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PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT
IN NEW ZEALAND:
A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis Presented In Partial Fulfilment
Of The Requirements For The Degree
Of Master Of Arts
In Geography At
Massey University

Jane Elizabeth Abbiss

January 1985

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ABSTRACT

Conflict has developed between forestry, pastoral and other land uses in New Zealand over the last twenty years despite attempts to plan for the 'wise use' of land and thereby resolve conflict over changing land use patterns. The planning response to land use conflict is made within the taken for granted ideology of capitalism which governs land use allocation within the capitalist system. Capitalist society is continually transforming itself in accordance with underlying economic structures. Planning decisions are therefore constantly evolving through human action and interaction to effect land use change consistent with capitalist development. Hence, issues of conflict in land allocation and use cannot be considered in isolation from the dynamic social system in which they emerge, are altered, maintained or subside.

Conflict of interests is inevitable in a capitalist social system and consequently a planning solution, as opposed to resolution, of conflict is impossible. Planning structures are created within the capitalist socio-economic system and are therefore endowed with the ideology of capitalism and associated contradictions, which precludes problem solution. Resolution of conflict thus represents a cosmetic change where the nature of conflict is altered but the underlying capitalist forces creating conflict remain unchanged.

The inherent contradictions inspired by capitalist ideology mean planning problems will emerge despite good intentions to effect conflict amelioration. Capitalism is the preferred socio-economic system in New Zealand and the desirability of capitalism is not challenged herein. Rather, claims of capitalist institutions and structures to be ideology free are disputed as such beliefs may lead to false optimism about the ability of planning to identify and solve, as opposed to

resolve, conflict. The practice of planning for forestry development in New Zealand bears witness to this.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank those members of the NZFS, NZFP, ARA and the staff and councillors of the RCC who have supplied information for this study. In particular, I would like to thank Mr P Mead (NZFP, Mahurangi Forest Headquarters), Mr J Novis, Mr G McKenzie and Dr J Valentine (NZFS, Wellington), Dr G Campbell (ARA), Mr M Elliot (RCC) and Rodney County Councillors Nicolls and Clapham for the time spent in interviews which provided information for this thesis.

I appreciate the support and constructive criticism given by Dr M M Roche (Post Doctoral Fellow, Massey University) and my supervisor, Mr E G Thomas, during the year it has taken to complete this study.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for the support they have provided through all my years at university.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
 PREFACE	 1
 CHAPTER	
1 THEORETICAL STATEMENT	3
Structuralist Philosophy	3
Land Use Change Under Capitalism	4
Planning Under Capitalism	7
Theory Of Planning	8
The Institution Of Planning	10
The Role Of Planners	12
Summary	16
 2 PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1960	 18
Historical Context	19
The First Planting Boom	19
Processing Industry Development	23

CHAPTER	PAGE
Land Use Policy For Private Forestry	27
Exotic Forestry Policy	28
Land Use Policy	32
Policy Implementation	38
Land Use Patterns	44
Summary	49
3 PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND	51
Legislative Framework For Planning	51
Town And Country Planning Act 1953	52
Town And Country Planning Act 1977	56
Planning For Private Forestry	66
Local Planning	66
Regional Planning	71
Summary	79
4 PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN RODNEY COUNTY	81
The Nature Of Private Forestry Development	81
An Overview	82
Corporate Development	89
The Nature Of Conflict Over Private Forestry Development	97
Planning For Private Forestry Development	103
Councillors Attitudes	104
Planners Attitudes	107
Planning Provisions	110
Summary	116
5 CONCLUSION	119
APPENDIX A Matters Of National Importance Under The TCPA 1977	128

	PAGE
APPENDIX B Classes Of Land Use Restrictions Allowed Under The TCPA 1977	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY	130

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
2-1	Exotic Forest Area In New Zealand 1921-1983	20
2-2	Major Company Forest Areas And Land Holdings In New Zealand 1964-1984	45
2-3	Yearly Private Exotic Plantings In New Zealand 1964-1983	46
4-1	Exotic Forests Larger Than 100 Hectares In Rodney County	86

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
2-1	Percentage Composition of New Zealand Export Earnings 1950-1980	30
2-2	National Forest Planting Targets 1958-1981	31
2-3	Expected And Actual Planted Areas For Planning Districts 1968-1980	48
4-1	Pinus Radiata Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County By Purpose And Occupier	83
4-2	Pinus Radiata Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County By Occupier And Age Class	84
4-3	Private Exotic Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County By Occupier And Age Class	87
4-4	Area Of Woodlots In Rodney County By Occupier For 1978 And 1983	88

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives
ARA	Auckland Regional Authority
CNIPS	Central North Island Forestry and Transport Planning Study
DSIR	Department of Scientific and Industrial Research
LUAC	Land Use Advisory Council
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MOWD	Ministry of Works and Development
NDA 1979	National Development Act 1979
NZFC	New Zealand Forest Council
NZFP	New Zealand Forest Products Limited
NZFS	New Zealand Forest Service
NZTPA	New Zealand Town and Country Planning Appeals
PRIFOS	New Zealand Forest Service Private Forestry System
RCC	Rodney County Council
TCPA 1953	Town and Country Planning Act 1953
TCPA 1977	Town and Country Planning Act 1977

TPP

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PREFACE

The forestry versus farming conflict in New Zealand is a poorly understood issue. With the dramatic increase in New Zealand's forest estate and the changing balance between forestry and other farm practices and between state and private forestry in some rural areas as a result of a dramatic upsurge in private afforestation since 1960 there has been conflict among farming and forestry interests. Farming interests have opposed the introduction of large scale afforestation on privately owned property and forestry interests have opposed restrictions on development activity. Such conflict has presented a dilemma to County Councils, which are required to plan for the 'wise use' of New Zealand's land resource by the TCPA 1977. The emergence and reemergence of conflict raises questions about the ability of the mechanisms of institutional planning to cope with the 'problem' of forestry development and concomitant issues of land allocation between different uses.

It is intended to discuss in this thesis the innate features of institutionalised planning which may preclude or effect the resolution of conflicts over land use in general and the forestry versus farming issue in particular. Deliberation on the role of planning in defining what is the wise use of land and instituting land use restrictions to effect wise land use is conducted from a theoretical base - that of structuralism. A county example is drawn upon to illustrate the theoretical conceptions of the nature and role of planning and the social 'verdict' these intrinsic features place on rural communities in practice.

For the purpose of this thesis any county in New Zealand would suffice as an example of planning in practice. Rodney County is selected, however, not because it has experienced widespread and vocal opposition to forestry development

compared with other counties, but because it is not so remarkable. Over the last ten years large scale private afforestation has been undertaken in Rodney County but forestry has not been subject to severe planning restrictions. By outlining the nature of planning for forestry development in Rodney County it is hoped to illustrate the features of particular land use planning decisions about forestry development which are attributable to the nature of the planning system rather than locationally and historically specific circumstance. Consideration of the Rodney County example is an integral part of a theoretical dissertation, illuminating the inseparability of assumed ideology and planning practice.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL STATEMENT

STRUCTURALIST PHILOSOPHY

The characteristic feature of the structuralist philosophy of science is the idea "that explanations of observed phenomena must be sought in general structures which underpin all phenomena but are not identifiable within them; the explanation cannot be produced through empirical study of phenomena alone". (Johnston, 1983, 87) Those adhering to the philosophy believe in the need to delve beneath surface appearances to discover explanations. Structuralism incorporates an epistemology that the world of appearances does not necessarily reveal the world of mechanisms and an ontology that what really exists cannot be observed directly but only through thought. (Johnston, 1983, 5) Hence, structuralism is a science of history, adopting historical materialism as a mode of analysis and explanation, but it is also a philosophy of science, presenting a theory of the production of knowledge. (Eliot Hurst, 1980) Like other philosophies of science structuralism attempts to account for social change. Unlike more commonly held positivist philosophy structuralism offers a theory of social change.

Capitalist society is seen to be continually transforming itself through the resolution of contradictions which capitalism creates. (Johnston, 1983, 96) The structuralist philosophy is holistic. It emphasises the interdependence of economic and social phenomena in capitalist society and sees contradictions and conflict of interests as internal relations of capitalism. Incompatibilities, contradictions and conflicts are dialectics. The nature of the dialectic approach includes the idea that forces inspiring conflict and social change occur within, rather than externally to, an

evolving social system. Conflicting interests are portrayed not as related opposites but as components of the same thing with only the immediate context making them appear contradictory. (Welch, 1979, 114)

Structuralism accounts for conflict resolution and social change in terms of forces, such as power and influence, which are effective according to the social meaning bestowed on them. This approach challenges positivist notions that political processes exist in which reified phenomena such as 'power' cause social change. By ignoring the socially produced nature of such forces and dismissing ideas that they exist through social interaction it is thought an understanding of social phenomena is distorted. (Porter, 1978, 89) The forces at work in society acting to effect conflict resolution and social change are consequently portrayed as socially produced phenomena which serve the needs of a constantly evolving capitalist system and maintain the underlying structures of capitalism.

LAND USE CHANGE UNDER CAPITALISM

Capitalism, according to structuralist philosophy, involves a basic economic system with a set of structures. Private ownership and the creation of capital are the essence of capitalism. These central tenets do not change and are maintained through human action and interaction which ensures the continued production and reproduction of capital.

Capitalist society is founded on the principles of 'accumulation for accumulations sake' and 'production for the sake of production' to allow the capitalist class - the owners of capital - to reproduce. (Harvey, 1978a, 102) The continuous search for profit presents crises of overaccumulation, however, as manifest in falling profit rates and commodity gluts. Such crises inspire the switching

of capital resources towards new investment opportunities - within a sector or region, or to new sectors and/or geographical areas - in order to procure surplus value. The rule of profit in capitalist society necessitates the creation and transformation of organisations and institutions to promote the interests of capital. Individual capitalists have difficulty initiating switches in the flow of capital and a functioning capital market, a Government which finances and encourages large scale and long term projects, and other organisations, facilitate capital accumulation. (Harvey, 1978a, 107) Thus, capital switching and organisational reform acts to transform but not remove the tendency towards overaccumulation. The search for profit embodies contradictory forces which make capitalism a dynamic social system where there is continuous activity promoting the creation of surplus value and an ongoing reaction to accumulation crises.

The inherent dynamism of capitalism inspires inevitable conflict between economic and social interests because the mode of production is constantly altered to ensure continued profitable production. The innovation and enterprise of capitalists may cause the lifestyle of individuals to change. As Clark comments, inequality is a product of an economic system that is dominated by the interests of capital and capitalist enterprise. (1981, 226) Social conflict is immanent in capitalist society due to the inherent contradictions inspired by the economic machinations of capitalism.

The outcome of the conflict and contradictions of capitalism may not be socially acceptable. Nor will it be accepted by capitalist producers if it inspires a social reaction impeding profitable production. Attempts are therefore made to resolve conflict by alleviating hardships encountered by those disadvantaged by changes in the economic system of production. Attempts at conflict resolution are a reaction

to change and they inspire further change through adjustments in the mode of production. Thus, the emergence of social conflict and the resolution of this conflict constitute phenomena internal to the capitalist system.

This theoretical conception of the process of change and conflict, which are inseparable, helps explain why land use change occurs. David Harvey writes that the spatial configurations of human action are active moments within the overall temporal dynamic of accumulation and social reproduction and location is a fundamental material attribute of human activity which is socially produced. (1982, 374) He states that "the creation of spatial configurations...in built environments is...a highly active moment in the general process of crisis formation and resolution". (1982, 398) Similarly, Castells indicates that space is not the determinant of social processes but that emerging spatial forms are powerful indicators of the world that is taking shape in front of our eyes. Space is not so much a reflection of society as it is one of society's fundamental material dimensions. As spatial configurations are produced by human action they will express the interests of those with power and influence according to a given mode of production and to a specific level of development. (1983, 4)

Hence, conflict between social and economic interests over the use of land, as with other resources, is inevitable in a capitalist society because patterns of land use are constantly changing in order to ensure the creation and accumulation of capital. Reacting against and resisting economic developments which cause land use change will be those oppressed, exploited or dominated by the development decisions produced according to capitalist power relationships. (Castells, 1983, 4) Attempts at resolving conflict are the result and they, in turn, influence the nature of land use change.

The process of land use change cannot be explained in terms of simple cause and effect. Decisions to utilise land for particular production purposes are made at the national, regional and local levels by various groups, organisations and individuals. This creates a complex social framework of contradictory and conflicting social and economic interests advocating and opposing land use change. Also, different interests adopt various styles of argument, such as those based on ideological, political or economic grounds at different times and in different situations. The nature of conflict and attempts at conflict resolution is therefore in a continuous state of change. The many and various instances of conflict and attempts at resolution are indicative of a complicated social framework and are therefore not simply economically determined. However, because they occur within a capitalist socio-economic system the processes of conflict and conflict resolution are inspired by economic pressures. These processes are integral to the basic economic system that is 'capitalism'.

The use made of land at a particular time is thus a temporary and lagging manifestation of economic forces as transformed by social action and reaction and land use change is a reflection, albeit several times removed, of the structure of society and inherent contradictions therein. The process of planning to resolve social conflict over land use change, which effects further change, can also be viewed as an integral component of capitalist society. Land use change and the planning response represent tangible facets of the forces and internal contradictions of capitalism.

PLANNING UNDER CAPITALISM

Land is a finite and scarce resource which is allocated by people to different uses. When allocating land the interests of one may not coincide with the interests of another and

conflict over land use is the result. Conflict may occur between individuals, local and national interests, or state and private concerns, but is likely to be a complicated composition of numerous contradictory interests. Institutionalised planning represents a mechanism by which attempts are made to resolve conflict that results from competition for scarce resources. However, planning action is conducted within a capitalist socio-economic system. Therefore, the role of the institution of planning, and hence the role of planners, in effecting the resolution of conflict over scarce resources such as land can be conceptualised according to structuralist theory.

Theory of Planning

Theories of planning action proposed since the early 1970's have emphasised the close relationship between planning practice and societal change. Emphasis has been placed on the role of planning in society - the theory of planning rather than theory in planning. The dialectic perspective adopted by some suggests resolution of conflict between opposing groups, as achieved by planning procedures, constitutes an interplay through which social phenomena such as power and interest are continually negotiated and redefined. (Porter, 1978, 89) Planning action is thus seen as an integral feature of capitalist society.

When adopting a structuralist perspective planning practice is analysed according to its social context and the system of planning within which planning decisions are made is identified as a tool that can be used to manipulate human action. This goes beyond a rather superficial approach that views the process of planning in a simple functional sense, ignoring the social meaning with which planning action is imbued.

A commonly proposed reason for planning action is the creation of a better, more equitable society by altering, constraining and containing the spatial configurations of human activity. Manipulation of the human environment does not occur without action and reaction against such interference, however. This is because the interests of society do not equate with the concerns of individuals. Society does not exist separately from the individuals that constitute its existence although it is more than the sum of its individual parts. Notions of social welfare and collective good may be for the benefit of one while not being for the good of another. Thus, planning action to steer land development and constrain 'undesirable' utilisation is undertaken according to socially defined goals which the institution of planning is charged with upholding.

Planning action is generally conducted in response to observation of human activity and conflict as it is occurring, or has occurred. It involves interpretation of, and reaction to, what already exists. Thus, although establishing goals for future development for the benefit of society, planning does little more than rationalise the status quo. The underlying structures of capitalism remain. Planning can be seen to serve the needs of capital through manipulation of the environment, both social and physical, in which capitalist accumulation is enacted.

Those undertaking planning action and making planning decisions which maintain the structures of capitalism are actors within a system of planning, performing tasks according to their roles within the institution. To understand the role of planners who introduce regulations on human activity it is therefore necessary to understand the role of the institution within which they act.

The Institution of Planning

Planning is a formal institution of the State. When adopting a structuralist approach the State is seen to, of necessity, perform certain basic tasks to support the capitalist mode of production. The conflicts between particular community interests necessitate an independent form to guarantee the 'common interest'. In order to ensure continued capital production power is vested in the State as a way of controlling social action. The power to coerce, the power to tax and the law are viewed as instruments of State domination. (Harvey, 1976, 81) The State is seen to intervene, through legislation for planning, to manipulate the environment and space according to ideological definitions of desirable land use. Planning thereby becomes an active vehicle for the transmission of doctrines in support of the capitalist mode of production. (Harvey, 1984, 3)

To overcome the threat to capital accumulation of confrontation society is organised and institutionalised. However, such social arrangements are not without internal contradictions as they act to guide and determine the nature of human activity. The independent form of the State is not that of a monolith created and acting apart from the individuals permitting its formation. The shape of the State alters as the form of society changes. The action of the State, while on a plane above that of the individual, represents an attempt at the amelioration of the insoluble contradictions within society and the unsolvable antagonisms between individuals as they act within the capitalist system. State organisations attempt to accommodate evolving contradictions.

Also, the State does not act at one level. There are gradations in State activity. Etzioni writes that especially in matters of domestic policy there is a great deal of

"skewed pluralism" where many decisions and plans are made by local elites. (1973, 107) The local level State deals with local issues, with conflict taking place between individuals and groups in specific localities, whereas the national level State acts on a plane somewhat removed from individuals and specific localities. The local level State is part of the overall relation referred to as the State but the overall State is not a unified block of institutions acting in a predictable manner to facilitate the interests of the currently dominant variant of the mode of production. (Fincher, 1981, 27) Fincher writes that the State is a reflection of the complex of interactions of capitalist society and that observation of the range of the State's activities at the local level illuminates the problems of capital in its efforts to work them out in a politically legitimate manner. She comments that "the state is an intrinsic part of capital, and reflects its contradictions completely". (1981, 27) Thus, the State is neither unified nor monolithic. As Fincher says the State's mandate supports the capitalist mode of production but at any moment in time the internal structure of the State reflects the contradictions of capitalist development at that point in time (1981, 26); and as Etzioni says conceptions of planning and its mechanisms as an instrument of the State do not stand isolated but are reflective of the society in which planning occurs. (1973, 107)

The State functions through the mechanism of the institution of planning. The effect of the State on human activity in a particular location is historically specific but the evolving characteristics of the State and planning are integral to the underlying and overriding structures of capitalism. Day to day planning decisions are specific to conditions existing in place and time but long run trends in decision making are determined by the underlying structures of capitalist society. The organisation of the State maintains the ideology of capitalism in support of the accumulation of

capital and the power relationships inherent in evolving institutional and organisational arrangements, such as that of planning, ensure the perpetuation of capitalist production. Thus, the institution of planning serves to maintain the socio-economic system of capitalism.

The Role of Planners

Planners act within the institutional structure of planning. Accordingly, they act to maintain the capitalist socio-economic system. Decisions made by planners tend to uphold the ideology of capitalism which supports the continuation of an economic system based on capital accumulation.

Planning decisions derive from individuals, but such ideas are created in a capitalist social context. Moreover, for a suggestion to be adopted it must be ideologically acceptable. The ideological context of human action and interaction helps shape the needs and wants of society and associated planning action. Consequently, decisions to alter a particular spatial configuration involve change but they affect superficial variations supporting the status quo of underlying capitalist structures. At any point in time planning decisions made will reflect historically specific conditions, but will perpetuate the underlying structures on which ideology is based in the long run. To emphasise the role of ideology in decision making is not to deny the individuality, innovation and inspiration of those making decisions. Rather, it serves to show that action and thought cannot be considered separately and that while decisions or actions may appear innovative on the surface they are conditioned by the ideological influence of capitalism less easy to determine but important in its effect.

The practice of planning is often justified on the grounds of

the professionalism of those making planning decisions. This implies neutrality in decision making. Recognition of ideology as a deeply instilled, pervasive force in society which inspires planning action contradicts this claim, however. Acknowledging the political nature human activity indicates that claims of neutrality are themselves ideologically based. It is therefore necessary to look beyond the ethics of professionalism, beyond occupational values, to explain planning action. Occupational ethics accept without question the social utility of the profession and ask how that utility can best be improved, reviewing theory in planning to achieve this. Such an approach assumes that a reputable planning profession is a matter of social value and disregards the ideological base of this assumption. It is perhaps in the utility of planning conducted within a capitalist system that the difficulties arising in attempts at conflict resolution lie. (Marcuse, 1976, 271)

Grabow and Heskin write that the planning system, with its ideologically defined goals and internal structure, perpetuates elitist, centralising and change-resistant tendencies. (1973, 106) They argue that the supposed objectivity of 'rational' planning is central to this function. (1973, 108) Claims of objectivity give legitimacy to planning action but the ideology on which such claims are founded is the ideology of capitalism. Planning 'for the people', to ensure the 'greatest benefit for the greatest number', for more 'equity', for the 'welfare' of the people, and in the 'national interest', which are irrefutably rational goals, is planning for the continuation of the capitalist system. It is planning for the 'welfare' of people as long as it does not threaten the accumulation of capital and for the 'national interest' as long as the 'national interest' is the interest of capitalism. Continued conflict is the inevitable outcome of such decisions. Thus, the pervasive, infused, socially created conceptualisations that comprise ideology and shape planning activity do not act

to negate land use conflict through planning action but to ameliorate and change the shape of conflict in order to ensure the perpetuation of the creation of capital.

Gunnar Olsson writes that the reasoning rules by which we structure our thoughts and actions do not represent objective and unassailable a priori principles and are neither ethically nor aesthetically neutral. He indicates that analytical language provides labels which we attach to objects and this language serves as an instrument through which we determine and influence the relations among phenomena we are dealing with and that, "given this conception of reasoning, the role of any language is not to describe reality so much as to shape it". (1977, 356) On thought and practice he writes that:

"thought cannot live outside of language just as language cannot live outside of thought...natural and artificial languages do not merely provide labels which we attach to objects...they are tools which render human thought and communication possible...What all this suggests is that it is unclear whether what I say conveys more information about the world I am talking 'about' or about the world I am talking 'in'." (1980, 5b)

What is said is shaped by what is thought and what is thought is shaped by what is said, and what is thought and said cannot be considered apart from the environment in which concepts are created. As the individual is a social creature language is as much an instrument of society as it is an instrument of the individual. The internal relations between thought, language and action work to mould society according to conceptions of what society is - conceptions that are internal to capitalist ideology.

