into two distinct groups. The first is *mana whenua*, the iwi or hapū that traditionally inhabited an urban area and who retain *mana* (traditional authority) over the *whenua* (land). Mana whenua are often incorporated as legally recognised rūnanga (iwi councils) and in larger cities there may be more than one mana whenua iwi. The second is *mātāwaka*, or non-mana whenua Māori migrants (and descendants) who have moved away from their traditional homes. Mātāwaka can be further disaggregated into those who continue to actively associate with their own iwi (*taura here*) and those who through decision or circumstance no longer do so[4].

The mana whenua experience has largely been one of disenfranchisement from the material, social and political resources that enabled them to determine how to live and thrive in their communities. Over recent decades there has been some redress of these injustices and in many cases resources have been returned, although only a small proportion of what was held in pre-colonial times. A pressing theme for mana whenua has been attempts to regain their distinct status, to build new social and economic institutions, and to

[4] We are currently finalising a paper that further discusses these definitions and explores the use of customised iwi data from the 2013 New Zealand Census to map the heterogeneity of urban Māori.

preserve remaining traditional resources, such as land and waterways.

Among the challenges faced by mātāwaka (and especially taura here) has been the cultural dislocation brought about by distance from their own iwi and government policies that attempted to discourage the establishment of cultural enclaves within the urban environment. In response to the former and despite the latter, mātāwaka from the outset have created new structures that include tribally affiliated organisations, pan-tribal organisations, sports groups, churches and, for some, gangs (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). These networks help maintain important aspects of Māori culture such as whānaungatanga (maintaining relationships), manaakitanga (support) and utu (reciprocity), but are uniquely located within urban settings. As part of these networks urban marae (new community centres) have been built under the auspices of mana whenua to meet the cultural and social needs of mātāwaka groups as well as the wider community.

One of the key types of pan-tribal organisations that have been established are urban Māori authorities that represent the interests of mātāwaka. Comprising a mix of traditional and contemporary practices these authorities are seen as a permanent feature of urban Māori society (Keiha & Moon, 2008). They are associated with the emergence of a new set of 'urban citizens' whose collective association does not primarily rely on kinship ties but also include ties of location, cultural association and socio-economic status (Meredith, 2000; Barcham, 1998; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

3. TOWARDS BETTER MAORI INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT: CATALYSTS FOR CHANGE

It is evident that in the past Māori have been disadvantaged by the processes of urban development. Much of this disadvantage continues to be felt and raises the important question – how can Māori participate in urban planning and decision making so that development can better meet their needs? In this paper, we look at three catalysts for change – areas of opportunity and challenge where Māori can become more involved in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi dialogue and resultant settlements; changes in central government policy and local government reform; and, as recent experience has demonstrated following the Canterbury earthquakes in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, engagement of Māori in disaster management. Each of these potential catalysts are described in this section.

Treaty of Waitangi settlements

> *"… any settlement of this nature has two essential goals, not just to pay off the past, but also to buy into the future. The Treaty, it must be understood, is primarily concerned with the latter. It is not the extinguishment of rights that is essential but the reaffirmation of them."* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: 10)

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between many (but not all) iwi and the then Crown (now government) marked a historical moment in the colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand. It effectively established the right of settler governance while guaranteeing Māori on-going sovereignty and retention of cultural, social and physical resources (Orange, 1987)[5]. Unfortunately, for much of the 19th and 20th centuries the intent of the Treaty was largely ignored and Māori rights were actively suppressed (Durie, 2009a; Wheen & Hayward, 2013).

In recent decades greater recognition of the Treaty has helped define partnership rights between the New Zealand Government and Māori (Durie, 2009a). This began with the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* that established the independent Waitangi Tribunal to hear claims of contemporary breaches of the Treaty. In 1985 the Act and scope of the Waitangi Tribunal was extended to historic claims (Wheen & Hayward, 2012). The impact of the Act on Māori

[5]There were in fact two versions of the Treaty – a version written in Māori and version written in English. The English version outlined somewhat less rights for Māori while extending the right of settler governance to absolute sovereignty. Given that most of the signatures were made on the Māori text and under international laws of Contra proferentem the Māori version should in principle take precedence.

development cannot be overstated. The Tribunal's role was to present all the evidence, not only legal but also tribal knowledge. In urban settings non-Māori New Zealanders were, for the first time, exposed to aspects of traditional knowledge about urban land and water, its deep history, uses and management (Blair, 2010; Wheen and Hayward, 2012). This has led to greater appreciation and valuing of traditional knowledge as part of local council planning (Walker, 2010).

Within many of Aotearoa New Zealand's urban centres significant Treaty settlements have included both the (limited) return of land, and financial reparation for iwi with mana whenua status. While the amount of reparation does not come close to offsetting resources lost (Durie, 2005), the settlements have changed the nature of urban development processes, offering both new opportunities and new challenges.

Settlements have significantly strengthened the resource base of urban iwi and hapū. This in turn has allowed them to develop infrastructure - for instance, to employ people with planning and resource management expertise, so that iwi and hapū can participate in urban planning. In addition, urban iwi now have the ability to manage their land holdings for economic growth, while still retaining collective ownership (Durie, 2005). Some iwi have become major urban landowners: for instance, the South Island iwi Ngāi Tahu is in the process of developing a large Greenfield subdivision in Christchurch, and in the North Island, Waikato Tainui has built a mega shopping mall.

Iwi have ensured that settlement packages include cultural redress. Examples of this include iwi and local authorities working to restore traditional waterways, and the restoration of ancestral place names (Hoskins, 2009). A consequence of these developments is that local authorities are now expected, and will soon be required (Ministry for the Environment, 2013) to have agreements with local iwi covering their participation in decision-making about resource use.

The settlement process itself has contributed to the renewal of iwi and hapū. Of particular relevance to sustainable urban development is that funding has allowed iwi to collect and record history and traditional knowledge about their ancestral area (Walker, 2010). This has not only given younger Māori a greater understanding of, and identification with, their history but has provided a local and national base of knowledge on water, soil, land use and natural hazards (Awatere, *et al*., 2008; Awatere, *et al.*, 2013).

At the same time, these settlements have created new challenges, or brought into the open issues that had previously been hidden. A major challenge for the future is whether the process has actually changed power relationships between government and Māori in any substantive way. Some commentators (Wheen & Hayward, 2012; Durie, 2005) provide a somewhat pessimistic view on what Treaty settlements have actually achieved, arguing that settlements may have only limited benefits:

> *Whatever else settlements achieved – and their contribution to tribal development and economic recovery should not be underestimated – they did not make substantial differences to the depleted state of total Māori land holdings.* (Durie, 2005: 68)

While Treaty of Waitangi settlements have been beneficial for many iwi, the claims process has also had the effect of 'freezing' (in the legal sense) Māori social structures. Legislation required the settlement process to be between the government and iwi, and within the tribal boundaries at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840 (Barcham, 1998). In contemporary New Zealand cities, however, a significant part of the Māori population has migrated to urban areas from other parts of the country. These mātāwaka Māori, many long-standing city residents, have been excluded from Treaty settlements in the city they live in, as well from as the resulting relational, economic and cultural benefits settlements have brought (Tawhai, 2010). This is despite the Waitangi Tribunal recognising that all Māori, regardless of whether or not they are physically or socially connected to their ancestral hapū and iwi, should be accorded rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Durie (2009a) recognises the effect that mātāwaka have had on urban development. He

suggests that once substantive Treaty claims have been settled there will be a shift away from claimant iwi towards collectives that reflect a broader picture of Māori society as it exists today. This would require urban authorities to interact with Māori in a very different way, requiring them to balance mātāwaka and mana whenua perspectives. Given that some local authorities are still struggling to fully include local iwi in urban development, this conceptual and operational shift could pose a challenge.

Local government reform and changing central government policy: challenges and opportunities for greater Māori involvement.

Recent legislative changes in Aotearoa New Zealand on the role and form of local government are changing its role and nature of relationships with Māori (Salter, 2010). Most recently, the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill (2012) significantly narrowed the focus and role of councils' activities, replacing a broad emphasis on promoting the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of communities with a new role that requires councils to:

> *Meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses.* (Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill 2012)

This narrower purpose, and a focus on local government amalgamation and reorganisation, may have major implications for Aotearoa New Zealand's cities and on Māori living in those cities. It will also have an effect on efforts to promote sustainable urban development. However, there are early indications that some local councils still see themselves as having a responsibility for social wellbeing and for the environment (Auckland Council, 2013).

The ways in which local governing authorities have interpreted and operationalised principles, mechanisms and opportunities for Māori participation have varied greatly. The Bay of Plenty, a region that includes the urban centres of Tauranga and Rotorua (Aotearoa New Zealand's sixth and tenth largest cities respectively) was the first region to have formal Māori representation through three Māori constituencies, although this required a special act of Parliament. Similar seats have been proposed for other urban centres, and recently the Waikato Regional Council voted to have two dedicated Māori seats to represent the Waikato region.

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2008) recommended that the Auckland Unitary Council (an amalgamation of Auckland region councils that occurred in 2010) include three Māori councilors. Two were to be elected by Māori residents and one appointed by mana whenua. Instead the government opted for an Independent Māori Statutory Board. In its current form, this Board is independent of the Auckland Council, and works to raise issues that are significant for mana whenua and mātāwaka groups, as well as ensuring that the Council complies with statutory provisions that refer to the Treaty of Waitangi (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013).

To date, only Auckland has experienced large-scale amalgamation and reorganisation with limited recognition of Māori representation (Ryks, *et al*., 2010). While the government has avoided formal policy announcements on the application of any Auckland blueprint for other regions, the legislation makes it clear that the Auckland changes are a forerunner to local government restructuring for the rest of the country (Ryan, 2010). Some regions such as Wellington have already identified amalgamation options (Wellington Regional Local Government Review Panel, 2012).

Parallel to the local government reform process, legislative and policy change at the central government level is influencing the ways in which Māori can participate in urban development. For example, the Resource Management Act 1991 is a key piece of legislation that enables Māori participation in the planning and management of natural and physical resources. The Act requires authorities to follow the principles of 'sustainable management', a concept that in terms of planning for Aotearoa New Zealand's urban spaces has resulted in very

different outcomes across cities and towns. The Resource Management Act 1991 recognises "the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu (sacred places), and other taonga (things or places of value)" (Resource Management Act 1991: 68). It also requires local government to "have particular regard to kaitiakitanga (the role or responsibility of guardianship, especially as applied to the natural world)" (Resource Management Act 1991: 69), and to take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Awatere, *et al.*, 2013; Ministry for the Environment, 2010; Tutua-Nathan, 2003).

When the Act was introduced it was considered world-leading and innovative, including its new mechanisms and provisions for enabling Māori leadership and a Māori voice in decision-making (Hayward, 2003). Some 22 years on, there has been little progress in increasing Māori participation in decision-making (Awatere, *et al.*, 2013; Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007; Love, 2001). For example, the Act allows for the formal transfer of decision-making to iwi, but to date, there has only been one instance of this provision being used. The Act has led local councils to develop their own objectives and local models for engagement to 'enable' Māori communities to incorporate cultural perspectives, such as cultural issues and values, into planning and policy (Henderson, 2011). However, Harmsworth (2002: 6) found that "to date, most staff in district and regional councils continue to be largely non-Māori, and Māori input really only comes about through external engagement (e.g., iwi liaison), consultation, working groups", a view supported by others (e.g. Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007).

The proposed changes to the Act propose strengthening the requirement that local councils have a formal agreement with mana whenua (Ministry for the Environment, 2013), other potential changes such as allowing less time for consultation on proposed environmental impacts, and giving central government more control over environmental decisions, may reduce the ability of Māori to have real input to decisions that affect the land and water over which iwi continue to assert kaitiakitanga - the right of guardianship or stewardship (Love, 2001; Tutua-Nathan, 2003).

The existing and emerging mechanisms and provisions for Māori involvement in local and central government decision-making described here represent both challenges and opportunities for urban Māori. The challenges partly relate to the need to find ways to increase utilisation of these mechanisms and provisions over current levels. The opportunities relate to the fact that these mechanisms and provisions simply exist and that many urban Māori are more resourced and positioned to make use of them (Human Rights Commission, 2010; Ryks, *et al*., 2010).

Disaster management: building more resilient urban settings for Māori

Pre-colonisation, indigenous peoples have had to understand, be resilient to, and even take advantage of, natural disasters such as flooding, hurricanes and earthquakes in order to survive. For example, for many indigenous peoples, flooding came to be seen as an important source of water and essential nutrients for horticulture (Quarantelli, 2003).

In a contemporary urban context, disasters are usually defined in relation to their impact on human lives. In cities, a disaster's potential impact is magnified by the concentration of people, infrastructure and economic resources (Quarantelli, 2003). Therefore, there are strong incentives for urban planning processes to focus on reducing the risk of disasters occurring, their immediate impact and facilitating longer-term recovery.

Disaster management includes identifying hazards, mitigating hazards, preparing for disasters and putting in place short, medium and long-term recovery plans once a disaster has occurred (Richard, *et al*., 2004). The human-centric nature of disasters means that prioritising hazard risks and their impact is as much a socio-political constructed endeavour as it is scientific (Quarantelli, 2003). An outcome of disasters for indigenous peoples in colonised nations is that they have often become economically, socially and politically marginalised from mainstream society (Campbell, *et al*., 2012; Estes, *et al*., 2000; Hirini, 2005). Such marginalisation may predispose

indigenous peoples to greater risk before a disaster and inhibit recovery following a disaster (Berke, *et al*., 1993). Greater vulnerability to risk is partly attributable to living in low-income neighbourhoods that are more likely to be exposed to hazards and with less access to social and economic resources to aid post-disaster recovery (Norris and Alegría, 2006). Recent experience among Māori living in post-earthquake Christchurch supports these claims as researchers found that local and central government needed more formalised engagement with local iwi to help facilitate the recovery process (Lambert, 2012).

While disasters are by definition negative events, preparing for and recovering from disasters can strengthen communities and build resilience to future challenges they may face – often referred to as 'bouncing forward' (Manyena, *et al*., 2011). For example, disaster recovery may provide opportunities to develop more affordable housing stock, improve transport infrastructure, develop and make better use of open spaces, modernise public facilities and stimulate the local economy (Berke, *et al*., 1993). Actively engaging indigenous peoples in disaster planning and recovery can be an opportunity to address underlying factors that increase vulnerability to disaster (e.g. infrastructure and access to support services), improve recovery prospects and improve resiliency within communities. As many of these factors fundamentally impact on wellbeing in general addressing them as part of pre or post disaster planning can yield additional benefits.

Indigenous communities also play important roles in aiding disaster recovery. Indigenous peoples are typically organised around kinship-based collectives, and in contemporary urban settings, indigenous organisations may also include urban authorities, health and social centres (Shaw, *et al*., 2009). The presence of such community organisations enables resources to be quickly mobilised following a disaster (Klopotek, *et al*., 2008), such as the mobilisation of tribal and pan-tribal marae (traditional community centres) for community residents and organisations following the 2010-11 Canterbury earthquakes in Aotearoa New Zealand (Lambert, 2012). If opportunities presented within disaster management processes are not able to be taken, indigenous peoples can remain vulnerable to disaster (and other factors affecting wellbeing) and even become subject to greater risk (Bolin, 2006).

There is a growing body of literature providing perspectives on traditional knowledge and disasters, responses to potential disaster hazards, and how they can be included in disaster risk management processes (King and Goff, 2006; McCubbin, *et al*., 2008; Mercer, *et al*., 2010). However, much of this literature is derived from developing countries, or it is not specific to urban settings. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand there is a need to better understand how Māori can be meaningfully engaged in disaster management.

4. MOVING TOEARDS TAONE TUPU ORA: HEALTHY CITIES OF THE FUTURE.

This paper has provided an overview of Māori involvement in urban development in Aotearoa New Zealand. We have outlined Māori experiences of urbanisation from pre-colonial urban development, and the impacts of colonisation on the Māori population, to the development challenges that urban Māori currently face. Drawing from these experiences we have identified three catalysts (Treaty of Waitangi settlements, changing central government policy and local government reform, and disaster recovery) that can facilitate change. They represent a range of opportunities and challenges for genuine Māori involvement in urban planning and development.

As a significant part of the urban population, and as Treaty of Waitangi partners with specific rights and interests, it is clear that Māori aspire to and should be able to take an active role in planning for urban futures (Blair, 2010; Hoskins, 2009). For mana whenua, the people who are ancestrally and spiritually connected to the lands cities are built upon and the natural environments they affect, that role includes reclaiming their mana and being empowered and participating in decision-making (Blair, 2010). For mātāwaka, that

role and place is still being defined, but will have to be taken into account for the future. Processes that include all urban Māori in decision-making will need to be developed to avoid legal, moral, or other challenges to the validity of urban plans.

For Māori (and other indigenous peoples) their interest in urban development is not solely, or even largely, economic, but includes other dimensions of wellbeing. This is because the negative impacts of colonisation and migration have not just been felt in economic terms but in social and health terms as well (Durie, 2009; Robson and Harris, 2007). Therefore, a major driver for full Māori participation in urban planning and development is achieving equity across the social, economic, and political spectrums. Love (2010) conceptualises this as a desire among Māori for a 'cultural footprint' in the city.

At the same time urban planners are beginning to recognise that the 'Māori face of the city' is not just decoration or tourist attraction, but an integral part of a city's social capital (Auckland Council, 2013; Greater Wellington Regional Council, 2012). Alongside this is the growing recognition of traditional indigenous knowledge as both a part of a city's real history, and as an asset in preparing for its future (Thompson-Fawcett, 2010).

The challenges and opportunities for greater Māori involvement in urban development described in this paper, and the catalysts for change that have been introduced, represent important areas for future research. Little is known about the likely impacts of the local government reforms and central government policy changes on Māori. Similarly, there is a lack of research about how, or if, Treaty of Waitangi settlements will position urban Māori to take a leading role in shaping Aotearoa New Zealand's urban centres. Further work is also needed to understand the role of Māori in response to natural disasters and the resilience of Māori communities.

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A view from the farm-gate: farmers' perspectives on water quality

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ABSTRACT

Regional and sub-regional policies and rules that set limits on diffuse nutrient losses from agricultural land are being put in place across New Zealand. In Canterbury, it is expected that water quality and nutrient loss limits, and irrigation expansion within those limits, will be achieved by existing irrigators (and new entrants) adopting good management practice and, where it is deemed necessary, going beyond it to best management practice. Research undertaken in North Canterbury shows that farmers' understandings of the relationship between land and water are out-of-sync with the scientific framing of the land-water relationship embodied in the Hurunui Waiau River Regional Plan. While easily dismissed as farmers' lack of recognition of their cumulative effects or their misunderstanding of the science, it will be argued that acknowledging and recognising how farmers frame the water quality problem is an important starting point for working with them in the implementation of these new policies and rules and the achievement of good and best management practice.

Keywords: planning, good management practice, resource limits, water quality, farmers

1. INTRODUCTION

Water governance, planning and management have shifted significantly in New Zealand in a short period of time. In 2011 a National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management (NPSFM) was introduced by central government, with amendments in July 2014. The key purpose of the NPSFM is "[s]etting enforceable quality and quantity limits" (MfE, 2011, p.3). In terms of quality, implementation of the NPSFM by Regional Councils is focused primarily on diffuse agricultural pollution and setting nutrient loss limits on agricultural land use. In the region of Canterbury, setting resource limits was underway before the NPSFM was introduced through the Canterbury Water Management Strategy (CWMS) (Canterbury Mayoral Forum, 2009). Since central government sacked the elected councillors of the Canterbury Regional Council (CRC) (Creech et al., 2010) and installed temporary commissioners in 2010, the CWMS has become the driving force behind what is promoted as a new paradigm of governance in the region with its collaborative approach to water planning and management. Importantly, it is expected by the CRC and industry groups that newly-imposed water quality and nutrient loss limits, and the expansion of irrigation within those limits, will be achieved by farmers shifting to good management practice and, where it is deemed necessary, going beyond it to best management practice (Brown et al., 2011; Dairy NZ, undated; Dairy NZ and Fonterra Co-operative Ltd, 2012; CRC, 2013a; CRC, 2014; HWZC, 2011a).

This article raises questions about this expectation. From an international review of agri-environmental policy and diffuse water pollution literature, Blackstock et al. (2010) conclude that gaining agreement on what is 'the water quality problem' is fundamental to approaches that seek

to engage farmers and change land management practices. These international insights are the starting point for the research discussed here.

The article proceeds as follows: Section 2 provides background on the Hurunui Waiau sub-region which is the case study for this research. It also explains how community socio-economic expectations for expanded irrigation, and environmental expectations on water quality, have been translated into land use rules. It also highlights the challenges now being faced in meeting these expectations in terms of reducing nutrient losses from agricultural land to meet in-stream water quality limits. Section 3 discusses farmers' perspectives on water quality derived from 20 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2013. Section 4 contrasts farmers' perspectives with how the water quality problem is framed by the CRC. Section 5 discusses how conceptions of the relationship between land and water held by farmers are out-of-sync with the scientific framing of the issue embedded in the Hurunui Waiau River Regional Plan (HWRRP). It will be argued that this divergence in how the water quality problem is framed has implications for how farmers are engaged in Audited Self-Management and the development of Farm Environment Plans that are now required under the HWRRP (Brown, 2012). Section 6 concludes that farmers' perspectives on water quality should not be dismissed as a lack of recognition of cumulative effects or their misunderstanding of the science but rather as an opportunity to reflect upon how farmers are being engaged to adopt and go beyond good management practice.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. The Hurunui Waiau Zone

The Hurunui-Waiau is one of ten governance zones established under the CWMS and is the largest zone by land area (8,661 square kilometres). The largest river catchments in the zone are the Hurunui, Waiau, Waipara and Conway/Tutae Putaputa (CRC, 2012). The HWRRP does not cover the Waipara and Conway catchments (CRC, 2013b). Also, the HWRRP sits outside the recently notified Canterbury Land and Water Regional Plan. This sub-region had the first zonal committee under the CWMS, namely, the Hurunui Waiau Zone Committee (HWZC). It was the first to finalise its Zone Implementation Programme (ZIP), and the first to have its ZIP moved through the statutory process under the *Resource Management Act, 1991* (RMA) with the final HWRRP having been informed by a collaborative process under the CWMS (see Memon et al., 2012 for a preliminary review of the process).

2.2. Creating Headroom for New Irrigation

A key socio-economic goal of the ZIP is to substantially expand irrigated agriculture, for example, by an estimated 30,000 ha through the construction of the proposed Hurunui Water Project (HWZC, 2011a, p. 57). Notably, the ZIP refers to 100,000 ha of irrigable land across the region (HWZC, 2011a, p. 32). In terms of environmental outcomes, the ZIP identified that water quality should be maintained at current levels or improved (HWZC, 2011a, pp. 34-36). When translated through the statutory RMA process into planning provisions in the HWRRP, the expected outcomes in the ZIP have seen the establishment of 'cumulative effects of land use on water quality' objectives and policies (policies 5.3 5.3A and 5.3B, pp. 14-15). These articulate in-stream water quality limits on the main stems and adjoining tributaries of the Hurunui and Waiau Rivers. They relate to periphyton cover and concentrations of: chlorophyll a, nitrate-nitrogen and dissolved reactive phosphorus (DRP).

These policies are linked in various ways to the take, use and allocation of surface and groundwater, land use change, and permitted activities. In relation to the latter, for example, if statistically aggregated concentrations at the monitoring point of a main tributary of the Hurunui River, e.g. the Pahau, go beyond 3.6 mg/L, permitted activities across the catchment that result in "a discharge of nitrogen or phosphorus which may enter water" (CRC, 2013b, p. 25) no longer have permitted status. Such activities become discretionary and would require a resource consent. Furthermore, the take, use and allocation of surface and groundwater, and land use change, are linked to nutrient load limits for dissolved inorganic nitrogen (DIN) and DRP (tonnes/year) which trigger changes in activity status if exceeded. As yet, nutrient load limits for DIN and DRP have been calculated only for the Hurunui River using a 2005-2011 data set of

instream nutrient concentrations and river flow measurements (CRC, 2013b, pp. 14-15 and Schedule 1, p. 31).

Importantly, when the ZIP was finalised, the Zone Committee's expectation was that 'nutrient headroom' required to allow new irrigation to occur within environmental limits (i.e. with water quality staying at a *status quo* level), would be created by existing farmers adopting good management practice and moving beyond it. It had been maintained by the CRC that to create headroom to significantly expand irrigation a reduction in nutrient losses of between 30-50 per cent would be required from existing land users (Brown, 2012, clause 34). Initial assumptions about what might be possible in terms of reductions in nutrient losses were informed by a study commissioned by the CRC that had calculated potential reductions of an average of around 50 per cent for the Culverden Basin with the implementation of specific mitigation practices (Brown et al., 2011, Appendix 6; Lilburne et al., 2011, p. 26-27). It was on this basis the HWZC stated in the ZIP that "[t]he Zone Committee believes that existing good farm management practices and the adoption of future best practices by all land/water users can result in both future nutrient load limits being met and full irrigation development occurring in the Hurunui Basin in future years" (HWZC, 2011a, p. 34).

