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‘INTENSIFICATION VS URBAN SPRAWL’:

THE CULTURAL PULL TOWARDS LOW DENSITY SUBURBAN LIVING

*A dissertation
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of the requirements for the
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ABSTRACT

With the population of the Auckland region expected to reach 2 million people within the next 50 years, the physical form of the city is topical. The Regional Growth Strategy (RGS) and various other planning documents for the region apply New Urbanist principles of urban design, including compact development, and alternative transports. The focus of the current research looks generally at peoples preferred growth patterns.

From the research conducted the following major themes emerged:

- Renters and/or younger respondents favoured peripheral growth over compact;
- Home Owners and/or older respondents favoured compact growth over continued peripheral growth; although compact development was only slightly preferred over peripheral and both options combined;
- Planners strongly preferred compact development, yet none of those questioned chose this option for themselves; and,
- Space, privacy, social issues, rural and natural values and proper provision of infrastructure were strong themes of discussion from all the respondent groups.

The findings also illustrated a lack of appreciation from the general public of the benefits of medium density housing. Education and experience could enhance this understanding and reduce opposition to intensive developments in existing neighbourhoods. Finding a common link between ‘consolidationists’ and ‘expansionists’ is vital to the success of the RGS.

Many of the concepts raised in support of compact development, including adequate provision of infrastructure, protection of rural and natural values and improved transport are likely to be positive outcomes of successful implementation of the RGS. The physical size of the city is important with regard to these three issues, as well as socially. Social issues were used to justify continued peripheral development by the respondents choosing this option, however a compact

city can equally produce positive social benefits. For example ‘walkability’ positively impacts on public health and good urban design can encourage social interaction. Physical size relates directly to these notions which are promoted through more intensive urban form. The interrelationship between reasons for and against compact development should be more closely examined in the public realm.

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	II
LIST OF FIGURES	V
LIST OF TABLES.....	VII
LIST OF BOXES.....	VIII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	IX
GLOSSARY	X
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	2
1.1.1 <i>Justifying the Research</i>	3
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.2.1 <i>Research Questions</i>	4
1.2.2 <i>Research Objectives</i>	4
1.2.3 <i>Addressing the Research Questions</i>	5
1.3 PLACING THE RESEARCH.....	5
1.4 DISSERTATION OUTLINE	6
CHAPTER TWO: THE PRIVATE MARKET, PUBLIC POLICY AND URBAN FORM	7
2.0 INTRODUCTION	7
2.1 THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE SEARCH FOR UTOPIA.....	7
2.2 THE PROBLEM OF UNCONTROLLED SUBURBAN GROWTH	9
2.3 TRADITIONS OF HOME OWNERSHIP.....	10
2.4 POLITICAL & ECONOMIC STRUCTURES CONTRIBUTING TO LOW DENSITY GROWTH	11
2.5 THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR ON ACCOMMODATION CHOICES	13
2.6 LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND GROWTH IN THE AUCKLAND REGION	14
2.7 ARGUMENTS FOR PERIPHERAL GROWTH	17
2.8 THE INFLUENCE OF THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ACT 1991.....	18
CHAPTER THREE: CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO URBAN DESIGN	21
3.0 INTRODUCTION	21
3.1 SOCIAL IMPACTS & URBAN DESIGN	21
3.2 WHAT DO SUBURBAN RESIDENTS WANT?.....	25
3.3 TRADEOFFS AND AFFORDABILITY.....	29
3.4 PUBLIC VS PRIVATE GOOD	30

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY	33
4.0 INTRODUCTION	33
4.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND HYPOTHESIS.....	33
4.2 PHASE ONE	34
4.3 PHASE TWO.....	35
4.4 LIMITATIONS.....	36
4.4.1 <i>Phase One Limitations</i>	36
4.4.2 <i>Phase Two Limitations</i>	37
4.4.3 <i>Alternative Methods of Data Collection</i>	37
CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS.....	39
5.0 INTRODUCTION	39
5.1 PHASE ONE	39
5.1.1 <i>Part One</i>	40
5.1.2 <i>Part Two</i>	43
5.2 PHASE TWO.....	45
5.2.1 <i>Intensive Housing Development</i>	46
5.2.2 <i>General Accommodation Choices</i>	48
5.2.3 <i>Initial Reasons for Purchasing</i>	49
5.2.4 <i>Current Situation</i>	49
5.2.5 <i>Neighbourhood Qualities</i>	52
5.3 SUMMARY.....	57
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION	58
6.0 INTRODUCTION	58
6.1 GENERAL FINDINGS	58
6.2 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	64
6.2.1 <i>To what extent do traditional ideals influence peoples accommodation choices?</i>	64
6.2.2 <i>What effect will traditional values of home ownership have on the success of the Regional Growth Strategy?</i>	66
6.2.3 <i>What form of growth would the general public prefer for the Auckland region?</i>	67
6.2.4 <i>What tradeoffs are people willing to make regarding their own accommodation to achieve a more intensive city?</i>	68
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING STATEMENT	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	I
APPENDIX A: PHASE ONE QUESTIONNAIRE.....	VIIIVIII
APPENDIX B: PHASE TWO QUESTIONNAIRE	IX
APPENDIX C: QUALITATIVE ANSWERS TO PHASE ONE; RODNEY RESPONDENTS	XXII
APPENDIX D: QUALITATIVE ANSWERS TO PHASE ONE; NORTH SHORE RESPONDENTS.....	XXIII