Hence, recognition of the role of ideology exposes the myth of objectivism. This myth is the tacit acceptance of objectivity in action, failing to recognise that understanding of the world is conditioned through interaction with that world. (Lakoff, 1980, 194) Truth is based on

understanding and understanding is obtained according to socially created metaphors. (Lakoff, 1980, 159) Lakoff writes that the conceptualisations we live by have evolved in society over a long period of time but are generally imposed upon people by those in power. He indicates that those imposing their metaphor on society get to define what is considered to be absolutely or objectively true. (1980, 159) Thus, the myth of objectivity itself aids those holding power. This view coincides with Olsson's notion that logical action, which implies objectivity, supports the status quo by maintaining the position of those with power. Olsson writes that the deified view of logic adopted by modern man is mistaken as, like any absolutist religion, it is designed to serve the interests of manipulators and masters. (1977, 356)

In a capitalist system those with power are those who control capital in order to produce and reproduce that capital. Planning is a tool of manipulation. It influences the process of capital accumulation in accordance with underlying structures of society which encourage profit creation. It is a procedure that facilitates social control in order to ensure the continued accumulation of capital. Planners are given the power to manipulate through the capitalist metaphor.

Power relationships are generally taken for granted. Pred indicates that

"The concept of power is slippery, elusive, and, since referring to relationships rather than things, invisible and not subject to direct measurement. Moreover, power relationships are so deeply entrenched and pervasive in our everyday practices and experiences that they go unnoticed or are taken for granted, unexamined because of ideological blindness or a conscious or subconscious fear or uneasiness as to what they might reveal". (1981, 31)

Power is constantly transformed and reproduced in everyday life as people are socialised and as society is constantly reproduced and transformed. Ideology defines power

relationships but, as ideology is pervasive and taken for granted, power relationships are also accepted, often unquestioned, taken as the norm. Power in planning is thus rarely acknowledged although it is an important force influencing planning decisions.

Planners are given the authority to effect planning action which controls human activity through the pervasive ideology of capitalism. This ideological base also defines the goals planning action should attempt to implement. The language that describes these goals inspires decisions that are ideologically defined. Language, power and ideology are social phenomena that act in unison, as they cannot act apart, to effect planning action which maintains the underlying structures of capitalism. They define the role of planners regarding their control of human activity according to capitalist ideology.

SUMMARY

Structuralist philosophy provides a theoretical explanation for land use change and the nature of the planning response to such change. The processes of change, conflict and conflict resolution are explained in terms of the underlying structures of capitalism which maintain the capitalist socio-economic system. According to structuralist philosophy the essence of capitalism cannot be measured. The structures which determine human activity are immanent in the tangible but are not measurable. Tangible phenomena can be conceived of as the confused image of the underlying structures of society viewed through a maze of mirrors; an image that is ever changing as the mirrors change their orientation. When adhering to such a conception of the nature of society conflict between interests over land use can be seen as a reflection of underlying economic structures and an integral part of society.

When adopting a structuralist perspective the institution of planning, and hence the activity of planners, is seen to maintain the basic structures of capitalism which promote an economic system based on the production and reproduction of capital. This feature of planning has serious consequences regarding the ability of the system to resolve conflict. Conflict between economic and social interests is an internal contradiction of capitalism and by maintaining the structures of capitalism the planning system does not act to remove conflict even though specific issues may be resolved.

Thus, an investigation of conflict pertaining to specific economic developments, such as that pertaining to land use change, and the planning 'problem' it provides can be approached as more than a search for cause and solution. It is unequivocally a disquisition on conflict over economic development as a characteristic of the capitalist system which is constantly transforming itself to enable the continued accumulation of capital and it involves an investigation of the role of the planning system effecting conflict resolution as an internal feature of capitalism. A structuralist perspective allows that individuals make planning decisions of a historically and locationally specific nature which may appear contrary to the economic structures of capitalism but advises that in the long run planning action maintains the capitalist system.

CHAPTER TWO

PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1960

Over the last 25 years the landscape of New Zealand has been transformed in association with the diversification of land use on farms towards forestry. This phenomenon is commonly described as the 'second planting boom' and it has been manifest in New Zealand since the early 1960's. It is one of a number of agricultural developments, including the subdivision of land, horticultural development and the introduction of deer farming, which have occurred over this time. Private forestry development, like other attempts at agricultural diversification, is the outcome of changing conditions of commodity production. Hence, land use change reflects evolving socio-economic conditions. The socio-economic environment accommodating private forestry development has been greatly influenced by the activities of the State.

There are many levels of land use policy creation in New Zealand, including the national level State, individual land users, companies and local authorities. All have varying notions of what is desirable land use for their particular purposes. The national level State provides the apparatus and means for development through fiscal policy and the rules according to which development must abide in law. The State - the Government, the Legislature and the bureaucracy of Government departments - therefore plays a critical role in shaping land use in general and forestry development in particular within the nation.

Observation of changing patterns of land use as a result of evolving land use policy with regard to forestry development and as a function of historical circumstance illuminates the close relationship between private and State activity

effecting land use change in New Zealand.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

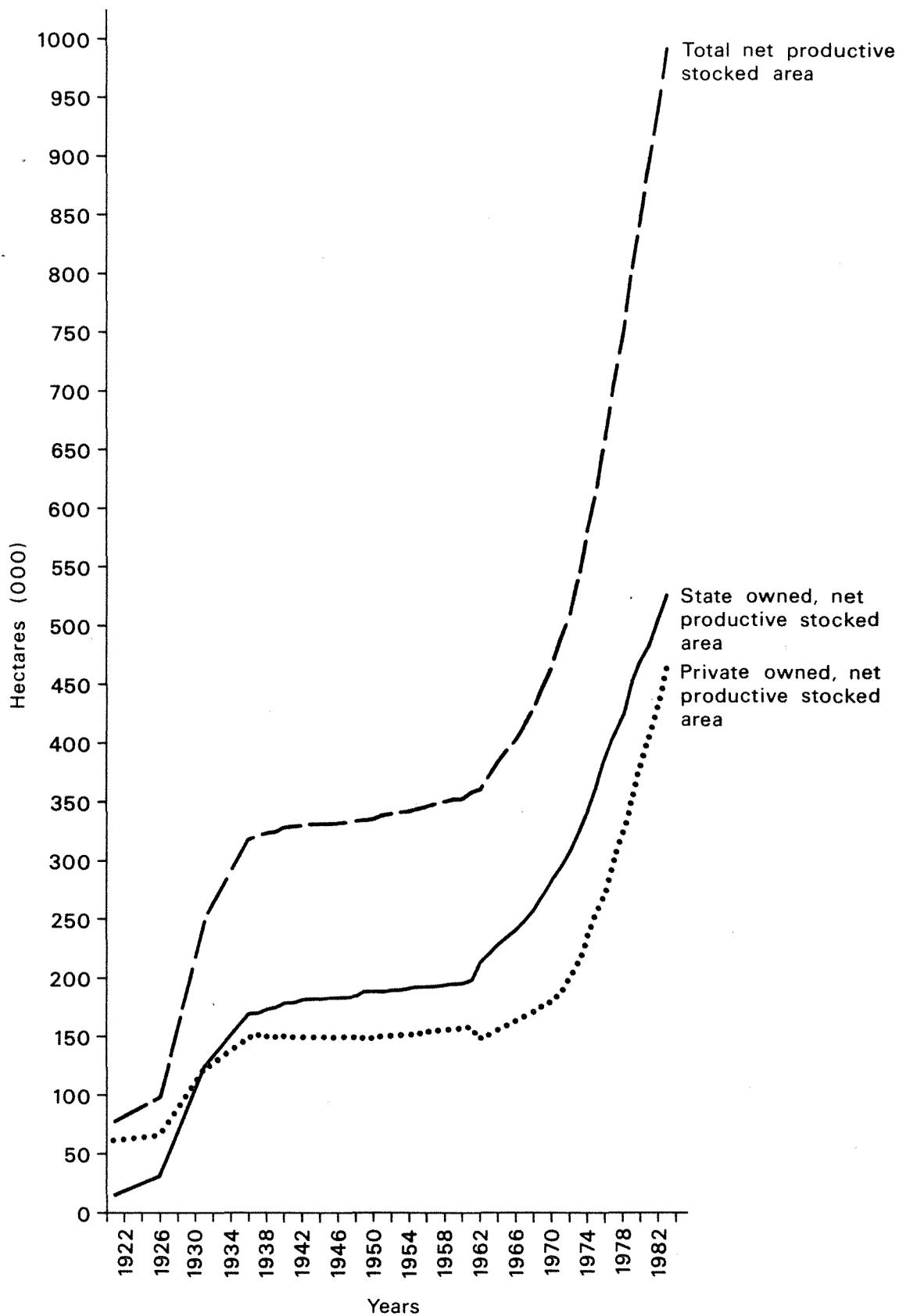
There have been two periods of intense exotic afforestation in New Zealand - the first and second planting booms - punctuated by a period of processing industry development and expansion. Private afforestation has been undertaken in conjunction with State forestry development in these boom periods. Private and State Plantings being of a similar magnitude. (Figure 2-1) Hence, recent private forestry development does not stand divorced from more general historical trends pertaining to exotic afforestation but is integral to such change.

The First Planting Boom

The first 'planting boom' occurred from the mid 1920's to the mid 1930's during which time the bulk of the pre 1940 national exotic forest estate of 327 000 hectares was established - 67 percent being planted between 1926 and 1936. (NZFS, 1984, 3) Planting was initiated in response to fears that domestic timber requirements were threatened by the rapid depletion of reserves of native timber species which grew slowly and responded poorly to silvicultural management. The 'mining' of indigenous forests led to fears of an imminent timber famine. The Government decided to combat likely timber shortages by encouraging plantation forestry rather than indigenous forest management as presently undertaken and to experiment with exotic species which grew more rapidly and were easier to manage than indigenous varieties.

In 1913 a Royal Commission on forestry indicated that supplies of indigenous timber would last approximately 30

Figure 2-1: Exotic Forest Area in New Zealand 1921-1983



Data Source: NZFS, 1984, 13

years and that a programme of afforestation was the only solution. It was suggested that approximately 19 000 hectares, which was two to three times the total exotic forest area of 1912, should be planted. Pinus radiata was considered a suitable species for this. (AJHR, 1913, C12, xxvii, xxx) A ban on native timber exports was consequently introduced and the State Forest Service was created in 1921 in order to manage native forest reserves for the conservation of indigenous forest resources and to establish plantations of faster growing exotic trees. (Gould, 1982, 75) State involvement in afforestation predates this time with the establishment of a forestry branch to the Department of Lands and Survey and with legislation encouraging the planting of trees, especially in the 'treeless' regions of the country, but the creation of the State Forest Service marks the introduction of a forestry profession concerned with large scale afforestation in New Zealand.

The intention of the State Forest Service, under the directorship of MacIntosh Ellis, was to control forest exploitation to secure constant renewal and perpetuation of resources. A natural forest inventory and calculations of future demand for timber were conducted from 1921 to 1923 and the results indicated that, on the basis of estimated demand, New Zealand's virgin forests would be completely destroyed within 80 years. (Roche, 1983, 328, 335) These calculations confirmed earlier fears of an imminent 'timber famine' and substantiated the idea that there was no option but to expand the exotic forest area.

Additional impetus for the planting of a large exotic estate to supplement indigenous supplies was provided by the imminent development of a pulp and paper making industry which would utilise timber waste and enable New Zealand to become a wood and paper exporter. There was a world wide shortage of softwoods after the First World War which was expected to provide a market for New Zealand wood and wood

products. William Adamson, Technical Director of a papermaking machinery company in England, suggested upon a visit to Kiangaroo forest in 1925 that large scale wood processing industries were conceivable in New Zealand. (Allsop, 1973, 24) Also, labour conditions and the availability of land suitable for plantation forestry made large scale exotic afforestation possible. Large tracts of Crown land which was useless for pastoral agriculture due to an undiagnosed cobalt deficiency was available on the volcanic plateau and there was a large labour pool able to plant that land following the war and during the economic depression of the 1930's

The State, although an important forest grower, was not the sole planter of forest in the boom period. Afforestation was undertaken to a similar extent by private bond selling companies. The State Forest Service was not established as a monopoly. Private afforestation was approved of as a means by which to increase New Zealand's forest area and perhaps absorb some of the costs associated with plantation establishment, and the State encouraged private afforestation by providing technical advice in Forest Service publications, legislating for tax concessions to forest growers, and by supplying seed from State nurseries to private forest owners. (Roche, 1984, pers. comm.) Hence both public and private enterprise established large forest areas, mainly in the central North Island because land was available there. In fact, up to 1930 the area of private forest in New Zealand exceeded that of State forest. (Figure 2-1) The proportion of forest privately grown remained at approximately 46 percent in the later years of the 1930's. (NZFS, 1984, 13) By 1936 exotic planting undertaken by all growers had virtually ceased, however, in response to indications that a world wide timber shortage did not exist and a belief that adequate domestic and export supplies were ensured for the rest of the century.

Processing Industry Development

In the 1940's and 1950's planting rates markedly slowed due to the Second World War and as the emphasis of the State and private forest growers turned to the utilisation of the maturing pine plantations. Attempts by the State to improve the geographical distribution of exotic forests to meet local supply requirements and planting for sand dune stabilisation and reforestation as a soil and water conservation measure was conducted while some private company planting was undertaken to help round the forest age classes. Processing industry development to utilise plantings of the 1920's and 1930's was the characteristic feature of this period.

Most of the exotic plantings in New Zealand were radiata pine (Pinus radiata) - a matter more of chance than design. Initial Government trials investigated a number of tree species. Due to difficulty in procuring seed from overseas for species such as douglas fir (Pseudotsuga douglassi) and the poor establishment record of many non-coniferous species, Pinus radiata emerged as the predominant exotic plantation tree in New Zealand. It was utilised for construction timber and processed pulp and paper products.

The value of pine as a construction timber compared with other more costly timbers was doubted. However, as preservative treatments were developed it was increasingly used in housing construction. This demand was easily met as it coincided with the maturing of large areas of forest.

The worth of pine for newsprint and kraft paper production was proved in 1927 when Alex Entrican, then a Forest Service engineer, took samples of New Zealand wood, exotic and indigenous, to the Madison, Wisconsin, laboratory for forest products for tests on pulping quality. (AJHR, 1928, C3A, 6) Later research resolved remaining difficulties over pulping techniques for pine. (Allsop, 1973, 42) There was a sizeable

pine forest resource and a market for pulp and paper products. Consequently, the two major pulp and paper producing companies of New Zealand emerged as the single largest forest users. These companies were privately owned NZFP and State connected TPP.

NZFP began as New Zealand Perpetual Forests Limited, a bond issuing company founded in 1923. (Healy, 1982, 9) Bond selling companies initially flourished as bonds, each one giving ownership of an area of land for a specified number of years, were readily taken up by individuals believing in an imminent timber shortage. However, in 1934, following a scandal surrounding the activities of some bond selling companies, a government initiated Commission of Enquiry recommended the abolition of the bond system and incorporation of bond holders into public companies. (Gould, 1982, 77) New Zealand Perpetual Forests entered voluntary liquidation and in December 1935 NZFP took over Perpetual Forests' assets under a public company structure. (Healy, 1982, 71)

In July 1939 the NZFP sawmill at Waotu, which was on land formerly owned by Putaruru Forests Limited, started processing forest thinnings. This was the first attempt by NZFP to utilise a forest. By the end of 1959 NZFP had developed an integrated processing plant comprising sawmill, casemill and insulating board mill at Penrose, Auckland. The company had successfully competed with the NZFS for a licence to produce multiwall bags at Penrose and had been granted a licence to manufacture pulp and paper. The Kinleith processing plant specialising in chemical pulp, kraft paper and associated byproducts production had been built. NZFP had also begun a programme of company takeover, merger and expansion of holdings which continued through the 1960's and 1970's. The intention of the company was to "establish and operate to the fullest extent" all the enterprises undertaken "to the end that the whole forest would be utilised on the

basis of securing the maximum crop". (NZFP, 1959, 10)

In contrast, TPP began as a joint financial undertaking by the Government, the Fletcher Trust, the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation, A E Reed (a British paper group), and the public to utilise the timber of Kiangarooa State Forest. Entrican, as Director of Forests, spearheaded a move for a major wood based industry on the eastern fringe of the forest known as the 'Murupara Scheme'. (Allsop, 1973, 11, 43) In 1951 the Forest Service invited tenders for the utilisation of timber from Kiangarooa State Forest and the Tasman group, headed by industrialist Sir James Fletcher, was the successful and sole applicant. (Allsop, 1973, 44; Gould, 1982, 78) Plans were mooted by the company for an industrial complex at Kawarau rather than at Murupara and the Government undertook to build a railway connecting Kawarau with the port facilities at Mount Maunganui. The Kawarau plant began producing chemical and mechanical pulp and newsprint under licence in the mid 1950's and the company subsequently planned to expand plant and company holdings and encourage some financial restructuring to "consolidate its position as a major producer of newsprint, pulp and timber". (TPP, 1959, 3) Thus, both NZFP and TPP strived to become large scale wood processors in New Zealand.

The State played an important role in steering the development of the pulp and paper industry in New Zealand. Government manipulation of wood supplies and tenders from Kiangarooa Forest is indicative of an interest in regulating the industry. State involvement as a partner in Tasman Pulp and Paper is indicative of a wish to obtain revenue from the rapidly expanding processing industry and to preclude the emergence of a private monopoly. Moreover, the State also sought to regulate the forestry industry through law to dissuade monopolistic development. The Industrial Efficiency Act 1936 made pulp and paper a licenced industry. Under this Act the Government guaranteed TPP rights to newsprint

production, which includes both chemical and mechanical pulping processes. NZFP was steered to specialise in the production of chemically manufactured, unbleached and very strong kraft paper which is suitable for wrapping.

There is some indication that in the early 1940's the Government contemplated making pulp and paper production a nationalised industry with the State obtaining wood supplies from various forest owners. (Healy, 1982, 107) Such an occurrence never eventuated but pulp and paper production was a licenced industry until the early 1960's. The nationalisation proposal and licencing practice imply strong State interest in the promotion and control of forestry development. The State provided the rules and regulations according to which the pulp and paper industry developed.

Commenting on the wisdom of State intervention in the pulp and paper industry Gould states that:

"given the limited size of the New Zealand market, the competitive nature of export markets, and the restricted supply both of capital and entrepreneurship in New Zealand, there was good sense in entrusting the exploitation of our forest to a small number of companies, each specialising in a few technologically interrelated products".
(1982, 79)

Concomitant with State intervention, however, was political rivalry between the public and private sectors as State regulation was poorly received by NZFP. Healy writes that:

"Although ushered in by Government legislation, Forest Products found the path to utilisation little smoother than Perpetual. Dogged battling was necessary to obtain licences under the Industrial Efficiency Act. David Henry fought political and bureaucratic opposition tenaciously"
(1982, 100)

The interplay between the company and the State over an application by NZFP in 1942 for a licence to manufacture newsprint in response to the call for tenders for cutting rights to Kiangaroa forest in connection with its Murupara

mills scheme is an example of political dealing. The application was made "more or less to acquire bargaining power and to register formal disapproval of the Government scheme". (Healy, 1982, 130) The licence was not granted. It is apparent that the State was vitally interested in forestry processing industry development in New Zealand. Conflict between State and private concerns over State regulation is indicative of this interest.

In general, it appears that private afforestation and processing was accepted and encouraged by the State but the nature of private development was sometimes questioned and subject to government regulation. Private forestry activity was required to conform to State plans for development. This suggests private forestry development was integral to, rather than separate from, State activity.

The historical setting of early afforestation and processing industry development in New Zealand meant that by 1960 the infrastructure for further afforestation was in place. The growth of industry also inspired confidence for further exotic forestry development, both State and private, with Pinus radiata as the dominant production forestry species. The confidence in forestry engendered by historical circumstance is reflected in the role assigned to private afforestation in the second planting boom and is maintained in evolving policy accommodating and encouraging forestry development.

LAND USE POLICY FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY

A dramatic increase in exotic forest plantings in New Zealand since 1960 accounts for 67 percent of the current private exotic forest estate. This boom period, accompanied by the consolidation of forest processing industry, is expected to last to the end of the 1980's. (Kirkland, 1981, 22; 1984,

4) Evolving land use policy pertaining to private exotic forestry development and its implementation is aimed at ensuring this end. Private forest land policy is integral to more general policy for the development of the exotic forestry industry in New Zealand.

Exotic Forestry Policy

There are few formal written statements of forestry policy in New Zealand. There are papers outlining indigenous forest and special purpose species policy but policy on private exotic forestry is generally inferred from statements made by various Government or Government sponsored organisations and from legislation passed and incentives enacted. State policy for exotic forestry development is framed in terms of national goals for resource development. This policy places forestry in the context of other land uses and reflects the changing development interests of the State. Forestry is one of many possible land uses suited to New Zealand's physical environment and afforestation therefore occurs in context with other uses between which choices are made.

The national goal adopted for exotic forestry development is described by a senior economist with the NZFS who states that "promotion of forestry to generate overseas income is an appropriate use of the nation's resources". (Wije-Wardana, 1983, 2) The purpose of forestry development is regularly cited in terms of planting rates to repair age class distributions in order to ensure sustainable production, the integration of forest based industry, and the consequent attainment of export targets - all for the 'benefit' of the nation. The importance placed on forestry as a development option by the State derives from concern over the national balance of payments and level of foreign exchange earnings. The motivation for increased afforestation and imminent processing industry development stems from the declining

demand for New Zealand's traditional pastoral exports. New Zealand has traditionally been a nation reliant on pastoral production for the vast majority of export receipts critical to the economic welfare of the country. Pastoral products still far outweigh other goods in percentage share of export earnings but this proportion has declined since the mid 1950's. (Table 2-1)

A series of planting targets have been proposed since the reappraisal of the forestry industry undertaken in the late 1950's and early 1960's. These have been presented in various reports of the NZFS and papers from the National Development and Forest Development Conferences. The targets set reflect concern at the inadequacy of previous planting levels to meet desired export targets and obtain national self sufficiency in soft woods. Suggested planting levels have increased nearly four fold since 1958/59. (Table 2-2) Targets set before 1974 were ratified by Government but a policy of restrained government spending meant the 1974/75 target was rejected by Cabinet. Similarly, the 1981 target has not been ratified. Nevertheless, in the absence of other indicators, these targets have been adopted as informal State objectives for forestry development.

The State has favoured increasing private involvement and responsibility for afforestation. In 1960 planting was intended to be spread evenly between the State and private growers, In 1981 private growers were expected to contribute 63 percent of the target planted area - 39 percent from afforestation companies and 24 percent from other private growers. (Roche, 1984, 3) Novis indicates that private land ownership and development is upheld in Government policy for exotic forestry development as the source of "innovation" and "enterprise" which effect diversification of land use and consequent economic growth. (1984, 7) Thus, along with the State subscription to a dramatically increased forest area has been State support for private forestry development.