However, during the HWRRP hearings (which the author attended and observed), assumptions underpinning the modelling were drawn into question (e.g. the proportion of farms that remained to be converted from border dyke to spray irrigation) (Williamson, 2012, clauses 39-49), as was the premise that existing farmers could and should go beyond 'technical efficiency' to create headroom for the benefit of new entrants (Williamson, 2012, clauses 39-49; Dairy NZ and Fonterra Co-operative Ltd, clauses 42-53; Brown, 2012). At the hearings, it was maintained that 17 per cent was a more realistic figure for on-farm nutrient loss reductions from existing land users (Williamson, 2012; Dairy NZ and Fonterra Co-operative Ltd, 2012).

Another important question raised during the preparation of the ZIP was how long would it take for existing farmers to change their practices and when could new irrigators use the created headroom? These issues led to the CRC decision to raise the nutrient load limit on the Hurunui River for DIN in the notified HWRRP (HWZC, 2011b; Memon et al., 2012). Without the increase, it would not be possible for the proposed irrigation expansion already integrated into the goals of the ZIP to get off the ground.

Notwithstanding the finalised increase in the DIN load limit of 25 per cent (CRC, 2013b, p. 31) (which creates some headroom for nitrogen, much of which has been allocated to new irrigation), CRC and HWZC attention is still very much focused on existing farmers and their potential to reduce nutrient losses. Attention has also turned to phosphorus as the load limit in the Hurunui River has now been exceeded, thus putting on hold irrigation development in the catchment notwithstanding the allocated headroom for nitrogen (HWZC, 2014a).

It is important to note that expectations on headroom to pursue an expansion of irrigation have elevated tensions. Questions raised by existing farmers go beyond what headroom is possible to who should deliver it and at what cost? Dairy farmers are asking who owns or should benefit from the headroom already moving through the system arising from their adoption in the past and present of what are now classed as good and best management practices, for example, the conversion of border dyke to spray irrigation that has occurred across the Culverden Basin in recent years (Brown et al., 2011; CRC, 2014; Dairy NZ, undated; HWZC, 2014b; Williamson, 2012).

3. FARMERS' PERSPECTIVES

3.1. Already improving water quality

Interviews with farmers involved 12 participants with irrigation on dairy farms and eight participants with irrigation on sheep/beef/arable farms with dairy support in and around the Culverden Basin, North Canterbury. Participants were selected from submissions made on the ZIP and the proposed HWRRP, and using snowball sampling. Of the 20 participants, 13 were identified as distant from the process, having little knowledge of it, and seven were identified as close, given that they had attended HWZC meetings and demonstrated an understanding of the process.

In interviews, farmers were asked, *inter alia*, how they were responding to calls to change land management practices to improve water quality. They explained that they were fencing stock from waterways, managing effluent, using Overseer®, calculating nutrient budgets, improving fertiliser application and planting trees along waterways. Many farmers talked about these practices as if they had become part of their farm systems and had been for some time. Dairy farmers indicated they no longer had a choice – if they wanted their milk collected they had to comply with new requirements. Dairy farmers were concerned that there was a tail end of their industry or a minority that was 'letting the side down'.

3.2. Water quality is relative

Many farmers compared South Island rivers with what they had seen overseas. They concluded that rivers in their area were good in comparison. Participants also talked about degraded urban waterways. Several were perplexed as to why people living with degraded rivers in cities expected rivers in agricultural areas, their workplace, to be pristine. They felt these were unrealistic expectations.

All farmers appeared to have an intimate understanding of their soils, how they varied across their properties and what this meant in terms of the movement of water, nutrients and sediments.

When asked if they were seeing problems with the water quality in their local area, e.g. slime growing in the rivers, many maintained that they had not, or if they had, it was minimal or occurred at times of low flow and high temperatures and it would get washed away with a fresh rain or in winter.

3.3. We want good water quality too

Many talked about leisure activities in the rivers such as fishing, boating and swimming and how their kids swam in the rivers. They also said they would have no hesitation drinking water from the Waiau or the Hurunui (and many do for their drinking water supply), although they did express hesitation about drinking from tributaries in intensive dairying areas. Farmers talked about how water going into the Pahau River had been visibly degraded in the past due to drainage from border dyke irrigation wipe-off water. I was told that a group of farmers had sorted out these issues with the help of the CRC and with the subsequent transition from border-dyke to spray irrigation the issue was now in the past. One farmer noted that his family had stopped swimming in the Pahau in the past but was now happy to swim there again as there is no longer a problem.

3.4. Farm-scale contributions

When asked to what extent their farm was contributing nutrients to the rivers, participants considered their contributions to be minimal or well within a reasonable range. Several were using Overseer® and knew their leaching losses while others referred to their nutrient budgets and were confident they were not wasting fertiliser. They equated inefficient fertiliser use with throwing money away. One dairy farmer equated fertiliser use with productivity and because productivity was increasing, the suggestion that nutrients were leaching was incongruous – nutrients are going into grass not water. When asked about cow urine, it was maintained that the build-up of grass and organic matter was encouraging underlying soil organisms (e.g. worms) to work in and soak up nutrients.

3.5. GMP already in place

Farmers identified a range of practices that were contributing to reducing their nutrient losses. Many would be classed as good management practices by the regional council and industry (Brown et al., 2011; CRC, 2014; Dairy NZ, undated). They included the reduction of fertiliser use or improvement in the way it was applied and its timing. There was also fencing stock from waterways, converting from border dyke to spray irrigation, riparian plantings along waterways and fence lines, and better control systems for irrigation and land application of effluent. Farmers on dairy support farms also talked about not concentrating cows in small areas.

3.6. Other factors

Importantly, farmers also talked about a range of other factors to explain why their farm contributions were minimal. For example:

- The distance from the river
- No major water courses on the property
- Not on shingle soils next to river
- The presence of clay soils or clay soil layers
- Nutrients impeded by underground aquifers

It could be inferred from these responses that farmers are not recognising their cumulative effects or they misunderstand the science on the movement of nutrients from land via surface water or through groundwater into waterways. Yet, many of the factors they raised are relevant or could be influencing contributions to the movement of nutrients in various ways. The reality is, little is known about what happens beyond the root zone outside of modelling and assumptions about attenuation (HWZC, 2014b; Woodward et al., 2013).

In summary, for participant farmers, water quality is relative and the relationship between land and water is not direct – there are many factors that, from their perspectives, can influence or impede the movement of nutrients from land to water. For example, the presence of nuisance algae comes and goes in different years and under conditions that are highly variable.

4. THE SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM FRAMING

In contrast to how the farmers in this study see it, the CRC and the HWRRP frame the land-water relationship, and farmers' responsibility for it, as direct and unimpeded by factors considered relevant by farmers (see CRC, 2012, diagrams on pp. 32-33). For example, Rule 10.1, which relates to permitted activities, applies to "any existing land use … that results in a discharge of nitrogen or phosphorus which may enter water" (CRC, 2013b, p. 25). Hence, no matter where a farm is situated across the region, nutrient losses are assumed to be a threat to water. These requirements and provisions are at odds with how farmers conceive the relationship between land and water.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Problem framings out-of-sync

Blackstock et al. (2010) maintain that gaining agreement on what is 'the problem' is fundamental to approaches that seek to engage farmers to change land management practices. It has been shown that farmers in this study in and around the Culverden Basin view the water quality problem as temporary and contingent upon a range of highly variable factors that influence nutrient movement and a farm's contribution. By contrast, the CRC conceives and represents this relationship between land and water as direct and unimpeded (CRC, 2012, pp. 32-33).

It is not being argued that the CRC should not regulate cumulative effects or that there is no water quality problem. However, international research tells us that the success of policies, plans and regulations hinge on empowering the people who live on the land (Morton and Brown, 2011). From this perspective, divergent problem framings are likely to hinder regional council directed efforts to encourage farmers to achieve good management practice and go beyond compliance in the development and implementation of Audited Self-Management and Farm Environment Plans now required under the HWRRP (Brown, 2012).

As far as participant farmers are concerned, while there is always room for improvement, they are taking responsibility for water quality, and this is evident in their actions, if not reflected in current nutrient concentrations in the Hurunui River and its tributaries. It is important to note that lag effects complicate water quality mitigation given that it can be some time before changes in practices are reflected in concentrations in waterways. Without close monitoring, understanding lag effects can be difficult given the inability to attribute change to specific measures. Also, intensification of land use in other parts of a catchment can overwhelm reductions in nutrient losses from mitigation.

6. CONCLUSIONS

It has been argued from the research that conceptions of the water quality problem in the Hurunui Waiau sub-region are out-of-sync. Participant farmers conceive the water quality problem as important but contingent upon a range of highly variable factors and circumstances. In contrast, the CRC, in the HWRRP, conceives the land-water relationship as direct and unimpeded by the factors farmers' see as mediating the movement of nutrients.

This divergence could easily be dismissed as farmers' lack of recognition of cumulative effects or a lack of understanding of the science. In my view, such dismissals fail to recognise not only how farmers see their world, but also that this is a critical starting point for the implementation of new policies and rules and the achievement of

expectations that farmers will go beyond compliance.

Epilogue: This research has been presented to and discussed with the HWZC. The disconnect it highlights between farmers, the HWZC and the CRC has been acknowledged and concerted efforts are being made to remedy the issues raises in this paper.

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Planning and pragmatism: an introductory outline particularly involving the elimination of goal-achievement in the planning process

Derek HALL

Introduction

In recent years there has been increasing interest in, and focussing on, the possibility of the use of pragmatism and the pragmatic method in planning theory and practice. Harper and Stein (2006), for example, review the literature on the issue and set out their arguments and proposals for the application of pragmatism to planning.

As shown by Hoch (1984), a relationship between pragmatism and planning can be found to exist, even though there is little or no evidence in the literature to confirm that that is the case. Use of the pragmatic method may be unwitting or subconscious.

It would be interesting to consider, at a practical level, how it might be possible to overtly, consciously, and systematically use the pragmatic method in planning. It would be useful to develop an outline regime which might result from applying the pragmatic method to land use planning.[1] Both substance, that is the content of plans, and process, would need to be considered. However, it is not proposed to go that far here, but within the space available, just to introduce the idea with a view to creating some interest in it that hopefully will be followed up in some way. What follows, therefore, is an introductory theoretical outline. At this stage, there is no systematic examination of the relevant literature, nor is there a full practical development of the idea.

The proposal has two main facets. One is the general use of the pragmatic method in planning decision making. The other is the elimination of goal-achievement as part of the planning process. This arguably is desirable in any event, but pragmatism *requires*, and provides an alternative, namely, determining *the goodness* of any proposed action or of any action taken. *Extensive* changing of plans may not be necessary.

In the next subsection pragmatism will be explained. Because the manner in which the concept of 'goals' is used is a central issue, that concept will be revisited in section 2. Two other concepts of basic importance in the use of the pragmatic method are '*values*' and '*interests,*' and there will be reference to these in section 3. Section 4 is a brief conclusion.

An Introduction to Pragmatism

In 1975 William J Meyer published a book entitled *Public Good and Political Authority: A Pragmatic Proposal* (Meyer, 1975). ("Public Good" is a synonym for 'particular public interest.') The main thrust of Meyer's work is to show the relationship between 'public interest' and the formation and operation of the state, and to argue that using the pragmatic method is the only satisfactory

[1] Notice that *land use* planning is particularly in mind.

way of ascertaining and dealing with public interest. Although not written specifically for land use planning, several examples he gives indicate that to some extent he has that in mind as an area where his ideas could be put into practice. It would be interesting to consider how Meyer might be directly applied in planning theory, for example by making public interest a central concept. However, whilst Meyer's intentions as to public interest should be borne in mind for possible future reference, it is proposed here to just use his description of pragmatism as a way of introducing that element into the present discussion. Although intended by him for use in his context, it is an as clear and concise a statement as is likely to be found anywhere and will therefore be ideal for the present purposes.[2]

Meyer's Account of Pragmatism

From Meyer, the following points and issues can be identified:

1. Pragmatists seek to establish beliefs about the real world. This may cover facts and values; the present, the likely future; courses of action to influence and modify the future; and the consequences of taking such action.
2. As an important preliminary point concerning pragmatism, and relevant to planning, Meyer says that in attempting to get at truth, and to make judgments about it, two sides of us are at work, one logical and intellectual, and the other "passional." "The former can be 'coerced' by brute facts to the point where our passions can add little to, and certainly not resist, the intellect's firm grasp of things" (p 18). If you cannot make a decision intellectually, you must use your "passional" nature.
3. A proposal for a belief is a *hypothesis*; and a hypothesis selected from alternatives is an option. An option may be *live* or *dead, forced* or *avoidable,* and *momentous* or *trivial*. A *genuine option* is live, forced, and momentous. Whether related to facts, values, or action, unless the option is live, it is unrealistic; if it is avoidable it is unlikely to be pursued; and if it is trivial it is not likely to be worth pursuing.
4. Possible alternative motivations are to seek the truth, or avoid error (in effect, to do nothing). The latter is often undesirable because opportunities for improvement are missed, and you have less control over your destiny (akin to being fatalistic).
5. The *pragmatic situation* is where there are genuine options available, and the *pragmatic spirit* is to seek the truth.
6. Meyer invokes pragmatism for his method of ascertaining and dealing with the public interest, but this illustrates the use of the method generally and most points apply regardless of whether or not you are considering public interest. In his explanation, Meyer adds to 'public' and 'interest' the quality of the public interest involving genuine options, and brings in other concepts of pragmatism as well as hypotheses and options: belief and truth, doubts, logical/intellectual and passional decisions, the *pragmatic situation*, the *pragmatic spirit*, 'risk-taking,' experimenting, the avoidance of "vicious intellectualism" and "vicious abstractionism," ideas-in-use, ends-in-view, knowing and acting; testing beliefs - and verification, or revision and correction of mistakes; the idea that you "set out" from your starting point with all of your existing knowledge and a state of mind. This item 6 partly corresponds to what is covered in the foregoing items 1-5, but also introduces some additional concepts:

(a) Doubts
(b) 'Risk-taking'
(c) Experimenting
(d) The avoidance of 'vicious intellectualism' and 'vicious abstractionism.'

[2] If a fuller consideration of the method central to this discussion is desired, Harper and Stein are mentioned above is a principal reference for planners. The principal exponents of the philosophy are John Dewey, William James, and Charles Sanders Peirce.

(e) Ideas-in-use
(f) Ends-in-view
(g) Knowing and acting
(h)Testing beliefs – and verification, or revision and correction of mistakes
(i) 'Setting out' from a starting point with all your existing knowledge and a state of mind.
7. Fact and value are dealt with in a pragmatic way.

Relevance to Planning

These (above) 'beliefs" comprehensively cover what planning sets out to establish. The one difference from present practice is the *emphasis* on 'values.' This is an important concept in the use of the pragmatic method and will be discussed in section 3.

This acknowledges that there will be gaps in knowledge and understanding, but is saying, firstly, that the logical and intellectual side must be taken as far as it possibly can; then use of your passional nature is necessary, one point seeming to be that you should be open about it, and not try to imply you are reaching a logical decision or conclusion when you are not. These are principles that could be applied more rigorously in planning than they are at present, and could be useful guides to follow.

Notice what may be covered by 'beliefs' as set out in item 1, which may be the subject of a hypothesis. Selecting options from alternative hypotheses is in accord with the planning method, and providing tests for ensuring that the option is 'genuine' (live, forced, and momentous) is useful. Again, pragmatism could provide useful guidance to how planning can go about an aspect of its business.

Seeking the truth would normally be the most desirable. The temptation to 'avoid error' may often need to be resisted, but sometimes that alternative may have to be adopted. Again, pragmatism covers one of the issues planning has to deal with.

It will always be useful to know that you are dealing with a 'pragmatic situation' or that the 'pragmatic spirit' is being applied (or if not, that you should be doing that). These, then, are ideas to help in using the pragmatic method.

In most cases, the meaning of these and their relevance and worth to planning is clear enough, or will be further clarified later if necessary, but it is interesting to note what pragmatism specifically makes an issue of. Item (d) does require comment now, however. This corresponds to pragmatism's requirement for inductive rather than deductive thinking (something which Meyer regularly emphasises, particularly for determining public interest) and in particular necessitates abandoning the goal-oriented approach in drawing up plan proposals and evaluating the effects of the plan. This is a central issue of this paper. "Ideas-in-use" and "ends-in-view" are concepts that are relevant to, and could be incorporated in, the planning process. "Ends-in-view" in particular is a concept that will be referred to again.

This reiterates what is said in item 1, but usefully emphasises the basic importance of these two issues in the pragmatic method (but without detracting from the significance of the rest of item 1).

Altogether, most of these points are interesting and potentially useful for planning, and do not seem to be far removed from present practice. Items 6(e) and (f) are two to particularly bear in mind for the discussion that follows. Subject to what is discussed below, there should not be much difficulty incorporating them into planning practice.[3] The land use planning situation

[3] Conceptually, that is. Becoming expert in the use of the pragmatic method may require a substantial effort, and it is not intended to minimize that. Partly, it is a matter of

presents the need for options for establishing beliefs about facts, values, action and the consequences of action. In land use planning, decisions about facts and values should, as far as possible, be logical but those about future action will have to be largely passional. The idea that you "set out" from your starting point with all of your existing knowledge and a state of mind means that you do not have to abandon previous experience with land use planning. Realistically, the alternatives available will not be completely indeterminate, and in the adoption of pragmatism it is believed the exercise can be one of converting an existing planning system to the use of the pragmatic method and that there would be little point in starting afresh. This includes having a planning process available for sorting out issues. Meyer's explanation of the interrelationship of knowing and acting is particularly relevant to land use planning. The pragmatic approach is epitomised in his references to knowing, believing, creating, corroborating, testing, hoping, and being guided by fittings, workings, successes, and not a *priori* commitment.[4]

Referring to this last point, see item 6(d) as to the avoidance of 'vicious intellectualism' and 'vicious abstractionism.' This corresponds to pragmatism's requirement for inductive rather than deductive thinking (something which Meyer regularly emphasises) and rules out the use of goals as in the goal-achievement approach, which must be abandoned in drawing up plan proposals and evaluating them (and similarly, in later reviewing the effects of proposals; an important aspect of using the pragmatic method). That in turn requires revisiting the concept of 'goals.' The further concepts and ideas which appear to be the most important for planning from an innovative point of view, are value and interest. Those concepts will be discussed in a later section.

These are the principal theoretical issues involved in the possible adoption of pragmatism in planning, but the whole of this subsection "Relevance to Planning" can be read as a broad statement of aspects of the theory of applying the pragmatic method to planning.

Goal-achievement and Evaluation

With regard to goal-achievement, there have been arguments for and against it in the literature. Etzioni (1967), Faludi (1987) and the evaluation literature discuss alternatives to it (e.g., Lichfield *et al* (1975), McAllister (1980)). Perraton (1972:2) says:

"…evaluation as a formal procedure in planning, usually refers to the testing of alternative plans or policies to aid the choice between them. As such, it depends upon the explicit formulation of alternatives, and of criteria for choosing between them."

Then, although not anti goal-achievement, she admits (p 5) that problems with user oriented goals and objectives have "prompted the search for more limited, pragmatic alternatives" (Stuart 1969).

Later, in relation to conflicts and political choice, she says (pp 6-7) that "because of the difficulty of defining and weighting *a priori* goals, several writers have argued that more emphasis needs to be given to the likely impact of policies on different sections of the population."

On pages 16-18, she refers to some "pragmatic modifications" to goal-directed approaches, and concludes:

adopting new terminology for existing, recognizable concepts, but it is mainly the practice of testing outcomes for goodness, not goal-achievement. Altogether, it is largely a matter of how you determine the content of plans, although it is necessary to have in mind a framework identifying the sort of provisions the plan desirably should include.

[4] Page 73

Logically, a goal-directed view of planning requires evaluation in terms of goals achievements account. But, in view of the difficulties of defining and weighing *a priori* goals, of assessing their importance to different sections of the community, and of taking into account the interaction and conflicts between them, a goal achievement account may be impracticable, or at least inadequate on its own. An assessment of the impacts, the disadvantages for different sections of the population may be more useful…[5]

This seems to open the door for use of the pragmatic method, which evaluates for goodness, not goal-achievement.

Similarly Lichfield and McAllister do not reject or ignore goals-achievement evaluation, but see it only as a possibility. Hence, it is not radical to advocate the abandonment of it, if it is presently used. Arguing conclusively one way or the other is another matter, and it is not proposed to do that here, but just to show what doing so might involve.

2. Goals

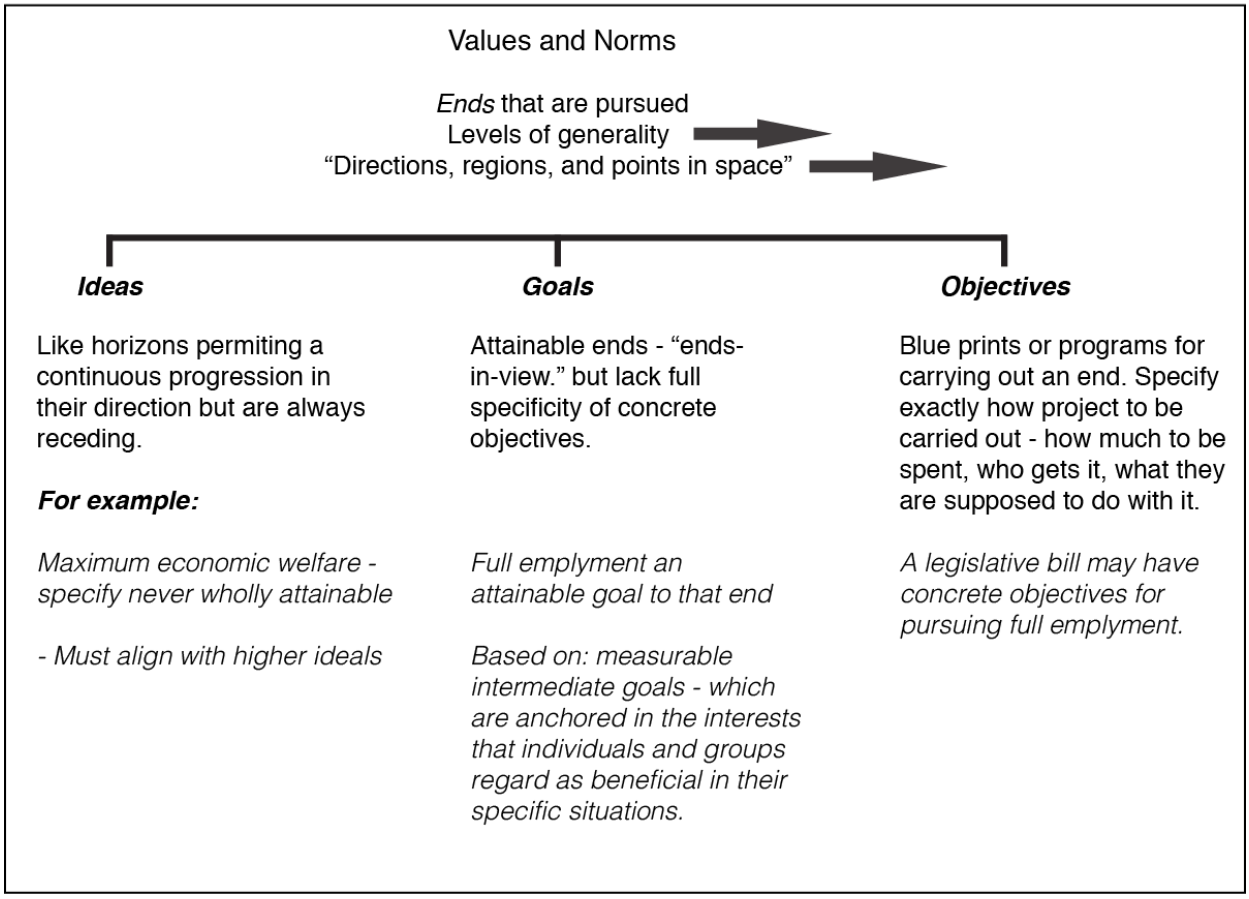
When engaging in a wide-ranging exercise such as land use planning, it is necessary to proceed in some systematic way of thinking and acting if it is to be successful. In the previous section it was shown how, in land use planning there are differences of opinion as to what the method should be, but it was concluded that the goal-achievement approach is not appropriate for pragmatic planning because deductive thinking, which involves "vicious abstractionism," is anathema to pragmatism. The planning process and the content of plans using the pragmatic method need to be re-considered. Plans need a framework *inter alia* using the idea of "goals," but not for testing outcomes against "goals" as presently conceived and used in the goal-directed method. Outcomes will be analysed in a different way - for goodness.