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO URBAN DESIGN

FIGURES 3.1 & 3.2	PLANTING AND FENCING SEPARATE THE HOUSE FROM THE STREET.
FIGURE 3.3	SMALLER SITES COMBINED WITH FRONT YARD SETBACKS ENCOURAGE FENCING.
FIGURE 3.4	MARKETING CAMPAIGNS EXPLOIT RECENT BACKLASH AGAINST MEDIUM DENSITY HOUSING.
FIGURES 3.4 & 3.5	FENCING IS SO COMMONPLACE IT IS OFTEN THE FIRST THING BUILT.
FIGURES 3.7 & 3.8	CONTEMPORARY HOUSE DESIGN EMPHASISES PRIVACY.
FIGURES 3.9 & 3.10	GARAGES OFTEN DOMINATE, PARTICULARLY IN NEWER AREAS.
FIGURES 3.11 & 3.12	REPETITIOUS TERRACE HOUSING DOES LITTLE TO PROMOTE HIGHER DENSITIES.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

FIGURE 5.1	TOTAL 'RODNEY' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.2	TOTAL 'NORTH SHORE' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.3	TOTAL 'COLLEGE OF EDUCATION' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.4	TOTAL 'PLANNERS' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.5	HOME OWNERS COMBINED 'NORTH SHORE' & 'RODNEY' SAMPLES PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.6	RENTERS COMBINED 'NORTH SHORE' & 'RODNEY' SAMPLES PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.7	HOME OWNERS 'COLLEGE OF EDUCATION' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.8	RENTERS 'COLLEGE OF EDUCATION' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.9	HOME OWNERS 'RODNEY' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.10	HOME OWNERS 'NORTH SHORE' PHASE ONE: PERIPHERAL VS COMPACT GROWTH
FIGURE 5.11	PHASE ONE: GENERAL CONCEPTS GIVEN IN SUPPORT OF PERIPHERAL DEVELOPMENT

FIGURE 5.12	PHASE ONE: GENERAL CONCEPTS GIVEN IN SUPPORT OF COMPACT DEVELOPMENT
FIGURE 5.13	PHASE TWO: 'IMPORTANT QUALITIES IN A SUBURB' (QUESTION 34)
FIGURE 5.14	PHASE TWO: 'AMENITIES PROVIDED IN NEIGHBOURHOODS' (QUESTION 35)

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

TABLE 4.1 SAMPLING METHOD/S & NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS FOR EACH AREA.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

TABLE 5.1 RESPONDENTS SELECTED FOR FURTHER QUESTIONING

TABLE 5.2 PHASE TWO: QUALITIES VS AMENITIES PROVIDED

LIST OF BOXES

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

- Box 5.1: SAMPLE OF RESPONSES FROM PHASE ONE
- Box 5.2: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 8 “WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON INTENSIVE HOUSING”
- Box 5.3: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 10 “WOULD YOU CHOOSE INTENSIVE HOUSING FOR YOURSELF? WHY/WHY NOT?”
- Box 5.4: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 9 “WHAT EFFECT DO YOU THINK INTENSIVE HOUSING WILL HAVE ON YOUR PROPERTY, SHOULD IT GO AHEAD IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?”
- Box 5.5: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 11 “WHAT WOULD ATTRACT YOU TO LIVE IN HIGH DENSITY ACCOMMODATION?”
- Box 5.6: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 13 “WHAT DO YOU LOOK FOR IN THE AREA YOU CHOOSE TO LIVE?”
- Box 5.7: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 14 “WHY DID YOU MOVE TO YOUR CURRENT AREA?”
- Box 5.8: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 22 “WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT YOUR CURRENT HOME?” AND 19 “WHAT INITIALLY ATTRACTED YOU TO YOUR HOME?”.
- Box 5.9: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 23 “WHAT DON’T YOU LIKE?”
- Box 5.10: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 21: “WHAT OTHER ASPECTS WERE CONSIDERED AT THAT TIME?”
- Box 5.11: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 26 “IF YOU COULD CHANGE/ADD/REMOVE ANYTHING ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD TO IMPROVE IT – WHAT WOULD IT BE?”
- Box 5.12: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 37(ii) “WHY/WHY NOT? (*WOULD YOU LIVE IN A HIGH DENSITY AREA IF IT OFFERED THE QUALITIES YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED AS BEING IMPORTANT*)”.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