Table 2-1: Percentage Composition of New Zealand Export Earnings
1950-1980

	Year						
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Meat	17.7	26.3	26.8	30.3	35.6	29.1	24.4
Wool	40.9	36.2	33.9	28.3	19.0	16.5	18.5
Dairy Products	29.8	27.1	26.0	26.8	19.9	18.4	15.9
Pastoral Products	88.4	89.6	86.7	85.4	74.5	64.0	58.8
Forestry	0.2	0.9	2.6	3.1	5.3	7.5	8.8
Other	11.3	9.5	10.6	11.5	20.2	28.5	32.5

Data Source: Economic Monitoring Group, 1983, 56

Table 2-2: National Forest Planting Targets 1958-1981

Year	Target (hectares per year)	Note
1958/59	9-12 000	Objective adopted in response to NZFS report outlining imminent local timber shortages and a need for increased exports of forest products.
1964/65	16 000	Previous target considered inadequate by NZFS and an increased planting level proposed.
1969	23 000	Cabinet approved the recommended target of the first Forestry Development Conference for increased planting levels.
1971/1972	28 000	A target accepted by Cabinet in response to a National Development Conference report encouraging forestry export level of nine-percent of total exports by 1980 and recommending an immediately increased forestry cut.
1974/75	55 000	Target set by the Forestry Development Conference aimed at increasing the proportion of forestry export earning from 6% to 25% or better over a 30 year rotation.
1981	45 000	Target suggested by Deputy Director of Forests at FDC to achieve 20 to 25% share of export earnings by forestry.

Data Source: Kirkland, 1981, 3-4

The development of the forestry sector is rationalised in light of anticipated world and local shortages of timber, decreasing supplies from overseas producers and the competitive advantage New Zealand has in its ability to grow *Pinus radiata* at a faster rate than other nations. The State, although confronted by uncertainty regarding the nature of demand and future markets for softwoods, accepts that forestry is an appropriate development path. Wijewardana indicates that:

"the objective of the second planting boom was to expand the export base and assist in the country's balance of payments. Projected world demand and supply trends indicate that opportunities will be available to achieve these objectives. But the new markets are likely to be very different from the existing ones". (1983, 12)

As Le Heron and Roche comment, then, "exhortations for increased overseas earnings assume that not only are enhanced export receipts desirable but that they are also attainable" and that, in light of uncertainty over future demands, "this belief has been reinforced by some one-sided reasoning". (1984, 14)

Land use policy for private forestry has evolved to accommodate State strategies for forestry development.

Land Use Policy

Land use policy for private forestry allows that diversification from traditional agriculture to forestry is an appropriate means by which to increase the area of exotic forest in New Zealand. The associated change in patterns of agricultural production is justified on the grounds that traditional agricultural practices and forestry are complementary land uses. This approach is an attempt at reconciling antagonistic farming and forestry interests.

Historically forestry has been a subordinate land use in New

Zealand due to an ethos supporting pastoral agriculture above other practices. This pervasive attitude was acknowledged by the NZFS in the early 1960's in comments such as:

"The pioneering instinct that trees are a liability and not an asset has survived for well over a century until it has become almost a tradition... As a result forestry has had to accept mostly submarginal or marginal land". (AJHR, 1960, C3, 15)

In the early years of the second planting boom the NZFS desired more land for forestry development and was unwilling to continue to have forestry restricted to marginal land but it was acknowledged that this presented a challenge to vested agricultural interests. Consequently, it was claimed that "forest soils make their maximum contribution to the national economy only if they can support a competitive export and domestic market and earn overseas funds". (AJHR, 1960, C3, 14) The NZFS sought to effect a favourable reconciliation between agriculture and forestry concerns, rather than directly challenge the pastoral ethic, to encourage afforestation.

The promotion of forestry as a land use generally involved claims that forestry is an 'optimum' use of land in some areas and assertions that forestry is complementary to agriculture in ensuring productive use of the maximum area of New Zealand's land resource. The Director General of Forests stated at the outset of the second planting boom that:

"Reviewing the economic requirements of the future the Forest Service some time ago came to the conclusion that, with both economists and the farming community convinced that greater diversity of primary products was essential to continuing national prosperity, there were sufficient lands more suitable to exotic forestry than for farming to warrant the development of an export target of 150 million cubic feet annually in place of the current 50 million cubic feet allocation". (Entrican, 1960, 7)

State support for the 'complementary' development of forestry and pastoral agriculture on private land is implied in the

statement that:

"Obviously the greater the extent to which this [planting] can be achieved by integrating farming and forestry on individual properties, the better for all concerned...The lesson is clear...the general programme must be supported by the farming community to ensure its optimum financial suitability in the distant future". (AJHR, 1960, C3, 17)

In the 1960's private forests were characteristically single purpose woodlots. Now emphasis is placed on two tier farming as a way of achieving complementary development. Policy makers have favoured the integration of pastoral and forestry practices on farms and within regions to ensure an increased exotic forest area while accommodating the pastoral ethic and other increasingly prominent social concerns.

Emerging fears of the social affect of forestry development on rural communities is one facet of a greater awareness of land use conflict of various kinds appearing over the last few decades. In the late 1960's a growing environmental consciousness was manifest in New Zealand society. A social conscience was partially inspired by the reaction of people against Government plans to 'drown' a lake to provide cheap electricity for the Bluff aluminium smelter and the activities of the 'Save Manapouri' campaign that transpired. Similarly, sectoral planning by the Government for forestry, fishing, manufacturing and other industries led to concern by various organisations, such as the Professional Institute of Engineers, about growth oriented planning which assumed the country could absorb continued growth and that the necessary measures to achieve it could be put into effect without detriment to the physical or social environment. (Lister, 1976, 191) Land use issues of the past decade include rural depopulation, declining regional growth, subdivision of agricultural land and farm amalgamation. These concerns are a response to trends such as diversification, intensification and changing ownership of rural land in various areas.

Social issues regarding forestry development have manifested themselves in this environment but have adopted particular characteristics as they are related to a specific form of land use change. The focus of concern in the 1960's was erosion prevention, scenery preservation, and the creation of recreational facilities. Later social issues revolve mainly around concerns at changing land ownership, and associated alteration of the rural infrastructure, depopulation, and disruption of the existing life style. In general, land use conflict contingent with the second planting boom appears to stem from local opposition to large scale private afforestation on contiguous forest blocks by forest companies, as is company policy, and the entry of corporations into the land market.

State promotion of private forestry in general, including corporate forestry, and the setting of increased regional planting targets does not coincide with local interests. Large scale planting and processing contravenes a rural tradition based on relatively small, locally controlled and privately owned parcels of land and thereby creates anxiety in communities who feel that the ability to decide their own work habits, control their own form of economic life and maintain a measure of 'political serenity' is threatened. (Smith, 1981, 12-13) Agricultural organisations, such as Federated Farmers of New Zealand have made claims to the effect that they are "not prepared to have the farming industry walked over". (Storey, 1981, 51) Even agriculturalists arguments supporting small scale forestry development on farms, such as the multiple uses of forestry for stock shelter and shade, timber production, and stock fodder, reveal the seeds of discontent. These arguments uphold forestry as a supplementary land use making agricultural enterprises more economically efficient, but the main support for farm forestry is that it preserves the rural life style, rural employment and family owned and worked farms. This view was elucidated in the television programme

Country Calendar, screened on September 16, 1984. Hence, conflict over forestry development in New Zealand during the second national planting is primarily a result of the way forestry is organised rather than a response to forestry per se.

In response to land use conflict associated with various inter and intra sectoral developments in New Zealand over the last 25 years various organisations have attempted to illuminate the nature of conflict and develop policy catering for the antagonisms. Government departments such as the DSIR and quasi autonomous organisations such as the LUAC have been involved and the contributions made have been multi disciplinary. The rationale for such debate is that:

"Land use"...will be of key importance during the 1980's as New Zealand moves to diversify its primary production, develop its resources of minerals and energy, and conserve its flora and fauna. Planning for this programme can proceed effectively only on the basis of sound knowledge."
(Molloy, 1980, 1)

Numerous recommendations have been made as a result of seminars conducted. They have offered suggestions on ways of increasing production, creating new products, marketing goods and adding value to goods, but they have also focused on social issues such as the quality of rural environments and rural employment creation.

Associated with an emerging social conscience has been debate over the concept of wise land use and social and economic criteria have been incorporated in definitions presented. For example, a DSIR discussion paper states:

"For each generation and nation, social and economic priorities will, at first sight, seem to be the best guiding principle for land use. It is only realistic to acknowledge this as the driving force of day-to-day decision making. But...such day-to-day pragmatism alone does not make for long term wisdom in land use planning". (Molloy, 1980, 7)

Concern at the 'wisdom' of particular land use changes has

inspired moves to introduce a national land use goal. At the 1981 LUAC seminar the topic was discussed and a national land use goal for "the fuller development of the potential of the productive land base as a means of maintaining and enhancing the well being of the people" was suggested. The stated requirement of beneficial economic development is that it "ensure a balance between the economic needs of New Zealand for growth and development...and social and environmental considerations". (Bishop, 1981, 106) Thus, social issues have reached a position of prominence in State land use policy.

In keeping with the wider context of evolving land use policy definitions of 'wisdom' in land utilisation for forestry development have incorporated social criteria. These definitions tend to reiterate general land use policy about diversification and the changing allocation of land being for the benefit of 'society as a whole' but with qualifications taking account of specific issues related to forestry development. In a report to the Commonwealth Forestry Conference in 1974 the NZFS extolled the outstanding capacity of New Zealand to grow wood and develop industries based on forests but advised that in addition to recognising the importance of economic matters the social and environmental aspects of forest and forest industries need to be considered. (NZFS, 1974, 3) Recognition of social conflict has encouraged State policy accommodating agriculturalists' interests and assailing pastoralists' fears in order to ensure the desired level of private forest plantings.

At the 1981 Forestry Conference the Deputy Director of Forests acknowledged that there is apprehension that forestry might move on to high producing farm land. In noting that available marginal land in New Zealand far exceeds the forestry targets adopted he implied that pastoralists' fears are exaggerated. He also stated that agriculture and forestry should be viewed as complementary rather than

competitive land uses at the national and regional level. (Kirkland, 1981, 1, 12) Thus, State policy represents an attempt to counter the fears of farming communities. Integration of agriculture and forestry on farms and within regions is emphasised in State policy as a means by which to increase New Zealand's exotic forest area and as a foil for conflict inspired by large scale private company development.

Present State policy emphasising the complementary nature of agricultural and forestry development is an extension of policy adopted at the outset of the second planting boom. The ecological argument that upholds forestry as a legitimate and desirable land use on 'marginal' land poorly suited to pastoral agriculture has evolved in support of the goal of economic growth and in response to emerging conflict over private forestry development. The objective of State policy for forestry development is summarised in Novis' statement that:

"diversification has been greatly encouraged by Government's policies in an attempt to reduce the country's vulnerability to fluctuating world markets. Real resilience however, requires promotion of inter sectoral development within a region, a district and at a level of the individual land owner...The emphasis is on self help in the regions with the initiative for economic development coming primarily from the private sector entrepreneurs and regional organisations".
(1984, 7)

Hence, private afforestation is primarily a means by which to achieve an economic goal but the specific nature of development accommodates social interests.

Policy Implementation

The introduction of various incentives and the reduction of disincentives for private afforestation has accompanied the evolution of State policy encouraging forestry development. Both corporate development and smaller scale afforestation on

farms has been encouraged. Changing financial incentive schemes, alterations of the law governing the nature of development allowed and educational measures have been undertaken to facilitate a larger private exotic, production oriented, forest estate.

Support for farm based forestry is anomalous with the second planting boom. Most Government action encouraging forestry development on farms has involved direct financial incentives with modifications over the last two decades. In 1960 farm woodlots were exempt from the calculation of death duties and since 1962 a number of forestry encouragement schemes have been introduced and amended.

In 1962 the Government introduced the Forestry Encouragement Loans Scheme for farmers and local authorities. As loans could not be offered for forestry development under the Forestry Act new legislation was required. However, loans offered after 1962 proved unsuccessful in effect and were regularly modified to accommodate difficulties encountered. Loans were restricted to a fixed amount of finance to cover direct operation costs, bore a low rate of annual interest, included a loan repayment insurance scheme and the total debt was registered against the land title. The loan agreement contained a management plan outlining operations to be completed within a given time and were approved through inspection, while for areas over eighty hectares a cash flow analysis and ministerial approval was required. McKenzie states that in hindsight the loans appear very generous but their failure is attributable to landowner perceptions of the loans as a mortgage; the cumbersome and time consuming administration of the scheme; ongoing legal problems with the encumbrance of land; and the fact that loans did not keep pace with inflation and silvicultural operations became increasingly dependent upon the input of personal finance. (1984b, 3) The offshoot of these difficulties was the Forestry Encouragement Grants Scheme.

In 1970 the Government introduced the Forestry Encouragement Grants Scheme, which was applicable to small private land holders. Local authorities continued under the loans scheme. The intention of the grants scheme was to overcome the difficulty encountered by non-company land owners of inflation distorting the relative values of costs and crop returns in favour of the tax gatherer. (NZFS, 1977, 3) The time lag between tree planting and harvesting of approximately 25 years and the usual taxation practice for the private landholder requiring the accumulation of costs while the crop grew and the subsequent deduction of costs at harvesting time resulted in distortion of relative values. The new scheme made available fifty percent of qualifying operation and administration costs up to a nominated per hectare maximum as annual payments with the per hectare value inflation adjusted every five years; no agreement registration or legal commitment was required; a larger area could be planted without being subject to ministerial approval; qualifying costs were defined similar to the tax deduction system and included most costs other than capital items. (McKenzie, 1984b, 3-4)

Forestry companies and farmers planting trees for shelter, shade, erosion control or agricultural purposes were not eligible for either the loans or grants scheme. Prior to the second planting boom forestry companies were required to carry their costs forward to the time of harvest under a 'cost of bush' formula but in the 1960's they became eligible for a different form of tax deductibility. Such forest growers were able to deduct forestry costs from income obtained from any source for tax purposes. No checking of work quality was required although forest growers were subject to audit of financial claims. This tax deductibility incentive applies to most major land uses in New Zealand. The effect of the system, however, is to benefit high income earners and disadvantage low income earners as reimbursement through the tax system is dependent upon the claimants

profits and the resultant tax rate. (McKenzie, 1984b, 4) Concern at the inconsistencies inherent in the forestry incentives system and between forestry and other agricultural and horticultural incentives inspired Government moves to dispose of the diverse range of forestry incentives in the early 1980's.

In the 1982 Budget the Government announced the removal of the range of incentives available to private forest growers and their replacement with a flat rate grant. A revised Forestry Grant Scheme, which was an amalgamation of both the former grants and tax deductibility systems, commenced in 1983. Grants under the new scheme were payable to any forest grower - such as, companies, groups of companies, individuals, trusts, local authorities - who held a verifiable interest in an existing or proposed forest area. No minimum or maximum area was stated but the plantings had to be of recognised commercial wood species. The grants provided for two categories of forestry land use - production grants for purely commercial plantations and protection/production grants for forests of joint production and soil protection purposes. These categories involved different per hectare payment rates. No upper financial limit was imposed on per hectare payments but the claimed costs were subject to random audit. No formal application was required to participate in the scheme and claims were made annually. (NZFS, 1983a, 3) Growers not desiring or not qualifying for grants could accumulate growing costs and deduct them from returns at the time of felling under a 'cost of bush' formula for tax purposes.

This forestry grants scheme was the latest modification in a series of schemes. The new arrangement gave parity to private production forest owners by setting the grant at a defined percentage of costs for both companies and small scale growers. The eligibility criteria and the nature of scheme administration changed. Such alterations were

technical rather than fundamental, however, as the objective of the State in introducing the various incentives was the encouragement of private afforestation for commercial production.

The removal of special grants and incentives for private forestry was announced in the November 1984 Budget. Under the Budget forestry encouragement grants were abolished and replaced with tax deductibility provisions similar to those provided for agriculture. Tax changes for forestry growers made spending before planting tax deductible in the same manner as farm development costs. Money spent on planting and maintaining trees could be deducted from income from any source in the year that costs were incurred. Income from the sale of standing timber, including shelter belts and protection forests, was made taxable but provisions were introduced for it to be spread over the previous three years. A number of incentives available for agricultural development were also removed in the Budget. Incentives given for farming and forestry have thus been made comparable. The revocation of the Forestry Encouragement Grant does not constitute a disincentive for forestry. Rather, it is intended to ensure forestry provides a competitive alternative to agriculture. Desired national planting targets have been achieved and the rate of exotic planting is expected to decrease over coming years so special financial incentives for private forestry are no longer critical to the expansion of New Zealand's exotic forest area.

The complementary development of forestry and pastoral agriculture has also been encouraged by a recent legislative change accommodating joint venture forestry arrangements. Under the Forestry Rights Registration Act 1983 land owners and a variety of investors, who need not own land or have been previously involved in the forestry sector, are able to undertake forestry development on a joint venture basis. Joint ventures preserve land ownership with farmers while

tapping various sources of investment capital for afforestation. Gavin McKenzie, Senior Extension Officer with the NZFS, indicates that many farmers fear forestry because of its perceived association with corporate ownership of large areas and that joint ventures are consequently aimed at providing "a workable mechanism which will allow the practice of forestry on land suited to that purpose". (1984a, 83)

A third, and more subtle, measure aimed at encouraging afforestation on farm land of marginal agricultural utility is the education of rural peoples. It is hoped that liaison between the NZFS and other government departments and organisations, such as the MAF, will promote afforestation of farms through the coordinated action of the respective departments advisory services. The Assistant Director General of the MAF recently indicated that the role of the MAF is to present all relevant information to farmers on forestry development, and that agroforestry means compatibility between agriculture and forestry is possible. (Evening Standard, August 30, 1984) Hence, an amalgam of Government organisations is promoting forestry development, albeit farm forestry rather than large scale afforestation, through informal channels. This advocacy supplements financial and legal arrangements.

During the period of the second planting boom the distinction between private corporate and private farmer afforestation has been blurred as a result of financial incentive and legislative alterations. The general theme, however, has been the facilitation of private afforestation on poorer quality land. To this end both corporate and smaller scale afforestation enterprises within regions and on individual properties has been encouraged.

State support of private afforestation coincides with the strategies of individual companies planning to enlarge forest areas to meet contracts and expanding plant requirements.

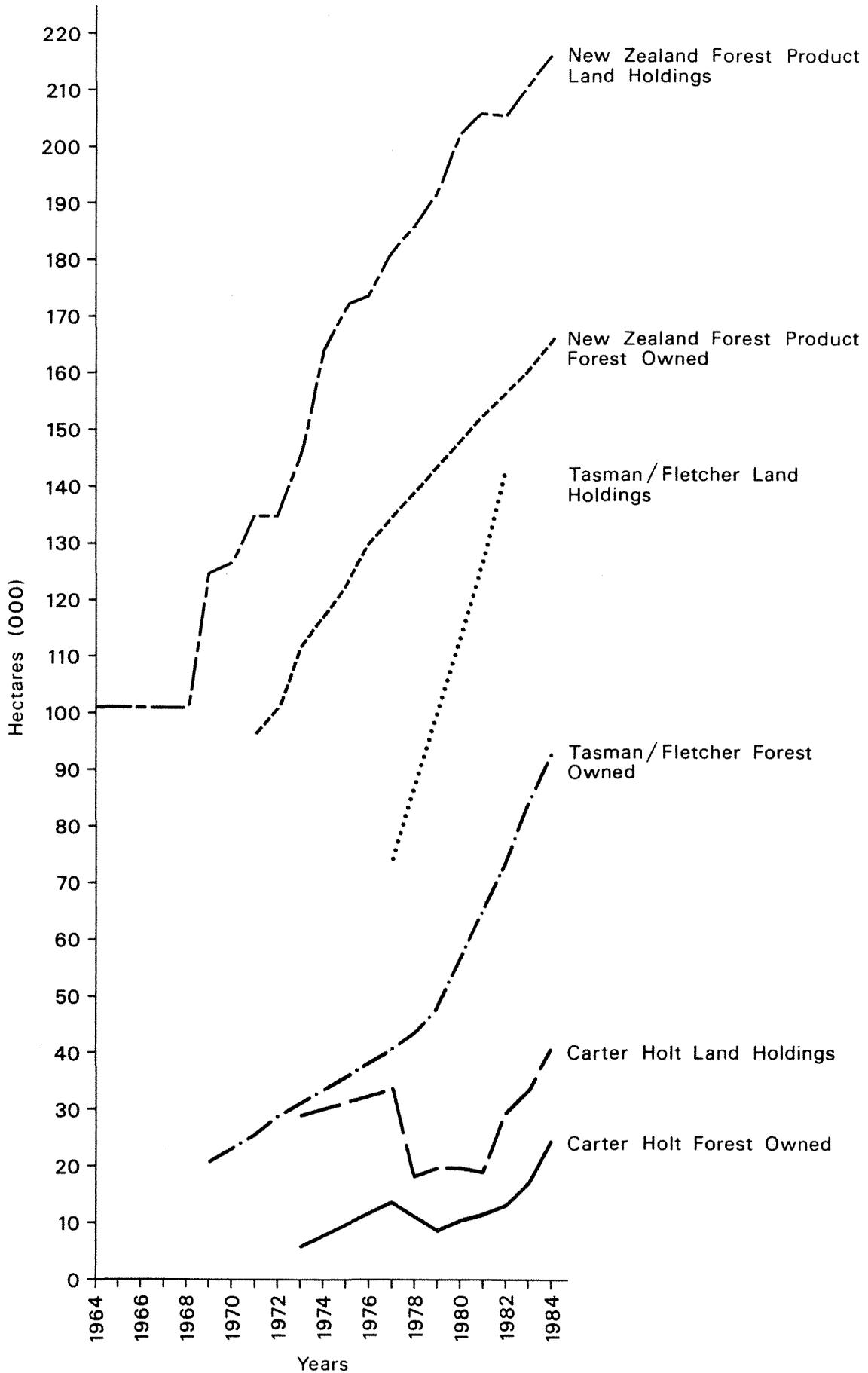
For example, TPP embarked on an afforestation programme in the early 1960's to provide an adequate reserve against continuing wood requirements for industry and to allow future expansion of operations. At the same time NZFP announced the establishment of additional forest area as a regular part of forest operations in order to secure the most compact and heavily planted area possible. (NZFP, 1962, 22; TPP, 1961, 5) State support of and assistance for private afforestation acts, then, to endorse the development strategies of large scale private companies while providing some motivation for increased exotic planting by small scale land owners and forest growers. This influence is manifest in the changing landscape of New Zealand.