Many discussions of "goals" can be found in the literature, but the preferred one for the present purposes is Fischer (1980: 67): Together, values and norms are the sources of the ends that are pursued. Based on their level of generality, ends can be differentiated as ideals, goals or objectives. According to Kaplan, these three levels of generality constitute the "directions, regions and points in the value space." [Abraham Kaplan, "On the Strategy of Social Planning," *Policy Sciences* 4 (March 1973):57] Ideals are like horizons, permitting a continuous progression in their direction, but are always receding. Goals refer to attainable ends - "ends-in-view" to use Dewey's term - but lack the full specificity of concrete objectives. Objectives, the most concrete of the three levels, are blueprints or programs for carrying out an end. They specify exactly how the project is to be carried out - how much is to be spent, who gets it, what they're supposed to do with it, and so on. For example, ideals - such as maximum economic welfare - are never wholly attainable. Full employment, however, is an attainable goal toward that end, while the Humphrey-Hawkins Senate bill specifies concrete objectives for pursuing full employment. Such objectives must be based on measurable intermediate goals. In turn, these goals, anchored to the interests that individuals and groups regard as beneficial in

[5] She does not address the question of a conflict between the goal-directed approach and pragmatism, nor raise the possibility of the goal-directed approach not involving goal-achievement at all. So her statement should not be interpreted to imply more than she is strictly saying. This present paper is advocating the use of the pragmatic method in planning. It does not get into the detailed consideration necessary to decide how far that should go, including whether some partial introduction may, initially at least, be more practicable. But it is hard to see how there could be a departure from the view that the goal-directed approach is anathema to and inconsistent with pragmatism.

their specific situations, must be aligned with higher ideals.
Notice a connection to pragmatism in the mention of Dewey's "ends-in-view," (one of the concepts mentioned in section 1 on pragmatism); and the references to values and interests.

FIGURE 1



Analysing Fischer's paragraph into diagrammatic form can result in the chart shown in Figure 1.

Other writers give differing accounts. Young (1966: 78), for example, is interesting and illustrates how views can differ, but Fischer's treatment is the preferable one that will be adopted for our present purpose of illustrating a possible planning process. This diagram may seem to suggest that thinking will proceed in a rational way, from the general to the particular, ending with practical proposals. But this will depend on the requirements of the pragmatic process, and at least there is likely to be much reiteration along the way. "Goals" will be synonymous with "ends-in-view," and determined inductively according to the pragmatic method, not deductively. They will *not* represent end states to be used for goal-achievement tests.
"Ends" is Fischer's generic term for ideals, goals, and objectives. They will all be used as suggested by Fischer ("objectives" corresponding well enough with present practice), subject to any fine-tuning found necessary as the exercise proceeds. But in particular, "goals" will be used differently from the way that is implied in the expression "goal-achievement."

Fischer says (above): "Together, values and norms are the sources of the ends that are pursued". Also, those goals are "anchored to the interests that individuals and groups regard as beneficial to their specific situations." Values and interests are important concepts in the use of the

pragmatic method.[6] Conscious and explicit use of them is a significant aspect of adopting the pragmatic method along with the abandonment of goal-achievement. Accordingly, some space will be devoted to discussing them - not extensively, but as necessary in the context of the present discussion. The two concepts are closely related so it is appropriate to deal with them together.[7]

"Norms," or recognised standards, are also mentioned. They are well enough understood. Their application will be done rationally, and therefore may be part of and not in conflict with the pragmatic method.

As an interesting aside, McAllister's (1980) chapter 2 is entitled "Human Values" and comprises a very useful discussion of them. Referring to a school of thought on the source of values, a paragraph on page 18 concludes: "Finally, it emphasises that the values governing behaviour are not focussed on ideals but on "ends-in-view," which are constantly being modified in the changing field of action". There is then a reference in footnote 4 that reads: "The leading proponent of this school, and the originator of the notion of 'ends-in-view,' was John Dewey. See John Dewey, 'The Theory of Valuation,' in *International Encyclopaedia of Unified Science* (Chicago University Press, 1939)". A close link to pragmatism, and also to Fischer's view of goals has been established, although a slightly different slant is given. Also, he maintains that evaluations based on values are for goodness, not goal-achievement.

To sum up (and outlining the main ingredients of the 'new' planning process), in planning, values, norms, and interests will be applied by planners and politicians using the pragmatic method to determine cases of the requisite classes of ends (ideals, goals, and objectives). With experience, certain often-found values and interests ("land use values" and "land use interests" perhaps) will become familiar, and knowledge of them will provide useful guides - but no more; that is, *not* as categories from which proposals are systematically deduced, as in the goal-achievement method. The same approach would be used in a slightly different way when outcomes of the planning process are being reviewed.

There is nothing new about Fischer's and others' discussions of goals in this way. The point is that in abandoning the use of 'goals' as in the goal-achievement method, this literature can be revisited, as a basis of rethinking the method through. They will be a very important part of developing planning proposals, which should, however, be determined using the pragmatic method, with a view to introducing that wherever possible into all aspects of the planning process. "Goals" may never have stopped being used, in the way that Fischer explains, in goal-directed planning (that is, other than in the goal-achievement sense, in a different part of the process), but returning to such references specifically (and exclusively, perhaps) will be a way of unambiguously ridding the planning process of the influence of the goal-achievement method, outcomes now being tested for goodness, with goals no longer being used in the goal-achievement way.[8]

[6] Notice how Fischer relates interests rather to "specific situations," a point mentioned later.

[7] In the next section 3. As an advocate of the use of the concept of interest in land use planning, I am pleased to notice increasing reference to it in the literature in recent years. References to values in planning are not unknown. See the excellent discussion in the Preface to Tribe (1976) - "When Values Conflict," and, more recently, see Berke & Ors. (2006) ch 1.

[8] Although I am emphasizing the abandonment of goal-directed planning, it would be beneficial to generally avoid vicious-

3. Values and Interests

Interests

As previously mentioned, values and interests are two concepts of particular concern in the adoption of the pragmatic method, and which warrant at least a brief specific reference (nothing more being possible at the moment). It is proposed to start by explaining the concept of interest.

"Interest" has several meanings and uses, so the usage here should be clarified. The Shorter OED (1973) relevant definition reads:

> The relation of being concerned or affected in respect of advantage or detriment; especially an advantageous relation of this kind…
> A thing in which one has an interest or concern.

The OED, 1933 edition, included an item 2*c*:

> *In the interest (interests) of*: on the side of what is advantageous or beneficial to.[9]

All interests are basically individual interests,[10] but as general discussion normally considers interests held by more than one person, the concept of "group interests" needs to be recognised. A special case is "public interest." This term is sometimes used vaguely in general discussion, or sometimes in an emotive or hortatory sense. What is relevant here is the analytical meaning. From Benditt (1973: 298):

> Something is a public interest then if (and only if) it is an interest of everyone [footnote omitted] the satisfaction of which is out of most individuals' hands, such that an interest is not likely to be protected or advanced unless it is furthered by the state.

The omitted footnote refers to the fact that "the public interest cannot be simply a majority interest, for in some sense it is the same for all" (Benn, 1960). It is a *collective* interest, but does not have to be held by *all* the members of the state. Perry (1954, p 211) states:

> The interest which is served by the state is sometimes called "the public interest." The state is not owned by, nor is it designed to serve, any particular interest. No person can properly call it his, nor can any group of persons call it theirs. It belongs to everybody and is designed to profit everybody. The public interest is composed and compounded of private interests. If government is dedicated to public service, no private individual can ask it to serve him, but only him *together with the rest.*

General and particular use of it is recognised, the latter sometimes being called "the public good." The relationship between public interest and pragmatism is one of the main themes of Meyer (1975), and seems to have been fairly convincingly established by him. In fact, he concludes that public interest can *only* be determined pragmatically. Therefore, logically, because public interest is an inescapable aspect of land use planning, at least *some* use of the pragmatic method will be necessary.

Values

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abstractionism and vicious-intellectualism in planning thinking. They introduce fuzzy ideas, 'war cries' such as "urban sprawl," and the like, whose use, a pragmatist would say, is not desirable in arriving at best solutions.

[9] For a short discussion of "interest" see Wall (1975) pp 489-90 : " 'Interest' - Some Senses."

[10] Perry (1954) p 80 states that "all interests are *personal*, in the sense that they are the interests *of some person."*

As for values, pragmatism proposes establishing beliefs about values as well as other facts. Fact primarily concerns what is, and as far as can be ascertained, what will be. Value concerns what ought to be (p 25).[11] Ordinary people and the planning authority are aware of facts; ordinary people have values, and the planning authority has to be aware of them, but it also as to make determinations of value (p 37). This includes making determinations of public values, and goals, related to a "need to act" (p 47).

As to the problem of the indeterminate character of facts and values, Meyer says this at pages 28-29:

Essentially, [James's] argument is that certain facts cannot be tested without the intervening commitment to a value that stirs one to take an action that provides the only possible context for the test… Knowing the truth and actually "having all the evidence in", may be dependent upon human action based on value judgments… the important point for the moment is that the indeterminate character of facts and values may be interdependent and that there is no qualitative difference between the two, is critical to James's case.

Viewed in a pragmatic way, values develop, and are not petrified. Meanings are found, so that they allow one to deal successfully with actual human experience (p 77).
Experimentation involves activity, which involves purpose, which involves a goal or end (p 96). Purposes, goals, and values are secured as forms of belief (p 86). They are therefore, of course, different from goals and values determined using *a priori* reasoning.

Value identifies something that ought to be. If intelligible, it directs attention to possible consequences. An established end takes you to things potentially experienced as values. To the pragmatist, values are facts; that is, facts about what is valued. Pragmatists move from facts and values to the *true* and the *good*. Knowing, and the good, are expedients for action. Values are the subject of hypotheses that serve to regulate behaviour and direct one to successful outcomes. Primarily, at the individual level, values are guides to acts of self-regulation and self-creation. You know the good and you know the true on the basis of its pragmatic success (pp 89-90).
The public has no given ends, but it does start with a state of mind. Although there are doubts about values, there are also accepted values (p 90).

You need certain values for the experimental method. You want an option to work *better.* ('Evaluation' is now involved). Experience reveals *de facto* concrete connections between beliefs about what is good and what is true. Knowledge of consequences helps us distinguish between what is desirable and what is desired. Value judgments do act as a guide to get at the fullest knowledge of the world. The ethical situation, and the ethical structure, can be built up from the analysis of consequences (pp 96-7). Ethics can be explained as facts (p 97).

Meyer summarises the relevance of all of this, in his context, with an important statement on page 99, at the end of Chapter 8:

Explaining the world and deciding how to change it are problems that are not in completely separate orbits, but are jointly grounded in human experience. Knowledge of the true and the good are intermixed in human action. When we appreciate this pragmatic perspective on values, we begin to understand what kind of problem we are

[11] Meyer (1975) p 25. Meyer is the major source of what follows and the stand-alone page references are to pages in Meyer. As well as the detailed arguments, the language gives an insight into the working of the pragmatic method.

talking about when we speak of determining the public good.[12] We are talking about public problem-solving and action in pursuit of a viable end-in-view, and the testing of the satisfactoriness of such an end through the consequences it generates. The essential problem of public agreement on public ends brings the general problem of values into the realm of political action, and the problem of the public good must now be pursued in that context.

Values and Interests

On the relationship between values and interests, Neal (1965) says that some people think in terms of interests, and others in terms of values. Another perspective is that values are useful in some situations, interests in others. Particularly, as you get into the 'detail of real life' area of objectives, interests may be more useful - they more specifically relate persons to situations. Meyer says (p 37) (referring to individuals) "interest also indicates particular goals, values, and points of view in relation to the general area of concern."
Interest is primarily an individual's concern or affect in respect of advantage or detriment, in relation to a thing. The point Meyer is making must be that such a concern or affect *indicates* (the operative word), by implication, the possession by the individual of certain goals, values, and points of view (in relation to the general area of concern). In other words, interests, on the one hand, and goals, values, and points of view on the other, go together and are related. Goals, values, and points of view affect individuals' views of their interests. On reflection, this is fairly obvious, but it is useful for the connection to be made, in the present context, especially regarding values.

A more difficult question is cause and effect. There must be a continual two-way relationship. The two concepts are partly in the same area of thinking, but interest establishes the relationship between individuals and things. This makes interests closer to problem identification, and other practical issues, than values. 'Advantage or detriment' implies good or bad concerns or affects. 'Values' may imply something good (to be sought), or something bad (to be avoided).

Explaining individual interests a little more, firstly, they are rather different from public interest. They do not *need* the attention of the state as public interest does, but that might be desirable, and in land use planning that is inevitable to some extent. When individual interests *are* the subject of public policy making, the public authority may use the subjective or objective methods of determination, or both. In objective determinations, the public authority could use the pragmatic method, and if consistency is desired, it should. In subjective determinations, it is over to individuals to become aware of their interests in their own way. They *could* use the pragmatic method, but it would be contrary to the spirit of subjective determination of interests to insist on that.

After ascertaining the relevant individual interests, they can be dealt with pragmatically. Genuine options for improving the condition of certain individuals may be decided upon, but in doing so any relevant public interests will have been taken into account also.

Incidentally, introducing the idea of public interest emphasises that the group interests

[12] Again, this is what Meyer was primarily concerned with in his book, and *partly* what we are concerned with, but the comments are, by analogy, of broader interest and application too. Land use planning in its broadest sense *is* a matter of public interest. Notice how the concepts we are talking about are *intertwined*, not points located consecutively along a nice tidy *line* of action.

dealt with as an aspect of individual interest must be something other than collective public interest, for the definitions to be meaningful. An issue can, of course, involve both group interests and public interest.

If the interests are objectively defined by a public authority (and not just ascertained from studying what relevant interests individuals have), the public authority's goals, values, and points of view will come into play. This will include the planners', but at least the shadow of the over-influential planner or other official is softened firstly by the pragmatic emphasis on the ascertaining of the values actually existing in the community at large, and secondly by interest-based planning emphasising the distinction between the objective and subjective determinations of interest (meaning, in short, by the public planning authority or by the individual), so that wanton, surreptitious, or inadvertent objective determination will be less likely.

The foregoing does not say anything about the method of ascertaining, an issue which has several facets. What has been said will help to understand what has to be ascertained, and this is part of the very important question of generally becoming familiar with the pragmatic *method* - a broad issue which must be borne in mind but which is not dealt with specifically, at length, here. There will be renewed emphasis on continuous, combined general research, review of planning outcomes, and plan making. But *deliberately* including the study of values in factual research is, it is believed, a new element already seen to be coming into land use planning and similarly, the *extensive* consideration of interests.

4. Conclusion

A summary of the main features of a proposed planning regime is set out in the second-to-last paragraph of section 2, above, and various aspects have been discussed. The approach could be used for settling plan content, and also for reviewing, *ex post facto*, the desirability or otherwise of it, that being an important part of the pragmatic method. More could be said about the development and use of the method, but this outline has shown how pragmatism *could* be applied to planning, providing an interesting and probably viable alternative to goal-directed planning, for those who would like to see an abandonment of it, as well as generally providing a desirable *modus operandi.*

Becoming proficient in the deliberate use of the pragmatic method might be a big step to take - especially assessing proposals and action for goodness, not goal achievement - although as Hoch (1984) suggests, this may be found to be closer to how planners and other decision makers already think and act, than expected.

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Practical Pragmatic Planning

Derek HALL

INTRODUCTION

This paper will now consider in outline how the theoretical account of pragmatic planning given in the previous paper [in this edition of *LPR*] may be applied to a practical system of urban land use planning; that is, what is involved in a planning authority converting an existing system of planning into a pragmatic one.

The principle aspects of this exercise will be; use of pragmatic terminology, use of pragmatic decision making and avoidance of vicious intellectualism and vicious abstractionism, particularly in the use of the goal-achievement method but also generally.

Terminology of Pragmatism

Although many of the terms are synonymous with perfectly good terms already in use, employing those of pragmatism is desirable to become familiar with and fully embrace the pragmatic method. It is also necessary to adequately describe and explain pragmatic decision making.

The subsection "Meyer's Account of Pragmatism" in "An Introduction to Pragmatism" near the beginning of the previous paper refers comprehensively to the terms that should be used.

Decision Making

Pragmatism involves deciding on a course of action based on its desirability, in the light of its effect on all persons affected - for its goodness. It will *not* use assessments of the likelihood of achieving *a priori* goals. Key inputs are relevant values and interests. Fischer's (1980) terminology and concepts will be used, being particularly suitable for the present purposes, and other useful concepts will be referred to. Much of the existing thinking and practices will not be affected. It is a matter of identifying what changes should be made. Mainly, the *substance* of the planning process will be considered, but some reference will be made to procedural issues as such.

URBAN LAND USE PLANNING

The main elements of a typical plan preparation process are: studying the land use system and certain aspects of the environment within which it functions; problem and need analysis, definition of goals and objectives, and review of scenarios and assumptions; plan formulation and evaluation, covering land use design (which includes the formulation of alternative solutions), and the land use guidance system (which covers implementation); plan promulgation. Monitoring and feedback must be part of the overall process - during plan preparation and subsequently. Logically, these elements arise sequentially, but there is constant reiteration, and the whole process has to try to account for the

fact that continuous planning is necessary to cope with the constantly changing land use environment. An additional "action planning" process needs to operate alongside plan preparation, and later. Supplementary questions are public participation, and mediation/negotiation.

The foregoing can be resolved into nine subject areas for the present purposes:

(1) Collecting together all relevant existing knowledge, and gathering further information needed. This principally concerns land use, but certain information about surrounding circumstances is also required. This can be broken down into (a) the Environment of Planning; (b) Subject-matter - Ascertaining Value and Interest information; (c) Subject-matter - including The Domains of Planning (to be explained).

Then the following as part of The Land Use Planning Process:

(2) Problems, Goals, Objectives, and Scenarios.
(3) Plan Formulation: The Land Use Design.
(4) Plan Formulation: The Land Use Guidance System.
(5) Plan Promulgation.
(6) Action Planning.
(7) Monitoring and Feedback.
Plus:
(8) Public Participation.
(9) Mediation/negotiation.

1(A) THE ENVIRONMENT OF PLANNING

Pragmatism accepts that a person starting any pragmatic exercise has an existing fund of knowledge and values. That could include information about the environment of planning or about the subject matter of planning - information about land use. Pragmatism does not require you to start again, although it will be freshly interpreted - for example as information about values and interests, as referred to in the next subsection.

1(B) SUBJECT-MATTER: ASCERTAINING VALUE AND INTEREST INFORMATION

This will be an extensive and important part of the process. Based on knowledge of the meaning of value and interest, as outlined in the first paper, planners and politicians will have to start thinking about issues in value and interest terms. Berke *et al* (2006) have a section on "Land Use Values" on pages 18-23. Although mainly discussing ones of a general nature - and many more specific ones will be involved - this does confirm the importance and feasibility of focusing on the same. There are also many references to interests and public interest, but no similar specific discussion.

The discussion of value and interest (individual and public) in the first paper indicates what it will be necessary to look for. As to public interest, at this stage it will be the general public interest that will be of concern. (The particular public interest or public good is more germane to the policy making phase.) The planning authority will have to establish beliefs about those matters. The beliefs should be genuine options. The planning authority should seek the truth, and not avoid error unless there are sound reasons for doing so. The "live, forced, and momentous" test for genuine options will be useful. Empirical determination, and judgment will be involved. "Needs" and "wants" can be related to values and interests. The public authority may ascertain individual interests, either itself objectively, or subjectively by surveying or observing its citizens. Public interest will largely have to be objectively defined because it is a

technical term (and has alternative commonly used meanings), has a political content, and there may be little public awareness of it. Identifying public interest involves establishing that the public is or could be affected collectively, a public being established in the pragmatic way. As with all issues, if this is impossible to establish by empirical evidence, a passional may be needed. It is also necessary to establish that the satisfaction of a matter of public interest "is out of most individual's hands, such that the interest is not likely to be protected or advanced unless it is furthered by the state" (p299 Benditt 1973). As shown by Meyer (1975), *a priori* definitions of matters of public interest should not be used in a pragmatic regime.

For example, air pollution. Values related to health, safety, and convenience create a negative response to it, or there may be a positive attitude toward fresh air. There will be concern and affect on the part of persons in respect of the detriment, so it is contrary to their interests. Area-wide pollution would affect a public collectively, and remedying it would be out of most individuals' hands, so it is a matter of public interest. Localised air pollution may only affect identifiable persons, and they may have remedies to stop it, so it is a matter of individual, or possibly group, interest. In that case, the public authority may still take steps to protect the individual or group interest as an act of benevolence for improving the lot of persons within its jurisdiction, possibly because the private remedies are not likely to be invoked to the extent of having any real effect (or, in this example, there may be little point in the public authority not dealing with *all* air pollution in the legislation). Although the ideal of completely fresh air may be unattainable, a planning authority may have a goal of improving air quality, and an objective of achieving measurable improvements especially by reducing it at its source.

One broad purpose of all of this, in relation to any issue, is of course that the planning authority will be able to identify the persons (including groups and a public) affected or involved, and, specifically, their values and interests. This will be an essential part of the basis for deciding, in the pragmatic manner, whether or not to take certain action as part of the planning process.

This exercise will have to be extended to *all* potential planning issues. But this does not necessarily mean collecting *more* information than is done presently; only, perhaps, collecting it in a different way, and focusing newly on certain aspects.

1(C) SUBJECT-MATTER: INCLUDING THE DOMAINS OF PLANNING

As a preliminary point, as mentioned above in the subsection "The Environment of Planning," at the starting point of the pragmatic process it is accepted that any person putting it into effect is a person with an existing fund of knowledge and a state of mind. Also that there are accepted objects of value. This means that all existing land use planning knowledge is relevant to a pragmatic approach, even goals provided they are used only as guides.

Also, as just mentioned, pragmatists, in the area of what planners would call basic information, must cover values as well as facts in their beliefs. The future can also be the subject of beliefs. Hence, values may not come up quite as in traditional accounts.

In the case of good, clear, empirical data and well researched explanations of situations and processes, there may be little need for an application of the pragmatic method in information collection. But in grey areas (including forecasting the future), pragmatism provides an alternative to the do-nothing-because-of- lack-of-information

syndrome. The pragmatist can propose hypotheses, select options, and monitor outcomes for verification or otherwise. It is managed trial and error, but is justified if the overall outcome is *more likely* to be beneficial than doing nothing, something the pragmatist will assess initially. Passional decisions may be necessary, but pragmatism is an on-going process of knowing and acting; pragmatists do not hazard a guess and then sit back - they continually test beliefs, and verify, or revise and correct mistakes.

"The Domains of Planning" refers to areas of study and action related to land use planning, namely: an explaining and clarifying discipline - philosophy; analysing disciplines - biological studies, psychology, sociology, geography; analysing and development disciplines - architecture, landscape architecture, aesthetics, engineering; a development discipline - surveying. These are the basic areas, but there will also, of course, be "special topic" cross disciplinary studies to consider. Economics is an important discipline because it relates to planning in many different ways. Berke *et al* (2006) chapter 1, which in particular discusses land use values and Part II may be referred to for a further discussion of relevant areas of study.

The relevance of all of these to land use planning is well-known, but they should now be studied afresh to see what value and interest information they can provide. To differing degrees, this can be readily extracted; or the content may have to be translated into value and interest information. Objectively and subjectively ascertained interest information may be available. Identifying group, and not just individual interests may need the help of sociologists. There is a political element in promoting public interest, so political studies has relevance in this context too.

The overarching point in mentioning these domains is to draw attention to the desirability or necessity of considering them all in this new light, to make the best use of them in value- and interest-based land use planning.

2 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: PROBLEMS, GOALS, OBJECTIVES, AND SCENARIOS

The awareness of relevant values and interests and the ascertaining of matters of general public interest carries on into this phase. The planners and politicians of the planning authority have to further classify and sort the information, and become more specific as to issues, so that they become clearer about what they might or might not pursue further. The pragmatic method can be applied. The subject of that moves from beliefs about facts and values to beliefs about future courses of action and their consequences. This will follow the planning process in the way that information is analyzed for problems, scenarios are set up, and viable measurable objectives settled. Individual interests will be brought into consideration and dealt with in a similar way. Ascertaining interests and doing something about them are in different phases of the process. Interests, being related to concern or affect in respect of advantage or detriment, and unlike some raw factual material, *imply a potential* for improvement action (ameliorating harm *or* promoting benefit) but the decision to improve still has to be taken formally, starting at this problems, goals and objectives stage.[1]

The major difference compared with non-pragmatic, goal achievement practice is that there will be no formulation of firm goals, the attainment of which is then pursued as *the* object of the exercise. They will be

[1] All of this is over-compartmentalized for the sake of clarity - there will be of course be much overlapping and reiteration.

formulated only as guidelines as to what might be worth achieving ('ideas,' leading to 'ideas-in-use'[2]) (Meyer 1975). Once the interests, public and individual, that are going to be pursued have been determined, doubts having been expressed, hypotheses suggested, and options decided on, using scenarios, goals as ends-in-view[3] and objectives will be agreed on. These will be genuine options (live, forced, and momentous) that the planning authority believes will result in consequences that are better in terms of values that have been determined as being relevant and true, than in the existing situation (the 'starting point'); and similarly in likely future situations. The live part of a genuine option will ensure that proposals are feasible and realistic. Much of the decision making will have been passional. At a later stage, after being incorporated into a planning scheme as far as possible and implemented, the truth of these beliefs will have to be confirmed or otherwise. The planning authority should seek the truth and not avoid error, unless there are sound reasons for doing so.

Restating, for the sake of clarity, in terms of beliefs about the facts, values, and present consequences of or in some planning issue, the planners and politicians may have doubts about whether the consequences are the best that should be acceptable. If not, modifying action with different consequences will be mooted which, if believed to be preferable, will be put into effect. This is part of adopting an option as genuine as far as future courses of action are concerned. There may be uncertainty about the consequences that will actually eventuate, but the pragmatic spirit is to provisionally believe in the most likely outcome (to take a risk) with a view to testing it later to see whether or not the belief is true.