- Box 6.1 PHASE ONE REASONS RELATING TO ‘SPACE’.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC	AUCKLAND CITY COUNCIL
ARC	AUCKLAND REGIONAL COUNCIL
MfE	MINISTRY FOR THE ENVIRONMENT
NSCC	NORTH SHORE CITY COUNCIL
NIMBY	‘NOT IN MY BACKYARD’
PCE	PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONER FOR THE ENVIRONMENT
RDC	RODNEY DISTRICT COUNCIL
RGF	REGIONAL GROWTH FORUM
RGS	REGIONAL GROWTH STRATEGY
RMA	RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ACT 1991
TLA	TERRITORIAL LOCAL AUTHORITY
WCC	WAITAKERE CITY COUNCIL

GLOSSARY

Climate Change Refers to a suspected phenomenon of increasing global temperatures brought by human activity.

High Density A compact form of urban development such as apartment blocks and high rise buildings.

Low Density A pattern of suburban development where dwellings are 'standalone' on a site of more than approximately 300sqm, such as the standard pattern of development for suburban Auckland.

Medium Density A form of development more intensive than the standard for suburban New Zealand, characterised by site sizes of approximately 150-300m²; including terrace and integrated housing.

***Please Note:** Often the terms high and medium density are used synonymously. While the term 'high density' is used in the questionnaire is refers to what would be known academically as medium density.*

Sustainable Management See Part II of the Resource Management Act 1991.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This research stems from an increasing interest in the development and context of urban form, and the effects of this on society's social infrastructure. Being at a stage in life when my peers and myself are purchasing our first homes, experiencing our first 'mortgage', not to mention the never ending chores associated with it all, raised questions as to why am I doing all this! While the benefits of home ownership were noted, I realised that I had jumped into this situation without thinking – doing what was 'normal' at that stage in life. In keeping with the typical 'worst house in the best street' scenario, my partner and I bought the big back yard, typical New Zealand house, with little consideration of alternative accommodation options, barely even looking at more intensive housing, based on a selfish perception of status.

A number of core concepts underlie this research.

- The physical shape and design of Auckland's urban area being topical.
- Increased urban and rural development in the Auckland region likely to expand the population to almost 2 million over the next 50 years.
- The combined efforts of the various territorial local authorities (TLA's) in the establishment and implementation of the Regional Growth Strategy (RGS).

Recent public backlash against intensive developments has lead some TLA's to produce 'design guidelines' for developers. While the NIMBY ('not in my backyard') mindset may account for some of this backlash, simple cultural bias may also be responsible for

some of the negative reaction. Historically both local and central government policies have promoted increased peripheral growth. While we often hear people complaining of the loss of valuable rural land through continued growth, when it comes to the crunch are people willing to give up their more traditional lifestyles? More work may be needed in promoting the benefits of living in high density accommodation. This dissertation looks generally at people's preferred growth patterns.

1.1 The Research Problem

The RGS recognises that the existing population of the Auckland region (approximately 1.5 million) could reach 2 million by the year 2050. The Strategy encourages compact nodal development, rather than continued urban sprawl. It places less emphasis on general suburban infill as a way of accommodating growth, focussing on redevelopment and intensification of specific identified areas (or nodes) and along transport corridors.

Modern New Zealand was borne on low density development as an escape from overcrowded conditions in industrial England in the late 1700's/early 1800's. More recently we have seen an influx of immigrants from Asian countries escaping the congestion and economic uncertainty of their home countries in the hope of owning their own piece of paradise. Intensive development has been promoted as the Auckland region increases in size. There has been an influx of growth in the 'small towns' – which are still able to offer a low density 'village' lifestyle, affordable to the average person.