LAND USE PATTERNS

A distinctive feature of the second planting boom is the rapid rate of afforestation by both the State and private growers. Since 1960 a maximum of 49 000 hectares has been planted annually. Of the total area planted 48 percent is privately owned and the remainder owned by the State. Prior to 1972 the area planted annually by the State exceeded that of the private sector but since then the reverse has occurred. As with the first national planting the trend has been for afforestation of a similar magnitude by the State and private land owners but the volume planted in the second boom far exceeds that of the earlier planting period. (Figure 2-1)

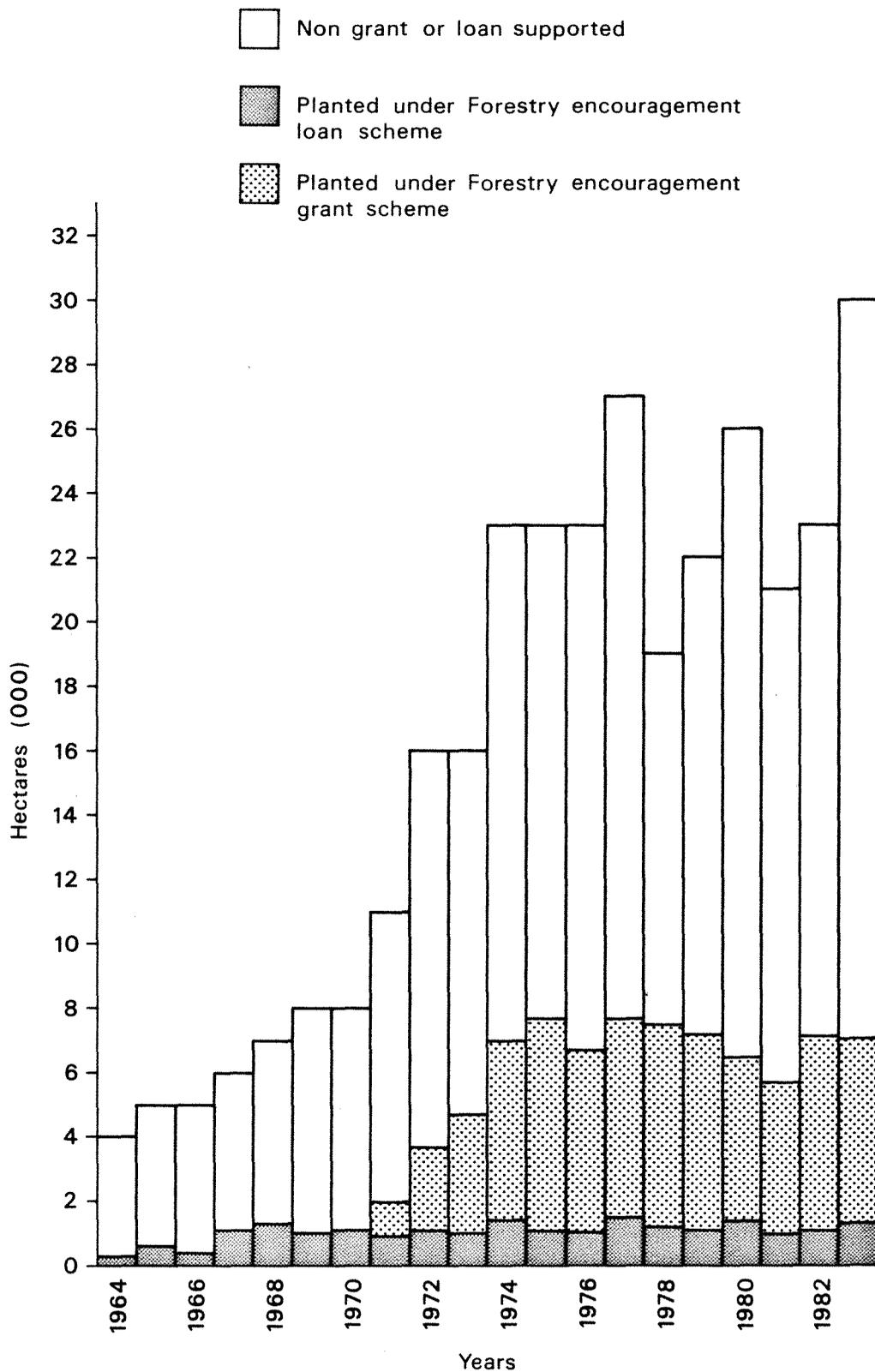
Private corporations have planted over 65 percent of New Zealand's private forest area. Scanty and often crude information in company reports suggests planting has been achieved by night on, and in some cases greater than, a two fold increase in company owned forest and is accompanied by the acquisition of larger land holdings by individual companies. (Figure 2-2) There has also been a dramatic increase in the activity of smaller scale, non-corporate

Figure 2-2: Major Company Forest Areas and Land Holdings in New Zealand 1964-1984



Data Source: Annual Reports of Companies

Figure 2-3: Yearly Private Exotic Plantings In New Zealand
1964-1983



Data Source: NZFS, 1984, 13; File FS 29/8/10

forest growers, however. It is difficult to separate non-corporate from corporate ownership in private forestry statistics but figures on the forest area planted annually under the Government grant and loan schemes since 1964, which do not apply to forestry companies and may exclude some small scale private growers, give some indication of the nature of the increase in non-corporate private afforestation. (Figure 2-3) Afforestation under the loans scheme remained relatively constant. Planting under the grants scheme increased more than six-fold between 1971 and 1975 and remained constant thereafter. In absolute terms non government supported development has made the largest contribution the private forest estate of New Zealand, but in relative terms the increased planting rates of small scale growers is more dramatic.

Another notable feature of the second planting boom is the preeminence of some regions as loci of forestry development. Unlike the first planting boom, where forestry development was almost exclusively conducted on the Volcanic Plateau, the second period of rapid afforestation has witnessed the decline of this area as a focus of new plantings and the rise of other areas spread throughout New Zealand. Between 1969 and 1980 all planning districts in New Zealand exceeded the expected planting levels proposed at the 1969 New Zealand Forestry Development Conference. However, Northland, Gisborne, Southland, Auckland, North Canterbury, Wellington, South Canterbury, Taranaki and South Nelson had actual planted areas greater than two times the expected planted areas. In absolute terms Rotorua, North Nelson/Marlborough, Auckland and Northland were the highest ranking regions. The three regions ranking highest according to both magnitude of planting and percentage of planting exceeding expected levels are Northland, Auckland and Gisborne. Of these three regions both Auckland and Northland had over fifty percent of afforestation attributable to private forest developers. (Table 2-3) Thus, areas other than the Volcanic Plateau

Table 2-3: Expected and Actual Planted Areas for Planning
Districts 1968-1980

Planning District	Expected in 1969	Actual	Actual as a Percentage Of Expected	Percentage of Actual that are Private Plantings
Northland	13 500	38 000	280	54
Auckland	13 500	41 000	303	56
Rotorua	73 000	117 000	160	70
Gisborne	13 500	30 500	226	28
Hawkes Bay	26 500	33 500	126	43
Taranaki	1 000	5 000	500	79
Wairarapa	8 500	10 000	118	64
Wellington	9 000	22 500	250	51
N. Nelson/ Marlborough	34 500	49 000	142	47
S. Nelson	< 500	2 000	<400	5
N. Canterbury/ Westland	11 000	23 500	214	31
S. Canterbury	1 500	4 000	260	44
Otago	17 500	29 500	168	20
Southland	6 500	14 500	223	39
Total	230 000	420 000	183	

Data Source: Kirkland, 1981, 25

(Rotorua Planning District) have attained positions of prominence in the second planting boom. The magnitude of afforestation in Rotorua is more than double all other regions but much of the planting in the region is attributable to replanting and regeneration of harvested areas. In comparison, much of the recent planting in the regions of emerging prominence has been undertaken on previously non-forested land.

SUMMARY

The State has played an important role in shaping the nature of forestry development in New Zealand. A notable feature of State forestry policy has been the legitimization of private forestry development. The promotion of private afforestation is reflected in evolving land use patterns. Land use change represents more than State policy, however. It is indicative of the underlying structures and internal contradictions of capitalism that promote the transformation of the commodity production process in order to create capital.

State policy encourages diversification of agricultural practices and integration of forestry and farming on private properties as a means by which to achieve economic growth. Private land ownership and development is a structure of capitalism maintained by the State as the source of innovation and enterprise from which diversification and integration evolves. Thus, State policy advocating private forestry development acts to facilitate the production and reproduction of capital.

State forestry policy also attempts to accommodate the inevitable social conflict inspired by the transformation of the production process in New Zealand. The State assumes economic growth is desirable but that social disruption inspired by economic development must be minimised in order

to facilitate the orderly transformation of capitalist production. Economic forces therefore motivate State support for private afforestation but contradictory social issues command attention in forestry policy and qualify the economic interests promoting change.

Hence, land use change advocated in State forestry policy is a response to both changing economic conditions and social conflict immanent in the capitalist system. Resultant patterns of land utilisation are features, albeit lagging, of changing economic circumstance. The dynamic nature of land use for private forestry reflects the structures and contradictions inherent in a capitalist socio-economic system in their entirety. Land use change and conflict over change is an intrinsic feature of New Zealand's economic system.

It is in response to inescapable conflict between social and economic, local and national interests that the institution of planning acts to evaluate 'wise land use' and thereby influence the nature of private forestry development within individual New Zealand counties.

CHAPTER THREE

PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

Planning for private exotic forestry development in New Zealand is a topic that has captured some publicity over the past ten years due to conflict between private forestry developers and other residents in some counties. Opposition to private afforestation and the introduction of planning regulations impeding exotic forestry has sparked a reaction from interests advocating private development. Four Planning Tribunal cases bear witness to this conflict. The persistency of conflict over local planning decisions pertaining to private forestry raises questions about the ability of the planning system to ameliorate land use conflict when regulating for the 'wise use and management' of land.

The institution of planning derives its mandate from the State. The roles performed by planning organisations to effect the resolution of land use conflict are defined by legislation. The ability of planning to achieve land use conflict resolution is therefore a function of the legislative framework defining the roles of the various organisations of the institution.

The innate ability of the planning system to resolve land use conflict is revealed by examining the nature of conflict resolution brought about as a result of planning for the 'wise use' of land for forestry in New Zealand.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING

The rule of law is a formal framework, a method of control with highly specialised procedures and a conceptual

vocabulary for creating order. Law provides rules governing relations between individuals and evolves institutions and processes determining who can legally use political power and how power is to be used. Political action is the public process creating new law. (Young, 1967, 20-21) Thus, law changes with changing political concerns. It shapes society while reacting to societal change. Evolving planning law defines the rules according to which rural land is utilised and the procedure by which land use conflict is resolved.

Town and Country Planning Act 1953

In nineteenth century New Zealand land use was dictated by common law - the rights of individuals as owners of land to do as they wished were upheld so long as such action did not directly and adversely affect others. Exploitation of the environment resulting in environmental degradation encouraged the introduction of planning legislation to constrain rural land use and shape the physical environment, however, through the reactionary mechanism of zoning instigated at the local level. Common law philosophy relating to private property was thus eroded by evolving legislation encouraging public control of private property. The TCPA 1953 introduced compulsory planning to control land use and resolve land use conflict in rural areas.

Prior to 1953 the focus of evolving planning legislation was urban land use. Early planning legislation, introduced between 1840 and 1875, instituted municipal government and made provision for increased local rather than provincial control of services in the interests of public health. Land use was not regulated but legislation introduced between 1855 and 1870 required that land be properly surveyed, mapped and marked on the ground before being sold and that a plan be registered with the District Land Register when land was subdivided for sale in order to assist the provision of

public land in urban settlement, such as reserves. The Plans of Towns Regulation Act 1875 regulated the layout of streets and required that space be reserved for particular uses, such as quarries and recreational facilities, and is the first legislative attempt at land use regulation. The Town Planning Act 1926 made the first major step towards comprehensive planning, however, by outlining a general goal for town planning, providing for the introduction of planning schemes in every borough of a population greater than 1000 and requiring that town and extra-urban planning schemes introduce a zoning mechanism to regulate land use. (Martin, 1958, 11; Palmer, 1977, 7; Robinson, 1968, 2-3) Provision was made under the Act for rural planning but County Councils were obliged to provide planning schemes only if required by the Minister and few extra-urban planning schemes were instigated. Extra-urban schemes related to the same general purpose as town planning schemes and were to be complementary to planning schemes of towns in the vicinity. (Robinson, 1968, 5) Thus, the concept of rural planning was acknowledged in the Town Planning Act 1926 but made subservient to the planning requirements of urban settlements.

Growing interest in rural land use and and emerging political desire to regulate rural development through planning is reflected in legislation enacted in the 1940's. Special purpose legislation set up ad hoc authorities to regulate rural land use, such as the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act 1941 which established Catchment Boards primarily for the control of soil erosion and river flooding. An Act having a profound affect on imminent town and country planning was the Land Subdivision in Counties Amendment Act 1946. This Act enabled substantial suburban development and gave the Minister of Lands, rather than County Councils, control over development, which created confusion over the authority and power of local and national level government and resulted in litigation proceedings. Hence, new legislation was enacted in the Land Subdivision and Counties

Amendment Act 1953 which related approval of rural subdivision to planning schemes to be introduced under the TCPA 1953. The introduction of rural planning legislation in 1953 was the logical progression of a legislative framework evolving to regulate rural land use in the public interest.

The TCPA 1953 represents an extension of earlier town planning legislation but with a stronger emphasis on rural planning. The Act, like earlier town planning legislation, made planning scheme formulation an obligation of territorial local authorities. County Councils were legally required to prepare district schemes for:

"the development of the area to which it relates...to promote and safeguard the health, safety, and convenience, and the economic and general welfare of its inhabitants, and the amenities of every part of the area". (Section 20)

District schemes were to present a statement of goals and objectives and a code of ordinances for the administration and implementation of this goal. (Section 21(2)) Zoning was introduced in planning regulations subsequent to the Act as the mechanism by which to regulate rural land use. District scheme ordinances were required to list predominant uses, which were allowed as of right, and an amendment to the Act in 1966 required that conditional uses, those that were allowed conditional on the consent of Council, for different zones be listed. (Section 28(C)) The Act required that a review of district scheme objectives and associated ordinances be conducted every five years.

Procedures of objection and appeal against district scheme provisions giving rural residents legal redress against planning decisions were introduced in the TCPA 1953 in order to resolve conflict over County Council decisions and protect individuals' rights to use private land. County Councils were required to publicly notify the creation and alteration of district schemes and to constitute a committee to hear all objections to the scheme. If the Council disallowed an

objection the objector had the right to appeal against the Councils' decision to the Town and Country Planning Appeal Board. The Board could order that the provision objected to be altered or deleted. Following the implementation of all required amendments a district scheme was approved by the Council. (Sections 22-28) Once a district scheme was approved county residents had the right to object to land uses notified under conditional use proceedings and, if objections were disallowed, to appeal to the Board. The applicant for a conditional use consent could appeal to the Board against the refusal of consent or any restrictions imposed by the Council in granting the conditional use. (Sections 28C and 28D) Also, any land user could apply to the Council for a specified departure to any provisions of an operative or proposed district scheme for a land use which was not contrary to the public interest and had little planning significance beyond the immediate vicinity and did not necessitate a scheme change or was in accord with a change yet to be enacted. Any party affected could object to such an application. (Section 35) Both applicant and objector could appeal to the Planning Appeal Board against the Council's decision. The Town and Country Planning Appeal Board had the power to cancel, confirm, or require the amendment of any planning decision to which the appeal related. Any decision of the Board, subject to appeals to the Supreme Court on matters of law only, was final and conclusive. (Section 42(3)) Rural planning legislation thus sought to balance individual rights against wider community interests rather than allow County Councils to dictate rural land use. The TCPA 1953 gave County Councils power to regulate land use for the public good but the jurisdiction of the Planning Appeal Board as an appellate body meant individuals' concerns were accommodated when conflict of public and private interests emerged.

The TCPA 1953 was extensively amended in response to particular planning problems regarding the jurisdiction of

district schemes over certain land uses manifest in appeals to the Planning Appeal Board. For example, an amendment in 1973 followed recommendations given by the 1973 Review Committee and gave recognition to certain matters of national importance which represented the only clear principles of town and country planning to be observed by planning authorities. (Palmer, 1984, 13) A number of other Acts were also introduced in conjunction with town and country planning legislation. For example, the Counties Amendment Act 1961 gave the right of approval for rural subdivision of land less than a stated minimum area to County Councils and an amendment in 1974 removed the minimum area clause. (Anderson, 1980, 10; Robinson, 1968, 7-9) An abundance of legislation provided a framework for land use at the county and regional level with agencies, such as Catchment Boards and County Councils, undertaking particular functions. Rural planning introduced under the TCPA 1953 was one measure aimed at land use regulation, although an important move because of the variety of land uses affected. Moreover, by requiring the creation of district schemes instigating zoning for rural land uses the TCPA 1953 established the "need" for rural planning by territorial local authorities. (Anderson, 1980, 10) This 'need' for public control over private land use is reinforced in planning legislation succeeding the TCPA 1953.

The Town and Country Planning Act 1977

The TCPA 1977 was introduced to rationalise previous planning legislation. It consolidates the various amendments of the TCPA 1953 under one Act but also extends the range of matters planning must accommodate to include social and cultural concerns as well as the quality of the physical and economic environment. The new Act introduces more comprehensive planning by rewriting the goals of planning and providing for two levels of compulsory planning - district and regional - to accommodate these objectives in the regulation of land

use. The roles performed by planning authorities and appellate bodies have altered in conjunction with the evolution of more comprehensive land use planning.

Two Acts introduced prior to the TCPA 1977 represent legislative attempts at effecting more comprehensive planning - the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967 and the Local Government Act 1974. The Water and Soil Conservation Act, which is enforced in conjunction with the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act 1941, legislates to control the multiple use of a single resource. In contrast, the TCPA 1977 sets goals for resource utilisation in general. The Local Government Act consolidates the Municipal Corporations Act 1954 and the Counties Amendment Act 1963 into one and makes provision for regional planning by allowing the formation of Regional and United Councils through an Order in Council by the Governor General. This Act provides a framework within which planning can take place. The TCPA 1977 makes regional planning compulsory and, in combination with the Local Government Act, creates the potential for a greater degree of comprehensive planning.

The Town and Country Planning Bill presented to Parliament re-enacted and expanded existing provisions relating to matters of national importance to incorporate other than physical and economic criteria by deeming that:

"four new matters are declared to be of national importance in preparing and implementing planning schemes. These are the protection and enhancement of the physical and social environment, the conservation and wise use of New Zealand's resources, the avoidance of unnecessary expansion of urban areas in or adjoining cities, and the relationship of the Maori people and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land". (Number 65-1, Section 3)

The wording of the resultant Act differs from the Bill but the intent remains. The TCPA 1977 declares two general matters to be of national importance in district and regional planning:

- "(a) The conservation, protection and enhancement of the physical, cultural, and social environment:
- (b) The wise use and management of New Zealand's resources" (Section 3)

and itemises five more specific interests. (Appendix A) The general purpose of district and regional planning is stressed to be that ensuring the "wise use and management of the resources" to promote the "economic, cultural, social, and general welfare of the people and the amenities" of districts and regions. (Section 4) The institution of planning is organised to effect the reconciliation of social, economic and environmental concerns by land use regulation according to the national objectives established.

The main focus of the TCPA 1953 was control of the physical environment and, consequently, planning was almost solely the domain of local authorities. Land use regulation through the implementation of planning schemes has remained the responsibility of County, Borough and City Councils. District planning procedures restricting rural land use under the TCPA 1977 are similar to those enacted in the TCPA 1953 and associated regulations. (Appendix B)

Provision for voluntary regional planning was made in the TCPA 1953 but only the Auckland region undertook such planning and that was primarily for the metropolitan area as enacted by special legislation in 1963. (Rankin, 1979, 41) However, growing political awareness of social issues associated with nationally formulated regional development strategies encouraged the enactment of compulsory regional planning in the TCPA 1977. Regional authorities have been made responsible for the integration of social, cultural, environmental and economic concerns. The Town and Country Planning Act Review Committee recommended to government that matters of paramount importance in regional planning schemes should be:

"Regional strategies, policies and objectives relating to natural resources, housing, employment, transportation and major public open space, whether land or water". (nd., 7)

In keeping with these sentiments the TCPA 1977 requires that regional authorities advise local authorities on matters considered necessary to fulfil the policies of the regional planning scheme, make recommendations on district scheme alterations and lodge objections or appeals where district scheme provisions clash with regional objectives. (Section 10) Regional authorities thereby have jurisdiction to bring about change in district schemes in line with regional strategies accommodating matters of 'national importance'.

The reorganisation of the planning system to effect more comprehensive planning has increased Government influence in land use planning. The Town and Country Planning Act Review Committee notified the Government that:

"we are of the opinion that the Crown itself should play a greater part in regional and district planning function and give visible and strong leadership in planning at the national level not only because of its involvement with Government works, but also because of its responsibility for the national interest generally...The national interest cannot be overlooked and the revised legislation should ensure that national planning policies are taken into account at all levels of the planning process". (nd., 2)

The onus is on the Crown to guide planning practice. Local and private individuals interests are considered subject to the national interest. In keeping with this philosophy the TCPA 1977 requires that regional schemes be approved by the Government before they become operative (Section 15) and regional schemes prevail over district schemes. (Section 37) Also, it is Government policy that local level planning be subject to "major response on behalf of the crown to ensure that policies are compatible with the national interest". (AJHR, 1982, D1, 39) Approval of a district scheme may therefore depend upon the view of matters having "national importance and significance beyond the boundaries of the

region" held by the Minister of Works and Development and national policy may prevail over local or regional considerations. (Palmer, 1983, 3)

The introduction of regional planning procedures emphasising the role of the Crown to guide land use according to the objectives listed as being of 'national importance' reflects a philosophy that the 'national interest' should be upheld as a planning objective for the benefit of the general public. However, there is also a philosophy upholding the rights of local communities against national and individuals against public concerns. This is reflected in the provision of extensive objection and appeal proceedings in the TCPA 1977 to effect resolution of conflict over planning authorities decisions regulating land use through district scheme ordinances.

The Town and Country Planning Act Review Committee noted that "legislation represents a delicate balance between public and private interests and there are severe limits as to how far the Act can be simplified". (nd., 5) It commented that wide rights of objection by individuals to local bodies had been established over a long period and that the community values these rights as positive planning tools. (nd., 3) The TCPA 1977 consequently maintains and extends third party rights of participation in district and regional scheme formulation. Under the TCPA 1953 objections to district schemes could be lodged by owners and occupiers of land affected by the scheme (Section 23) and by the Minister of Works and Development and local authorities within or adjacent to the County concerned. (Section 24) Under the TCPA 1977 rights of objection are extended to include "any body or person affected" or "representing some relevant aspect of the public interest". (Section 2(3)) All objectors to district schemes may take their case to the Planning Tribunal, which replaces the Planning Appeal Board, if their submissions are denied. (Section 49(1)) Thus, individuals rights are balanced against

public interests.