To the pragmatist, "problems" take the form of "doubts" about the existing situation being in its most desirable form, in so far as improvements may be able to be effected with genuine options. This leads to deciding on courses of action, an element of which will, in planning terms, be an objective. Of course, the doubt may be suggested by the knowledge of a problem or type of problem, identifying problems being a common, lifelong, human faculty. However, they take the form of doubts in the pragmatic method. Meyer (p91.1975) gives examples of identifiable problems, things that do not work, contradictions, and distasteful consequences.[4]

Elaborating on the relegation of goal-achievement goals to guidelines, "vicious intellectualism" (p78 Meyer 1975) and "vicious abstractionism" are anathema to pragmatists. That is, beliefs are not derived *a priori* but from an examination of the existing situation, and of the future situation when action is proposed. This means that such planning goals as presently used should be discarded. Action will be decided on, not by determining goals and then setting out to achieve them, but by setting out to achieve identifiable improvements in terms of relevant values. Truth is found by examining the consequences. That may show that the

[2] See Meyer (1975) pp 58-9, 104-5 for a discussion of these concepts. As an aside, at p 59 there is an interesting comment that theoretical concerns derive from practical situations, but do not bind tight.

[3] This is the usage adopted in this paper, but some writers, for example Meyer (1975) at p 99, seem to think ends-in-view are more like objectives.

[4] Meyer (1975) makes it clear that use of a person's 'starting knowledge' is in no way precluded by the pragmatic method. For example, a planner's training and experience as to what is usually good or bad, what can be done about it, and, of course, what is usually dealt with in a planning scheme. However, this is only a potential input, which does not automatically enter the system, but must do so in a proper way, usually subject to doubts which initiate pragmatic consideration.

belief about the goodness of a proposal is established as a truth, but if it shows that the belief is not true, then the search for truth must continue by proposing further hypotheses and choosing further options. A form of goal, for example as to the type of action that has been successful in the past, will be useful and acceptable as a guide, but the process of determining these sort of goals (but not objectives) and then seeking to achieve them is abandoned (Fischer 1980).[5]

Use of such goals in the process has been the soft underbelly of planning. Often they are 'motherhood and apple pie' statements which everyone applauds but do not find helpful in solving concrete problems. Often goals conflict, so you are no further ahead using them. The ordinary individual knows when he or she has a land use problem without knowing anything about planning goals. It is more natural to deal with a problem according to your values than to have a system of goals to guide you, except for a few of high order of generality.

Incrementalism and satisficing suggest the same sort of doubts, but their solutions are different from those possible under pragmatism. They *could* use the pragmatic method, but that method can also be used for comprehensive long term land use planning. The latter is still a matter of aiming a bit higher and being a bit more ambitious.

Determination of objectives will be the first stage where individual and public interests, and different public interests, are brought into conflict. *Possibly* foreshadowed in the settling of ends-in-view goals. Conflicting possible objectives prevent them from all being satisfied. These are the facts of life. There is no inconsistency because no matter of public interest is paramount[6] - they are all basically individual interests that have to be dealt with by a public authority because of their collective nature which means that private action to satisfy them is unlikely. *Any* interest can be seen as more, or less, important than any other, in terms of the relevant values.

Earlier, reference was made to the general and particular public interest. In the planning process there is a gradual firming up of the specificity of interests and of actions to promote them, but there is no point on a continuum at which a public interest automatically changes from general to particular. The particular public interest or public good envisages a specific new end state, which can be attained, and tested for goodness. In planning, that means that achieving the public good is an aspect of an actual planning proposal decided on by the planning authority. That seems the best meaning to adopt. Meyer (1975) treats particular public interest and public good as synonymous, and says that the public good is derived from the general public interest.[7]

Sustainability

In a pragmatic approach the word "sustainable" will refer to a value, or in

[5] Just to be quite clear, the "goals" of Fischer's (1980) analysis are different from goal-achievement goals. It is tempting to call, or at least think of Fischer's as, 'ends-in-view goals' to include Dewey's expression, and add some pragmatic flavour.

[6] Except in the special case of being made so by statute, or some other form of authoritative political decision. "National interest" may well be a term used in such cases. Such provisions take the decision making out of the hands of the planning authority in that respect - it is part of the existing situation within which it is operating. At a later stage of the process the planning authority *may* decide that some matter of public interest is of paramount importance, but it has to be careful not to compromise the flexibility of the pragmatic method.

[7] Meyer (1975) consistently uses the term 'public good' when he is talking about it. It must be clear always what is intended in any use of the term 'public interest.' Perhaps, when the distinction needs to be clear, the terms 'the general public interest,' and 'the public good' should be used.

Fischer's (1980) framework an "ideal", but not a goal-achievement goal or an end state, in which case it would be an example of vicious abstractionism. Having regard to the current obsession with "sustainability", it should frequently be brought into the equation and given due weight, but not invariably pursued - there will be many instances where it is of little significance, or it is not as important as other considerations. Because the term has so many meanings,[8] this should make its use more effective by avoiding the vague and indeterminate usages. It can be given meaningful consideration, and not just advanced as a 'motherhood and apple pie' belief. Analysis of the use of the term in each instance should be carried out in the pragmatic way.

"Smart Growth", "New Urbanism", "Urban Sprawl"

These are mentioned as examples of concepts whose use is liable to be criticized by pragmatists as "vicious abstractionism". In discussing "the conceptual framework for the land use planning game" Berke *et al* (p6 2006) refer to "alternative trends and visions that are advocated as the most preferable outcomes (i.e. conventional low-density development, Smart Growth and New Urbanism)." There are references to *land use values,* and interests, and then:

The central dimension is the *land use planning program,* which serves to help communities identify existing and emerging issues; fashion visions, goals, and scenarios; create plans; adopt development management plans, regulations, and infrastructure expenditure programs; and monitor how well outcomes achieve plan goals."

Pragmatism would be comfortable with all of this, provided "goals" is not used in the goal-achievement manner, and any selection is made using the pragmatic method. It is important to note that "conventional low-density, Smart Growth and New Urbanism" are referred to as "alternative trends and visions . . . advocated as the most preferable outcomes." However these should not be accepted as predetermined end states to work towards without further enquiry, because they are *a priori* abstractions. These comments will apply to any such *a priori* abstractions.

3 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: PLAN FORMULATION - THE LAND USE DESIGN[9]

This comprises principally considering arrangements of land uses, the provision of services and facilities, and directly controlling generated effects. Traditional ways of drawing up proposals may be used, provided it is remembered that they will be tested pragmatically for goodness, having regard to relevant values and public, group, and individual interests. Use of *a priori* goals in deciding courses of action has to be avoided, but ends-in-view goals will be proposed, as will objectives.

The concepts of general, and particular public interest (or the public good) should be acknowledged, as they are an essential part of the thinking about public interest. As already mentioned, it is arguable, but the public good is, in the view adopted here, exemplified by actual planning proposals - the end states that are hoped to be achieved on the ground. They may become objectives (in line with the interest orientation being proposed). Matters of general public

[8] See, for example, Berke *et al* (2006) pp 10ff, and throughout. There are references to "Sustainable Communities," "Sustainable Development," etc., but "sustainability indicators" could be more useful. At p (ix) they say that their ". . .overarching theme is the role of land use planning in achieving sustainable development." This can be the theme for a book, but in pragmatic planning would not be useful as an 'overarching' goal.

[9] Berke *et al* (2006) Part III may be referred to in this connection.

interest, and individual and group interests, have to be prioritized, and conflicts amongst them resolved, and the end state, which represents the public good, will then be decided on. This distinction is not related to scale. Although land use planning as a whole is a matter of public interest, and the overall realized or to be realized land use arrangements are the public good, so are more specific aspects of it.

Returning to pragmatism, a significant part of the plan preparation process is the putting up, consideration, and selection of alternatives. This corresponds to the putting up of hypotheses and choice of options in the pragmatic method.

Meyer (p93 1975) has this to say (about pragmatism in general - not specifically in relation to planning):

The contradiction between seemingly inconsistent and opposite goods, the constant tension between many present objects of desire, is what has to be worked out. Since the practical problem is usually a problem of goods that are both competing and incommensurable, a method is needed for sorting out the *best whole* of goods. This cannot be done by a quantitative calculus but only by intelligent deliberation and making hard choices to determine what actions have the *kind* of consequences that will satisfy most demands.

As another issue, planners have argued about the use of a deductive approach and planning *principles*, *versus* an inductive approach (Keeble 1969, Petersen 1966).[10] The former, it is argued, does not result in proposals that are sensitive to the situation under consideration (except perhaps in the special case of New Town planning), but in proposals that are largely irrelevant because of the gross generalizations implicit in the town planning principles. Apparent principles may be useful as guidelines, but no more than that. This is a case of the avoidance of 'vicious abstractionism', and hence the desirability of pragmatic, possibly passional, decisions in the inductive approach.

Another instance of this issue would be to seek improvements in accordance with relevant values, rather than to seek to achieve fixed goals. The pragmatic method involves ascertaining values as well as facts in information collection. Although planning theorists include goal formulation and achievement in their explanations of the planning process, it is questionable whether that is what happens in practice (Hill 1968). Actually trying to relate planning proposals to the achievement of certain goals is complicated, and although 'goals' (in this usage) will certainly be referred to for guidance, the actual decision-making process is really more like a pragmatic one where proposals are adopted as best on the basis of value judgments.

Later, the results of implementing the plan must be assessed through monitoring and feedback. But the review does not seek to establish whether goals have been achieved. After establishing the truth about the outcome, the planning authority will seek to determine the goodness of it by assessing it in terms of values, and comparing that with the original starting-point situation. Values were considered in (ends-in-view) goal determination and that was a step in determining objectives. Objectives and objective achievement will be a consideration as it is obviously necessary to know, for future planning, whether in achieving the quality of the results found, objectives have been attained, exceeded, or not attained.

In land use design, doubts about outcomes and possible outcomes are, of course, constantly being raised. Proposals are

[10] Keeble (1969) exemplifies the former approach, and Petersen (1966) discusses the need for the latter.

genuine options - they should have been rejected if not. To make progress, planners must seek the truth and not try to avoid error, with risk-taking and experimentation, but a proper balance must be sought and excesses of experimentation avoided. If the testing of beliefs for truth and goodness indicates that mistakes have been made, these should be corrected in the review of the plan.

The planning process is only superficially lineal - there is constant reiteration, and feedback from one stage to another. Although some frame-freezing is necessary when the plan is being prepared, the subject land use system is in a constant state of flux. Pragmatism's "knowing and acting" is part of the daily life of planners.

4 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: PLAN FORMULATION - THE LAND USE GUIDANCE SYSTEM

This is the part of the plan that deals with the implementation of its proposals to achieve the desired future state. The pragmatic method can be applied to determining the content of the land use guidance system and monitoring the effectiveness of it in operation. However, this is an instance for applying the idea that you "set off" from your starting point with all of your existing knowledge and a state of mind, and you do not have to abandon previous experience.

For example one aspect is the *design* of the land use regulation system to be used. Extensive discussions of methods of land use control exist, similarly other aspects. Once the land use guidance system has been settled on in this way, the process of monitoring and feedback can be employed to check its effectiveness in a pragmatic way, and modification or fine tuning can be carried out.

5 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: PLAN PROMULGATION

This is a significant aspect of the process of making final decisions about the content of planning schemes. Two issues arise for consideration here. (Another relevant question, public participation, is considered separately later.) First, whether the formality of this part of the process causes any problems for the pragmatic method and taking action in the public interest. Second, what the effect is of introducing another decision maker such as the Environment Court into the process.

As to the first, formal plan promulgation puts the planning authority under scrutiny, but there is nothing mystical about the pragmatic method that makes it difficult for the planning authority to be explicit about what it is doing. It can explain what its hypotheses were, the options chosen, and its present beliefs; what its doubts were particularly about the existing situation; and what its decisions were concerning the three facets of any genuine options it is pursuing. It can be quite open about passional decisions, risk-taking, and experimentation. The pragmatic spirit does not envisage stabs-in-the -dark, but courses of action that are justifiably the best in the circumstances. If the planning authority has gone too far in the direction of risk-taking it is quite proper that it is told about it. The formal processes are a way the authority can test its beliefs, and it should welcome this. It can correct potential mistakes at this stage, for although testing in practice is part of the pragmatic method, this does not excuse a decision maker from taking all possible care in the first place. It can submit to scrutiny what it has identified as matters of public interest, as well as in what way and to what extent it is pursuing them further.

As far as an appellate body like the Environment Court is concerned, to some

extent it supervises the planning authorities for reasonableness and fairness, and refers matters back for further consideration and final decision. In this respect, there should be no difficulty, in view of there being no inherent problem about the openness of the use of the pragmatic method. However, the Court does also substitute its own decisions. There is, by and large, no reason why it should not embrace the pragmatic spirit, particularly as it will be aware that there will be monitoring and feedback in respect of its decisions, and the opportunity for correcting mistakes. There could be a difficulty with the planning authority wanting to depart from or modify the effect of some authoritative pronouncement of the Court, but presumably it could go back to it for a further decision. It should have no difficulty with questions that have been determined largely on the basis of empirical evidence.

Problems are, first, that it will be more conservative than a political body and therefore tend in the direction of less risk-taking and experimentation. Second, the structure and processes involve lawyers as decision makers and participants. The legal system is imbued with intellectualism and abstractionism. Deductive thinking is rife. For example, it has in the past attempted to determine matters of public interest by resorting to legal precedent. Hopefully, the legal system could be flexible and adapt in this respect.

Theoretically, there could be a problem with the Environment Court not being a political authority, identified by Meyer (1975) as an important part of carrying out the pragmatic method, including determining public interest. Suffice to say, the appellate bodies set up under planning legislation have always had this problem of overseeing the actions of political bodies, and this should be a no greater problem.

6 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: ACTION PLANNING

The essence of this is dealing with a particular, immediate, land use problem, most likely at the instigation of a party, such as a land user. The procedure may be informal, as in in-house procedures and decision making, or formal as in a statutory procedure. There may or may not be third parties such as objectors involved.

A feature of this process is that most of the relevant information will be presented to the planning authority, so that it should be able to readily identify the interests, and possibly the values, of the parties. The authority *may* have to supplement the background information from its own sources, and is likely to have to make its own determinations of matters of public interest involved. Obviously, this practice is amenable to the pragmatic method.

The outcomes argued for by the parties, and the views of the planning authority, would be hypotheses about a possible future state, supported by hypotheses about facts, values, and the consequences of possible future states. The planning authority must choose options that represent its beliefs about the truth of the various hypotheses. It must ultimately choose an option representing the preferred future state - the public good. This must be a genuine option - and can include maintaining the status quo, amongst other reasons because the proponent is not proposing a genuine option - because what the party wants is unrealistic, unnecessary, or trivial. Similarly as to a hypothesis of an opponent. There should be a conclusion reached after a fair and proper consideration of all points of view, manifested in the planning authority's readiness to consider these in arriving at the truth as it sees it.

It must make a decision, and there is no objection to a passional decision to the

extent that that is necessary in the circumstances, although it possibly should not indulge in excessive risk-taking and experimentation at the expense of any of the parties. One of the difficulties with *ad hoc* decision making is that particular persons rather than the population generally may be most obviously affected, but that depends on the scale and nature of the proposition.

Another aspect of pragmatic experimenting, testing, and verification or correction becomes apparent in land use action planning. Land use planning proposals often involve building and other capital investments which cannot readily be removed if a mistake is made. However, passional decisions *always* have to be justified. This sort of land use situation requires acknowledgement of the danger of risk-taking, and is a justification for avoiding error. But balancing such factors is a normal part of pragmatic decision making, and there is still a place for passional decisions, as evidenced by the projects which do not go ahead because of a too timid attitude. But arguably, some of the benefit of a pragmatic approach may be lost.

7 THE LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS: MONITORING AND FEEDBACK

This is an issue *particularly* relevant to a consideration of practical pragmatic planning. Reference has been made to it above in relation to goal-achievement, and "The Land Use Design."

The pragmatic method overtly involves "risk-taking", experimenting, testing beliefs, and verification or correction of mistakes. Meyer says (p 92 1975) citing James, "that if the philosopher . . . makes a bad mistake the cries of the wounded will soon inform him of the fact." The same could be said of the pragmatist, and an ear for what the population is saying is invaluable. However, *systematic* testing of outcomes is also needed and is an important part of the pragmatic method, and planning, testing, evaluation, and review techniques will be fully utilized. Results will be reviewed in relation to objectives, to see if they have been achieved; and if they have, the results will be evaluated on the basis of the values and interests originally believed to be relevant, to see if their goodness is as expected. They will not be tested against goals for goal achievement.

As regards evaluation, at this stage, evaluation at the land use design stage will have been carried out. Impacts will now be *fait accompli.* How closely they correspond to what was expected can be assessed. There may have been failure to achieve, or there may have been unexpected side effects. To the extent that they closely correspond, the evaluations can be revisited to see whether the assessment of goodness was true (something that will not happen with goal-achievement). To the extent that they do not, fresh evaluations can be made to assess the goodness of the new situation, for whether it is better or worse than, as well as different from, the intended outcome, will influence the planning authority in deciding what the next step will be.

8 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

This is the first of the matters mentioned as supplementary to the consideration of the planning process. It is a significant aspect of plan promulgation, but it is useful to consider the question separately here.

The relevance of public participation is fairly obvious. It will help the planning authority to establish truths as to relevant facts about the land use system, and the population, including their aspirations, values, needs, wants, and desires, and opinions about possible futures and the consequences of taking certain action to modify the future. Some of these matters will, of course, be

subsumed under the study of their interests. In that connection, for ascertaining matters of public interest, information as to the collective nature of interests, and as to whether the satisfaction of them is out of most individuals' hands or not, will be needed (Berke *et al 2006*).[11]

Claims of public interest can be made, as they can in respect of individual interest. However, Meyer (p 114 1975) warns of the problem of part of the public, e.g. factions, speaking on behalf of the public. He could also have mentioned self-interested individuals, or, by contrast, persons genuinely part of the public in their orientation. In respect of public interest specifically, Meyer (1975) says that the problem is not with people speaking, but with appraising such claims, and acknowledging the need to appraise such claims. It is necessary to "address matters of public affairs in appropriately public terms and with results that can be evaluated for their public ramifications." Another aspect is mentioned by Berke *et al* (p29 2006) in a note on "Core Planning Capabilities":

> ". . . a changing panoply of public and private interests and trends . . . While the other players unabashedly advocate their own interests . . . planners are expected to advocate overall public interest . . "

That is important, but they must, of course, at the same time give full consideration to *all* of the relevant public and private interests.

9 MEDIATION/NEGOTIATION

Mediation and negotiation are methods of dispute resolution, in particular as alternatives to decision making in the nature of adjudication by judicial and quasi-judicial bodies. They can occur between private persons, or between private persons and a public body.

With the time and expense of formal hearings, and the zero sum game sometimes involved, there is much to be said for parties settling their disputes informally. The practice has increased significantly in recent years. Berke *et al* (2006) put much emphasis on "cooperation" and "coalition" and "consensus" building, and in fact seem to be over-optimistic about what it could achieve.[12] Where the dispute is in an area where it is government policy to leave it to the private sector to sort matters out for themselves, there is no further problem, apart, sometimes, from needing the means of getting some sort of judicial order, such as a consent order, where that is necessary so that rights are properly settled.

A problem arises where there is public interest involved (it is assumed here, not too optimistically it is hoped, that *all* persons with group or individual interests affected will be involved in the mediation or negotiation). It is possible for a dispute to be settled happily between private parties without regard to the public interest, or for the settlement to be contrary to the public interest in some way. The result may not be in accordance with an option for a preferred outcome adopted by a relevant public

[11] Berke *et al* (2006) in Chapter 1 have some relevant comments, of interest whilst perhaps requiring some discussion and differentiation, but there is one phrase in the introduction to Part I on page 1 (repeated on p 3) that is worth quoting: "Planners must . . . advocate the interests of underrepresented groups." This is an aspect all too seldom referred to in public participation discussions. For them to be fair and effective, it must be acknowledged that there are large numbers of people who will not actively participate, and it is up to the planners to seek out their interests. It is no use saying everyone *should* participate. It is a fact of life, and it is not right to not consider their interests just because they do not actively advance them themselves.

[12] See in their Index under "community consensus."

authority, and the outcome may not represent the public good.
Meyer (1975) makes this point at page 135:

"It may be said that such devices as popular elections, interest-based representation, bargaining, etc., are generally considered legitimate, but it is presumptuous to suggest that the results of such processes necessarily constitute the public good. Well-established, legitimate processes can go a long way in inducing the public to accept a variety of outcomes, yet the fact remains that the vector-sum of forces may not be in the public interest."

It is necessary in such cases for the public authority to be involved in some way to ensure that a matter of public interest is given due consideration to the greatest extent necessary. What should not happen is to think that it is the end of the matter when the private parties are satisfied regardless of the effect on public interest. This is important, even if the process becomes more cumbersome.

Apart from that issue, the pragmatic method can apply to mediation and negotiation. The parties can put up hypotheses about likely options or outcomes, and the conclusion is the "individual good" of each of the parties, because it is the best that they can expect in the light of the conflict of interests. This sentence of Berke *et al*, (p4 2006), concerning consensus building, is particularly interesting:
"This requires that players participate in a multiparty consensus-building process, learning from feedback about prior successes and failures, and experimenting with new planning solutions and actions".

A strong pragmatic flavour is detectable (Berke *et al* 2006).[13]

Admittedly, there may be a difficulty in getting the parties to enter into the spirit of pragmatism, and applying it to private negotiation. That may even be a little artificial. To be realistic, it may be necessary for the planning authority to have a procedure for incorporating private arrangements into the pragmatic planning process, not only because of the public interest issue mentioned above, but to ensure that the integrity of the pragmatic planning approach is maintained.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the foregoing has given a comprehensive, introductory account of what would be involved in applying the pragmatic method to all aspects of urban land use planning.

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[13] Similarly this from p 24: "A planning support system aids in improving knowledge and consensus building by modeling the impacts of alternative scenarios of land use patterns, which allows for assessment of the compatibility of alternatives with interest group values and agreed upon visions of the community" (references omitted).

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SME Environmental Behaviour

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1. INTRODUCTION

Driven by growing environmental awareness, increased scientific knowledge, stakeholder pressure, and legislation, businesses (either willingly or unwillingly) are increasingly coming into contact with environmental issues. New Zealand holds an enviable reputation worldwide as being a 'clean, green' country. This reputation is leveraged to its full extent by many businesses and the government to promote New Zealand products and services. Posters proclaiming New Zealand's '100% pure' environment adorn the walls of New Zealand embassies and other cultural outposts throughout the world.

While New Zealand relies heavily on its environmental reputation, prior studies show that the environmental performance of New Zealand businesses is, in the most part, lacking. Additionally, past research has tended to focus on the largest companies in each sector with little information available on the environmental behaviour of New Zealand Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs).

For investigations into the environmental practices of SMEs, the manufacturing sector is of considerable interest due to its close relationship with energy use and pollution. This article is based on a dissertation completed as part of the Master of Environmental Policy Degree at Lincoln University, focusing on how New Zealand manufacturers view the environment, what they are doing to address environmental issues, and the rationale behind their environmental action or lack thereof. Within the context of environmental behaviour, this article will provide a quick glimpse at what New Zealand manufacturers do, what they don't do, and why. Finally, some attention will be given to some possible avenues for advancing SME environmental behaviour.

2. GLOBAL CONTEXT FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL PERFORMANCE OF SMES

SMEs are widely seen as having a significant environmental impact. It has been estimated that SMEs may contribute up to 70 percent of industrial pollution (Hillary, 2004). While SMEs tend to lag behind larger businesses in adopting environmental practices, it has been argued that the smallness of SMEs helps them to account more accurately for the value of scarce resources, and to therefore use as little as possible (Kerr, 2006). Multiple studies have shown that for SMEs, regulation is the key driver of environmental performance and there is little value created in pursuing environmental goals (Merrit, 1998; Petts, 2000; Simpson, Taylor, & Barker, 2004; Williamson, Lynch-Wood, & Ramsay, 2006). Whereas larger firms are able to create value from an environmental reputation, according to the limited amount of research on the subject, this does not apply equally to SMEs (Graafland & Smid, 2004). Regulation therefore is put forward in the literature as the key driving force behind SME's environmental performance (Tilley, 1999).

3. METHODOLOGY

The research used an email survey to gather quantitative and qualitative data from a wide range of New Zealand SME manufacturers. The survey contained three sections based on the three research questions. The first section addressed the views of SME manufacturers on what environmental issues are important to them

and how environmental issues are best approached from their businesses' perspective. The second section addressed the environmental actions of SME manufacturers and their level of commitment to future environmental actions. And the third section addressed the drivers influencing SME manufacturers' environmental actions or lack of actions and their attitudes towards compulsory environmental regulatory compliance and voluntary environmental action. To implement the survey, three business directory databases (*Finda, YellowPages*, and *Kompass*) were used to identify potential respondents. To maximise the response rate, all business identified as manufacturers in the databases were sent a survey invite. The response rate from each of the three databases differed to a large degree, with *Finda* providing the majority of responses. A total of 36 responses were received which provided a good base on which to conduct the research. Approximately 2000 survey invites were sent which equates to a response rate of 1.6 percent. However, response rates differed greatly across the three databases used with *Kompass* providing a response rate of 0.1 percent, *YellowPages* 0.3 – 0.4 percent, and *Finda* 12.8 – 13.2 percent. The response rates obtained by the survey were not unexpected within the context of the research topic and methodology, and conformed to other similar surveys conducted, and general research on response rates from email surveys. The completed surveys were analysed using the qualitative method of summative content analysis.