We have found ourselves caught between traditional concepts of home ownership and the adverse social and environmental effects of urban sprawl, with increasing land values, fluctuating petrol prices and increasing environmental awareness. The adverse effects of a sprawling city are recognised however the question of whether residents are willing to give up low density accommodation for a more compact city remains an issue. Current planning strategies, such as the RGS, grapple with methods to accommodate increasing populations, while balancing often conflicting environmental, social, cultural and economic concerns. A more compact city may seem the obvious answer to those wishing to protect high quality environments and preserve surrounding

rural areas, however the strong cultural pull for the traditional New Zealand house and section, may need to be addressed.

New Zealanders have been born and bred on single dwelling per section living. The aim of this research is to contribute towards a greater understanding of peoples housing choices and preferences, in addition to their attitudes towards intensive housing.

1.1.1 Justifying the Research

[Creating a more sustainable urban form] involves a transformation not only of our existing urban form but of society, that fundamentally reshapes our cultural base and social structures (Lunday, 1996:22).

In his statement, James Lunday recognised the implicit link between urban form and the social and cultural structures driving its development. This dissertation attempts to address the gap between the environmentally driven efforts to tackle the adverse effects of urban sprawl and the opposing cultural forces which promote continued peripheral growth.

Participants were chosen largely on the basis of the type of accommodation in which they currently dwell (ie. single dwelling per site). Two further groups of participants were chosen to obtain perspectives based on other characteristics. A group of students from the Auckland College of Education to gain a youth perspective, and a group of planners to gain a practitioners perspective. The intention of the research was to provide valuable insights for further work focusing on the expectations and desires of residents living in the Auckland Region. Some areas for further research are suggested in the text.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The primary objective of this research is to examine the attitudes and desires of residents in the Auckland region regarding housing and local urban form. Two separate surveys were undertaken to address the research questions.

1.2.1 Research Questions

A number of research questions underlie and guide this study. While there is considerable literature on urban design, there is much less on the social effects of urban form or the social structure driving the physical growth of a city, town or township, or the neighbourhood areas of each, in the New Zealand context. The main objective of the contextual research (Chapters Two and Three) is to provide a broad framework, illustrating the reasons for the form of physical growth in Auckland thus far, as well as outlining modern urban design approaches and objectives.

The following questions guide the field research:

1. To what extent do traditional ideals influence peoples' accommodation choices?
2. What effect could traditional values of home ownership have on the success of the Regional Growth Strategy?
3. What form of growth would the general public prefer for the Auckland region?
4. What tradeoffs are people willing to make regarding their own accommodation ideals to achieve a more intensive city?

1.2.2 Research Objectives

Considering the questions listed above, the following objectives guide this dissertation:

1. To ascertain the level of understanding the general public have regarding the concepts of urban sprawl and intensification.

2. To determine what degree of influence housing traditions have on our current accommodation choices.
3. To ascertain how willing the general population are to curb urban sprawl in terms of compromising personal ideals.
4. To ascertain the degree of influence community wide environmental and social amenity factors have on peoples' accommodation decisions.

1.2.3 Addressing the Research Questions

The primary means by which the research questions and objectives are addressed is through a review of theoretical and contextual material, and field-based research. A review of relevant literature, the methodology outlining how information was gained through field research and the results of this fieldwork are explored respectively.

The final section of this chapter provides an outline of the contents of this dissertation.

1.3 Placing the Research

Resource and Environmental Planning (or 'Town Planning' as it is more commonly known) is multi-disciplinary incorporating fields such as geography, ecology, earth science, architecture, economics and sociology. This dissertation takes a social science perspective, addressing the cultural forces behind urban growth and development.

Social research contributes to a planning epistemology by allowing planners and policy makers a greater insight into the consequences of the decisions they make. While some planning research can be based on more pure science, for example demographic projections and ecological analysis, a great deal requires what Bracken (1981) identifies as a 'communicative' approach to research. The communicative approach emphasises interaction between communities and/or individuals and their environment and is limited to observation, rather than experimentation or manipulation.

While many qualitative methods were available for collection of the data, a survey approach was adopted in this instance. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four: Methodology.

1.4 Dissertation Outline

In order to place this research in a theoretical context, Chapters Two and Three consist of broad discussion of urban form in both New Zealand and internationally, based on both recent and more classical literature. Chapter Two focuses on the roots of physical urban form, whilst Chapter Three concentrates on more recent trends of 'smart' urban growth, including modern design trends such as those promoted by 'New Urbanism'.

Chapter Four details the methodology adopted to address the research questions. The predominant methodological style is a survey approach, within which two written questionnaires were administered, comprising both qualitative and quantitative questions. Methods used in data analysis are also outlined in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five provides a descriptive overview of the data gathered in response to the research questions. Results are presented in table and graph forms where appropriate, to provide illustration of possible correlation's between variables.