Local interests are weighed against regional and national interests in objections and appeals against regional schemes. Submissions may be made to regional authorities about the provisions of draft regional schemes by "any interested body or person" (Section 11(6)) but only local authorities may appeal to the Planning Tribunal. (Section 12(2)) Local authorities also have some consultative input when regional schemes, which are supposed to reflect the needs of the region, are formulated. County Councils may thus question regional strategies which promote Government sanctioned developments.

Present town and country planning legislation controls land use and effects resolution of conflict over land utilisation by weighing national against local and public against private interests in local and regional planning scheme formulation and review and objection and appeal procedures. The hope held for the revised organisation of planning to achieve conflict amelioration was expressed by the Minister of Works and Development after the passing of the TCPA 1977 in comments that:

"This new Act affords local government greater opportunity to plan effectively on a regional scale...At the regional level the emphasis is on a more flexible approach with greater public participation in the planning process. The new legislation will, I believe, promote a close partnership between central and local government".
(AJHR, 1978, D1, 3)

A paradoxical situation exists, however, over the extension of State influence in policy formulation and the maintenance of local authorities' jurisdiction and individuals' rights of participation in planning for land use control. The Crown is bound by an operative regional scheme. It may override district scheme provisions controlling land use but individuals have rights of objection and appeal against such moves. These restrictions on the Crown are intended to

protect individuals and local communities against possible excessive State influence. However, the Crown has ultimate power regarding the formulation of planning policy.

The TCPA 1977 is vague about the jurisdiction of planning authorities and the State to decide the 'wise use' of land and thence achieve land use conflict resolution. The term 'wise use' is broad and is meaningless unless interpreted in the context of a policy for land use. This has presented a dilemma to local authorities regarding their right to decide land use policy. Where appeals have been made against local body decisions on policy the Planning Tribunal has tended to rule that local bodies cannot influence government policy. The Planning Tribunal has ruled on the power of County Councils to decide upon the 'wise use' of land under town and country planning legislation, holding that Councils have no jurisdiction to determine whether resource development is wise but can decide whether land should be used in a particular fashion at a particular site. For example, in Smith v. Waimate West County, 7NZTPA241,259, the Tribunal ruled that local authorities are neither qualified nor appropriate bodies to determine national issues of resource use. Similar rulings have been made in other cases to the effect that "The Town and Country Planning Act regulates the use of land, not the use of resources generally". (Chelsea Investments Ltd v. Waimea County, 8NZTPA129,133) Individual Tribunal rulings may not be unanimous but such decisions represent a general trend. Hence, power is given in practice to central government to determine desirable resource development in general and local authorities are responsible for constraining resource use by the implementation of planning conditions as they relate to the work in question. There has yet to be a case where such planning conditions have prevented a Government supported work from being established.

The philosophy that the national level of government is the

organisation legitimately and ultimately responsible for determining the 'wise use' of New Zealand's land resource is strengthened by the National Development Act 1979. This Act introduces procedures to streamline the planning process regarding resource development options, especially processing plant creation, the Government considers to be in the 'national interest'. Under the NDA 1979 an application for resource use is made to the Minister of Works and Development and development proposals are deemed of 'national importance' through an Order in Council by the Governor General. (Section 3) Public input in planning is limited to an appeal hearing before the Planning Tribunal who consider the planning consents required for the work, such as water rights under the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967 and planning consents such as specified departures under the TCPA 1977. by the developer to local and ad hoc authorities for water rights and specified departures from district schemes to use land in a particular fashion.

The NDA 1979 incorporates a public process and a hidden process in planning decision making. The public process allows limited involvement by people directly affected by development work in discussion of technical and site specific aspects of planning consents, but not on the Government policy to develop a resource. The hidden process involves decisions by the executive of Government whose motives are protected from public scrutiny. (Boyle, 1981, 38) The Planning Tribunal ruled in the case Re. an Application by Petralgas Chemicals NZ LTD and Others under the National Development Act 1979, 8NZTPA106,109, that the Tribunal could not concern itself with "the decision to commit a particular raw material or materials to a specific purpose", that is, with a major policy decision. This was reiterated in Re. an Application by NZ Synthetic Fuels Corporation Ltd under the National Development Act 1979, 8NZTPA138,142, where the Tribunal stated that:

"Parliament has clearly not given to any county or indeed this Tribunal, the power to adjudicate upon whether the use of a resource is the best use...The Minister by exercising his powers under the National Development Act has placed this manufacture of synthetic petrol in the field of national importance and as far as this Tribunal is concerned that is the end of that matter".

The NDA 1979 thus restricts public participation in planning and extends central government influence over land utilisation.

The changing balance of responsibility between central and local government over planning for the 'wise use' of resources has affected the role of the Planning Tribunal. The Planning Tribunal is required to rule on the legitimacy of land use regulation imposed by County Councils when appeals are lodged. Local authorities are restricted to regulating specific land uses, not resource development, therefore the Planning Tribunal is limited to ruling on conflict over land use, not wider resource utilisation issues. In the absence of clearly defined criteria for 'wise' resource management by local authorities and with little direction being given by Parliament in any legislation governing the Planning Tribunals' activities the Tribunal has ruled that it has no jurisdiction to decide policy matters even though such issues have been taken to the Tribunal for resolution. Justice Turner, District Court Judge and Chairman of the Number One Division Planning Tribunal, indicates that:

"Responsibility for making (or recommending upon) decisions over major resource utilisation has become vested in the Planning Tribunal by a piecemeal process of legislative enactment and statutory interpretation. In other words the jurisdiction exercised by the tribunal to make those decisions has been conferred upon it without any clear legislative intention that that should be so, and without any precise definition by Parliament of the limits of the "relevant consideration"". (1983, 9)

Due to the lack of clear guidelines on the Planning

Tribunal's jurisdiction and responsibilities the Tribunal has deferred to central government on matters of policy. It can be seen, thus, that by encouraging conflict resolution in the courts but providing the Tribunal with no right to decide policy planning legislation erodes the principle of the Tribunal as an appellate body. (Berman, 1982, 15) Resolution of land use conflict via appeal procedures is achieved, then, in a manner upholding central government interests in resource development while taking into account local peoples concerns about land use change associated with various resource utilisation options.

In conclusion, an increasingly centralised system of planning to regulate land use has emerged with evolving planning legislation in New Zealand. Tony Black, when Editor of the New Zealand Law Journal, indicated that although the opportunities for individuals to participate in the planning have expanded, the scope of planning has narrowed and the opportunity to participate in the selection of policy options has been removed. (1982a, 3) Policy formulation is the prerogative of central government. Central government power is increasing relative to local government and the Tribunal in land use planning in New Zealand. The system of planning instigated in recent legislation makes County Councils, regional authorities and the Planning Tribunal responsible for determining what is 'wise land use' in various circumstances and ensures that these organisations achieve the resolution of land use conflict by evaluating individual and public, local and national interests and accommodating central government policy for resource development.

Private forestry development has been planned for, and conflicts over forest development resolved, in accordance with this system.

PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY

As enacted by planning legislation, local planning authorities are mainly responsible for determining the 'wise use' of land for private forestry development and regulating for that use. County Councils have attempted to regulate private land use in the public interest and the Planning Tribunal has adjudicated when Council decisions have been challenged. However, conflict between national and local interests has led the State to encourage regional planning as a means to influence decisions made by local authorities about appropriate planning regulations for private forestry. Land use regulation affecting forestry development is thus a product of land use planning implemented at the local and regional levels.

Local Planning

There has been a tendency for local authorities to react conservatively to imminent, proposed or possible large scale private forestry development for commercial use in their counties when planning for wise land use. The 1960 Town and Country Planning Regulations set out a recommended format for district schemes which allowed for a single rural zone covering most of the rural area of a county and established forestry as a predominant use in this zone. This format was closely followed by most County Councils in the 1960's. (Fowler and Meister, 1983, 3) Many County Councils still allow forestry as an unrestricted use but there has been a trend toward more restrictive planning over the last ten years.

Various regulatory mechanisms have been used to constrain afforestation on private land. Some County Councils have restricted forestry development by enacting new rural zones with forestry as a conditional use in these areas or making forestry a conditional use within existing zones. Other

counties have attempted to avoid the administrative burden of conditional use provisions by enacting performance standards and special conditions of forestry as a predominant use, such as introducing area restrictions, making logging a conditional use, formulating agreements whereby forest owners contribute some payment for extraordinary roading damage at harvest, and allowing forestry as a non-notified consent use. (Fowler and Meister, 1983, 61)

Planning for forestry at the local level is time and place specific. Policy of local authorities defining what is the public interest regarding forestry development represents a compromise between different individual and organisational interests, such as farmers, farming organisations, corporate forestry organisations, farm forestry associations and government departments, which support and oppose forestry development for various and particular reasons. Particular planning mechanisms are adopted to accommodate particular contingencies. For example, in Hokianga County forestry is designated a predominant land use in the proposed district scheme in an attempt to achieve a compromise between land development and conservation. Maori land owners are receptive to forestry development on large land holdings. Two major forestry developments are under way, one by Northern Pulp on large leased holdings and the other as a joint venture between NZFP and Shell Forests on recently purchased land. Farmers have objected to the district scheme, however. Considerable opposition to large scale private forestry development has also been expressed by people seeking an alternative life style to that of urban or traditional pastoral farming by adopting a nature based, semi-subsistence, relatively isolated existence. The 'alternative lifestylers' uphold the aesthetic appeal of the undeveloped nature of the land and protection of the environment as reasons for containment of forestry development. (Gooding, 1984, 49) In contrast, the Marlborough County District Scheme designates commercial

forestry as a conditional use in a Rural B zone and a predominant use with associated performance standards in a Rural A zone. (Marlborough County Council, 1982, 31, 38) This move accommodates concern by conventional farmers of structural change which accompanies forestry development as well as fears held about the affect of forestry development on the maritime environment. The interests of forest growers are balanced against other considerations and their activities are subsequently constrained.

Despite the time and place specific nature of decisions made by particular County Councils to regulate private forestry development it is possible to generalise about the reasons for the trend toward increasingly restrictive and rigid planning provisions for forestry development. County Council policies restricting private forestry have evolved largely in response to emerging concerns by rural communities about extensive structural change in the area as a consequence of changing conditions of agricultural production. Provisions limiting opportunities for large scale forestry, rather than forestry per se, have therefore been introduced to district schemes during mandatory review proceedings.

Planning restrictions on private forestry have not been introduced without some adverse reaction from forest owners and prospective growers, this reaction being strongest in areas of imminent large scale, mainly corporate, commercial forestry. In the more extreme cases of conflict over planning decisions forestry interests have appealed to the Planning Tribunal against the rejection by County Councils of objections to proposed district scheme provisions. Taumaranui, Wairoa, Hobson and Marlborough County Councils have had appeals made against proposed district schemes. However, the Planning Tribunal has tended to uphold the decisions of County Councils.

In three out of the four Tribunal hearings conducted it has

ruled in favour of the County Councils. In the M C Farnsworth v. Hobson County Council (Decision Number A116/82, D1091, D1106) the Tribunal concluded that, despite its faults, the change to the operative district scheme introducing a Rural B zone within which forestry would be restricted and incorporating modifications suggested by Council during the hearing was the "more satisfactory measure to be incorporated into the district scheme in the meanwhile". It was held that, although it is not a valid purpose of the district scheme to resist all change to land use, sections three and four of the TCPA 1977, which outline the purpose of district planning and establish matters of national importance to be accounted for, must be adhered to and it is therefore inappropriate to allow large scale afforestation as of right for reasons of present and future county residents' welfare. Likewise, the Tribunal ruled in the Marlborough Forest Owners Association Inc and Minister of Works and Development v. Marlborough County Council, 7NZTPA167,183, that the County had properly taken into account sections three and four of the Act and had made adequate provisions for commercial exotic forestry by deeming forestry a conditional use in a Rural B zone and certain parts of a Rural A zone. In Fletcher Forests Ltd and Others v. Taumaranui County Council (Decision Number A113/81, C3640, C3647-C36488) a similar ruling was passed down. The Tribunal decided that "the social and economic consequences of the conversion of established farm land to production forest could be adverse upon the farming community within which the production of forest is established" and concluded that production forestry is an appropriate land use but not on every site. Where County Councils demonstrate that planning restrictions on forestry have been introduced in accordance with planning procedures enacted in the TCPA 1977 the Tribunal upholds Councils' decisions.

The only Planning Tribunal hearing to rule in favour of forestry development interests was the Hawkes Bay Catchment

and Regional Water Board and Others v. Wairoa County Council, 6NZTPA621,626. When ruling on whether forestry should be a predominant use in the Rural B zone the Tribunal decided that:

"on a regional basis and in the national interest, forestry should be encouraged in the Wairoa county, it being of prime importance for the purpose of providing future raw materials for the pulp and paper mill at present operating north of Napier City. We do not consider that the alleged upset to the social and commercial structure of the Wairoa County will follow the establishment of forestry, provided forestry is not permitted to spread in an uncontrolled fashion over the whole of the country."

In this decision the economic benefits of a forestry industry to the region and nation were held above the adverse social affects at the local level and the rights of private land owners maintained over the public interest. The Tribunal relaxed restrictions on forestry by permitting forestry on land that was not demonstrably more suitable for pastoral production. The decision modified the zoning pattern from one of segregation to one of selected integration of different land uses. (Tremaine, 1980, 42-43) However, the fears of the local community about the social consequences of structural change concomitant with forestry development were accommodated in Tribunal comments opposing widespread and uncontrolled forestry development. Although the ruling in the Wairoa case is contrary to those of other appeals the sentiments of the Tribunal condoning restrictions on large scale commercial forestry are similar. Planning Tribunal decisions have thus substantiated rather than discouraged the trend toward restrictive planning for private forestry development.

Local planning and appeal procedures acting to restrict private forestry have not solved conflict between various intersts supporting forestry and those supporting the status quo of pastoral agriculture. It appears that, due to clashes of public and private, local and national interests, the

Planning Tribunal "looms as a possible ultimate arbitor" over objections to district schemes in several counties. (Gooding, 1984, 7) Also, Tribunal rulings may effect conflict resolution for a limited time only. In Wairoa County further conflict between agricultural and forestry interests is imminent with the pending district scheme review. When the Wairoa ruling was handed down the Conservator of Forests for the Wellington Conservancy indicated that it "might be concluded with expressions of satisfaction that forestry has been upheld as a legitimate and wise use of land, not to be dismissed lightly as the poor relation of farming" and that "it might be a matter of satisfaction...that the decisions should set an important precedent for many future district schemes". (NZFC, 1980a, 16) These comments have proved presumptuous in light of continuing conflict between interests supporting and those opposing private commercial forestry development in several counties. Thus, the system of local planning achieves resolution of conflict over private forestry development by maintaining certain interests at the expense of others but the basic conflict of interests remains.

Regional Planning

Continuing conflict over private forestry development and the tendency of the local planning system to subvert State interests for the expansion of private forestry to local interests and to disallow the right of private land owners to grow commercial forests has concerned State policy makers. At the 1981 Forestry Conference the Deputy Director General of Forests indicated that institutional constraints could provide a serious impediment to forestry development. He said that:

"the existence of land which is physically suitable for afforestation cannot be regarded as a serious constraint. The question is whether institutional

constraints on land availability or competition with agriculture and other needs for land is likely to be limiting". (Kirkland, 1981, 12)

To ensure that private afforestation is undertaken the NZFS and other state supported organisations are moving to discourage institutional restrictions on forestry by encouraging regional planning as a mechanism to ameliorate conflict over private forestry development.

The NZFS has had little success in discouraging planning restrictions on private forestry through formal objections to and appeals against district schemes. The strategy of the NZFS for influencing planning decisions pertaining to private forestry has consequently altered and the Service now seeks to be involved in less formal planning procedures. Dr Valentine, Director of Planning for the NZFS, indicates that it is necessary for the NZFS to educate local bodies on State policy before district scheme reviews are undertaken and that regional planning needs to be encouraged as a means by which to influence planning authorities and effect local planning decisions for private forestry which are more favourable to the 'national interest'. (1984, pers. comm.) The rationale defending the promotion of regional planning by state organisations is described by Novis:

"Economic development is...primarily dependent on private sector initiatives, but must inevitably be influenced by Government policies. In planning for wise land use at the regional and district level the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the New Zealand Forest Service will assess the prevailing physical, social and economic environment and advise councils of the opportunities, constraints and requirements of the agricultural and forest industries". (1984, 2)

This is consistent with State policy, as described in the annual reports of the MOWD, which supports regional planning as a mechanism by which to achieve various resource utilisation in the national interest. The Commissioner of Works reported in 1983 that:

"The division has continued to give high priority to

encouraging the identification of development opportunities and to facilitating those projects to which the Government has a major commitment. This has resulted in a wide span of activities ranging from the direct examination of alternative locations and forms of development, to ensuring that regional and local concerns are reflected in forward planning and that essential infrastructure is provided in the right place at the right time. The emphasis has been particularly on regional economic and social impacts, on environmental and landscape aspects, and on fostering central and local government co-ordination through united and regional councils". (AJHR, 1983, D1, 39)

State policy upholds regional planning as a means of facilitating resource development and NZFS promotion of forestry development is a facet of a more general policy.

In May 1984 the NZFC sponsored a workshop entitled Forestry in Land Use. The seminar was the first initiative of the restructured Forestry Council and the purpose of the workshop was "to establish links with regional decision makers and to discuss the various roles which forestry might appropriately play in the economic and social development of the nation". (NZFC, 1984, i) It was intended that the seminar help identify a procedural framework for planning which would encourage forestry development. Those who presented papers were optimistic about the ability of regional planning to encourage afforestation and forestry industry development. The Director General of Forests stated that:

"In the absence of national guidelines the problem of resolving any real or perceived conflict between land uses is necessarily devolved to the regional level". (Kirkland, 1984, 15)

and indicated that:

"Regional planning provides the opportunity for central government and the land using sectors to become familiar with a regions aspirations and to assist the region in realising them. We believe that forestry is consistent with the general purpose of regional planning which is development for the well being of the people". (Kirkland, 1984, 26)

Echoing these comments were Olsen (1984, 43), Black (1984,

2), Wall (1984, 38) and Hetherington (1984, 28).

Comments made at the NZFS seminar highlighting the potential of regional planning to facilitate private forestry follow observations made at various national seminars assessing rural development options which were conducted over preceding years. At the LUAC sponsored seminar on Rural Production Options and consequent Processing and Marketing Implications it was claimed that:

"Planning is a legitimate and essential tool in synthesising expert advice, resolving conflict, and assisting in the determination of "best land use". (Bishop and O'Neill, 1980, 109)

Regional planning has been emphasised as "a suitable means for promoting and integrating land use policies". (LUAC, 1983, 7) The regional level of planning is viewed as a forum where central and local government can meet for 'consultation' and 'coordination' of activity in a region. It is considered that:

"the philosophy of planning should be that it is societal action, not imposing views on the community, but allowing values to be expressed. This may approximate to correcting deficiencies of the market mechanism". (Bishop and O'Neill, 1980, 115)

Regional planning is seen, then, as a mechanism to achieve compromise between State and local, rather than domination of State over local, interests and thereby foster more lenient local planning for forestry development.

Regional planning for forestry development has been limited in practice due to the relatively recent formation of United and Regional Councils and administrative problems in some areas which mean some regional authorities are restricted in their operations. The Government has initiated planning studies on forestry development. Some regional authorities have instituted their own studies to identify likely resource development directions, of which forestry is one possibility. In areas where regional authorities are operative regional

schemes have been proposed to provide guidelines for land use planning by local authorities.

Regional management plans and scenarios of processing options which outline development strategies have been formulated by the NZFS for different forestry regions in New Zealand but these are largely intra-departmental and have involved few other organisations. Recently, however, a number of Government supported inter-departmental resource development studies for planning regions have been conducted, such as the East Coast Planning Study, King Country Land Use Study and CNIPS. The focus of such studies is the evolution of techniques to compare:

"alternative development possibilities in terms of community benefit and resource cost, and to test alternatives for sensitivity to changes in demand and in resource availability. (AJHR, 1979, D1, 37)

It is argued that if the impacts of a major shift from farming to exotic forestry are identified it should assist in reconciling regional and national objectives while allowing all concerned to express an informed opinion on the options available. (AJHR, 1977, D1, 37) Inter-departmental studies on forestry have involved consultation between planning organisations and land development interests in order to reconcile local and national interests in the evaluation of development strategies. The studies generally evaluate the capital requirements, economic benefits and social impacts of forestry development scenarios in the context of other rural development possibilities.

Conclusions reached in the inter-departmental regional planning studies on appropriate planning action to affect forestry development differ according to varying socio-economic conditions in the different regions and the scope of the studies. The King Country study was initiated before regional planning was made mandatory and was a response to conflict over a specific forestry development

proposal by NZFP. The study concluded that some planning restrictions should be placed on forestry development for the wider community good. (Department of Lands and Survey, 1977, 61) The East Coast planning study was introduced as part of a larger government project for rural development in the region, the East Coast Project, which was supervised by the East Coast Planning Council. (AJHR, 1979, D1, 38; MOWD, 1979, i) CNIPS had an inter-regional focus and was initiated by the Minister of National Development to develop a strategic approach to long term sector development. (MOWD, 1983, 4) In contrast to the King Country study, these latter two studies supported continued forestry development and, while not making specific recommendations to regional or local authorities, advised that regional and local planning schemes should take into account the findings of the studies. (MOWD, 1979, 1-2; 1983, 57) Inter-departmental forestry studies have presented broad guidelines for regional and district planning schemes in the regions concerned.

In Marlborough and Northland, where widespread commercial afforestation is likely and where regional authorities have been active, forestry studies have been initiated by the regional authorities. The Marlborough United Council enlisted the assistance of the MOWD in a study which evaluated various scenarios of primary production options in the region, including forestry. The study was supportive of industry development but, acknowledging opposition to large scale afforestation and economic constraints, recommended that development of small scale farm based forestry was an appropriate land use option for the region. (Ashcroft-Morrison Cooper, 1982, 62, 65; MOWD, nd, 9) In Northland the Regional Development Council and the Northland Regional Planning Authority conducted a regional resources survey which included forestry. The report supported further afforestation and processing industry development in the region. (Northland Regional Development Council, 1978, 134) The United Council is conducting further investigations into

the regional planning implications of continued forestry development. (Northland United Council, 1983) Like the inter-departmental projects, these studies do not give specific direction for land use planning but provide an information base from which regional policy to guide land use planning is determined.