4. NEW ZEALAND SME MANUFACTURERS

The research reflected what would be expected of any business focusing primarily on the bottom line, and short-term profits. That is, New Zealand SME manufacturers view environmental issues that have a financial impact or a regulatory component to be more important than other environmental issues. The more an environmental issue costs a business financially (i.e. energy consumption), the more attention it will receive. Environmental impacts are seen therefore, as an expense, and undertaking environmental actions as a cost to the business. Environmental issues are generally addressed for their potential to impact on the business financially, rather than for any intrinsic environmental concern. The findings suggest that increasing regulation and increasing the financial impact on businesses that create an environmental impact would lead to businesses viewing an environmental impact as more important. However, this is a narrow approach that disregards possible benefits to businesses from undertaking environmental actions.

While SMEs are aware of environmental issues, they are unlikely to voluntarily go beyond regulatory compliance to address their environmental impact (see Battisti & Perry, 2011; Tilley, 1999). The reason for this appears to be that SMEs either consider it too difficult, or do not consider the possibility of making a business case for pursuing environmental actions. While there are several examples of large companies that have leveraged their environmental performance to improve the businesses performance (Dell Computers, Unilever, Patagonia, Wal-Mart, Maersk etc.), this approach does not seem to be considered equally applicable to SMEs.

The research found widespread recognition from the businesses surveyed that they had an environmental impact; with 59 percent of the businesses stating their environmental impact was at least 'somewhat significant'. While this finding at first appears hopeful, in contrast with a previous study undertaken by Victoria University (1994), the majority of businesses surveyed by the research did not plan to undertake higher degrees of environmental action in the future. Additional comments provided by the businesses surveyed reflected a certain melancholy towards the perceived immensity of environmental issues.

The research found there was widespread recognition of the importance of maintaining New Zealand's positive environmental reputation. This recognition however, was not found to have a large influence on the environmental behaviour of New Zealand SME manufacturers. A common sentiment expressed by the respondents when asked whether they would voluntarily pursue environmental actions was, 'what's in it for me?' This sentiment does not align well with the businesses views on the importance of New Zealand's environmental reputation but does help to provide a better understanding of what is needed to improve the environmental behaviour of SME manufacturers.

The research revealed several contradictory beliefs held by businesses. Another example is

that while respondents did not believe that in the absence of regulation, businesses would naturally adopt voluntary environmental behaviours, they themselves stated that they undertook voluntary environmental actions.

Environmental regulations as well as the financial impact of environmental issues were found by the research to be the major drivers of environmental action in New Zealand SME manufacturers. Regulations and financial cost have a larger effect on the environmental views, actions and drivers of environmental behaviour in New Zealand SME manufacturers than all other aspects (e.g. an intrinsic concern for the environment, an ability to benefit financially from taking environmental action, a desire to gain societal legitimacy, external pressure to be environmental from stakeholders or customers, amongst others).

However, while the most blatant conclusion that could be drawn is that the best path forward for mitigating the impact of businesses on the environment is through increased regulation and increasing the cost of poor environmental performance, this approach further reinforces the perception of environmental wellbeing as strictly an expense for businesses. That is not to say that regulation does not play an important role, but rather that there is a potential upside to business environmental performance that is not well understood.

Throughout the research and review of the literature conducted, there was a noticeable lack of any mention, critical or otherwise, of the potential to build a business case for environmental performance (beyond efficiency savings). What research does exist on this topic tends to focus on large corporations, with SME targeted information generally limited to online articles. New Zealand SME manufacturers have a good understanding of their environmental impacts, a fair understanding of environmental regulations, but either little understanding or little trust in the potential to benefit from environmental actions. Presenting a business case for better environmental performance in SMEs requires moving beyond a focus on efficiency savings, and focusing instead on the opportunities presented by sustainability.

5. PATH FORWARD – DEMONSTRATING THE BENEFITS OF BETTER ENVIRONMENTAL PERFORMANCE.

This article has intentionally avoided the use of the word sustainability so far, solely because the research conducted by the author focused on environmental and economic matters, and did not address any social components of the businesses actions. However, a robust approach to building a business case for ensuring environmental wellbeing while achieving positive business outcomes relies on all aspects of sustainability being considered. The remainder of this article moves beyond the dissertation research conducted by the author, and looks at the potential to create win-win situations for business and environment. Opportunities to improve a businesses' financial performance while at the same time meeting sustainability outcomes require a certain willingness on the behalf of businesses to move beyond the status quo of day-to-day operations. While this is not an easy undertaking for small businesses focused on the bottom line, there are multiple studies (some of which are discussed below) available that demonstrate the benefits of business in doing so.

As a few large corporations have discovered, social responsibility is good for business. In his book 'Conscious Capitalism', Whole Foods Market Founder John Mackey states that over a 15 year period, businesses that have a social mission perform 10.5 – 1 over their competitors. Tying purchasing decisions to feelings of positivity has been at the core of marketing for a long time. A worldwide study conducted by Nielsen (2014) found that on average, consumers are willing to pay 20% more for a brand that had a social mission, over a competing brand. Other interesting findings from this study on consumer behaviour include:

- 55% will pay extra for products and services from companies committed to positive social and environmental impact
- 52% made at least one purchase in the past six months from one or more socially responsible companies
- 52% check product packaging to ensure sustainable impact

- 49% volunteer and/or donate to organizations engaged in social and environmental programs

It is clear from these findings that there is a reasonably significant demand from consumers for sustainability and socially responsible businesses, however there is another important aspect to building a business case for sustainability that gets even less attention than consumer demand. The Nielsen study also found that 67% of people prefer to work for socially responsible companies. It is a common sentiment that staff are a business's most valuable commodity, it therefore stands to reason that attracting and retaining top talent should be a central tenant of any business. A study undertaken by Deloitte (Deloitte 2014) found that 70% of Millennials were willing to take less compensation to work for a business that is socially responsible. A further study undertaken by (UNC Kenan-Flagler Business School (Schaufebbuel 2013) found that employees that are engaged in the businesses purpose are 87% less likely to leave. The findings of these surveys primarily support sustainable practices as a means for creating value for a business, rather than as a growth strategy, however the benefits to a business financially from taking this approach are no less valid than focusing on growth alone.

6. CONCLUSION

The field of SME sustainability studies is disproportionately small in comparison to the amount of attention given to large corporations. As SMEs potentially make up to 95% of all businesses globally (OECD, 2005). There are obvious benefits in working to promote an environmental agenda in these businesses. The well-understood benefits of undertaking environmental behaviours for SMEs tend to be limited to efficiency savings, with little regard given to the ability to grow a business through a focus on sustainability and social responsibility. The benefits of taking this approach are readily apparent in many large corporations, however there is a perception that these opportunities for growth do not apply equally to SMEs. As none of the studies on SME environmental behaviour that the author is aware of have tested the validity of this proposition, there is the potential for SMEs to obtain the same benefits as larger corporations from pursuing a sustainability objective. To test this proposition, case studies are currently being undertaken by the author with support from a small group of environmental professionals, academics, and business people, to measure the impact on SMEs from actively pursuing a sustainability agenda. The focus of these case studies is on investigating the potential for a business case for sustainability to be made for SMEs that currently have little to no focus on sustainability. In the words of eco design guru William McDonough, author of *Cradle to Cradle: Remaking the Way We Make Things,* the focus of business needs to move away from doing 'less bad' to doing 'more good'. The case studies being undertaken will investigate whether doing 'more good' for the environment can also do 'more good' in terms of value creation for the business. The hope is that by focusing on generating value for the business by operating in a more sustainable manner, it will be possible for a SME to create a win-win scenario for both the environment and the business.

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Indigenous Residential Development and Property Investment

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1. INTRODUCTION

Indigenous property investment and residential development projects are an under-researched area both in New Zealand, and internationally. As such, minimal academic literature exists and this research note seeks to increase the knowledge on this topic.

In New Zealand, as iwi groups settle their Treaty of Waitangi Claims, they look to invest their settlements in order to provide for their people, now and into the future. The more knowledge they can acquire on indigenous property investment, the more well-informed they will be before they enter the high-risk but potentially high-return area that is property investment.

Property Investment is a highly significant investment, for at least two iwi in New Zealand - Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu - as well as for indigenous groups in Canada. If carried out successfully, indigenous property development can benefit indigenous people, the nation's economy and as the final case study explores, it even has the potential to help solve large social issues such as 'affordable housing'.

This research is designed as a background to a study which aims to determine whether South Island's Ngai Tahu residential property developments are any different from other non-indigenous group residential property developments. It offers an international comparison, to determine whether Ngai Tahu as a leading iwi property investor could be considered leading in the world, or whether other indigenous groups and nations have best practice measures in place that could be applied in the New Zealand context.

2. International Indigenous Investment and Property Development

Internationally, New Zealand appears to be leading the way in regards to indigenous groups investing in developments and property portfolios - both commercial and residential. An extensive search of databases (including Google Scholar and General One File), the Lincoln University library catalogue and Proquest found only a handful of academic articles mentioning 'indigenous' development. This may indicate that a shortage of internationally published case studies exist and that there is currently an opportunity for others to learn from the New Zealand experience.

Turning attention to our Australian neighbours, it is noted that little information was found on Aboriginal economic development in property. This may be because as Waretini-Karena & Armitage (2014, p.30) note: "Following the pluralist period New Zealand appears to [have] proceeded further towards developing social policies and administrative procedures which respect aboriginal values and culture than have either Australia or Canada" (Waretini-Karena & Armitage, 2014, p. 30). It may also be because in New Zealand, Maori are a predominantly more urbanised people, and hence more familiar with property (both commercial and residential). In 1981 for example, 84% of Maori in New Zealand were classified as 'urban', whilst in the same year just 39% of Aborigines in Australia were urban (Waretini-Karena & Armitage, 2014, p. 26).

Further evidence of the differing situation between Maori and Aborigines in regards to land and development can be seen in the 2005 decision of the Darkinjung Aboriginal Land Council to sell $42 million worth (41 hectares) beachfront land on the New South Wales Coast, and with it, the shattering of the Darkinjung community's dream of becoming self-sufficient (Hills, 2005). This is in stark contrast to Ngai Tahu who have chosen to invest their settlement and develop their land to the extent that they have increased their property portfolio to over $600m worth of assets (Harris, 2014).

It has been argued that majority of the land now under indigenous ownership in Australia is not commercially viable and already degraded (Altman & Dillon, 2005, p. 251) and that "Australian governments have historically under-invested in the management of these Crown lands that are now being transferred to Indigenous ownership, and this has exacerbated the situation that landowners now face" (Altman & Dillon, 2005, p. 251). Thus, the situation is challenging for Aborigine groups wishing to economically benefit from the land.

Another issue making Aboriginal economic development challenging is the difficulty that Indigenous groups face entering the market economy. "Commercial banks are reluctant to lend to Indigenous interests without realizable collateral because land cannot be easily used as security" (Altman & Dillon, 2005, p. 252) and other factors deter lending, such as group ownership.

Despite the difficulties facing indigenous investment in property and development, it has been recognised that "land and resources are the foundation upon which indigenous communities intend to rebuild the economies of their nations and so improve the socioeconomic circumstance of their people" (Anderson, Dana, & Dana, 2006, p. 46).

Canada has provided the best examples of indigenous groups that have utilised entrepreneurship to lead to success. The Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) "conducts its entrepreneurship business development through the Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation (OIBDC). The motto of the development corporation is 'working with business to preserve our past by strengthening our future'" (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). By 2006, nearly a decade ago, the indigenous group owned and operated nine enterprises which included a construction company, a forestry company, a grocery store and related to this research, two housing developments (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). Their website also currently details the development of a 112 acre business park. 'Senkulmen Business Park' has just released its first phase of sections for leasing (Osoyoos Indian Band, 2014). Like Ngai Tahu in New Zealand, the Osoyoos Indian Band has established a corporate arm to be responsible for commercial and economic business operations. The OIB term theirs the 'Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation' (OIBDC), whilst Ngai Tahu terms theirs 'Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporations Ltd'. This structure, allows the indigenous groups operate their corporate business of managing assets at arm's length from the main tribal governance process. The OIBDC website even states "the Chief and Council of OIB are business people, and we desire to develop more business opportunities" (Osoyoos Indian Band, n.d).

Of note are the similarities that the OIB and Ngai Tahu share in regards to their commercialised websites advertising their property ventures. The Senkulmen Business Park, like Prestons and the Wigram developments in Christchurch has its own website detailing design guidelines, the master plan, a brief overview of the development's significance and more (Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation, 2014).

Another Canadian example of indigenous groups succeeding with investment from settlement claims is in regards to the approximately 4500 Inuvialuit that live in "six western Arctic communities that lie in and around the mouth of the MacKenzie River" (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). In 1984, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) was formed following negations between the federal government and the Inuvialuit people which saw 91,000km² of land remain in their title, and the indigenous group the recipients of $45 million in cash compensation paid out over 13 years between 1984–1997 (Anderson et al., 2006,

p. 51). The IRC also formed a corporate arm - the Inuvialuit Corporate Group (ICG), and in 2002 the group listed a profit of $15.1 million, of which at least $5 million was paid to individuals and communities for non-business (i.e. social) purposes (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). This profit built on two previous years of substantial profit - $14.7 million paid out in 2001 and $11.6 million in 2000 (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). Anderson and others commented in their 2006 article that "in the case of the Inuvialuit, a just settlement of land claims has provided the capital for entrepreneurship and business development, and contributed to the rebuilding of the Inuvialuit 'Nation', by preserving the Inuvialuit culture, identity, and values within a changing northern society" (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 51). More recently, the Inuvialuit Development Corporation has invested in both residential and commercial properties through the subsidiary company 'IDC Properties' and claims that "Commercial space now totals over 66,000 square ft. Several of the primarily commercial buildings are mixed use and include residential units" (Inuvialuit Development Corporation, 2014). The IDC can also be recognised as continuing to enjoy economic success as Figure 1 shows.

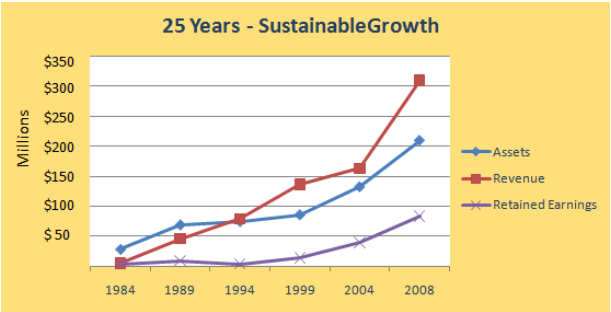

Figure 1. Continued Economic Growth for the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (Inuvialuit Development Corporation, n.d.).

3. New Zealand Iwi Property Investment

In New Zealand, iwi have become increasingly dominant in the property sector - both commercial and residential, and this is predicted to increase as more iwi settle their claims. Both Waikato-Tainui and South Island Ngai Tahu are leading the way after settling their Treaty of Waitangi claims early and generally investing wisely since (Harris, 2014). Both these iwi are also argued to have an advantage in that they are located close to large urban areas and hence enjoy greater opportunities for commercial property investment (Gillies, 2014).

As of 2014, Waikato-Tainui has a substantial property portfolio that includes land under Waikato University, Hamilton shopping centre The Base, the Huntley Power station and commercial assets with Auckland Airport. The iwi's assets now total $738 million (Harris, 2014). In addition, Waikato-Tainui is looking to develop a mixed use development on 485 ha of land it owns at Ruakura. To put that future development into perspective, one needs to consider that 485 ha is "8 per cent of Hamilton city's land" (Harris, 2014). Thus Waikato-Tainui has property investment at a large scale.

Ngai Tahu also has a substantial property portfolio, with $600m worth of investments in residential, commercial and farming property. This is a particularly successful outcome when one considers that in 1998 the iwi received a settlement of $170m (excluding fisheries and aquaculture assets) (Harris, 2014). For Ngai Tahu, property accounts for "56% of total assets and achieved earnings before interest and tax of $38.2 million" (Hutching, 2013). Ngai Tahu's property assets include the Christchurch City Council Civic building (figure 2), the Tower Junction Mega Centre, Sockburn business park, the Christchurch, Queenstown and Dunedin police stations and more (Harris, 2014). Current residential developments for the iwi are extensive and include Wigram, Prestons and Te Whāriki (at Lincoln). Crucially, another advantage for Ngai Tahu is that "a contingent asset in respect of the Ngai Tahu deed of settlement with the crown in 1997 allows for a top up value of all Treaty settlements between 1994 and 2044 ends up being more than $1 billion" (Hutching, 2013). In December 2012, the crown paid Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu an additional $68 million as part of this top-up (Hutching, 2013). Waikato-Tainui also has this relativity mechanism included in their deed settlement (The Treasury, 2014). These top-up arrangements were an inducement to get the tribes to settle early and to assure them that they would not be disadvantaged in doing so, relative

to tribes that settled later in the Treaty claims process.

Figure 2 The Christchurch City Council Civic Offices are part of the substantial Ngai Tahu Property Portfolio totalling $600m (Phillip, 2010)

A mix of property investments is seen as a wise way to play the game, particularly as commercial property is recognised as a good medium-long-term investment, offering a steady income stream (Harris, 2014).

It is important to note that there is great disparity and contrast between the different iwi in New Zealand. For example, Te Rūnanga o Nāgti Whātua (Auckland-Northland iwi) have not yet settled their Treaty of Waitangi claim and consequently own just $12.5m in investments (Harris, 2014). Hapu within that iwi are doing substantially better with Ngati Whatua Orakei, a hapu within the runanga's territorial authority, having a commercial trust with assets totalling more than $500 m (Harris, 2014). The deputy chairman of Ngai Whatua runanga's board of trustees articulated that many iwi would like to follow the success of Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu (Harris, 2014). Subsequently last month, Ngati Whatua o Orakei Whai Rawa added to their assets by purchasing AECOM House in Quay Park, Auckland - a significant commercial purchase that is "set to add an eight percent yield to its cashflow" (Radio New Zealand, 2014). This was the tribe's first significant purchase since it settled in 2012 and the building is estimated to generate a "total net passing income of about $5.4 million/year" (Colliers International, 2014).

There are also plans for residential development in the North Shore's Bayswater and Belmont areas with Ngati Whatua o Orakei looking at developing 230 existing residential properties on 25ha (Gibson, 2013). Like Ngai Tahu and the old Wigram Air Force base, Ngati Whatua o Orakei bought surplus Defence Force Land, and although the navy is leasing the properties in question until 2018, the iwi is already at work on plans to invest and progress this development following the lease expiry (Gibson, 2013). Although the plans are still a work in progress, the iwi wants to build more intensively, and at greater density than the Unitary plan allows, and a board member has stated that the original 800sq metre sections with 3 bedroom weatherboard houses built for navy staff are not the most efficient land use (Gibson, 2013).

Another iwi considerably behind Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu in the property investment ladder is Ngati Awa (Eastern Bay of Plenty), where property investment makes up less than 5% of the tribes $120 million asset portfolio (Gillies, 2014). This helps articulate the contrast between iwi investment in rural and urban areas. In general, iwi located in closer proximity to urban areas have a higher property investment component than those more rural iwi. This may also be related to the nature of the original claims of both Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu but further anlaysis would be required here.

Many iwi groups have been investigating property investment and Ngati Whakaue is no exception. Near Rotorua, Ngati Whakaue has been investigating property investments and in 2010 was in the process of strategic planning for 1500ha of land in eastern Rotorua. A structure plan, was developed for a 150ha area, and went through the private plan change process with the Rotorua District Council (Poutasi, 2010). Notably, Ngati Whakaue Tribal Lands Inc. has approximately 4,500 Maori shareholders and is a major landowner in Rotorua (Poutasi, 2010).

Lastly, it the New Zealand Centre for Sustainable Cities has a current research project titled 'Tāone Tupu Ora - Māori involvement in urban planning and development' which sets out the hypothesis that "increasing authentic Māori participation in creating urban futures will significantly contribute to making New Zealand cities more resilient, liveable and competitive" (New Zealand Centre for

Sustainable Cities, 2013). The project, which is yet to be completed, uses a qualitative, mixed-methods approach to develop an understanding of the main drivers that impact on iwi involvement in urban planning and development (New Zealand Centre for Sustainable Cities, 2013)

4. An Alternative to the Status Quo

Tamati Collective's low cost housing development at Weymouth, Auckland provides a new spin on indigenous property development and investment in New Zealand and is arguably a better use of investment for the people, not just the economy. This development, appears the first of its kind in New Zealand, is innovative and not solely consumer focused. The Tamati Collective comprises thirteen iwi that have joined together to form a partnership, alongside voluntary agencies to invest in a 'low-cost' housing development ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). The location in question is of particular interest to iwi groups with the site sloping down from Weymouth Rd to the Manukau Harbour, occupying a low-income area. Indicative of the low-income status and mixed occupancy of the area is that "Weymouth Primary School is ranked decile 2, with a roll that is 43 per cent Pacific and 34 per cent Maori" (Collins, 2014).

The development will see the 16ha site contain 282 units, of which 127 (or 45 percent) will be sold on the open market, a further 99 units will be tenanted on either shared equity, or rent to buy agreements, and remaining units will be low rent tenancies that are administered by independent charities instead of the Government-owned

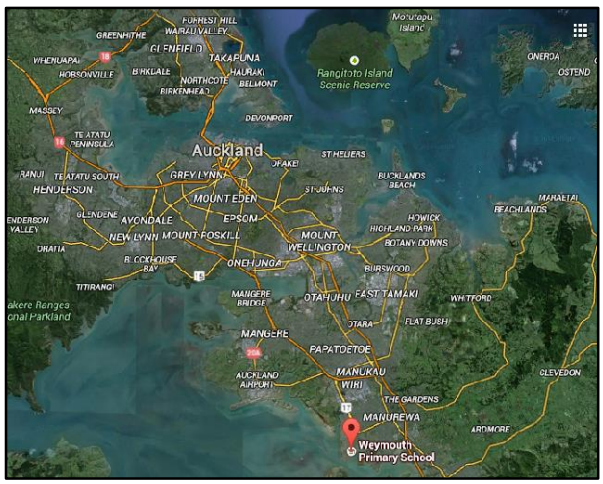

Figure 3. Waimahia Inlet Development is quite far out from the CBD (40km) as pictured by the red indicator on 'Weymouth Primary School' on the Auckland image.

Housing NZ ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). To achieve the low-cost status, 90% of units are to be double-storied and built on less land than other statehouse areas like Otara and Glenn Innes ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). The average lot sizes for the 92 houses in stage one is 274 square metres (Collins, 2014). The development is given the name 'Waimahia' the Maori name for Weymouth and the site is the first Auckland Council 'special housing area' that has enjoyed fast-track resource consents ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). The development has a vision that "if it works to plan, there will be a constant turnover of rentals, enabling people in the most desperate need to be given adequate housing quickly and encouraging them in turn to move to at least partial ownership as soon as they can" ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). The units are currently priced from $322,000 for a two-bedroom unit to $495,000 for a five bedroom unit (Waimahia Inlet Limited Partnership, 2014).

Social media comments regarding Waimahia have been a mixed bag, including those who doubt that Waimahia was the 'Maori name for Weymouth' and feel that there would have been better pre-existing Maori names that could be used, to those that think $475,000 in Weymouth with little public transport, 40km from the CBD (figure 3) is not low cost ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). Others feel that preference should be given to lower income Maori first, stating that "the point of treaty settlements is to help Maori meaningfully and immediately. Its not to help investors" ("Iwi housing plan shows what Treaty really means," 2014). Regardless, of what side of the fence one falls, this development offers a vastly different approach to other indigenous property developments seen in this country to date, and is attempting to offer innovation and assistance to a large-nationwide issue. Waimahia is a completely different approach to Ngai Tahu's Wigram Skies and its target market, although the artist impressions of the units that are to be built do not look substantially different from those found in developments elsewhere (see figure 4).

At Wigram Skies, a new 3 bedroom two storied townhouse on 183 m² is currently on the market (figure 5) for approximately $529,000 (Lewis, 2014) - showing that affordability is not the main goal in mind.

Figure 3. Artist Impression of a 3 bedroom house in the Waimahia development
(Waimahia Inlet Limited Partnership, 2014)

Figure 5. An image of the three bedroom townhouses for sale at Wigram Skies for over $500,000 which can be compared with the Waimahia option above for substantially less.
As one can see these townhouses have connecting walls to other homes (Ruske, 2014).

5. Conclusion

In summary, it appears that in New Zealand Iwi as investors are "spreading their risk, both geographically and across investing in office, mixed-use and other commercial developments" (Gillies, 2014).

New Zealand and more specifically Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu appear to be leading the way in regards to indigenous property development and investment. Canadian Indigenous groups are also entering the property market but little international literature exists around other groups. This results in the conclusion that New Zealand and Canada are the only two countries where indigenous groups are becoming significant players in the property market.

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Lincoln Planning Review, 6(1-2) (2014) 63-69

The Dirty Dairying Campaign and the Clean Streams Accord

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Introduction

In this paper I trace the genesis of the 2003 Dairying Clean Streams Accord and in this process look at the aims of the organisations involved in the accord, using their public records. In addition I trace the story as reported by the press and the scientific community and examine the story of the accord in light of policy theory, and then discuss some of its limitations and how these reduced its potential for success.

2003 Dairying Clean Streams Accord

In 2003 The Dairying Clean Streams Accord came into being. It is an agreement between the Fonterra Co-operative Group, all New Zealand's Regional Councils, and the Ministry for the Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The stated goal of this policy was:

"Fonterra Co-operative Group, regional councils and unitary authorities, the Ministry for the Environment, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry will work together to achieve clean healthy water, including streams, rivers, lakes, ground water and wetlands, in dairying areas.

In particular, the goal is to have water that is suitable, where appropriate, for:

- Fish;
- Drinking by stock;
- Swimming (in areas defined by regional councils)"

Ministry of the Environment (26 May 2003).

Each of the parties in this agreement had a differing role. Fonterra is a cooperative dairy company that was formed in 2001 by the merger of the two largest of New Zealand's then four largest dairy companies. In 2003 Fonterra processed over 90% of the milk produced in New Zealand. Their main roles in the Accord were to provide information and advice to farmers on how to achieve best environmental practice, to create and implement an assessment scheme to monitor farmer compliance and to publicly report the results. The regional councils along with Fonterra were to develop regional action plans to identify actions needed to implement the accord. Finally, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF), along with the Ministry for the Environment were to provide an overview of progress on the aims of the accord, while providing assistance for the development of tools to do so and to provide a statutory environment that was conducive to the meeting of the Accords aims (Ministry of the Environment, 26 May 2003).

'Dirty Dairying' and its link with the Clean Streams Accord.

The "Dirty Dairying Campaign" was a campaign started by NGO Fish and Game (an organisation of fishers and hunters) in 2002 as a way to voice their growing concern and mobilise public opinion in the fight against the declining ecological health of freshwater in New Zealand. The issue was brought to a head by their receipt of a 2002 NIWA (National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research) report that they had commissioned. This outlined a substantial and on-going decline in water quality in dairy farm areas (Deans & Hackwell, 2008).This report was later published as a journal article, Water quality in low-elevation streams and rivers of New Zealand (Larned, Scarsbrook, Snelder, Norton, & Biggs, 2004). In addition to this report there has been a growth in pressure from government agencies and environmentalists for higher environmental standards. When coupled with consumers and retailers demanding more sustainable agricultural

practices (Tufts-Rickson et al., 2006) this added to pressure for the industry to be seen to be acting responsibly on these matters.

The phrase "Dirty Dairying" has entered the New Zealand lexicon as illustrated by a search of the Newztext database which shows 1001 articles containing the phrase since it was coined in 2002. This is an example of effective use of a symbol to represent a policy problem as described in Stone (1997, pp. 138-162). As a symbol the phrase works on multiple levels: it is a synecdoche that through its multiple uses in the media associated with images and stories of bad dairy practise has now become a metaphor for much of what is seen as the shortcomings in the industry's environmental performance.

The strength of the link in the public mind between dairying and dirty dairy was so strong that it directly led Fonterra along with the Ministry for the Environment, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and regional councils to create the Dairying and Clean Streams Accord. The phrase is often used by headline writers when reporting environmental misdemeanours, as in these recent examples; "Farmers with more debt leads to more dirty dairying" (Bowen, 2013), "Dirty dairying laid bare "(Sharpe, 2012) and "Farmer accused of dirty dairying" (Watson, 2013).

Policy v policy theory

The drafting of the first Accord was notable for four flaws, the composition of signatories, the nature of the goals, the monitoring approach, and its voluntary nature.

1) Who signed the Accord?

Unlike other accords in New Zealand it had a limited number of stakeholders involved in its drafting. Protagonists like Fish and Game and Forest and Bird were excluded even though it appears that the writing of the Accord was at least in part a reaction to their public statements. This contrasts with the 1991 New Zealand Forest Accord which was an agreement between the owners of commercial forests and ten different conservation organisations, each of whom were involved in the drafting process. The exclusion of a group of stakeholders reduces both the effectiveness of the document and how it is perceived by the broader public (Deans & Hackwell, 2008). Fonterra were also criticized from within the industry for their lack of consultation with farmers. Dairy Farmers of New Zealand chair Kevin Wooding went on record as saying "…dairy farmers are disappointed with the lack of consultation…"(Keeling, 2003). The failure of the parties that created the first Accord to engage with their opponents meant that throughout its life it was under intense scrutiny. If instead the environmental pressure groups had been included using the Cooperative Pluralism model as outlined by McFarland (2008 pp. 104-123) or a policy development model more akin to Collaborative Environmental Governance as outlined by Ansell and Gash(2008) the outcome may well have been a more workable, relevant and lasting solution.

2) The stated goals of the Accord

These were to achieve clean healthy water, including streams, rivers, lakes, ground water and wetlands, in dairying areas. When the then Green Party Co-Leader Jeanette Fitzsimons stated "The Clean Streams Accord should be subject to outcome-based measures, not just input-based ones"(Green Party, 2004) she was pointing out, as have many others, that there is a disjuncture between the stated major goal of the Accord being 'clean water', and the evaluation tools used. These tools are all measurements of outputs and not direct measurements of cleaner water and therefore have the underlying assumption that they are a proxy for the measurement of the stated outcome of 'cleaner water'. These assumptions have faced challenges from a number of quarters, for example Cowie, van Voorthuysen, and Ridley (2006) in their journal article, A Monitoring and Reporting Strategy for the Dairying and Clean Streams Accord, state categorically that none of the evaluations relate directly to the measurement of water quality. Instead, the measurement criteria all relate to on-farm objectives, such as fencing off streams and swamps to exclude stock, compliance with consents and the writing of nutrient budgets. To have the desired results it is fundamental to measure the right criteria (Scott & Baehler, 2010 pp. 88 – 138.) This is not what happened in this case, and it reflects badly on those involved. Either they were misguided in their design or for some reason they were unwilling or unable to measure the desired outcome that they stated.

Fitzsimons' view of the limitations of the fencing policy is not restricted to the political arena. Waikato University water quality expert Professor David Hamilton in a press release stated:

"The 'put up a fence' attitude hid underlying considerations required for the size and management of riparian buffers, as well as the nonpoint source pollution. In most cases it was nothing more than window dressing and there had been minimal progress since the Clean Streams Accord, (Hamilton, 2008)

Also water quality scientists Bewsell, Monaghan, and Kaine (2007) in a peer reviewed article bluntly stated:

When there are no perceived on-farm benefits from stream fencing adoption, compliance rates will be low. The focus of any effort to increase adoption of stream fencing would need to shift to promoting practices that mitigate impacts on water quality and deliver on-farm benefits. Regulations may also be needed to increase the rate of adoption of stream fencing.

The reality is that even as compliance with the accord code has increased, water quality has continued to decline (Deans & Hackwell, 2008). This raises two questions. The first was whether the Clean Streams is a true attempt to make streams cleaner or a symbolic policy whose main purpose was to appease critics of dairy farm practice. Secondly, and perhaps even more importantly, is whether even the 100% implementation of 'best practise' as defined in the Accord would improve water quality enough to offset the increasing number of dairy cows (Deans & Hackwell, 2008).

3) Numbers and ambiguity

It is very easy for the promoters and defenders of a policy to use ambiguity in the presentation of their results as a way of manipulating the perception of the results of a policy (Stone, 1997 pp. 163-188). This, when combined with a monitoring programme that relies on self-assessment, leads to misreporting of policy outputs.

An example of ambiguity can be seen in the way the percentage of waterways fenced is reported; Fonterra reported that in 2010/11, 84% of their suppliers' farm waterways were fenced (the target was 90%) (Fonterra, 2013). Fonterra's reports do not make it clear whether the reported compliance with this provision is a proportion of all Fonterra farms or of Fonterra farms with 'accord waterways'.

Adding to the ambiguity is the fact that data about compliance was collected by farmers' self-reporting. The weakness of this self-reporting of the stream fencing policy is highlighted in an Environment Canterbury (Ecan) report, Dairying and the Clean Streams Accord:

While the thrust of compliance with the Dairying and Clean Streams Accord lies with Fonterra and its shareholder farmers, it is disappointing to discover there is little monitoring of progress towards achieving the Accord targets and no auditing of the information supplied by the shareholders (Jones, 2007).

This report made headlines when Professor David Hamilton released a press statement containing:

This is borne out by the data supplied by Fonterra and its shareholders which claims compliance with Accord targets while Ecan's physical inspection of the catchment has revealed quite different conditions as revealed in this report. There is, however, a window of opportunity for Fonterra to provide some robustness to their monitoring programme and request their shareholders to achieve a greater level of compliance before the next round of monitoring begins (Hamilton, 2008).

4) The voluntary nature of the Accord

The choice of voluntary policy instruments in the Accord has drawn many critics, among whom are notable scientists like Bewsell et al. (2007) who pointed out that voluntary uptake of stream fencing will be slow unless farmers see it in a context of an easier or more profitable way to manage their farms. They then went on to suggest that regulation would be a stronger option.

As Deans and Hackwell (2008) pointed out, voluntary participation in natural resource policy implementation is limited in that whilst it changes attitudes and behaviour of the majority of players relatively rapidly, it has little effect on the 'hard-core' of players who either have no interest or lack the resources to change the way they act. For this group regulation seems a necessary step that will either induce them to comply or if they are unable to do so will force their exit from the industry.

Deans and Hackwell stated this succinctly in their report:

The failure of the Clean Streams Accord to improve water quality, and the absence of any effective mechanisms to deal with the sizable minority of dairy farmers that continue to flout the law in respect to their dairy effluent discharge resource consents, indicates that the Accord in its present form is failing and needs to be either fundamentally reformed or else a new approach is required .(Deans & Hackwell, p.31 2008)

Improving on the 2003 Dairying Clean Streams Accord

By addressing each of the four flaws (see section 1.3 above) identified in the previous section, the Accord could have been greatly improved.

The issue of who is party to the accord could be addressed as it was in the 1991 NZ Forest Accord. At the national level this would have involved the participation of NGOs like Fish and Game and Forest and Bird for both their expertise and to get buy in and support from them. Similarly, The Department of Conservation needed to be involved in their role as an advocate for the environment as well as for their expertise and knowledge of managing natural systems. The processing sector of the dairy industry has changed since 2003 with a greater number of companies now participating. These companies also need to be represented, as does DairyNZ which is funded by a compulsory commodity levy on production and therefore is both representative of all dairy farmers in New Zealand as well as being the pivotal organisation for both knowledge generation and transfer in the industry. The final group that needs to be added to the team is the farmer political organisations of which Federated Farmers is largest and therefore the most representative.

The second issue is that of the disjuncture between the stated goals (to achieve clean healthy water, including streams, rivers, lakes, ground water and wetlands, in dairying areas) and the measurement of this objective. To this end there needs to be a mechanism to directly measure the quality of water in dairy catchments in an on-going and meaningful way, coupled with a commitment for either the industry or government to fund this properly. Alongside this direct measurement there needs to be an ongoing commitment to independent monitoring of the best practice measures like stream fencing. These results need to be studied to determine whether best practice is in fact good enough to meet the stated goals

The third issue, the ambiguity of the collection and reporting of results, needs to be addressed by all parties' involved. In part this issue should be resolved by both the protagonists and the industry jointly being involved in the policy development process. The result of this process needs to be a transparent and scientifically robust testing and recording process, trusted by all the parties and the public.

The final step is addressing the weakness of the document that comes from its largely voluntary nature. Firstly the self-reporting of compliance needs to be made more robust with more independent moderation to check accuracy. Second in the solution to this problem is that there needs to be financial inducements to perform well and penalties for non-compliance. The industry itself already has mechanisms available that could be modified for this purpose. There is already a differential price structure for qualities of milk which could easily be extended to include the environmental status of the farm; this could be done with either financial inducements or penalties. The ultimate sanction already exists but is so rarely used that it does not appear to be a disincentive. Each farmer signs a 'conditions of supply' agreement, regardless of which company they supply their milk to. These contracts contain the rules and regulations that a supplier must comply with to have their milk collected. These conditions have traditionally been based mostly on milk quality parameters, for example milk temperature. Again these could easily be extended to include the environmental performance of the supplier. To be effective this would need all milk processors to uphold an agreed minimum standard.

The 2013 Sustainable Dairying: Water Accord

The first accord expired in late 2013 and it has been replaced by the 2013 Sustainable Dairying: Water Accord(DairyNZ, 2013b) which is an agreement between a larger group of stakeholders in three tiers. The new Accord, differs from the first, as it is part of a bigger policy statement titled Making Dairy Farming Work for

Everyone - Strategy for Sustainable Dairy Farming 2013-2020. It signals the intent of dairy farming to be a part of New Zealand's future for the long term (DairyNZ, 2013a) and is led by DairyNZ in contrast to the previous Accord driven by Fonterra.

DairyNZ is an organisation that describes itself as:

DairyNZ is the industry good organisation, representing New Zealand's dairy farmers.

We are funded by farmers through a levy on milksolids. Our purpose is to secure and enhance the profitability, sustainability and competitiveness of New Zealand dairy farming. We aim to do this by leading innovation in world-class dairy farming and by working always in the best interests of New Zealand's dairy farmers (DairyNZ, 2013c).

The top tier the, 'accountable partners' who have specific responsibilities includes DairyNZ, most of the major milk processors in New Zealand (there are now more of these than in 2003), and the Dairy Company Association of New Zealand (DCANZ).

The second tier is the 'supporting partners' who make a commitment to support the accountable partners in their commitment to the Accord's aims. They are the Fertiliser Association, Ravensdown, Ballance (all part of the fertiliser industry), Federated Farmers, Irrigation NZ and The Institute of Primary Industry Management.

The third tier is the 'friends of the accord' who are 'supportive of this accord'. They are all of the Regional and Unitary Councils, The Federation of Maori Authorities (who represent a growing portion of dairy farmers in New Zealand), The Ministry for the Environment, the Ministry of Primary Industries (replaces MAF, who no longer exist), and lastly Westland Milk Products (the only one of the larger dairy companies not to have signed at the 'accountable partner' level).

The stated purpose of this accord is to:

Enhance the overall performance of dairy farming as it affects freshwater by:

• Committing to good management practices expected of all dairy farmers in New Zealand

• Recording pledges by the dairy sector, with the support of others, to assist and encourage dairy farmers to adopt those good management practices and to monitor and report progress...

…And in so doing ensure the dairy sector contributes responsibly to realising the vision for New Zealand's waterways (DairyNZ, 2013b)

Which is:

'Underpinning the Accord is a common desire of the signatories to recognise, protect and, where opportunities exist, enhance the many benefits and experiences New Zealanders enjoy in freshwater. These include fishing, swimming, recreating, gathering mahinga kai and provision of habitat for aquatic species as well as the ability to use water for social, cultural and economic betterment. The Accord refers to these as freshwater values and interests" (DairyNZ, 2013b).

Is the 2013 Accord an improvement on 2003?

On the first issue, that of inclusiveness, the new Accord partially addresses the problem by including a much larger cross-section of the stakeholders in the industry and by being led by DairyNZ rather than Fonterra. Sadly this is offset by the continued absence of any of the groups that could be termed protagonists. Added to this is the major omission of DOC and the fact that the inclusion of the multi-tier structure can be seen to indicate differing levels of commitment to the document. Notable for the fact they are only in the third tier is the Westland Dairy Company that, whilst it is only a relatively small player in terms of production, is large in terms of land area and the environmental sensitivity of much of that area, with high conservation values on both the farm land and adjoining lands.

The new accord has a tighter raft of monitoring with a higher level of compliance required, but in the main these are again measures of outputs such as the fencing of streams and the bridging of stock crossings on waterways. These measures, whilst they are often locally effective, struggle to keep up with the intensification of existing farms and the rapid expansion into new areas as the national herd continues to grow. The process of setting nutrient loading where the measurement mechanism is only a proxy measure, not a direct measure of the goal of better water, remains (Deans & Hackwell, 2008; Jones, 2007). So again, on this issue the new accord does not fully address the issue of the strengthening of compliance for these measures; they may be effective tools if the industry was not expanding and intensifying, but

are unlikely to be enough to cope with the expanding national herd.

From the accord itself it is very hard to judge if the problem of ambiguity in the reporting and monitoring has been addressed. This will depend on the details of response of each agency or player to the Accord. Again, the fact that the protagonist groups were not part of the process means that this controversy will continue.

The voluntary nature of the first document has been addressed in many places in the new document with provision for financial penalties and exclusion from supply more prominent. This is potentially influential but still relies on the will of the industry and government agencies to both fund and undertake this work.

Conclusion and reflections

As I have outlined above the first Clean Streams Accord was a flawed document that would have had much improved outcomes if these flaws had been addressed. The second Clean Streams Accord is a much improved effort and can be seen as an aspirational document that addresses some of the environment issues of dairy farming. The health of waterways in dairy farming areas needs to be dealt with by a policy that requires direct measurement of the public's desired outcome 'clean water'. To achieve what is required is a process that involves all of the stakeholders, the industry to be seen to be doing the right thing, as well as having a genuine desire to do so. These changes need to be implemented while windfall profits mean the industry can afford to. However the larger issues of intensification and expansion of the industry are issues that can only be dealt with at a societal level and would require a new level of engagement by the public in the political process.

The pressure on Fonterra to be a good environmental citizen continues to grow. The pressure is not limited to the immediate environs of the farms but has widened to include issues such as the use of coal in milk processing factories

But what might its consumers say, here and abroad, if they knew? Since coal is the dirtiest fuel around, they might expect Fonterra to lead in seeking alternatives. There are. But it is not.(Oram, 2013)

Added to this is the use of imported palm kernel extract (PKE) as a feed source which is the target of concern for Greenpeace (Carlton, 2011).

Against this background the industry is starting to look for new ways to change both farmer behaviour and public perception. The second Accord can be seen in this light. What is needed is a major shift in farmer attitudes which will need to be driven by financial imperatives. The way to do this has been sign-posted by Synlait, a small dairy producing and processing group, that recently announced differential pricing for milk that rewards farmers for not only sustainable environmental practices, but includes animal health and welfare, milk quality and social responsibility (Synlait, 2013).

Since the original Accord in 2003, the dairy industry has expanded rapidly and is likely to continue to do so. This growth is being driven by many political and economic factors: Record prices for milk products, the increased availability of irrigation, low interests rates and the continuing problems in the red meat industry represent but a few of them. These factors have the potential of creating a 'perfect storm' of expansion of the dairy industry. This rapid expansion has the potential to change the landscape and environment of New Zealand on a scale that has not been seen in the country since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century "Grasslands Revolution" that saw the replacement of much of the native vegetation with English grasses (Smallfield, 1970).

This land use change will affect all New Zealanders and is a challenge that as a society we must face. Collectively we must decide what kind of country we wish to live in and act accordingly. This will not be achieved by pitting farmer against conservationists but by working collaboratively. Above all we will have to ask the hard question 'how much is enough?'

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Retrospective perspectives

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Introduction

Over 50 years, as we moved from house to house, I have carried an increasing number of cartons of my personal technical papers. Shifting to Nelson, following the Christchurch 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, gave me the incentive to sort, jettison and index the balance of my archives which have now been lodged in the Macmillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury. I have also put this record together because I observe that, as a consequence of local government's rocky journey since 1989, the institutional restructuring in the1990s, then the 2011 earthquakes, there are now few people left, in local government in Christchurch, with the institutional history and knowledge or the responsibility to maintain such archives.

In this age of 'IT' and 'www information' I still find the paper record provides a shape and a convenient physical and consecutive record of what has been an interesting professional life. I have been lucky to have spanned the transitions from WW II into the new millennium and to have worked with so many fine professional people in central government, local government and consultancies.

The archive of 193 items reflects 60 years of practice as a professional planner/engineer whose experiences have focused on:

- The evolution of the engineering profession (especially in transportation planning).
- The evolution of town planning (regional/district planning and resource management).
- The evolution of the institutions of local government (cities and regional authorities).

This archive includes papers which I wrote and presented personally, to conferences, seminars, talks, and press comments. These are my own papers, as distinct from reports and correspondence generated by normal corporate 'office work'.

In this, which is also the concluding paper (item 184) in the archives, I refer to 37 items which are the more significant papers supporting the five main topic areas. These areas are:

a. Mentoring and early navigation
b. Christchurch and transportation planning
c. Regional, urban and environmental planning
d. Local Government functions and reform
e. University lectures

In the process of this filing I have come to some conclusions, which I record here for the information and background of any researcher who may pass this way:-

Topic A. Mentoring and Early Navigation (1954 - 1963)

Perchance in November 1954 I gained a position as a staff engineer in my home town of Wanganui. In this working environment I learned, in a few short years, much about drainage, roading, water supply, structures buildings, municipal engineering with all its complexities, contracts, estimates and budgeting. I can recommend such a small city training environment to any young professional engineer. I was challenged by a wide range of issues and I enjoyed the guidance of my masters as I gained experience in design and construction. I also gained an understanding of engineering in NZ, as shown in my university paper *'The Deployment of Professional Engineers in NZ.' - Templin Scroll prize ((Item 1)1956).*

In 1961, with the Wanganui City Engineer's and Council's support I went to Birmingham for post graduate experience in transportation. This provided the background for my paper *'Planning for Traffic in the United Kingdom.' - NZIE Paper Wanganui ((Item 13) 1962).* During the 1962 to 1964 period I further explored the role of engineer in local government planning, design and public works. This lead to writing a lengthy paper which I presented to the Urban Development Association's Wellington conference in late 1964, titled *'The Contribution of the Engineer to City Environment.' ((Item 68)1964).* This interest in the profession's activities persisted and, 40 years on, I researched and wrote *'A Wheel on Each Corner.' - A history of the IPENZ Transportation Group - ((Item 182) 2007).*

By 1962 I had discerned that NZ local government was very short in its planning skills and while generally knowing 'how and what to do' most councils still had little technical or systematic methods for deciding 'why and where' they were heading. This was further exposed by the lack of town planning progress since the passage of the 1953 Town and Country Planning (T&CP) Act. This situation convinced me that I should leave the engineering construction and building fields to focus on planning. From 1964 I became fully engaged in strategic and community, short and long term, planning. I outlined this philosophy in an unpublished paper titled *'Local Government from Under The Table' ((Item 167) 1966).*

Topic B. Christchurch and Transportation Planning

With this change in direction in mind, I applied for and was appointed as the first Regional Traffic Engineer to the Christchurch Regional Planning Authority (CRPA) in 1964. My brief was to prove and refine the outline for the regional road network and, on behalf of the six Christchurch Councils and the National Roads Board (NRB), to undertake the scheme planning for the proposed Master Transportation Plan. This was designed to meet the future needs of a Christchurch metropolitan area growing from 200,000 to 400,000 people. The CRPA had already undertaken its surveys, forecasts and analysis (as evidenced in the excellent book *Traffic in a New Zealand City* by W. B Johnston - 1965).

I arrived when the region was developing new partnerships between all the agencies involved in the scheme planning for the regional road network improvements, undertaken as part of the total regional planning for the Canterbury region. These were uncharted waters requiring inter-discipline collaboration across all public authorities. By 1966 we had accomplished some agreement on the network planning and motorway improvements, as explained in a paper to the Institute of Professional Engineers New Zealand (IPENZ) *'Traffic Planning and the Functions of a Road Network' - Rabone Award - ((Item 20)1966).* There followed a series of papers on technical design and programming. However, in spite of the quality of the work, the common sense nature of the recommendations that followed and many deputations and submissions, we failed to unlock central or regional funds adequate to accomplish the property purchases and construction programme for this well-conceived and economic network development for Christchurch.

In 1969, I managed the second review of the CRPA comprehensive transportation study, which was published in 1975 (CRPA Report 209). This study confirmed the basic principles of the 1962 Master Transportation Plan (MTP) and also considered a wider range of alternative urban

forms for the future: *'ChCh Second Transport Study - Objectives & Significance' - ((Item 27)1974).* However following the initial 10 year (1962 to 1972) 'euphoria' and support for the MTP, the 'politics of resistance' began to build and by 1975 the Christchurch City Council's (CCC's) support and advocacy for the works involved was reducing. By the 1990s both Transit and the CCC had altered their position deciding, for political and funding reasons, to drop the inner urban motorways.

Twenty years later, the loss of support for the regional transportation plan and government's continued refusal to provide sufficient funds for property purchase, and new motorway construction, caused me to vent my anxiety with another IPENZ conference paper: *'Out Manoeuvred or Rejected?.' - Transportation Group Conference - ((Item 34)1982)*. In the same year the Automobile Association (AA) invited me to give a conference presentation to guide its policies for support of roading improvements and its relationship with government: *'A Way Ahead' - AA Auckland Conference - ((Item 35) September 1982).* Both these papers were robust in argument and technically well founded in the evidence based on our actual experience of managing the agreed Christchurch Regional MTP over a 20 year period.