Different regional planning studies focus on various issues related to specific areal and social characteristics of the region upon which attention is focused but they all adopt a more integrated planning approach in an attempt to define the wise land uses for regions and resolve land use conflict. The reconciliation of local and national interests resulting from integrated and consultative regional planning is reflected in policies on land use outlined in proposed regional schemes. Given the specific nature of conflict over forestry development in different areas, United Councils of regions experiencing widespread commercial afforestation have attempted to achieve a balance between local and State interests in land use policy. Tongariro, Northland, East Cape and Marlborough United Councils all support production forestry as a land use. However, Marlborough and East Cape United Councils encourage the restriction of forestry to hill country of poor quality. (East Cape United Council, 1983, 12; Marlborough United Council, 1982, 9) The United Councils of Tongariro and Northland are more lenient. In proposing a regional planning scheme the Tongariro United Council makes no reference to a need for restrictions on afforestation and stresses the value of forestry in increasing land productivity and diversifying land use. (1982, 5; 1983, 4) The Northland United Council promotes forestry as a land use of national and regional importance and does not dissuade extensive or large scale forestry although it encourages smaller scale farm based development and joint ventures in recognition of community concern at large scale development. (nd, 38-39) Hence, regional policy guidelines for wise land use pertaining to forestry vary but all attempt to achieve a

compromise between State and local interests. Conciliatory policy does not automatically effect conflict resolution, however. Individual County Councils still have relative autonomy in deciding land use regulations for forestry and the guidance of regional authorities may be subject to qualification by local authorities planning for local problems rather than State sanctioned resource development. The divergent policies over forestry regulation of Hokianga and Hobson counties of the Northland region bear witness to this idea.

Regional planning has introduced more flexibility to planning for forestry development. Robertson indicates that regional planning procedures represent "open ended" planning that allows innovation of ends, removes rigidity from planning and takes the future into account while encouraging action relevant and necessary for the immediate future only. (1979, 227) With regional planning yet to become fully operational the ability of regional planning procedures to resolve conflict over land use change associated with forestry development is largely unknown. However it appears likely that the reconciliation of conflicting interests regarding forestry development is likely to uphold State over local interests to a greater extent than in the past. This is because of the legal requirement that the land use policy of regional authorities accommodate State policy for resource development, which may run contrary to local interests, and secondly, because of active State support at the regional planning level for forestry development. Flexibility in regional planning serves the purpose of upholding state interests for the extension of commercial forestry while accommodating, but not removing, local fears. Regional planning thus serves to resolve, but not solve, conflict over land use change associated with forestry development.

SUMMARY

Planning regulations to effect the 'wise use' of land pertaining to forestry development are imposed by local authorities. Local level planning is a facet of a wider planning system operating in New Zealand, however. The system of land use planning is complex but it is nevertheless possible to identify some inherent features of the system which determine the ability of local authorities to achieve the resolution of conflict over forestry development and influence the nature of conflict resolution.

A feature of the evolving planning system is increased State influence in land use planning. Legislation changes have meant the State has greater legal responsibility for deciding what is desirable resource development, and hence land use policy. The State seeks to encourage local planning decisions regulating land use more favourable to central government wishes for resource development by adopting greater responsibility for land use policy formulation. The State has attempted to promote private commercial forestry through the planning system. Regional planning is upheld as a mechanism to influence local authority decisions on forestry regulation which coincide with State conceptions of 'wise land use' and are consistent with central government policy for private forestry development.

Nevertheless, land use restrictions are imposed at the local level, where local authorities balance local and national, public and private interests and decide in favour of certain interests at the expense of others. Government policy for private development may be challenged by local interests and the rights of individual land owners to grow commercial trees be denied in the public interest. Planning authorities operating at different levels thus have differing concepts of 'wise land use' for forestry development.

Hence, there is internal conflict between regional and local

authorities in the planning system which reflects conflict between State and local, public and private interests over forestry development. Planning authorities at different levels of planning favour different interests in the forestry versus agriculture debate. This precludes the solution of conflict pertaining to forestry development although it may allow conflict resolution.

CHAPTER FOUR

PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN RODNEY COUNTY

Rodney County has experienced widespread, predominantly corporate, forestry development over the last two decades. In planning for the 'wise use' of land in Rodney County the County Council has designated forestry a permissible and unrestricted land use over most of the rural area. It is classed as a predominant use in a Rural A zone. Forestry is thus accorded the same status as pastoral agriculture in the RCC district scheme.

The designation of forestry as a predominant use within the Rural A zone does not mean that private forestry development has been accepted without question or opposition from different interests. Rather, that various interests have been balanced against each other in the process of local planning and the County Council has decided that exotic forestry is a wise land use. Given the task of deciding the 'wise use' of land for the 'public interest' the County Council has resolved conflict in favour of the interests advocating private exotic forestry development.

The reason for such a decision may be gleaned by considering the reaction of those involved in planning to private forestry development as it has occurred and their evaluation of the arguments opposing forestry development.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT

A brief description of the changing nature of private forestry development - the changing private forest area and ownership of plantations - reveals that most of the private forest estate in Rodney County is attributable to corporate

development by NZFP. Elaboration on the forestry development and associated land use policy of NZFP helps explain the nature of corporate forestry in Rodney County.

An Overview

There has been a rapid increase in the exotic forest area of Rodney County over the last two decades. Much of this is attributable to private growers. Rodney County presently has over 40 900 hectares of forest, excluding native bush, which represents over 17 percent of the county's land area according to a land use survey recently conducted. (RCC, 1984, 25-28) This figure is considerably larger than can be deduced from NZFS statistics on exotic forestry which, when aggregating 1983 areas given for state forests and private holdings, give a total exotic forest area of approximately 27 600 hectares. (NZFS, 1984, 17; PRIFOS) The latter figure represents approximately 12 percent of the land area of Rodney County. The exotic forest area of Rodney County has more than trebled since 1960 and private plantings account for over 60 percent of this increase, based on NZFS statistics. Approximately 57 percent of the increased exotic forest area is accounted for by private plantings established since 1970.

Much of the increased area of the private forest estate in Rodney County, as described in NZFS statistics, is attributable to company plantings. Pinus radiata plantings make up 97 percent of all private exotic forest in Rodney County and constitute 99 percent of all private exotic plantings established since 1961. Of the total area of Pinus radiata established by private growers since 1961 85 percent has been planted by companies and 81 percent of the total estate has been established by private companies for commercial production only and four percent for joint production and protection purposes. (Table 4-1) Since 1971 the proportion of Pinus radiata plantings for all occupiers

Table 4-1: Pinus Radiata Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County By Purpose And Occupier (Hectares)

Purpose	Occupier	Planting Since 1961	Percentage Of Purpose	Percentage Of Species
Production	Company/Trust	9874	92	81
	Private Person/ Estate/ Partnership	833	8	7
	Local Authority	28	<1	<1
Total		10737		88
Production/ Protection	Company/Trust	488	50	4
	Private Person/ Estate/ Partnership	448	46	4
	Local Authority/ Government Department	29	3	<1
		965		8
Other		456		4
TOTAL (For Species)		12208		

Data Source: PRIFOS

Table 4-2: Pinus Radiata Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County
By Occupier And Age Class (Hectares)

	Age Class*									
	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	Area	% of Total Area	Area	% of Total Area	Area	% of Total Area	Area	% of Total Area	Area	% of Total Area
Private Company/ Trust	268	74	198	58	2544	90	5732	83	1621	94
Private Persons/ Estates/ Partner- ships	96	26	145	42	256	9	1161	17	78	5
Local Authority/ Government Department	0	0	0	0	29	1	0	0	28	2
Total	364		343		2829		6893		1727	

Data Source: PRIFOS

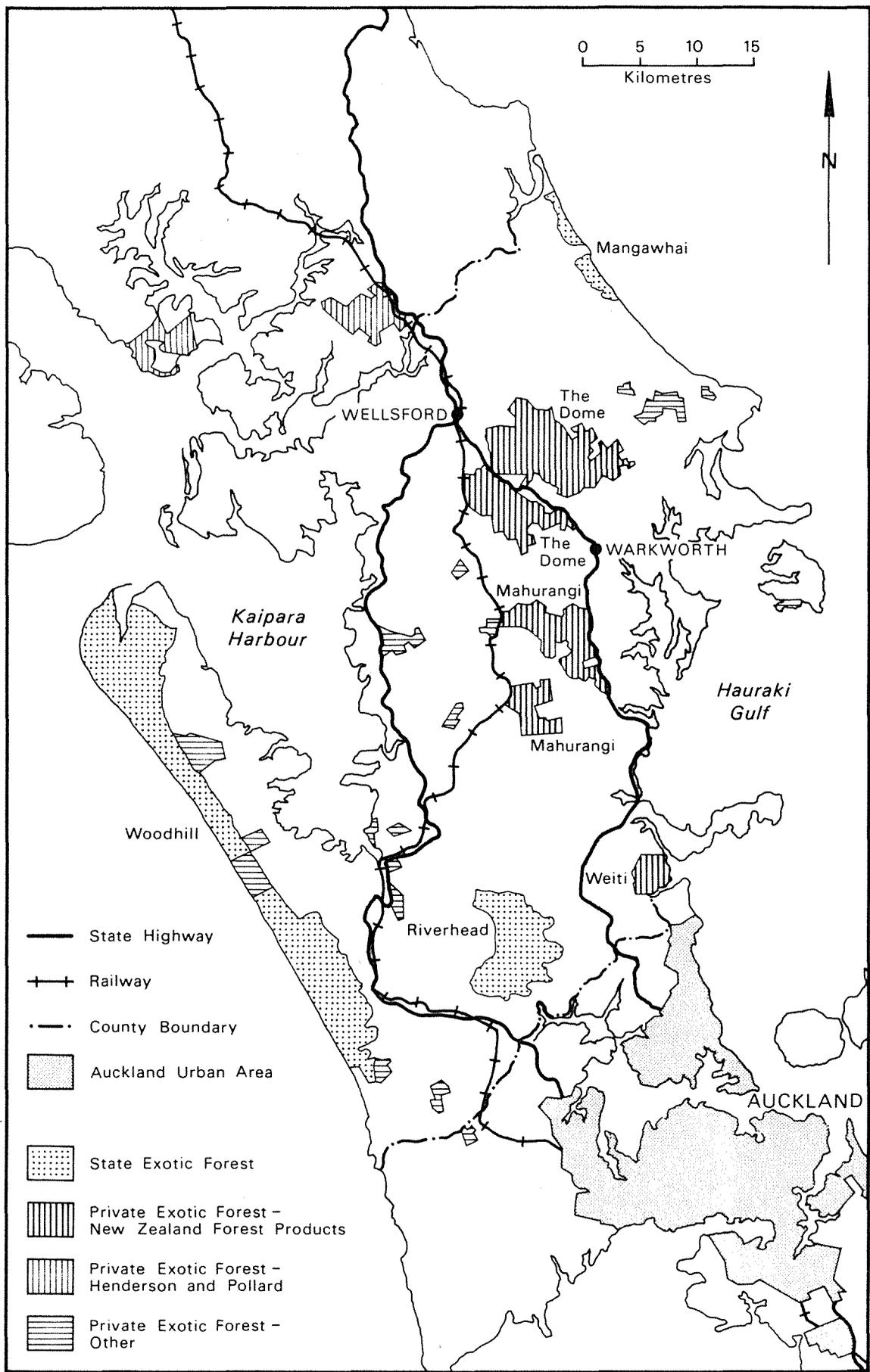
*Example: 1965 Age Class refers to five years, April 1 1961 to
March 31 1966.

and all purposes planted in five year intervals by companies has equalled or exceeded 83 percent. (Table 4-2) Of the total area of production forests planted since 1961 companies have planted 92 percent and they have established 50 percent of Pinus radiata plantings for joint production and protection purposes. (Table 4-1) Thus company afforestation is an important feature of private forestry development in Rodney County.

The most notable feature of private forestry development in Rodney County since the early 1960's, however, is the prominence of one company - NZFP - as the major owner of new plantings. In little over ten years NZFP has obtained a gross forest area of 10 269 hectares of which 8345 hectares is currently planted. (Mead, 1984) NZFP is thus singularly responsible for planting approximately 65 percent of all privately grown Pinus radiata in Rodney County. The afforestation activities of NZFP have made it the second largest forest grower in Rodney County, exceeded by only the State. The area planted by NZFP accounts for about 30 percent of the total exotic forest estate of Rodney County and State plantings constitute about 52 percent. In the 1960's and early 1970's the NZFS was responsible for most of the increased exotic forestry plantings in the county due to additional planting in Riverhead and Woodhill forests, which were first planted in the 1930's, the establishment of Mangawhai State Forest in 1962 and its subsequent expansion. (Burton, Jackson and McDermott, 1980, 55) The rate of exotic afforestation conducted in Rodney County between 1975 and 1980 was similar to that in the previous 15 years but the bulk of new planting was conducted by NZFP. NZFP established both Mahurangi and the Dome forests in the 1970's and started planting Weiti Station in 1981. (Figure 4-1) Thus, a large proportion of both the private and hence the total exotic forest area in Rodney County is attributable to NZFP.

Along with increased private corporate afforestation there

Figure 4-1: Exotic Forests Larger Than 100 Hectares In Rodney County



Source: NZFS, 1981, Mapping Series 1: Auckland Sheet 2;
RCC, Land Use Survey

Table 4-3: Private Exotic Plantings Since 1961 In Rodney County
By Occupier And Age Class (Hectares)

	Age Class*					Total		Plantings Since 1961 as % of All Years total
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1965- 1985	All Years	
Company/ Trust	268	203	2547	5791	1622	10431	10606	98
Private Person Estate/ Partnership	117	153	263	1183	82	1798	2394	75
Local Authority Government Department	0	0	29	0	28	57	283	20
	385	356	2839	6974	1732	12286	13283	92

Data Source: PRIFOS

*Example: 1965 Age Class refers to five years, April 1 1961 to
March 31 1966.

Table 4-4: Area Of Woodlots In Rodney County By Occupier For
1978 And 1983 (Hectares)

	1978			1983		
	Number	Area/ Area	Average Area	Number	Area	Average Area
Company/Trust	43	6467	150	69	10,606	154
Private Person	140	2258	16	223	2116	9
Estate/ Partnership	3	254	85	8	278	35
	143	2512	18	231	2394	10
Local Authority	4	171	43	7	199	28
Government Department	5	84	17	5	84	17
	9	255	28	12	283	24
Total	195	9234	47	312	13283	43

Data Source: Burton, Jackson and McDermott, 1980, 60;
NZFS, PRIFOS

has been a marked increase in the total area of woodlots established by non-company private growers. Seventyfive percent of the total non-company private forest area defined in NZFS statistics has been planted since 1961. (Table 4-3) Private non-company plantations comprise eight percent of production and 46 percent of joint production and protection Pinus radiata plantings established since this date. (Table 4-1) The increase has been achieved by the planting of a large number of small holdings. The number of non-company private holdings presently established is over 60 percent greater than the number that existed six years ago and the average size of holdings has decreased. (Table 4-4) The increase in non-company exotic forest area is thus due to the afforestation of a large number of fragmented small holdings.

It can be concluded, then, that private forestry development in Rodney County is not characterised by increased corporate afforestation involving land amalgamation alone. The distinctive feature of private forestry in the county is the polarisation of forestry activity into large scale corporate development and small scale private development conducted on fragmented holdings. Nevertheless, large scale corporate activity by NZFP is the most significant feature of private forestry development in Rodney County by virtue of the large area planted in a relatively short time.

Corporate Development

NZFP embarked on a programme of land acquisition in Rodney County in the early 1970's in order to expand its forest estate in the area. This move was integral to a wider policy for forestry development. It was reported in the early 1970's that:

"The company has entered into major contracts and it is necessary to have increasing quantities of raw materials to meet those as well as to maintain the

supply to the domestic market. The company is hopeful that co-operation of the Government and the Forest Service will be secured in making available land for planting to meet targets which are of such outstanding national importance". (NZFP, 1974, 31)

Expanded forest holdings were considered imperative to NZFP for continued economic development. The economic rationale for forestry development was described in comments to the effect that the company's "ability to maintain its output and further expand...depends upon the success of projected land acquisitions and the continuation of its massive planting program". (NZFP, 1974, 30)

An expanded forest area in Rodney County was expected to serve the growing Auckland market. The Auckland region, of which Rodney County is part, is one of two regions in New Zealand with a wood production deficit. The domestic demand of the region for sawn timber is greater than the supply. Forecasts of supply and demand indicate that this situation is likely to remain. At the 1981 Forestry Conference indication was given that the Auckland Planning District demand for timber in the period 1981 to 1985 will represent 35 percent of national demand, increasing to 42 percent by the year 2000, and that sufficient suitable land will not be available in the region to meet this domestic demand. (NZFC, 1981b, 16) In anticipation of such a situation NZFP had purchased 8848 hectares in Rodney County by 1975 and planting was under way. (NZFP, 1975, 27) The expanded forest area in Rodney County was intended to supply NZFP's integrated sawmill, casemill, insulating board and multiwall bag enterprise at Penrose, the New Zealand Particle Board plant, which NZFP entered as a 50/50 joint venture with Henderson and Pollard in 1971, and the Carter (Kumeu) Ltd sawmill, in which NZFP has a 50 percent interest. These plants supply wood products to the Auckland market.

Added impetus for the acquisition of land and subsequent afforestation in Rodney County was given by the closing of

possibilities for the expansion of forest into the King Country in the 1970's. In 1975 NZFP reported that it wished to ensure that a considerable area of land was available to maintain company planting at a uniform rate. It was reported that the acquisition of forest land in the King Country had not been as rapid as the company would have liked but that efforts to secure additional land were continuing. (NZFP, 1975, 27) NZFS indigenous forest policy restricted the amount of cut over forest available to NZFP for planting in exotic forest. This meant the bulk of the 50 000 hectares desired by NZFP had to be supplied from private land. With community opposition to such moves resulting in Planning Tribunal and High Court appeals NZFP could not obtain the land required in the time span desired. The continued emergence of obstacles to land acquisition in the King Country culminated in the abortion of NZFP plans for forestry development and the eventual establishment of a kraft pulp mill in the area. Difficulties encountered in attempting to establish forests in the King Country in the 1970's meant Northland became the focus of further afforestation activity. The momentum of NZFP to expand its activities in the King Country gradually wound down as opposition to corporate forestry grew and, simultaneously, the momentum to expand activities in Northland gathered strength.

Northland became the focus of NZFP attention in "alternative plans" to obtain an "acceptable rate of new planting" to ensure forest enlargement for future expansion of NZFP industries. (NZFP, 1979, 28) The most immediately important projects became those near Warkworth, Kaikohe and Dargaville where approximately 2000 hectares were held with the possibility of a considerable increase in planting above the 2000 hectares depending on the availability of what was considered to be suitable land for forestry. (Healy, 1982, 217) Rodney County thus became the subject of vigorous attempts by NZFP to purchase additional land and plant exotic forests. It was considered a desirable development because

of the relatively large tracts of mixed scrub, bush and agricultural land on partially developed and reverting farms that were of dubious economic viability and which owners were willing to sell. Much of the land acquired by NZFP was already on the market when the company commenced its purchasing programme. Other tracts were sold when the owners were approached by NZFP with an offer of purchase.

As mentioned, forestry in Rodney County was initiated largely to increase the supply of wood products to the Auckland market. However, Rodney County has also been incorporated into a wider regional development strategy for Northland by NZFP. During the last ten years NZFP has planted large tracts of land in North Auckland. Over 30 600 hectares of freehold corporate forest land has been purchased by NZFP, which is approximately 65 percent of freehold forest land held by the six major afforestation companies operating in North Auckland. (Wheeler and Moran, 1983, 14) It is proposed that a pulp and paper mill be built to process the new plantings largely for export and, although a decision on the site of the plant hangs in limbo with Dargaville now being preferred to Whangarei as the likely location, the intention of NZFP to secure a position as a major land user and forest processor in Northland is obvious. It is possible that thinnings and logs of pulping quality from NZFP forests in Rodney County will travel north for processing while peeler logs and sawn timber is likely to travel south to the Auckland market. Thus, large scale afforestation in Rodney County by NZFP is economically motivated and is rationalised in terms of accessibility to the local Auckland market and of proximity to a possible pulp mill in Northland and an export port at Marsden Point. (Burton, Jackson and McDermott, 1980, 59)

The acquisition of land and establishment of exotic forests in Rodney County by NZFP was the result of a development policy to expand the company's traditional forest and

processing enterprises. It can be seen as a logical step to ensure the increased output of wood products and thereby ensure the profitable employment of capital. Forestry development in Rodney County is justified in terms of a local supply strategy for the Auckland area and a wider regional forestry project for Northland.

In association with this general forestry policy for economic development NZFP adopted, and has continued to adhere to, a land use policy for Rodney County that is aimed at counteracting any opposition to forestry development that might jeopardise corporate forestry development in the area. The company has implemented a policy that supports the purchase and planting of poor quality land. Land is assessed according to marginality criteria for agricultural production. This policy is intended largely to accommodate concerns of rural residents about the loss of large tracts of pastoral land to exotic forests. It is aimed at preventing the establishment of barriers to land acquisition and forest expansion in order to ensure development proceeds.

Not wishing to antagonise the rural community as a result of the programme for land purchase and afforestation NZFP took the initiative of informing the residents and RCC of NZFP development plans and land use policy. Company officials attempted to refute arguments opposing the expansion of large scale forestry in Rodney County by supporting the restriction of NZFP forests to poor quality land. At a public meeting in Warkworth on June 6, 1974, Mr Henry, a Director of NZFP, anticipated opposition to the loss of pastoral land to exotic forestry and announced that NZFP intended to exchange or sell areas classified as good agricultural land so that such land would not be removed from agricultural production. Similar assurances were given by the company when Weiti Station was purchased in 1981. As a result of this policy farm land totalling 1289 hectares has been retained in agricultural production through sales and exchanges of land on the

outskirts of the forest area. (Mead, 1984) NZFP has retained no class two or three land, which is described by the Land Resource Inventory classifications as being of medium to high cropping and high pastoral suitability, and less than three percent of the total holding is class four land. (Wheeler and Moran, 1983, 31) Approximately 97 percent of NZFP holdings in Rodney County are class six and seven land, which represents relatively stable hill country with erosion susceptibility being the dominant limitation and steeper more erodible hill country respectively. (Wheeler and Moran, 1983, 29) Thus, NZFP has restricted its forestry activity to poorer quality land.