Subsequently in 1999, as an independent consultant, I volunteered a comprehensive review:
'Christchurch Road Network - Summary Review of 30 Years - 1959 to 1989' ((Item 39)1999) and also *'40 Years of Travel and Change.'- Planning Quarterly Article - ((Item 41) March 2001).* This was followed by a paper that described the 'lean and mean' scene of the 1980s & 1990s and the overdue recognition of the technical and political importance of transportation planning: *'Transportation Planning Renaissance' - IPENZ Conference - ((Item 42) September 2001).* Then in an attempt to further 'beef up' the interest and commitment for this work two more papers: *'Transportation Planning Past, Present, Future in NZ.' - NZPI Hamilton ((Item 45)2003)* and a paper to the important 1994 Transfund conference 'Toward Sustainable Land Transport': *'Sustainable Planning and Network Management'. - Wellington - ((Item 49) Nov. 2004).* These papers were all aimed at transport planners, planning practitioners, and politicians. They appeared to be understood and well received, but the principles espoused hardly caused a ripple.

By 2005 the plea for integrated and collaborative planning of transport for all modes had increased, especially following the adoption of the National Transport Strategy in 2002. In this desire for integrated and sustainable planning in 2010 I presented the paper: *'Potentials for Integrated Corridor Planning.'- NZIE Conference ((Item 58) March 2010).* The many agencies, and different professionals involved, generally acknowledge the merit of the policies proposed in these papers and the need for greater collaboration and corridor protection recommended. However, the practicing as well as the salaried engineers and planners found the situation too difficult and could not face making the shift from their present 'conventional, expedient and short term' positions. Obviously an over-arching strategic framework to secure these longer term metropolitan planning objectives was going to be required.

The issues are complex but the active participants (both professional and political) have after 50 years still, not got beyond talking about the immediate congestion crisis and 'trouble spot' planning. They ignore the continuing loss of the future urban environment and longer term urban form issues. The present front line players see these solutions as 'too far in the future' and 'too costly in the medium (10 - 20 year) term'. I pleaded that it is only by getting it right in a 40 - 50 year integrated planning context that it is possible to gain the benefits and look to long term equilibrium conditions of traffic and land use to achieve an improved environment in the long term. Even following the Christchurch earthquakes there is still no 'stomach' for the scale of investment required to purchase the corridors and carry out the recommended arterial route improvements necessary to allow the city to recover to the pre-quake population of 400,000, let alone to meet a metropolitan increase of 100,000 up to half a million or more in the longer term.

New Zealand is not alone in not meeting these environmental and funding requirements. In

2007 I presented a paper at the London Conference of Trip Rate Information Computer System (TRICS) to explain our progress in motorway scheme planning and also to canvas the similarities of Trips Database (TDB NZ) trip data research with that of TRICS (UK): *'One Transportation Planet.' - TRICS Conference London UK - ((Item 56)2007).* The paper was well received and we found New Zealand and the United Kingdom have almost identical funding and programming difficulties. Our research also shows similar trip generation patterns. This knowledge is leading us to increased sharing of trip data base information, and similar techniques in corridor protection.

It is now 50 years since traffic engineering and the skills of transportation modeling and planning became available and began to be used as a matter of good technical practice. Regrettably, 50 years on, we find that the roads of national importance and other transport improvements are still being driven largely by the cost benefit of congestion and isolated 'trouble spot' relief. In the future, it would be hoped that more major projects would be selected and planned to meet the longer term strategic metropolitan urban form and planning needs. In this way, rather than being trouble spot decisions, they would be based on broader planning and environmental strategies. However, this situation requires that there is a renaissance in active longer term transport modeling as part of regional planning.

To put it bluntly:

- Since 1975 there has been an unfortunate scaling back of comprehensive regional transportation, land use and planning studies. The present Regional Land Transport Strategies (RLTSs) and National Land Transport Programmes (NLTPs) have been devised as a means of rationing limited funding of investments for existing short and medium term 'hot spot' improvements only. These works are not informed by agreed long term options for future regional urban form.
- Generally the city and district councils are reluctant partners and have been unwilling to initiate significant enhancements to their transportation networks. Frequently district plan designations and road proposals, if they run into strong citizen objection, are deferred, abandoned or left for a later generation to sort out. The regional necessity and longer term benefits get overlooked and forgotten.
- State highways have been left to the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) and government to belatedly resolve new road designations on the eve of their construction. This leads to both more litigation, design compromises and results in lower quality environmental footprints and omits vital 'future proofing'.
- Over the past 50 years, transport improvements for all modes have been delayed compared with any reasonable plan. In that time the traffic volumes have trebled. However, the works that have been completed represent only 40% of need (i.e., just 20 years of the planned programme). Levels of traffic service have fallen, congestion has increased and the quality of environment continues to decline.

I conclude that Government must require the regions to re-establish small competent technical, regional urban planning and transportation policy teams, to undertake continuing long term future regional planning. In this way the regions can assist their councils by undertaking 40 - 50 year strategic planning studies of alternative options for land use and transportation solutions, and prepare sound and economic regional development plans which can inform future urban strategies and RLTS's.

Topic C. Regional, Urban and Environmental Planning

The planning experience and practice described in this part of the archive covers statutory planning, strategic planning, environmental impact, urban design and project planning. This includes district and regional plans I have prepared under all three planning Acts of 1953, 1977 & 1991. The following 1978 paper provides a background summary of regional and town

planning under the 1953 Act up to1977: *'Town Planning Evolution -1953 to 1977.' University of Canterbury Seminar ((Item 94)1978).* The issues being addressed and some of the problems and principles were also well covered in the Action on the Environment Seminar organized by Victoria University of Wellington in 1972: *'Planning Urban Environment - some problems and principles.' - ((Item 89)1972).*

The T&CP Act in 1977 placed greater reliance on setting objectives, improved public consultation and the removal of some of the earlier detailed prescriptive schedules. For regional planning authorities (and United Councils after 1980) the 1977 Act included a longer schedule of activities. In addition to the well established 'urban limits' and 'green belt' sections of the larger metropolitan regions, in the 1970s and 1980s some regions also undertook studies and prepared plans for transportation networks, forestry distribution, tourism infrastructure, recreation policies and energy resources.

In Canterbury and Waikato we also prepared Water & Soil Resources Management Plans: *(Item 100) 'Water/Soil Conservation and Regional Planning Schemes.' - (1977).* A paper of this title presented to the New Zealand Catchment Authorities coincided with a national turning point in the integration of soil and water management with regional plans. Subsequently, in 1979, our Waitaki River Catchment draft Water and Soil Resource Management Plan (WSRMP) was used as a workshop template by the National Water And Soil Conservation Organisation (NWASCO) at a Palmerston North course for catchment engineers and soil conservators: *'Generating a WSRMP, The Process of Selecting Objectives.' - NWASCO ((Item 106)1979)*

Following the passage of the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 the previous regional schemes were all overtaken by new requirements and the preparation of new regional policy statements, which included both land and water planning. The new RMA district schemes were also of a different style and focused on measurable environmental effects, rather than planning and development design. This was described in my 1994 paper: *'Change in (Planning) Practice - RMA and Treaty issues.' - Wellington ((Item 130)1994).*

Open space planning, including multi-purpose passive and active reserves, lake berms, river banks and transportation corridors, contribute to provide a very significant regional frame for urban form: *'The Influence of Open Space and Public Uses on Urban Form.' - NZPI - ((Item 86)1973)*. Regional landscapes need to be identified, their character and any policies for their protection and use must be clearly defined and strongly advocated, if they are to be achieved as I described in 1988: *'A Regional (Landscape) Perspective.' - Lincoln Seminar ((Item 117)1988).* Another of the major environmental open space strategies is the distribution of forestry plantings: *'Farm Forestry Conference - Canterbury Regional Strategy.' - ((Item 120) 1990)*.

In the urban scene the framework for major transport corridors, parks and recreation requires the protection process to be planned 40 years ahead. This can be best achieved through regional plans. Experience shows the implications of these 'corridor' matters are too difficult for city and district councils to deal with on their own. Such issues while being of benefit to the suburbs are seldom welcomed by the 'local parish' because they may involve significant changes. To survive, the proposed corridors require the 'backbone' of wider regional agreements confirmed through approved regional plans: *'Protecting Corridors Now for the Future.' - Article for NZPI-PQ ((Item 141)2014).*

Regional planning can also provide a vehicle to establish a regional planning databank and be the 'power house' for local government research and development, in partnership with the district councils. Unfortunately, since 1989 many councils have chosen to eschew the principle of collaborative relationships as envisaged in the 'Elwood triangle'. Experience clearly supports the validity of the triangular model for regional planning as part of local government as I stressed in: *'The Tides of Regional Planning.' - PQ Article - ((Item 140) December 2013).*

Topic D. Local Government Functions and Reform

I have worked continuously in Local Government since 1954 and spent two thirds of my time being employed by regional councils and on regional studies and the balance working for city and district councils. As a regional adviser and a chief executive I have been involved in many seminars and regional development conferences since 1981. Wanganui had an early successful seminar: *'Sharing Initiatives Seminar.' - Report of Proceedings - Wanganui UC - ((Item 14) 15.10.1981).* During the 1980s there were many genuine efforts by regional and united councils to expand the horizon and move to a more strategic view of the role of the regions as part of the local government scene. For Canterbury the track record went back 40 years to 1955 and it was being rapidly expanded in the ten years from 1979 -1989 prior to local government reform as described here: *'Ten Years Searching for Consensus.' - A Review of the CUC 1979-89 - ((Item 157) 1989).*

The local government reforms involved eight years of sterling effort by government ministries and senior officials, working with regional, ad-hoc authorities, cities and district councils large and small across the nation. It was a collaborative effort fully supported by central and local government. I reviewed this process in a paper to New Zealand Planning Institute (NZPI)/Royal Australian Planning Institute (RAPI) conference in Hobart in 1994: *'Change from the Leading Edge.' - Review of NZ Local Govt. Reform. - ((Item 159) 1994)*

Following the local government reforms in 1989, there were many valuable seminars and I recall preparing the very successful Dunedin two day LGA Seminar for elected members: *'Working With Your Communities.' - 8 Papers Dunedin - ((Item 161) 5.3.1999).* One of the important functions requiring collaboration between all three levels of government was planning the open space for national parks, recreation, roads, water areas and urban identity spaces. This aspect of partnership was the subject of the paper: *'Rebuilding (Recreation) Partnerships.' - to the NZIPRA.- ((Item 122) 1990).*

The reforms plus the associated legislation, of the RMA 1991 and the Local Government Act (LGA) 2002, had a profound effect on the way councils went about their business. Since 2002, Local Government, both regional, city and district, have all had to accept a significant increase in budgets and costs on administration, consenting and enforcement activities. However, engineering facilities, redevelopment and renewals, urban planning and other creative design functions have suffered restraint and cut backs.

In terms of financial and asset management strategic planning local government has, uniformly, lifted its performance across the country. This has been described by many researchers, including Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) and Prof Claudia Scott's 'Local Futures Project'. Being part of the VUW 'local futures research' I commented on integrated planning in my article published in the NZ Planning Quarterly (NZPQ); *'LTCCPs on the First Round.' Local Gvt. strategic planning performance. ((Item 175)2007).* In another 2007 paper I also outlined the current strategic framework and structures: *'Local Government and Planning.'- Lincoln University lecture - ((Item 173) 2007)*.

The restrained statement describing the function of regional councils outlined by the Canterbury Regional Council (CRC) 1990 broadsheet letter, was not accepted by the pragmatic councillors and the new senior officers appointed to many of the regional and city/district councils in the 1990s. *'Regional Councils - Their Role and Future'. - Canterbury broadsheet - ((Item 158)1990).*

The 1989 promise of the triangular sharing of functions and a genuine respect for the regional planning dimension has steadily evaporated over the past 20 years. This was noted by Prof Ali Memon and myself in our joint paper to the Southern Crossings conference in Auckland in 2002: *'Reflections on 50 Years of Regional Planning in Canterbury' - ((Item 134) 2002).*

Over much of the country, the regional and city councillors (and many of the officers) found, especially after Minister Warren Coopers 'prunings' in 1992, that it was convenient to ignore regional planning and get on with the business of catchment planning, water rights and environmental issues (such as water quality and

air pollution). However, the breadth of regional planning did receive recognition in the CRC 60th Canterbury Regional Jubilee Seminar held on the 19 November 2004: *'Canterbury Regional Planning Articles' PQ and The Press. – ((Item 136) Nov 2006).* The three volumes of proceedings, including the 22 technical and historic papers delivered at the Jubilee Seminar, are available from Environment Canterbury (www.ecan.govt.nz).

From 2004, CRC's political crisis deteriorated further until in 2010, the Government stepped in and appointed commissioners. This was to principally focus on water management, with incidental responsibility for public transport, RLTS and air pollution. The broader range of regional planning functions (notably regional urban form) have consequently been omitted from the Canterbury regional programmes since 2010. These potential activities and ECan's institutional framework are no longer part of the CRC portfolio. The nature of regional council activities and its relationships with both central and city/district councils is outlined in my NZPQ paper: *'Regional Planning Relationships & Governance.' - NZPI ((Item 139) October 2013)*. A background to this paper is also on the NZPI Web site (www.planning.org.nz).

Overall, since 1989 it is a matter of some regret that regional councils have taken 'a real thrashing' from government politicians and bureaucrats, and also from city/district councillors. While there is a general respect for the regional water and soil functions, the same is not volunteered for other regional functions, in particular regional planning and regional development issues. By not maintaining adequate planning professional staff, the regional councils have also done themselves a dis-service in these respects. It appears there is now a need for information and education in central government, local government, universities and in high schools, on the fundamental importance of undertaking broadly based and comprehensive regional planning studies and plans. This education process has not been pursued by the regional councils themselves, the Ministry for Environment, or by our engineering, landscape and planning professions.

I have reached five conclusions regarding local government and the reforms:

(a) Government and Local Government Support for Regions. It appears that Government and Local Government (LG) have withdrawn from their commitment to the value of the 'triangular structure' envisaged in the local government reforms of 1989. This collaborative relationship requires further education and better understanding from all three sets of players, government-region-city/district, their politicians and their officers. The current (2014) directives of Government, and the current schemes prepared by the Local Government Commission seem to be driven by 'banking' and 'efficient management' of LG infrastructure and assets. They do not appear to support improved regional planning or working with communities. It is essential that planning is seen as a priority function supported and undertaken in collaboration at all three levels of local, regional and central government.

(b) Mixed Representation for Regions is essential. From my experience, and as described in the papers included in this archive, I believe that every region must be administered by a free standing and independent authority. Due to the need for communication up and down the chain of government, regional authorities should be constituted with a council that has a mixed elected and appointed membership. This has been shown to be successful. I recall the value and stability provided by having some appointed government and community nominees on United Council's in the 1980s. This is the best solution. In the future, with government appointed nominees there could be a government budget contribution and also a delegation of appropriate functions from central government.

(c) Regional Planning, including Water Planning and Transportation Planning

must be undertaken as one of the middle hierarchy planning functions. (Central - Regional - District/Community). Planning must be seen as the most senior function of regional councils. In addition to water and transportation, this may include indicative planning for 'regional resources', 'environmental standards', 'urban growth areas', 'redevelopment & urban renewal strategies', 'regional transportation strategies', 'regional development' and 'regional recreation areas'. These elements are fundamental long term regional planning topics that should be undertaken by an independent authority in healthy collaboration with government and local government in that region.

(d) Local Government must be Proactive. In the past 20 years councils have become shackled to approvals, enforcement, government audits and perceived legal obligations. They have, as a result, adopted a cautious approach purporting to conform to doing only those things required by legislation. This has resulted in a timid 'reactive' local government culture. Consequently, there has been a migration of skilled technical professionals from local government into the private sector. It should be remembered that the corner-stone objectives of both the 1989 and the 2002 legislation were to enable Local Government to have a 'proactive' relationship with government and also their local communities.

(e) Unitary Councils are not the answer. I am reminded of the observation of Graham Bush in 1993:
'The fragmentation of regional functions among extant district councils upgraded into unitary authorities is definitely not a model to be commended. Regardless of what party wins the approaching general election, the regional council sector needs, and is entitled to be given, the assurance of permanence and stability.'
(Little has changed in 20 years!!)

Topic E. University Lectures

In the period from 1998 to 2010, after returning to Christchurch from Wellington, I undertook a mix of hearing Commissionerships for RMA hearings of urban boundaries, highway designations and significant zone changes to District Plans. One such was the 'Pegasus New Town' proposal at Woodend, which was a lengthy hearing in 1998 dealing with a 1,000 household development and a host of tangata whenua and other environmental issues, which warranted a lot of commissioner effort.

In addition, one or two volunteered special interests such as planning for the Christchurch Arts Centre, the authorship of *A Wheel on Each Corner* (being the Institute of Professional Engineers of New Zealand Transportation Group's history), support for the Theatre Royal and planning for the Cashmere Forest Park were all on the agenda. Some extracts covering these special interests are included in *Folder 14. Items 180 to 183.*

However, it was the University lectures that brought all these threads of planning and transportation together especially during the two terms in each year, between 1999 and 2009, when I was a part time lecturer at Lincoln University. In addition, I gave invitation lectures at Auckland, Otago and Canterbury on several occasions. A sample of these lecture courses is included as: *Topic E. Folder/Box 15*
Items 185 to193 - University Lectures - Planning, Transportation and Local Government.

The Lincoln University students were a joy with small classes of about 25 students. They were pursuing a Bachelor of Environmental Management under the guidance of Professor Ali Memon. The Lincoln transportation students were undertaking the Master of Professional Studies course under the guidance of Associate Professor Chris Kissling. I had occasion to write the lectures and collate the reading material included in the course books. The students seemed to enjoy the series and also worked willingly on the field assignments. In 2004, I prepared a set of four lectures: *Transportation Strategies, Environment & Corridor Planning: A*

Quartet of Papers by Malcolm Douglass, DCS Ltd – ((Item 193) 2004) (58pps) 1.Transportation Planning Past, Present & Future, 2.Land Transport Strategies, 3. Sustainability in Land Transport Planning, 4.Transportation Corridor Planning. I compiled this suite of four papers to embrace my 'standard lecture series' for wider use. (a bound copy of Item 193 is available from douglass.m@clear.net.nz on request).

My lecturing experiences convince me that the principles and solutions I have been pursuing, since the 1970s, may well emerge and become accepted practice when the next generation of professionals take over. In my own generation our energies were absorbed 'surviving with the present regime's conventional wisdom and the politics of existing government attitudes'. As a whole, the current engineers and planners have not bothered to explore long term options for alternative urban forms and establishing environmental standards in design, as discussed in my lectures.

These longer term futures involve the collaboration of several professions including engineers, economists, sociologists, landscape designers as well as planners. But the initiative inevitably rests with the planning profession, who must rise to these longer term future challenges. Experience shows that regional indicative planning should be on a wide geographic framework and be undertaken by an independent regional planning authority so as to support both central and local government planning.

Lincoln Planning Review, 6(1-2) (2014) 81-82

Political parties planning outlook in retrospect

Nicole REID

Before the 2014 general election the following request was made to all the major parties:

"Being that it is an election year we would like to get MP's from each party to give us their view on professional planning, planning education and what they see as key planning issues in the future"

Only three parties responded and a summary of their responses is given below:

1. National Party

Cameron Cotter, Campaign Communications Manager for the National Party provided their response. It focused on the co-ordination of the Canterbury rebuild. Cotter highlighted the establishment of the Canterbury Spatial Data Infrastructure (SDI) Programme by Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) in 2013. This enables the sharing of information between public, private and research sectors.

A key part of the SDI is the Forward Works Viewer, which is a two-dimensional view of the rebuild and is available online. This enables sharing of horizontal and vertical construction for current and planned projects, plus maintenance and repair activities. From this information, network clashes, impacts and opportunities can be identified. Therefore planning can be undertaken to avoid impacts, such as closures and/or capacity reductions, resulting in better coordination of projects.

The SDI also features the 3D Enabled Cities Project so that the future city of Christchurch can be seen. It will include an interactive building register of those lost to the earthquakes, plus help in designing and planning new buildings.

2. Labour Party

Labour's response focuses on urban planning. Phil Twyford is Labour's spokesperson on transport, housing, Auckland issues, and cities.

Twyford states that there has been no progress over the last six years by the government on urban planning since the last Labour Government launched the Urban Design Protocol.

Labour plans to introduce a National Policy Statement on affordable housing, and a second one on the built environment.

They have also signalled their intention to be more involved in urban development, such as accommodating growth in Auckland and speeding up the rebuild of Christchurch. They intend to work with local government to "master plan large scale urban development, in brown and greenfields sites, with affordable housing, high urban design standards, supported by infrastructure and integrated with surrounding neighbourhoods."

It is Labour's plan to meet the challenge of affordable housing and building great cities. This is through central government working with local government, the private sector, and the community, combined with the application of the best of urban planning and design.

3. Green Party

The Green Party's response was from Julie Anne Genter. Their stance is that planning rules and transport policy are important for solving many of our most pressing challenges, especially climate change. Changes to our communities and transport infrastructure give opportunities to reduce energy use, air and water pollution, and greenhouse gas emissions, states Genter. She goes on further to state that new research has found that health and happiness can be increased due to people-orientated transport and vibrant, mixed-use developments. It is a win-win situation because smarter planning costs less than the status quo and also provides economic development opportunities.

Genter is a planner who says that she got into politics because she realised that, although she was interested in finding practical solutions to problems, ultimately politicians have the final say. She joined the Green Party because they "are a truly democratic party, with the most practical, evidence-based policies to create a fairer society, a cleaner environment and a smarter economy."

Over the past Parliament term the Greens have campaigned against asset sales, for safe walking and cycling to schools, for cleaning up our rivers, and for meaningful action on climate change for our climate tax cut. They have also campaigned for returning democracy to Canterbury and for a green rebuild of Christchurch.

Genter states that we have an opportunity to make improvements for everyone in New Zealand, while protecting our natural environment, and dealing with long-term challenges like climate change. Be sure to vote on or before 20 September as this is first step towards achieving increased informed democratic participation.

Lincoln Planning Review, 6(1-2) (2014) 79-80

Planning pains? Don't panic: study abroad – undergraduate planning programmes in the USA and Canada

Hamish RENNIE[1]

[1] *Dr Rennie (MNZPI) is Director of Planning Programmes at Lincoln University, NZ and in March-April 2014 spent a month as Adjunct Professor (Planning) in the Department of Geography, Planning and Environment at East Carolina University, USA.*

We often have students hoping to cross-credit courses from a 'study abroad' semester to their BEPP/BEMP. It is really important to remember that the BEPP is accredited by the New Zealand Planning Institute. Consequently, it may be very hard to find equivalents for core planning courses. The most likely Universities to have courses that can be easily cross-credited to the BEPP degree are those from Universities that offer undergraduate degrees accredited by their own professional planning organisations.

In the USA professional planning recognition similar to NZPI full membership is through certification by the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) which is an institute within the American Planning Association (APA). To be certified by the AICP you must have passed the AICP exam. This can be considered procedurally to be somewhat similar to the oral 'interview' that is required for full membership of the New Zealand Planning Institute. One of the paths to being eligible to sit the AICP certification exam is met partly by having completed a degree that has been determined by the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB) to meet standards approved by the AICP and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) or recognized by the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP). Most PAB-accredited North American planning degrees are two year masters degrees. There are ***only fourteen*** Universities in the USA and ***six*** in Canada that have ***accredited undergraduate degrees*** (in 2013). I only have personal familiarity with the programme offered by East Carolina University (in North Carolina). It has a speciality in coastal planning, making it very relevant to NZ. It has professionally-experienced, and friendly, student-oriented staff, cross-creditable courses and is engaged in study abroad programmes.

I do not know to what extent any of the other universities listed are engaged in study abroad programmes, but the following is a complete list of PAB-accredited USA and Canadian university undergraduate degrees (from the ACSP *Choosing a Career in Urban and Regional Planning (2013 Edition)*).

USA – Accredited by the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB)

- Alabama A & M University (B Sc in Urban Planning)
- Ball State University (in Indiana) (B Urban Planning and Development)
- California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo (B Sc in City and Regional Planning)
- Californian State Polytechnic University, Pomora (B Sc in Urban and Regional Planning)
- East Carolina University (North Carolina) (B Sc in Urban and Regional Planning)
- Eastern Michigan University (B Sc or BA majoring in Urban and Regional Planning)
- Eastern Washington University (B A in Urban and Regional Planning)
- Indiana University of Pennsylvania (B Sc in Regional Planning)
- Iowa State University (B Sc in Community and Regional Planning)
- Michigan State University (B Sc in Urban and Regional Planning)
- Missouri State University (B Sc in Planning)
- University of Cincinnati (B Urban Planning)

- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (B A Urban Planning)
- University of Virginia (B Urban and Environmental Planning)

Canada (recognised by the Canadian Institute of Planners - CIP)

- Dalhousie University (B. Community Design Honours)
- Ryerson University (B Urban and Regional Planning)
- Universitie de Montreal (Baccalaureat en Urbanisme) – also accredited by PAB
- Universitie du Quebec a Montreal (Baccalaureat en Urbanisme)
- University of Northern British Columbia (B Urban and Regional Planning)
- University of Saskatchewan (B.A. in Regional and Urban Planning)
- University of Waterloo (B Environmental Studies Honours)

There are a number of other Universities in both Canada and the USA that offer planning degrees, but these are not accredited by the Planning Accreditation Board and so the courses they offer may not be as readily cross-creditable. I recommend looking first at PAB-accredited University degree offerings.

Lincoln Planning Review, 6(1-2) (2014) 83-84

Where Are They Now

Henry WINCHESTER [1]

[1]*Lincoln University, Christchurch, New Zealand*

1. Nicole Gowing | Planner

Nicole Gowing currently works as a resource planner at the Tararua District Council. For the past 18 month's Nicole has been part of a small team which consists of a planning manager and herself. Nicole focuses on the implantation of the Tararua District Plan. Nicole's job consists of processing Resource Consents (both Subdivision and Land Use), enforcement, assessing building consents, processing the planning information on Land Information Memorandums (LIM) and engaging in providing property information. Because Nicole is located in a large land district like Tararua, it provides many opportunities and insight into the local community.

Nicole graduated with a Bachelor of Environmental Management and Planning in 2012 and then graduated with a Post-graduate Diploma in Resource Studies in 2013. Lincoln University provided Nicole with a great base and familiarity with policy, standards, plans and regulations. The most useful elements of the Lincoln Planning degree are the legislative background and good foundation in New Zealand Environmental Law. Having studied at Lincoln, Nicole believes that the degree has given a good understanding of both urban and rural communities and backgrounds which is beneficial in relating to the local community. Working as a planner has provided Nicole with a vast knowledge and key relationships with other professionals such as lawyers, real-estate agents and land surveyors.

Nicole is also a current graduate member of NZPI and she is working towards full membership. In the future, Nicole aims to try different aspects of planning, possibly consultancy, policy and project planning.

2. Hagen Telfer

Hagen Telfer studied a Bachelor of Environmental Management and Planning with a double minor in water science and technology and soil science. Hagen is currently working for WaterForce, Southland, as a design and sales engineer but is being transferred to the Christchurch branch in a month. Hagen worked at the Gisborne District Council for two summers in the water and soils department within the environment and policy department. Hagen's projects involved completing a land use survey of the Poverty Bay flats and compiling data for six years to assist towards a new freshwater management plan for the Council.

Hagen also helped to develop the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data systems for the Department of Water Metering and Monitoring Compliance. Hagen would like to increase the skills that were taught to him at Lincoln in the irrigation sector, and help make a difference in this area. Hagen is also interested in precision agriculture and its use towards precision irrigation/variable rate irrigation (VRI).

3. Jess Bould |Planner

Jess Bould studied at Lincoln University and graduated with the Bachelor of Environmental Management and Planning and the professional planning minor. Jess also under took Post-graduate studies and completed a Diploma in Resource studies.

Jess has been involved with working for Environment Canterbury as a summer intern from December 2012 to February 2013, working in the planning sector. Jess's job entailed investigating water quality requirements on resource consents in the Waitaki area. Jess then became a consents assistant at Environment Canterbury from February 2013 until September 2013. Jess's role was to enter consent details to the Council's database along with issuing decision documents. This role also included support to the consent planners and external contractors. After this, Jess became a Consent Planner from September 2013 to June 2014, which involved processing resource consents for projects in rivers, lakes and waterways. Since July, Jess has been working at Beca as a planner. Jess's day to day jobs involve writing applications, processing consents and providing advice to other sections on projects. Jess's future goals are to keep refining her skills towards a speciality.

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Young Planners Congress 2014: "Forging Adventure: Shaping a Destination"

Michelle RUSKE

ABSTRACT

A conference report from the 2014 New Zealand Planning Institute Young Planners Conference held in Queenstown.

Keywords: planning, NZPI New Zealand Planning Institute, YP Congress, conference, Queenstown, career advice

On April 1st 2014, a multitude of young planners descended on Queenstown for the annual Young Planners (YP) Congress. This was my fourth YP Congress, and like previous years, the networking opportunities, inspirational speakers, and advice gained from other planners, made this conference invaluable. A huge thank you to Richard Kemp and the organising committee of Alana Standish, Katrina Ellis, Sarah Picard and Loek Driesen who went over and above to organise the event. Due to the committees efforts, the congress ran smoothly, was well advertised and full of incredible prizes. Anyone fancy a free jet boat ride just because they asked a speaker an interesting question?

For those of you unfamiliar with the Young Planners Congress, it is a one day event that runs alongside the New Zealand Planning Institute Conference, and is specifically designed to target young planners (those studying or with less than five years work experience).

The congress kicked off the night before with a social event as is tradition. Held at the Buffalo Club, this was mainly an evening of mingling, and all those present were challenged to an 'Amazing Race' style competition around the town, scrambling to find bridge construction dates, take photos with certain sculptures and more. This was a great way for everyone to get out of their comfort zone and interact in randomly selected teams.

The official day of the Congress was held at the top of the Queenstown Gondola, in the Skyline Building – a fitting location to discuss planning issues for Queenstown and the surrounding area.

Perri Duffy (the national YP representative), and Lincoln University students Michelle Ruske and Kimberley Freeman at the pre-event.

The first speaker was Matt Hollyer, General Manager at Shotover Canyon Swing, whose enthusiastic presentation delivery ensured everyone started the day engaged and interested. Hollyer talked about the issues involved in getting planning consent for the Canyon Swing and a proposed flying fox. This included the DOC concession needed to operate in a recreation reserve, the unique challenges facing the operation (no precedents existed), a regulatory environment with a large number of hoops (including amusement device regulations and crisis management plans) and a tough economic market where at least four adventure activities in the last ten years have gone 'bust'. Hollyer's advice to Young Planners was to engage in conversation with clients and applicants and explain clearly the reasoning behind the requirement of certain information.

Graeme Todd then took to the stage to offer a change of pace. A resource management lawyer in Queenstown, he has appeared in the Environment Court over 200 times. Todd spoke on litigation

around commercial jet boating and focused on the 1991 Kawarau Jet Services Ltd V Pro Jet Adventures Ltd, NZRMA 1 case, which essentially was a lesson on 'what not to do'.

Following this was Kirsty O'Sullivan, a young planner working for Mitchell Partnerships, who presented on noise and Queenstown Airport. With over 5,500 landings a year, and competing land uses nearby, land use and noise have become contentious issues for the airport. As a result, Queenstown Airport considered how to mitigate their activities and this initiated Plan Change 35, which put in place new noise boundaries. The airport also developed a Noise Mitigation Programme whereby they offer acoustic treatment packages. These packages are for activities that contrast the airport's interests, and were already established within the new noise zones. For example, they may increase insulation in key areas of a residential house.

A lunchtime photo of the 2014 YP Congress delegates taken at the top of the gondola in Queenstown.

After lunch, Ella Lawton, a Queenstown Lakes District Councillor, referred to herself as a 'general specialist' and spoke on a range of issues impacting planning. These included conflicting trends, and the idea that if Queenstown has too many tourists, it will no longer be a place people wish to visit. Lawton also covered the Natural Step and the idea that "localisation is a solution multiplier". A councillor for only 5 months, she challenged the young planners to think about what it means to build a place where 'talent' wish to live.

The key note speaker for the YP Congress 2014 was Brent Toderain of Toderian UrbanWORKS. The former chief planner of Vancouver, Toderian has over 21 years of experience in city planning. An inspirational speaker, he had an array of advice for the young planners. Toderian focused on density, stating he believed that if you design for different demographics in mind, such as catering for families, they will come. Toderian also stressed that the public needs to be communicated with. Planners need to acknowledge that in the past, density has been addressed poorly, however when addressed successfully it can provide reduced energy use, affordable housing and allows for active transport.

In regards to transport planning, Toderian stressed that he does not believe in balancing transport modes, instead prioritising them. The car should not be banned, just simply prioritised last (after walking, then cycling, then transit). Toderian also emphasised that the best transportation plan is quite simply a great land use plan, as land use generates transport. In regards to walking, Toderian outlined that wall design need to be interesting, not blank, to create attractive spaces. When commenting on an Auckland contract, he expressed that until Auckland becomes the most walk-able city, it will not be the most liveable city in the world. In regards, to cycling he stressed that the key is separation from vehicles.

Toderian finished off with some career advice. He outlined that contrary to urban myth, it is not who you know that makes your career a success, instead it's who you impress. Toderian told young planners not to be stressed out by the pressure to specialise stating that he is a 'quintessential generalist' and that planning is the only profession where you have to think about the interactions of multiple elements. He emphasised integrity and reminded us that credibility takes a lifetime to build.

Toderian left the audience challenged to think about the idea that gentrification is the single toughest issue for planners around the world and stated we should be thinking about 'revitalisation without displacement'.

Following this David Kennedy from Ngai Tahu Tourism outlined the history of Queenstown and Shotover Jet. Kennedy stressed that the key to success in tourism is to create a place with variety – "no one attraction can please everyone".

Peter Willsman, co-chair of the Wakitipu Wilding Conifer Control Group finished the day with a look out the windows of the Skyline building to see the extent of the conifer problem in Queenstown. Willsman talked about how wilding conifer spreads and the methods being used to help control them.

Overall, YP Congress 2014 was an interesting and thought-provoking conference with well-selected speakers covering a range of topics. Watch out for YP Congress 2015 in Auckland!

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Conference Report: IAG/NZGS Conference 2014, 30 June – 2 July, Melbourne, Australia

Nick KIRK, Fiona MYLES and Julie ABBARI

The Institute of Australian Geographers and the New Zealand Geographical Society held a joint conference at the University of Melbourne between the 30th of June and the 2nd of July 2014. These two organisations organise a joint conference of this nature every four years, with the last one held in Christchurch in 2010. This last conference was in collaboration with the University of Canterbury's Department of Geography.

Lincoln University was represented at the conference by lecturer Ronlyn Duncan, recent Masters graduate Fiona Myles, Waterways senior tutor Julie Abbari, and New Zealand Geographical Society post-graduate representative Nick Kirk. Ronlyn, Fiona and Julie all presented research at the conference.

Key note addresses were held on Monday and Tuesday mornings and Wednesday afternoon. A field trip was arranged to the Yarra Valley for Tuesday afternoon. Their presentations were organised into a series of one hour time slots, with each presenter allocated 10 minutes to address their topic. Due to the large amount of topics being presented in this small timeframe, it was difficult to gain an understanding of the entire conference.

The size of the conference is a reflection of the breadth and depth of research presented, with broad conference themes reflecting the current state of geographical research. Keynote speaker Noel Castree supported this trend, as opposed to trying to compartmentalise and rigidly define the discipline. Conference topics included sustainability in the anthropocene, urban geographies, economic geographies, gender, emotion and effect, climate change mitigation, cultural geographies and natural hazard research.

The post-graduate day on Sunday was so well attended that the planned tour of Melbourne's graffiti art was cancelled due to the high numbers. Post-graduates were instead invited to a question and answer session with various high profile geographers such as Michael Watts and Jamie Peck. The geographers shared their expertise on the ever changing nature of academia and academic praxis. Experienced researchers were of the opinion that the discipline was developing more rapidly than it had in the past.

The Canterbury region featured in Professor Eric Pawson's keynote address, as he discussed the effects of the 2010/11 earthquakes on teaching at the University of Canterbury. Pawson argued that the "earthquakes affect[ed] different communities in different ways – [with the] response not geographically bounded". Pawson identified the Student Volunteer Army, and his own students' engagement with redevelopment issues in the centre and east of Christchurch as positives that came out of the disaster. In concluding, Pawson argued that "a new humane campus can co-exist within [the] modern neoliberal framework for universities". Pawson believed architecture was of great importance for learning.

Following Pawson was Lauren Rickards, who presented on the anthropocene and the theories triggering a range of assessments about the

future. Rickards' presentation engaged with scenario planning and other techniques of futurism to explore how narratives of an intensively human shaped world will be generated. Rickards presentation was particularly inspirational, and built on recent calls within geography for a greater focus on future(s) research (Anderson and Adey, 2012).

Ronlyn Duncan presented in a session discussing the methods and politics of decentralising environmental governance. Duncan discussed the difficulties of setting nutrient limits for freshwater water quality in New Zealand. Duncan highlighted that farmers clearly want good water quality but have quite a different understanding of the issues than scientists or policy makers. Therefore, scientific limits set through policy will be disputed by farmers and are unlikely to be wholeheartedly embraced. Even if farmers agree with the limits and the science, the economic realities of modern farming might prevent them from taking the required actions to meet those limits. Duncan's paper was well received and the session informative and engaging.

Julie Abbari presented a talk on 'starlight preservation and cultural wellbeing' in a session on indigenous participation in natural resource planning. Abbari discussed how starlight is a natural resource of cultural significance to Maori, due to the stars and constellations being used as navigational and weather forecasting guides and seasonal markers in mahinga kai (food gathering) practices. Protection of this natural resource, in effect, protects the indigenous knowledge and cultural practices connected to it. Application of the Resource Management Act 1991 to protect starlight visibility by preventing light pollution is therefore consistent with its mandate to enable communities to provide for their cultural wellbeing.

In a session on the social and spatial lives of policy, Fiona Myles presented findings from her thesis research which examines the introduction of water measurement regulations through the theoretical lens of co-production. In particular, Myles focussed on how new identities were constructed with the introduction of these regulations. With the session finishing earlier than expected, Myles' presentation unexpectedly became the topic of a 15 minute discussion amongst the session attendees that proved to be both challenging and enlightening.

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Go Pirates! Report on study leave in East Carolina University

Hamish G. RENNIE

On 14 March, I arrived for a month of study and research at East Carolina University (ECU) in Greenville, North Carolina. The main purposes of my visit were to gain a better understanding of the USA planning system and planning education, develop case material for a book, and extend my networks and knowledge of coastal hazard management, especially in relation to tourism, fisheries and aquaculture. I was appointed as an adjunct professor in the Department of Geography, Planning and the Environment at ECU, which is chaired by geographer and planner Burrell Montz, a name very familiar to anyone researching in the hazards and disaster risk reduction fields.

I chose ECU after searching for 'coastal' expertise in the list of accredited planning programmes in the online directory of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (the USA's equivalent of ANZAPS (Association of New Zealand and Australian Planning Schools). ECU's coastal expertise and professional planning programme made it my first choice, reinforced by the discovery that there were three fisheries geographers on staff. Burrell's presence as chair with her expertise in hazards, was the clincher. I had met Burrell during her trips to New Zealand, where she spent sabbatical in the 1990s at Waikato University, but had not realised she had relocated from Binghamton, New Jersey, to ECU.

ECU as a whole has two main strengths; its medical school and all things coastal. Every Thursday late afternoon there is a "Go - Coastal" social session at a nearby downtown bar with coastal researchers (including students) of all persuasions (disaster, economics, archaeology, history, GIS, biology, geology, tourism, etc). The coastal connection is furthered by ECU's branding association with 'Pirates', the infamous Edward Teach (Blackbeard) having been frequently based in the islands and sounds on the 'nearby' (90 minute drive!) coast. Every sports team, the wifi network and the major local festival is tagged 'Pirates'.

I spent one week travelling, meeting and interviewing local and state government officials, private sector and university folk. My journey took me to Kittyhawk (Wright Brothers Memorial), Hatteras (cape and village), Okracoke, Beaufort (NC), Wilmington, Myrtle Beach, Charleston, Clemson, Chapel Hill and Kinston. The tourism opportunities are significant and varied, the heritage of the outer banks is fascinating and well worth a visit (after checking weather forecasts for hurricanes). Despite travelling more than the length of New Zealand I saw no sheep and only two very small herds of cattle; this was pig, crop and chicken country. The lack of an Asian presence was noticeable and the food really is predominantly fried in the south (imagine that!).

I was ill for the last eight days of my time at ECU, which meant that some of my objectives were not advanced as far as I had intended. However, ECU's hospitality throughout and the relationships forged have left me with very positive feelings about the study leave. The reputations of southern hospitality and crab cakes are well-deserved, and the extensive craft-beer available on tap is surprising (and validates the development of brewing courses at Lincoln).

All in all, I can highly recommend ECU and a visit 'Down East'. The following are some reflections on 'planning' aspects of the visit.

Planning Education

The way planning is taught at ECU (in its accredited BSc in Urban and Regional Planning) is very similar to the way we teach it at Lincoln, although they have more specialist planning staff and do not offer a masters in planning. The degree is four years, as are all of the bachelor degrees at ECU, and includes significant group planning and individual projects. The major group project usually involves working with a disadvantaged community to develop planning documents of some sort and some of these, after additional work by staff to bring them to a professional standard, have been adopted by the communities. These are non-statutory plans, but are quite influential. These projects were very similar to the SOCI 314 and ERST 635 projects that our students do. Student numbers are about the same as ours and a coastal management and planning field trip that I went on was very similar to the fieldtrips we run on water planning topics.

The process of accreditation of planning programmes, in terms of criteria required to be met and who makes the accreditation decision, is quite different, but the basic programme content requirements are the same. I am working on an article with Jerry Weitz, Director of Planning at ECU, comparing the different systems.

Hot Planning Issues

My visit coincided with decisions on the hottest planning issue in the City of Greenville – "how many unrelated people could live in a house?" The City has a general restriction of 3-unrelated people allowed to live in a house, but in 2012 an overlay was created for an area adjacent to the ECU main campus allowing 4-unrelated people in that area. The purpose of the restrictions on unrelated people living in a house is to encourage family home ownership, and the relaxation (from 3 to 4) was seen as having encouraged investors in rental properties to preferentially buy into this area, and effectively made it too expensive for families to buy houses. The City's Planning and Zoning Committee, which included Dr Weitz, considered this in the first week I was there and voted to revert to a 3-unrelated people rule and also to remove the overlay altogether. In the last week I was there, the issue was considered by the full city council which accepted the recommendation to revert to 3-unrelated people, but did not have a sufficient majority to remove the overlay. This means that it will be easier to re-introduce the 4-unrelated status at a future meeting. This meeting was preceded by a protest march led by the President of the ECU student association with several students taking the floor to speak, as well as residents, realtors and rental owners. There was standing room only and the issue featured prominently in the local media.

The other major planning issue that cropped up repeatedly, with universal derision, was the North Carolina state government's attitude to sea level rise. It had passed legislation that effectively meant that projections of sea level rise could not be considered in planning until 2016, and then only those projections made by the State's Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). The Department is not allowed to use computer modelling or simulations in developing projections of sea level rise, but only use historical rates (with some additional conditions). This has been brought about by the huge area of North Carolina, that because of its low-lying nature, will be vulnerable (under IPCC projections of sea level rise) and the resultant impacts on property values. DENR's standing was already low as it had been very weak in taking enforcement actions over Duke Energy's polluting of major waterways.

Ah Ha! Moments

I have read much about the USA planning system in the past, but this visit really brought home some aspects that I had not fully appreciated previously. My moments when I went 'Ah Ha!' will probably seem very naïve to others, but I doubt that I would have fully appreciated a number of aspects of the planning systems in the USA had I not been living and breathing their planning. The following may be inaccurate or only apply in North Carolina, but they were among the impressions gained:

1. There really is no "USA approach" to planning. No matter how many times I had been told this I still expected some degree of consistency. The closest they get is the planning methods where they talk the same jargon (e.g., Euclidean planning, planning unit developments, performance standards/zoning), but little

consistency in process or application or powers of different levels of authority. Of course, New Zealand is rapidly following the mess that is the USA with the ad hoc approaches in Auckland and Canterbury.

2. The concept of a town as an incorporated body rather than an instrument of government fundamentally disrupts the ability to achieve integrated planning. If an urban area in a county can suddenly decide to incorporate as a 'town' with all associated powers, many of which are not shared by or integrated with county powers, then the system is bound to be messy. The process of annexation by a town of surrounding areas is probably not quite as bad, but the disjuncture between a town and a county is quite severe and results in ridiculous outcomes.

3. Ordinances do not necessarily have to be driven by or related to a plan and the council is elected every two years, meaning that local politics really do dominate and there is little opportunity to really develop a vision. What plans do exist are largely what we would call non-statutory and are more guidance than having real force. Once the ordinances are embedded it would take a really prolonged period of political stability, or a major crisis, to get a major overhaul, which explains why they are still predominantly use driven. There is a real mixture of what we might consider by-laws and broad plan zoning that goes down to the level of dealing with billiard clubs and how many unrelated people can live in a house.

4. The American Constitution may have been appropriate to the times in which it was first developed, but the way it is used to challenge the police powers of the state and other levels of planning, and the priority placed on the value of individual property is to the detriment of the common good. I now find myself really questioning the value of a constitution.

5. The marine aquaculture industry is in a very primitive state, but the absence of a quota management system means that the marine fisheries are much more mixed-user, less industrialised and more community-oriented and driven than in New Zealand.

8. Seeing the difficulties with maintaining infrastructure on marshland and shifting sand islands, and looking at some of the hotels/houses and where they have been built, was reminiscent of visiting New Orleans the year before Hurricane Katrina. But having locals point out the many tiny, very old, graves of families who still live there and tell you their stories of surviving hurricanes and economic hardship, and their strong sense of community, made their resistance to scientists telling them to 'move out' (retreat) very understandable. How do you deal with people whose 'ancestral lands' and communities are likely to be submerged by sea level rise? This is not just an issue for developing countries, islands or indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

There is much to be learnt from the USA. I found my concepts of what is planning, and what is the public interest, especially challenged. However, we really do have considerable advantages that are not due to our small size (New Zealand is about the same size as Colorado, the eighth largest state) or our small population, but our multi-cultural, political heritage.

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A Mount Artificial Surfing Reef – A Failure?

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INTRODUCTION

On 16th April 2014 Bay of Plenty Regional Council announced its decision to partially remove the artificial surf reef that lies off the Tay Street beach. The reef was initiated by the Artificial Reef Programme (ARP) led by Professor Kerry Black who held a joint appointment at Waikato University and NIWA (National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research) in the mid-1990s. At the time well-used methods of preventing shoreline erosion were to create groynes, sea walls or reefs to protect shorelines from erosive wave energy. These tended to be single purpose structures, rather unnatural in appearance, detracting from the enjoyment of the amenity values of the coast. Because roads and other highly modified areas have been developed behind often thin areas of shore and dune, there is also potential for sea level rise to result in the exposure of such areas in the future.

The original concept driving the ARP was the development of multi-purpose artificial reefs that would not only protect the shorelines from wave energy, but also provide amenity values such as surfable waves and fish habitat. Shaw Mead designed a reef for the Mount area as part of his PhD research and was immediately challenged by friends and surfers to see if it was possible to turn the concept into reality. Tay Street was chosen as it had a traditional shifting sand bar break of mixed quality and was adjacent to an eroded patch of highly modified shoreline near a node of planned reserve and existing development. It was a site supported by the local life saving community who indicated that if there was a permanent rip created by a reef this would provide a basis for them to justify having lifeguards based at that site rather than a more temporary and dangerous situation created by the shifting rips of the natural break. This may have been one of the first AEEs (Assessment of Environmental Effects) to include reference to iwi planning documents and for the time there was widespread consultation with the community and tangata whenua. Anticipated benefits included increased tourism, safer surfing, a protected shoreline, improved fishing, increased local knowledge of coastal systems, and a consistently high quality break for advanced surfers. The main opponent to the break was the nearby timeshare that opposed primarily because it opposed surfers and their recreational activities in the dunes and especially noisy, littering surf events.

The reef became the focus of student research ranging from oceanography to planning, social and economic research. It was not just Waikato students either. Now prominent Barrister and internationally recognised expert in coastal and marine planning law, Robert Makgill, based his Auckland honours dissertation on his legal research defending the reef and in the process has extending case law on innominate activities. The AEE, based largely on student research, was praised by the High Court when the decision of the regional council to non-notify it was unsuccessfully challenged by the timeshare. The consent application was by Waikato University for a research reef for a five year term to enable it to study the wave dynamics and the effects of such a reef. The application was transferred to the Mount Reef Trust as a means to facilitate fundraising.

Unfortunately the delays to fundraising caused by the court challenge meant that the reef-building was always underfunded and it relied on considerable community voluntary efforts right into the construction stage. The commercial components of the construction process did not go smoothly and the reef has never been built to its original design parameters. Moreover, subsequent research showed that the effects of offshore islands on the wave corridor was greater than had been assumed and the process of creation and movement of sand bars was somewhat different also. The anticipated more permanent stationing of life savers at the site also never eventuated and there has been a drowning in the vicinity.

Does the removal of the reef mean it is a failure? As one of those originally involved in its development I am obviously biased, but I believe it largely succeeded in its original purpose as a research reef. The lessons learnt, expertise and networks developed, have played a significant role in the world-leading provisions for protecting natural surf breaks in the New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement, the development of multi-purpose reefs in Surfers Paradise and the UK, and a body of knowledge that has been drawn on for things as diverse as oil spill modelling, marine reserve management, aquaculture development and surfing swimming pool design. It helped inspire young planners like Matt Skellern and Bailey Perryman and established New Zealand, and the Mount, at the cutting edge of research on surfing reefs and associated planning globally.

The removal of the reef provides further opportunities for research on the effects of removal and is in keeping with the original reef design and purpose. Moreover, the project is an especially good example of experiential and practical education for all those busloads of students who have been involved over the years. I hope that local councils will take steps to create a heritage site or display to enable ongoing benefits to tourism and education from a project that is now part of the rich coastal heritage of New Zealand and the Mount.