A second facet of NZFP land use policy is the company's commitment to maintain area of environmental and recreational value when such tracts are part of a larger purchase. In anticipation of and response to opposition towards exotic afforestation in Rodney County on environmental grounds NZFP implemented a policy for the preservation of bush and the creation of recreational facilities. Accompanying land acquisition in the Dome Valley NZFP repeatedly gave assurances the company would set aside areas as reserves and ensure that damage to the environment was avoided. (NZFP, 1975, 27; 1976, 31) At an informal meeting on April 11, 1974, between RCC and a NZFP representative, the County Council was assured that NZFP had no intention of felling all the bush on its property and would ensure that where possible "worthwhile" stands of native bush would be retained. In reply to queries from a member of the Warkworth Beautifying Society the NZFP representative said the company would take every precaution to avoid accidents that might damage the environment, stressing that the company was well aware of council and public interest and concern. Similarly, at a council meeting on April 29, 1974, Mr Henry indicated that about 257 hectares had been set aside as reserves and a further 47 hectares were to be exchanged with the crown. Provision had been made for picnic areas and the remaining

reserve areas would be planted in Pinus radiata to encourage bird life. He also indicated that while NZFP would ask for some roads to be closed the company would create tracks open to the public for recreation purposes. To date NZFP has 1303 hectares, which is approximately 13 percent, of its gross forest area classified as company reserves of mature bush. Of the original land area purchased bush sales or exchanges with the Crown of land on forest margins of Weiti Station and Dome Valley forests total 267 hectares. This land is set aside for picnicing and other recreational purposes. A site has also been made permanently available to the local motorcross club.

Thus, the land use policy adopted by NZFP and outlined at public forums was in part a public relations undertaking to foster goodwill in Rodney County. Mr Henry stated at a public meeting that it was NZFP policy to appease the public through measures such as bush preservation. (RCC Minutes, April 29, 1974) It was hoped that greater public awareness of NZFP community minded actions in the afforestation of poor quality land only and the maintenance of recreational facilities and preservation of areas of environmental value would preclude widespread community opposition to exotic forestry development.

NZFP policy to relinquish higher quality agricultural land and reserve areas has been implemented while maintaining the large scale development on contiguous blocks characteristic of corporate forestry. It is NZFP practice to purchase adjacent land holdings which can be agglomerated and managed as one forest. The land purchased in Rodney County represents the bulk of lower quality adjoining tracts that were available for purchase. Also, the nature of the land bought by NZFP is such that, although pockets of higher quality land have been purchased by NZFP, the area resold or exchanged represents less than seven percent of the land purchased. (Wheeler and Moran, 1983, 31) By relinquishing

land on the outskirts of forest blocks the agglomerate characteristic of the forests has not altered. Such is the nature of land use policy for forestry development on land owned by NZFP.

The philosophy for economic development adopted by NZFP encourages the expansion of forestry activity in Rodney County as an investment option which assists continued capital accumulation by the company. The land use policy which accommodates Rodney County residents' concerns is integral to this philosophy for development. Catering to residents fears represents sound business practice because it assists the accumulation of capital by NZFP. Moves such as the relinquishing of high quality land and the preservation of areas of bush may not be as profitable as retaining the land and planting it in trees, but in the longer term they may prove advantageous if they succeed in precluding any planning restrictions on forestry development that may have been otherwise introduced. The land use policy adopted by NZFP does not change the basic nature of corporate forestry in Rodney County, which is essentially large scale and conducted on contiguous land holdings, but it may make this development more acceptable to county residents.

NZFP has departed of late from traditional corporate forestry practice by entering joint venture arrangements. These allow for an increased exotic forest estate managed by NZFP but retain land tenure with the joint venture partner. It facilitates farm based exotic forestry on marginal agricultural land. NZFP is currently involved in five joint venture operations which total 611 hectares and an arrangement with the County Council is yet to be finalised. (Mead, 1984) NZFP is not guaranteed that joint venture forest supplies will go to NZFP processing plants but by being involved in forest management and maintaining good working relationships with the land owners the company seeks to secure this wood supply. Although the practice of joint

ventures differs from other corporate undertakings the forest development policy under which such ventures are conducted is the same, the expansion of the forest resource being the goal. Also, joint ventures accommodate county residents' trepidation at the extension of large scale corporate forestry on agricultural land. Thus, the premises upon which joint venture and traditional corporate forestry is conducted by NZFP are similar.

The nature of forestry development undertaken by NZFP in Rodney County appears, then, to be integral to an economic policy that encourages the expansion of the corporate forest estate and a land use policy which allocates land to forestry while accommodating county residents misgivings of corporate forestry development. Forestry development in Rodney County is consistent with the long term economic interest of NZFP.

THE NATURE OF CONFLICT OVER PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT

Opposition to private forestry in Rodney County over the last two decades has been leveled almost exclusively at corporate development. Imminent corporate afforestation in Rodney County has been greeted with trepidation by various interested parties. Expressions of concern have been expressed in public forums by two main lobby groups, the environmentalists and the pastoralists, but the arguments presented by the two lobbies have been quite different.

The environmental concerns expressed by various parties about corporate afforestation tend to be about specific issues such as the preservation of a Kauri stand at Weiti Station, the effect of NZFP spraying programme on bush reserves, the clearing of scrub on steep faces, the destruction of native bush, and preservation of the pied tit and native frog populations in the Dome Valley. Fears have been expressed largely in anticipation of afforestation and the adverse

affect on environmental features expected. Although of a specific nature, arguments opposing exotic forestry development have been of two general types, those expressing concern at the loss of amenity and recreational features and those against the destruction of the existing natural habitat and consequent damage to native flora and fauna. Comments in letters to newspapers adequately describe these concerns. For example, opposition to the loss of natural habitats is couched in comments to the effect that "picnic areas are a very poor substitute for the New Zealand heritage" (New Zealand Herald, April 6, 1974) and aesthetic interests are upheld in claims that "miles of dull green pine trees will do nothing to enhance Warkworth's already beautiful surroundings. (Rodney and Waitemata Times, November 6, 1974) Those voicing their concern about large scale afforestation over the past ten years have mainly been individuals and special purpose organisations such as the Warkworth Beautifying Society and the Forest and Bird Society who have particular grievances to air.

The pastoral lobby in Rodney County, which includes individuals and agricultural organisations, has expressed considerable resentment of large scale land purchase and afforestation by NZFP. Various specific issues have been raised. For example, forestry development has been challenged because of concern at its affect on the infrastructure serving the rural community. When Weiti Station was bought NZFP attracted criticism from farming leaders because of the possibility of more land going from pasture into trees, this being a changing land use trend contributing to decreasing stock numbers available for Auckland freezing works. (New Zealand Herald, March 20, 1981) Another issue that has been raised is the affect of forestry on farm settlement. NZFP has been accused of compounding the problem of land shortages which hamper the settlement of young farmers on farms and the then Labour Party shadow minister of agriculture, Sir Basil Arthur, even

suggested that the Government should buy Weiti Station and settle young farmers on it. (Rodney and Waitemata Times, October 19, 1977; New Zealand Herald, March 23, 1981)

The opposition to forestry development in Rodney County by those wishing to preserve the status quo of pastoral agriculture has not only been about large scale forestry per se, however. It has also been about the corporate nature of development. Corporate forestry has been opposed because of the change it has been expected to promote in the social structure of the county.

Concerns at the effect of corporate forestry activity on the social structure of the county have been less frankly confessed to than the environmentalists and pastoralists fears as they have involved sensitive issues such as the desirability of particular 'types' of people and 'types' of communities. This concern was expressed at the April 11, 1974, meeting between the County Council and NZFP when a councillor stated that the public wished to know what people would come to Warkworth and whether the town would become another Tokoroa. Rodney County residents have been concerned about possible social change that would accompany the import of non-pastoral, single-industry, forestry-town-dwelling and predominantly young, male workers, as is characteristic of corporate forestry enterprise in New Zealand. Such fears are rarely expressed in a public forum, however. Public concern about alterations in the social makeup of Rodney County has generally been hinted at in newspaper reports indicating that county residents fear that NZFP activities would have a "detrimental effect upon the way of life now enjoyed by county residents". (Rodney and Waitemata Times, June 12, 1974)

The might of NZFP to effect social change has been objected to. The power of the corporation to purchase land, bring about land use change and thereby alter the social fabric of

the county has concerned some people. For example, a local farmer and County Councillor who has planted several plantations on his property stated when NZFP became active in Rodney County that:

"It is an indictment of our farming system that a man may drive through a farm gate, and, without leaving his car, decide there and then that he will buy the farm so that he may plant it in trees".
(Rodney and Waitemata Times, May 12, 1976)

Questioned about the context of this statement he indicates that it was a reaction to the large scale acquisition of land by NZFP and their apparently unfair buying power compared with that of farmers. Thus, hostility towards large scale forestry development in Rodney County by the pastoralist lobby has been levelled at the corporate nature of forestry development in Rodney County as much as at the loss of pastoral land to trees.

In general, the arguments proposed by the pastoral lobby are consistent with a 'pastoral ethic' which upholds a socio-economic system based on pastoral agriculture as a desirable way of life. The pastoral ethic encourages the view that corporate forestry development is an unwise land use that brings "consequential rural decay". (Rodney and Waitemata Times, April 24, 1979) Rural decay is equated with the loss of pastoral land to another land use.

In opposing large scale corporate forestry development in Rodney county the pastoral lobby has adopted an ecological approach which emphasises land capability as an appropriate determinant of land use. NZFP has been accused of appropriating land suited to pastoral farming. It has been argued that land use should be based on an assesement of the potential of land for agricultural production compared with forestry production. For example, a remit to the Kaipara branch of Federated Farmers introduced soon after NZFP began planting in Rodney County suggested that land be assessed according to its relative value for agricultural and forestry

production when forestry development was under consideration. The remit sponsors claimed they had in mind the need to retain "worthwhile land for pastoral farming". (Rodney and Waitemata Times, April 9, 1975) It is assumed that land physically suitable for pastoral agriculture should be used for such, even if it is also suitable for forestry.

By no means is the community of Rodney County united in its opposition to large scale corporate forestry development. Many land owners adhere to a 'market rules' philosophy regarding the purchase and consequent use of land. The sale of farm land to NZFP was largely economically motivated. The farmers, city professionals and businessmen, and companies who owned the land wished to capitalise on their properties. Consequently, much of the land in the Dome Valley and Mahurangi area, which was owned largely by individuals, and Weiti Station, which was owned by Todd Motors Limited, was on the market before NZFP showed an interest in purchasing the properties. One property, which was owned by an Auckland solicitor, was partially developed as part of a land improvement programme but was readily sold to NZFP. The 'pastoral ethic' protecting the existing socio-economic structure of the rural areas which is adhered to by the traditional farming community thus conflicts with the economic aspirations of some individual land owners.

Also, some interests have been wary of particular developments but not overtly concerned at the corporate nature of forestry development. For example, Weiti Station borders a number of ten acre properties owned by people who work in Auckland city to whom traditional pastoral agriculture provides neither their economic nor social livelihood. When Weiti Station was purchased by NZFP several property owners neighbouring the station expressed concern, albeit misinformed, at the possible damage to a stand of Kauri trees. Others were concerned about possible shading of their properties by mature pine trees. In these cases

forestry development was opposed not because of the corporate nature of development but because of specific externality affects on local residents and because of an interest in preserving a relatively small area for a particular use. The conversion of land from grass to trees by a corporate developer was not challenged. It appears, then, that historically specific factors of time and place appear to have influenced the nature of opposition and support for corporate forestry development in Rodney County. Depending on where people live and what their life style is individuals have either opposed or accepted corporate forestry as a legitimate land use.

Despite considerable opposition to imminent large scale corporate forestry development in Rodney County in the 1970's no formal objections were presented to the County Council. No submissions opposing forestry development were made when the district scheme was under review in 1976. The absence of formal objections appears to be due to the unorganised nature of the opposition, however, as there was undoubtedly a negative reaction to large scale corporate forestry development. Opposition to forestry development has subsequently been better organised. A rolling review of the district scheme is presently underway in Rodney County and rural planning is the present focus of the review. Nine submissions on the topic of forestry as a land use have been received in response to a discussion document formulated by the County Council indicates that forestry is a legitimate land use in the same vein as pastoral agriculture. Four submissions made by NZFP, Henderson and Pollard Limited, the New Zealand Forest Owners Association and an individual congratulate the County Council on its "commonsense" and "refreshing" approach and "enlightened attitude" in treating forestry development in a "positive rational manner" and allowing ""economic forces" to determine land use". In contrast, submissions by the Department of Lands and Survey and the Kaipara sub-province of Federated Farmers challenge

arguments condoning forestry as a legitimate land use, claiming that "it is difficult to see why economic forces should be viewed as the sole determinant" in land use planning and that it is not acceptable "that economic forces can dictate which land will be used for large scale forestry", respectively. Other submissions lodged oppose specific features of corporate forestry development rather than development in general. Thus, the people of Rodney County have conflicting notions of the 'wise use' of land for forestry development which are reflected in formal planning submissions made to the County Council.

It is apparent that large scale forestry development in Rodney County has caused considerable concern among particular lobbies. However, those opposing forestry development have been by no means united in their reasons. Thus, various conflicting interests have existed which have required resolution in the planning system over the last decade.

PLANNING FOR PRIVATE FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT

In planning for the 'wise use and management' of New Zealand's land resource, as required by the TCPA 1977, the RCC decision makers have balanced the public interest against the interests of particular groups. Arguments for and against forestry development have been evaluated in terms of the wider interests of the County. Decisions made about appropriate planning provisions for forestry development represent a compromise between particular interests and long term aims for rural development as interpreted by those responsible for defining goals for forestry.

Planning decisions are not made by county councillors or by professional planners alone, but through the interaction of both parties. Rodney County is the largest county in New

Zealand and therefore has a relatively large planning staff and council. Planning decisions tend to be made within, rather than external to, the administrative organisation of the Council although specific projects may be assigned to consultant planners. Thus, planning goals established and ordinances enacted reflect the attitudes of councillors and planners in keeping with their roles as decision makers and protectors of the public interest.

Councillors Attitudes

The RCC is composed of 20 members. Thirteen councillors represent rural ridings and seven represent the Warkworth, Wellsford and Hibiscus Coast Community Councils. Nine councillors are farmers and four others have had farming experience. Hence, the occupational and residential structure of the County Council reflects the differing life styles of county residents. It is therefore to be expected that council members will have differing attitudes to forestry development in Rodney County. Conflicting ideas on whether private forestry is a wise and legitimate land use like pastoral agriculture, and why, are expressed by councillors representing different areas.

For example, a Hibiscus Coast councillor considers that the 'wise use' of land is that which enables the sustainable production of agricultural products, especially food, and which maintains the infrastructure and social services of the county. In keeping with this philosophy she claims that forestry is a productive and desirable land use but that it should be restricted to poorer quality land. Forestry is considered a desirable land use because it creates employment and encourages the provision of social services in the area. Land use which provides for growth in the agricultural servicing industries is encouraged. Forestry is seen to assist this purpose. The councillor feels that market forces

regulate forestry development and planning restrictions are therefore not necessary. (Clapham, 1984, pers. comm.)

A councillor and farmer from a rural riding expresses similar sentiments to the Hibiscus Coast representative. He considers that 'wise use' should be assessed according to the capability of land for farming and that if land can be profitably utilised for food production it should be used for such. Forestry is considered a legitimate land use on poorer quality land and it is held that market forces ensure the restriction of forestry to low quality land. Hence, forestry that has occurred to date in Rodney County is accepted because although it is not producing food it is not on prime land. However, in contrast to the councillor from the Hibiscus Coast, the rural representative adheres openly to the pastoral ethic. He professes to have an understanding of the "genuine farmer" and the farmer's emotional bond with the land. (Nicholls, 1984, pers. comm.) The maintenance of a socio-economic system based largely on pastoral agriculture is of greater importance to the rural councillor.

Despite the various backgrounds of councillors some generalisations can be made about their attitudes to forestry development. In general, councillors have a relatively liberal attitude toward land use change, of which forestry is one aspect. This is in part due to the close proximity of the county to Auckland city, which has meant councillors are accustomed to land use change in the area. Land sales and subdivisions, particularly in the southern area of the county, have been accompanied by increased residential use of small blocks by urban workers and diversification of agricultural land use into market gardening, horticulture and other agricultural practices in order to supply the Auckland market. Forestry represents one method of agricultural diversification. Also, rural subdivision for residential purposes is considered the most important problem facing the County Council because it converts land to a non-productive

use, the prevention of which has been deemed a matter of national importance in planning legislation. (Appendix A) Forestry development does not constitute an unproductive land use. Hence, forestry development in general has not been strongly opposed by councillors.

Nevertheless, particular developments have been opposed when undertaken on better quality land. At a Council meeting on April 28, 1976, concern was expressed by some councillors that approximately 400 hectares on a single property was to be planted in trees. It was felt that the farm, although on steep contry, had been well maintained and was an economical farm unit. It was moved that representation be made to the appropriate Minister to have an immediate investigation made into the distribution of subsidies for afforestation, the intention being to limit the provision of subsidies to land unsuitable for pastoral farming. The motion was carried by 11 votes to five. It appears, then, that forestry is considered a legitimate and wise land use as long as afforestation is restricted to poor quality land of little productive value for pastoral agriculture.

This general attitude is borne out in the activity of the Council as a forest grower. the RCC has enacted a policy to plant Council land in pines where no other land use is suitable. The areas selected for afforestation are typically small, approximately 30 hectares or less, and have provided little or no revenue to the Council. It is considered that there are several reserve areas not being used for productive purposes that should be made to provide revenue to the ridings concerned, such as excess land at the Snells Beach rubbish tip, an old quarry, and approximately 30 hectares of land at the Kaukapakapa cemetary. All plantings have been established with the aid of Government loans and those employed in planting have been part of a Government sponsored employment scheme. At present the Council is negotiating a joint venture forestry agreement with NZFP and the Maori land

owners for forestry development on 301 hectares at Araparera, near the eastern Kaipara Harbour coast. This land is largely unproductive at present and thousands of dollars of back rates are owed to the County Council. It is hoped to make the land more productive and at the same time create employment for local Maori people and settle Maori workers on the land with the assistance of the Rural Bank.

Forestry per se is not opposed by councillors in Rodney County but the restriction of forestry to land not suited to pastoral agriculture is considered to be in the public interest. This policy is upheld by councillors for various reasons. To most, restricting forestry development to marginal agricultural land is upheld because it maintains the productive capacity of better quality land for food production while utilising previously unproductive areas and because it encourages economic growth in the county by providing employment in forests and processing plants and maintaining a servicing industry. To farming interests, however, it serves the additional purpose of maintaining a rural socio-economic system based on pastoral agriculture in keeping with the pastoral land ethic by limiting the extent of afforestation. Hence, large scale and unlimited forestry development is opposed but forestry development on marginal land is encouraged as a land use in the public interest, albeit for various reasons, by Rodney County Councillors.

Planners Attitudes

As professionals, the planning staff of Rodney County are charged with making recommendations and decisions for the welfare of county residents in keeping with relevant legislation. RCC planners appear to have consistently held that forestry is a wise land use for the county. Land is viewed as a resource that should be made productive if physically possible. Forestry is one option to achieve this.

At the time that NZFP began acquiring land in Rodney County the Town Planning Officer stated in a report on the NZFP programme of land purchase and afforestation that "the acquiring of land and using it for afforestation purposes is a legitimate rural land use". He acknowledged that the activities of NZFP had concerned the local population which was apprehensive of afforestation on a large scale but concluded that there was no need to introduce classes of land which would restrict forestry within a rural zone. He implied that because large areas of Rodney County were of poor quality it was appropriate to maintain forestry as an unrestricted land use.

The general objective of planning for rural land development cited by planners presently employed by the RCC is that of increased productivity from the land on a sustainable basis. Forestry is accepted as a land use which may assist in the realisation of this goal. The planners tend to evaluate the desirability of particular land uses according to the quality and productive potential of the land. As Rodney County has large areas of poor quality land forestry is accepted as a legitimate land use in the county.

The present Planning Officer for the RCC indicates that the overriding concern of planning is to protect the finite land resource for agricultural production but not exclusively that of pastoral agriculture. She sees the role of planning being to seek a general overview of the various options, of which forestry is one possibility, for development of rural land. (Oliver, 1984, pers. comm.) Similarly, the RCC Planning Liason Officer indicates that the role of planning regarding rural land use in Rodney County is to look to the longer term development options and the social and economic implications of these options as far as is practical. He feels it is not necessary to have a firm commitment to a particular future but that there must be some consideration and anticipation of the long term needs of the county and the appropriate

decisions to be made. (Elliot, 1984, pers. comm.) The attainment of long term goals for economic development is thus upheld as the main requirement of planning and forestry development is justified as being consistent with this objective.

Planners with the RCC acknowledge that land use change in the long run economic interests of the county may not be acceptable in the short term to some county residents and that development scenarios for the county may therefore require qualification in order to accommodate social concerns. The planners feel, however, that forestry development undertaken to date has not caused sufficient conflict to warrant restrictions on forestry as a land use. It is felt that market forces have been adequate in restricting forestry to poorer land suited to such development. The sale of land on the outskirts of large forests owned by NZFP is cited as an example. In general, the nature of forestry development occurring to date is not considered detrimental to the public interest. The benefits of employment creation and increased productivity from marginal land resulting from afforestation, both corporate and farm based, are considered to outweigh any disadvantages.

The planners with the RCC see no need to restrict forestry in the general interests of county residents and condone further development on poorer quality land. It is felt that land with high value for food production should be used to produce food, as directed in the TCPA 1977, but that economic forces should decide the appropriate land use where land is of poorer quality and capable of both pastoral and forestry production. The planners have a policy of non-intervention regarding forestry development in Rodney County. Forestry development is supported as being in the long term economic interests of the county and therefore in the public interest.

The RCC planners are responsible for initiating procedures

for district scheme reviews and the introduction of land use regulations. Their recommendations are required to conform with the general course of land use development envisioned by the County Councillors, however. Planning provisions for forestry development will therefore represent a compromise between the different land development philosophies of planning staff and councillors.

Planning Provisions

The RCC has had relative autonomy regarding responsibility for deciding policy and implementing planning regulations for forestry development in the county. The Council is required by planning legislation to adhere to resource development policy outlined by the ARA when planning for particular land uses. However, this has resulted in little restriction on the activity of the RCC when planning for forestry development in practice.

In the 1960's and 1970's the ARA was not concerned with enacting a regional policy for exotic forestry although it had a forest policy pertaining to forest areas established by the ARA. However, in the Draft Regional Planning Scheme of 1979 forestry development was acknowledged as a desirable and legitimate land use on category B land, which is land not of high value for food production but which must be protected for primary production. Uses allowed on this category of land are those which increase the value of the land for production purposes so far as they are consistent with the protection of natural and cultural resources. (ARA, 1979a, 6-3) This policy is consistent with a general philosophy for rural land development that encourages increased and sustainable production. The philosophy is outlined in the comment that:

"wise land use includes both exploitation and preservation...Lying between exploitation and

preservation is a range of actions in relation to every resource. The management task is to choose the correct balance, to monitor performance and to adapt policies to future changes". (ARA, 1979a, 2-1)

Hence, private forestry in the Auckland region is encouraged by the ARA. Nevertheless, the ARA acknowledges a requirement to maintain a social environment acceptable to rural residents. It notes that corporate forestry development has an "organisational characteristic which is contrary to the ethos of private ownership of small land holdings which has characterised rural Auckland in the past" and consequently makes mention of small scale forestry as a development option warranting encouragement from the ARA, NZFS and local authorities. (ARA, 1982, 91)

The policy adopted by the RCC for forestry development is similar to that of the ARA. This may not be as much as result of the RCC adhering to ARA policy as it is the ARA responding to the RCC example, however. Rodney County has by far the largest amount of forestry of all the counties in the Auckland region and the issues acknowledged in ARA policy for forestry development are largely those that emerged in Rodney County in the 1970's and have been accommodated in RCC policy for forestry development and associated planning regulations.

When planning for forestry development the RCC has attempted to place forestry in the context of a wider rural development plan for the area. The corporate planning approach adopted means that planners are involved in directing future economic development as well as responding to existing development in the county. It is argued that planning goals must be established based on knowledge of the current and likely future economic and social needs of the county because "if the Council doesn't know where it is going it will never get there". (RCC, 1984a) The RCC has thus adopted a social engineering role whereby particular land uses are regulated according to general rural development objectives

established. Forestry, as with other land uses, is judged as 'wise' or 'unwise' on whether it conforms with the objectives for future economic development. Planning goals and associated regulations for forestry are enacted accordingly.

The general planning objective for rural land development in Rodney County is outlined in the Objectives and Policies adopted by the RCC in April, 1984, where it is stated that "diversification in the use of, and increased sustainable production from, rural land" should be encouraged. In keeping with this objective the general policy for forestry is "to recognise forestry as a productive use of land and to allow economic forces to decide which land will be developed for forestry". (RCC, 1984a) This policy reflects the joint views of councillors and planners in support of forestry as a land use consistent with the economic interests of the county for rural development.

Nevertheless, concern about the social consequences of large scale, probably corporate, forestry held by some councillors and recognised by planners are accommodated in other planning policies. The RCC has adopted a policy:

"to encourage development of smaller woodlots (including farm forestry) with diversification of timber species and varied (generally lower) tree densities". (RCC, 1984a)

An associated policy for the RCC to liaise with forestry interests in order to monitor planting and promote preferred forms of forestry has also been adopted. (RCC, 1984a) These policies encourage alternative forms of forestry to corporate development.

The RCC has expanded upon these policies at various times. For example, at a Policy and Resources Committee meeting on July 11, 1984, the place of farm based joint venture forestry in Rodney County was discussed. A motion was carried that the role of the Council regarding forestry development is to:

- "(i) Act as an intermediary and a liason factor between interested ratepayers and prospective developers.
- (ii) Promote joint venture forestry among land owners, particularly on hill country land better suited to afforestation.
- (iii) Continue to establish wood lots on Council land where Crown grant criteria are met".

The motion was presented in response to comments by the Woodland Reserve Officer for NZFP who outlined the concept of joint venture forestry to the meeting. He stated that the most important item required in a forestry venture is land. He indicated that it is impossible for NZFP to purchase all the land required as part of the forestry development programme of the company and that it is important that land ownership remain with farmers. These sentiments equated with those of the RCC.

Thus, a general philosophy for forestry development achieved through the interaction of planners and councillors promotes private forestry in general while attempting to minimise the social disruption resulting from this development. The economically motivated policy for forestry development is qualified by policies encouraging farm based forestry in particular. This policy represents an attempt to accommodate concerns about the social consequences of large scale and mainly corporate forestry in Rodney County held by some county residents.

Planning regulations for forestry have been introduced in keeping with the policies outlined. The provisions of the RCC district scheme which allow forestry development as a largely unrestricted land use in rural areas have been enacted in accordance with the policy of the Council that decrees forestry to be a legitimate land use in Rodney County because it is considered to be an option for economic development consistent with the long term interest of the Rodney County public. As the majority of councillors and planners have always accepted forestry as a legitimate and

wise land use severe planning restrictions have never been placed on forestry development.

The first approved RCC district scheme, which was introduced in 1965, made no particular reference to forestry in policy statements made or ordinances enacted. Forestry was included in the phrase "farming of any kind" as a predominant use in the Rural A zone. (RCC, 1965, 17) Forestry has remained a land use allowed as of right in subsequent scheme reviews. At present forestry is a predominant use within a general Rural A zone which covers all rural land in the county not zoned for special amenity and recreational purposes. (RCC, 1980, 99) The main function of the Rural A zone is considered to be "the protection of the land needed for the production of food and other primary produce". (RCC, 1980, 16) Forestry is thus accorded the same status as pastoral agriculture in the ordinances of the RCC District Scheme.

The lack of restrictions on forestry enacted in the RCC district scheme does not negate the policies accommodating social interests by promoting non-corporate forestry development. Rather, it reflects a philosophy that social issues should qualify policies for long term economic development, not jeopardise them. The expansion of large scale corporate development is not expected to occur to a degree that would result in afforestation on land of relatively high value for pastoral agriculture or the production of food and thereby inspire relatively severe social disruption. Planning ordinances restricting forestry as a land use have therefore not been introduced.

Even though planning provisions have not restricted forestry various attempts have been made to minimise anticipated undesirable consequences of forestry development. For example, the RCC has a policy to encourage forest processing within the county. However, industrial development for wood processing is a conditional use within the Rural A zone to

ensure that the Council can monitor and evaluate and, if considered necessary, exclude particular processing options. (RCC, 1980, 101; 1984a)

The issue associated with forestry development that has received the most attention of late is the cost of roading incurred at the time of harvest and processing. The RCC has a policy of minimising the financial costs of large scale forestry developments to ratepayers. As a result it aims to forecast the impacts of heavy haulage vehicles on the roads of the county at harvesting time and from there establish an equitable basis for cost sharing between forest growers and the County Council regarding road work. (RCC, 1984a) A consultant planner has been commissioned by the RCC to identify likely levels of forestry production and consequent impacts on roads in order to provide an information base from which to negotiate cost sharing arrangements. (McDermott Associates, 1984, 1) The RCC already receives a grant in lieu of rates from the NZFS in order to allay some of the costs incurred by the RCC regarding roading. The grant received from the NZFS at time of harvesting in State forests is approximately two times the rate payable for other land uses. The RCC has thus adopted a user pays approach regarding the provision of roading for forestry development in order to minimise the extraordinary financial costs of forestry development transferred to ratepayers.

The RCC has not adopted regulatory methods that restrict forestry per se. Ideas of ways to restrict forestry as a land use, such as differential rating, have been mooted at various times, however. In the mid 1970's a councillor indicated that if the RCC felt too much land was being planted in trees it should double the amount of rates payable upon forestry land. (Rodney and Waitemata Times, May 12, 1976) Similarly, a planning consultant suggested that in the interests of maintaining and encouraging more immediately productive land uses it may be necessary to implement

differential rating in order to penalise poorly managed or non-commercial forestry. (Burton, Jackson and McDermott, 1980, 75) Although possible means of restricting forestry development have been suggested the likely adverse affects of forestry development have not been perceived by planners and councillors making planning decisions as sufficient to warrant restrictions on forestry as a land use in district scheme ordinances or through methods such as differential rating.

In conclusion, planning provisions enacted by the RCC deem forestry to be a largely unrestricted land use. The policies adhered to mean that it is likely to remain unrestricted. However, various attempts have and will be made to minimise the various undesirable social and financial affects imposed on county residents by forestry development. Planning provisions for forestry appear to represent a compromise between philosophies for economic development and for the maintenance of a social system largely based on the economic system of production from pastoral agriculture. The interaction of planners and councillors, who hold differing philosophies regarding forestry development, has resulted in the adoption of planning policies and the implementation of planning ordinances and other methods of land use regulation which promote forestry development in general as a means of achieving economic growth in Rodney County while also attempting to accommodate social interests.

SUMMARY

Large scale corporate forestry by NZFP has been the predominant type of forestry development in Rodney County over the past decade. There has been some opposition to this type of development mainly by a lobby wary of social change which could result from large scale afforestation on land currently used for pastoral agriculture. Partly in order to

assuage such opposition NZFP has limited afforestation to land of marginal quality for pastoral agriculture.

Planning provisions for forestry have been enacted in response to such forestry development and associated conflict. In general, planners and councillors have accepted forestry as a land use in the public interest because it is a means of attaining economic growth in Rodney County. Both large and small scale forestry have been accepted as ways of making poor quality land more productive than otherwise. Hence, forestry has been designated a predominant use in the Rural A zone and the only regulations imposed are those intended to minimise some of the unwanted social and financial affects of forestry development but not to restrict forestry per se.

Nevertheless, further corporate forestry would be likely to meet some resistance from Rodney County residents and subsequently from councillors and planners, especially if it involved afforestation on relatively high quality land. Small scale farm based forestry is consequently viewed by decision makers as the more applicable development option for future planting. Although forestry development has been accepted to date as a wise and legitimate land use it is possible that planning provisions restricting forestry as a land use could be enacted in the extremely unlikely event of widespread corporate forestry on better quality land in the future.

Planning provisions introduced to regulate forestry development in Rodney County represent a compromise between economic motives for and the social reaction to forestry development. Varying philosophies for forestry development are held by individual councillors and planners who help steer land use change within Rodney County. Given the locationally and historically specific nature of forestry development in Rodney County to date these decision makers

have upheld economic arguments advocating forestry development, although they have attempted to accommodate social concerns, and have maintained forestry as a largely unrestricted land use.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

A structuralist analysis of the planning process pertaining to private forestry development in New Zealand reveals that the nature of the planning system according to which decisions to regulate land use are made means that planning provisions enacted to ensure the 'wise use and management' of New Zealand's land resource are unable to achieve the solution of conflict over land use change but may allow conflict amelioration. This conclusion is reached by adopting the theoretical base of structuralism by which to explain the nature and affect of planning action in response to conflict over private forestry development. The role of individuals as they affect the nature of conflict over forestry development and the planning response to this conflict is not emphasised under this approach as much as the influence of societal forces on the actions of individuals. Thus, the planning problem presented by forestry development is explained in terms of intrinsic features of capitalist society which preclude the solution of conflict resulting from changing patterns of land use associated with forestry development.

The structuralist philosophy of social science seeks to explain planning action in terms of underlying social forces of capitalist societies, such as New Zealand, which define the role of the institution and the roles of those involved in making planning decisions. Emphasis is placed on the organisational structure of planning as it affects planning action rather than on the particular affects of individuals in planning decisions. The institution of planning is conceptualised as an agency of capitalism which performs a role integral to the capitalist socio-economic system. It is seen to have a historically determined function and to be

constantly evolving as the capitalist system of commodity production evolves. People involved in making planning decisions to regulate land use are seen to act within a capitalist system and to make planning decisions in keeping with the historically defined functions of planning. Such decision makers attempt to effect the resolution of conflict that is inspired largely by the economic forces of capitalism which encourage the accumulation of capital. They act according to a role that gives them power to regulate human activity and which ensures the capitalist system is maintained even though it be transformed. This has occurred in New Zealand regarding planning for forestry development.

The farming versus forestry debate in New Zealand presents a complicated problem to people involved in land use planning. Large scale private forestry development, particularly that undertaken by corporations, has been opposed in rural communities by various interests wishing to restrict afforestation in some areas and the possibility of restrictions on forestry as a land use has been opposed by forest growers. This conflict appears to be an inevitable feature of the capitalist economic system in New Zealand. Private forestry in New Zealand can be viewed as one of many land uses that may be undertaken and forestry development as a manifestation of changing conditions of commodity production. Private forestry development is predominantly economically motivated. It is largely the result of individual developers', both small and large scale, strategies for increasingly profitable production from land holdings and has been assisted by central government policy, mainly fiscal, for forestry development. Forestry development is indicative of changing conditions of agricultural production in New Zealand. It has consequently met with inevitable opposition by people in particular areas who are wary of change in the established economic system based on pastoral agriculture and the changes in the social structure of communities that forestry development inspires.

Thus, forestry development is the outcome of underlying structures of capitalist society encouraging the transformation of capitalism in order to maintain the capitalist socio-economic system. Social conflict is an inescapable feature of this transformation. Such is the nature of conflict over private forestry development in New Zealand which those planning for land use change associated with forestry development have attempted to resolve.

Those responsible for making planning decisions regulating land use in New Zealand counties have been required by town and country planning legislation to evaluate the merits and undesirable affects of forestry development in their particular county in order to determine what is the 'wise use' of land in the area. They have been required to introduce planning regulations in accordance with policy defining the 'wise use' of land. These people have been faced with the dilemma of determining in whose interests land use regulations pertaining to forestry development should be imposed when attempting to resolve conflict over forestry development. Planning for the regulation of forestry development in New Zealand has been conducted in response to the conflict described but according to an evolving institutional structure which outlines the roles of those responsible for implementing planning regulations. The changing institutional structure of planning affects the nature of conflict resolution pertaining to forestry development. Hence, an understanding of the nature of the planning process which effects the resolution of conflict resulting from forestry development involves an investigation of the intrinsic features of the planning system which may allow or disallow problem resolution. These features are identified in this thesis by considering the nature of the institution of planning which functions to bring about the resolution of conflict over land use in New Zealand in general and the nature of planning conducted in practice in Rodney County as it occurs within this institutional

framework.

In New Zealand the institution of planning has evolved largely in response to emerging conflict of various and many types over changing patterns of land use. This conflict is an inevitable outcome of a capitalist socio-economic system where the dominant mode of production is constantly changing as conditions of production alter in order to ensure the profitable production of commodities and where land use change resulting from processes such as diversification and intensification of land use is integral to the changing nature of goods production. The State functions to maintain the capitalist system and the amelioration of social conflict is integral to this operation. As an institution of the State the planning system serves to ameliorate conflict over changing patterns of land use. It follows that as the nature of conflict inspired by changing production practices changes so will the nature of the institution of planning. This is borne witness to by the evolution of legislation governing the role and function of planning organisations in New Zealand.

The main feature of evolving legislation is the increasing centralisation of responsibility for planning policy formulation. This process serves to effect conflict resolution consistent with the so called national interest for economic development. The 'national interest' is not a non-sectarian concept, however, as it serves to uphold the interests of capitalists for continuing economic development and profitable production. The notion of the 'national interest' being for the good of all members of society tends to obscure the sectarian nature of the concept. The changing legislative framework for planning represents an evolutionary trend in the planning system that acts to maintain modes of profitable production from the land in the interests of capitalist producers while accommodating the inevitable and escalating social conflict resulting from increasing pressure

on the scarce land resource by capitalists.

Although the organisational structure of planning in New Zealand has changed planning remains an institution of the State. As such it maintains a socio-economic system where conflict between economic and social interests over changing land use is inevitable. Also, by bringing about the resolution of conflict favouring the national interest for economic growth rather than local interests for economic development the planning system may inspire further conflict between developers and those opposing land use change. Planning thus aids the transformation of capitalist society by responding to and at once inspiring contradictions between social and economic interests which are internal to the capitalist system.

Planning action to regulate forestry development in order to ensure the 'wise use' of land in New Zealand has been conducted in response to emerging conflict and in keeping with the role of planning as an institution of a capitalist state. This conceptualisation of the nature of the institution of planning has important consequences regarding the ability of those involved in land use planning in New Zealand to bring about the resolution of conflict over land use change pertaining to private forestry development. Consideration of the role of planning as an institution of the State implies that, given the socio-economic system of capitalism and the search for profit fundamental to capitalism, a solution to the problem of conflict over forestry development in New Zealand is not possible.

This conclusion is borne witness to by the Rodney County example. In Rodney County planning for forestry development has been conducted according to the legislated function of local authorities and thus in keeping with capitalist ideology. Planning provisions enacted in Rodney County are designed to minimise conflict surrounding forestry

development but the economic forces of capitalist society which inspire forestry development are unchallenged. The underlying structures of capitalist society, such as the accumulation of capital and private ownership of land, which ensure the transformation of the dominant mode of production and consequently support the capitalist system of production are maintained. It appears, then, that a pervasive and implicitly held ideology governs planning action. Those planning to accommodate land use change in Rodney County act according to this capitalist ideology. Planning for the regulation of forestry development in Rodney County is therefore conducted within a problematic which requires the amelioration of conflict but will not allow conflict solution.

Hence, innate features of the capitalist socio-economic system have precluded the solution of conflict over private, predominantly corporate, forestry development in Rodney County. This is because the people responsible for planning in Rodney County perform roles in keeping with an ideological base and institutional framework which maintain the underlying structures of capitalism. This conceptualisation of planning practice in Rodney County does not deny the role of individuals in affecting the particular nature of conflict over land use change and the nature of conflict amelioration via the planning mechanism. Rather, it shows that historically specific conflict over altering land use patterns and planning practice to resolve this conflict occurs within a socio-economic system and according to underlying forces which effect the general and ongoing transformation of capitalism. Historically specific planning action is an integral component of this process of transformation. An analysis of planning action conducted in Rodney County for the resolution of conflict over forestry development reveals the existence of wider forces at work in society which influence the nature and affect of planning in New Zealand. From the Rodney County example it is possible

to conclude, then, that planning action conducted in all New Zealand counties maintains the capitalist system even if the specific undertakings of different local authorities are contradictory.

An important point to emerge from this thesis is that in New Zealand an intendedly rational and supposedly ideology-free planning approach is used to attempt the resolution of conflict over land use change in the best interests of all members of society when inequality and social conflict are inescapable features of New Zealand society. Planning for the 'wise use' of land will invariably disadvantage some people relative to others. Land use planning is an ideological undertaking and consequently, given the capitalist system existing in New Zealand, the solution of conflict emerging with land use change is impossible. An analysis of the nature of planning for forestry development in New Zealand leads to this conclusion.

This conclusion does not mean that planning should not be undertaken as a means of resolving by amelioration the conflict of interests contingent with land use change. In Rodney County conciliation rather than confrontation between the local authority, forest developers and county residents has been attained as a result of particular planning practices. This county provides an admirable example to others of the ability of the planning system to effect the amelioration of conflict resulting from changing patterns of land use. The institution of planning and the people undertaking land use planning thus play important roles in assisting the resolution of conflict resulting from changing land use patterns in New Zealand. It should be recognised, however, that resolution of such conflict does not equate with solution. In a capitalist society, such as that of New Zealand, land use patterns will be constantly changing and social conflict concomitant with that change will be resolved through planning but new conflicts will emerge as a result of

land use change which is regulated by planning provisions. This is inevitable.

A critical point to be raised in this thesis is that institutional planning is not free of ideological influences which affect the nature of planning and preclude problem solution. Consequently, the broad goal of the 'wise use' of land is not considered to be an objective which in itself should be denied, but the claims of people responsible for planning that policies made and regulations enacted to ensure the 'wise use' of land are rational, and value free are questioned. It is held that the lack of explicit criteria for evaluating the wisdom of specific land uses which give preference to different uses, and users, is the result of an inability on the part of those responsible for planning to acknowledge that they cannot act as arbiters in disputes over land use conflicts without first approving of the planning system within which they act.

The broad concept of the 'national interest' is often upheld by people planning for rural land use in New Zealand as a criterion by which to determine what the 'wise use' of land is. This rationalisation of land development clearly allows rural development that is in the interest of the small 'class' of New Zealand capitalists. The ways in which the benefit of this development is supposed to flow on to the community at large are left largely unidentified and unplanned. Questions about what weight should be given to the earning of profits from export and internal sales at the expense of the continuity of rural society are rarely addressed. Hence, people planning for the 'wise use' of New Zealand's land resource act according to a taken for granted ideology which equates the welfare of communities with profit creation by a capitalist 'class'.

The belief held by people responsible for planning in concepts such as 'wise use' and the 'national interest' as valid goals

for planning reveals a lack of consciousness of their ideological stance. If these people are to act coherently and if they are to successfully obtain planning goals then they must make explicit the ideological nature of those goals and the subjective nature of planning. Pretending that the goals of planning are objective does not make the ideological features of these goals disappear and makes planning practice confusing. Claims of objectivity which legitimise planning action make planning a self-perpetuating practice. It is not necessary to approve or disapprove of the dominant ideology that governs planning practice but it is important to question the efficiency of planning that does not recognise the existence of this ideology.

"What is [wise use]? A word. What is in that word [wise use]? What is that [wise use]? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? ... [Wise use] is a mere scutcheon ...".

(Falstaff on "honour" in Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Part 1, Act V, Scene 1)

APPENDIX A

MATTERS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE UNDER THE TCPA 1977

- a) The conservation, protection, and enhancement of the physical, cultural, and social environment:
- b) The wise use and management of New Zealand's resources:
- c) The preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment and the margins of lakes and rivers and the protection of them from unnecessary subdivision and development:
- d) The avoidance of encroachment of urban development on, and the protection of, land having a high actual or potential value for the production of food:
- e) The prevention of sporadic subdivision and urban development in rural areas:
- f) The avoidance of unnecessary expansion of urban areas into rural areas in or adjoining cities:
- g) The relationship of the Maori people and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land.

(Section 3(1))

APPENDIX B

CLASSES OF LAND USE RESTRICTIONS ALLOWED UNDER THE TCPA 1977

Predominant:

Those which are permitted as of right provided that they comply in all respects with all controls, restrictions, prohibitions, and conditions specified in the scheme.

(Section 36(4)(a))

Conditional:

Those which are appropriate to the area but which may not be appropriate on every site or may require special conditions and which require approval as conditional uses. (Section

36(4)(b))

Conditional with non notified consent:

Those for which any district scheme has provided a class or classes of application for the exercise of any discretion conferred on Council by the scheme to be made without notice.

(Section 36(7))

Specified:

Those which are not contrary to the public interest, have little planning significance beyond the immediate vicinity and allow the provisions of the scheme to remain unchanged, or are in accord with the effect of a resolution which the Council has passed initiating a change or variation in the scheme and thereby warrant a specified departure from an operative district scheme. (Section 74(2))

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