Chapter Six provides a critical discussion of the results drawing on the relevant theoretical literature discussed in Chapters Two and Three. This chapter provides insight into the findings through comparisons to previous academic research undertaken in similar fields.

Finally, Chapter Seven concludes the research.

CHAPTER TWO: THE PRIVATE MARKET, PUBLIC POLICY AND URBAN FORM

2.0 Introduction

Consideration of urban form came to the fore in town planning during the industrial revolution. As increasing numbers of agrarian communities moved into cities, city officials found it difficult to cope with the social and environmental problems the growing populations caused. Today, although many of the major issues and concerns have changed, the fundamental problem of how best to accommodate increasing populations, while socially benefiting both the public and private realm, and protecting and enhancing our environment, remains a topical issue.

This chapter examines housing in the Auckland region in light of central and local public policies, and private market influences. It discusses the time honoured traditional “Kiwi ¼ acre”, looking at the origins of this ideology and where its future may lie.

2.1 The Industrial Revolution and the Search for Utopia

In his 1898 book ‘Tomorrow’ Ebenezer Howard posed the question “The people – where will they go?”. Over 100 years later, planners still ponder that same question, and will likely continue to do so over the next 100 years (Hall, 1999). Living through the Industrial Revolution, Howard and his contemporaries sought methods to create liveable communities outside of the main city centres. Peoples’ basic needs were at

question, as the devastating effects of industrialisation on the social conditions of post-agrarian communities came to disconcerting realisation.

Kunstler (1994:37) writes

The spread of slums, the hypergrowth and congestion of manufacturing cities, the noise and stench of the industrial process, debased urban life all over the Western world and led to a great yearning for escape.

This yearning for escape promoted growth in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and the United States as people sought land, space and independence (Kunstler, 1994 and 1996; Hall, 1999; Davison, 1993). Utopian dreams were exploited through the marketing strategies of companies such as Wakefield's 'The New Zealand Company', which attempted to persuade English gentlemen to immigrate to New Zealand (Dalziel, 1976). Not only was it the Colonies (e.g. New Zealand and Australia) that were a place of escape, but later the suburbs of cities within the colonies, which as Davison (1993:64) points out were largely shaped "by the logic of avoidance".

The conditions faced during the Industrial Revolution led Howard to develop his 'Garden Cities' model. Adequate living space was the major issue (Davison, 1993). Howard attempted to combine positive aspects of both town and country to create better living conditions, which allowed people to congregate whilst still enjoying the natural qualities of the countryside. Howard and his contemporaries laid the groundwork for modern planning, introducing concepts such as single use zoning, greenbelts, urban decentralisation, integration of nature into urban settings and the development of satellite cities (Davison, 1993; LeGates & Stout, 1996).

The pursuit of utopia through garden city ideals has translated into the pursuit of the status of house and land ownership. Davison (1993) writes that the 'founders' of Australian suburbs anticipated a sprawl of homes and gardens at the outset, as opposed to the alleys and terrace housing from their home countries (specifically Great Britain). This can almost certainly be related to New Zealand also, as many of the patterns of immigration are similar.

2.2 The Problem of Uncontrolled Suburban Growth

Planners today are grappling with a reverse, yet somewhat more complex situation to that of Ebenezer Howard. Increasing and more affluent populations threaten ecosystems and productive land (Davison, 1993). However, constantly improving technologies allow denser accommodations and mixed-use live/work situations without the appalling consequences seen during the industrial revolution.

This situation becomes somewhat of a paradox when marketing and political policies of the post war period are considered. Promotion of low density living as being vital to quality of life and mental, social and physical wellbeing in countries such as USA, Australia and New Zealand may have resulted in the pursuit of this egalitarian ideal without thought of the long term effects.

Ever-busy, ever-building, ever-in-motion, ever-throwing-out the old for the new, we have hardly paused to think about what we are so busy building, and what we may have thrown away (Kunstler, 1994:10).

It becomes a 'common sense' ideal, where one does not have to explain his/her reasoning, because it is simply accepted by society as 'the norm'. Whether or not it is the most practical living situation today is irrelevant. In Green Views (a new subdivision on the outskirts of Melbourne, Australia) residents accept the lack of infrastructure and amenity for non-working mothers and teenagers, as a given, in favour of the apparent status and pleasure of owning a new home in a desirable area (Richards, 1991). As illustrated in Green Views, people often trade-off potential quality of life indicators for individual home ownership.

Suburban growth has been particularly predominant in the post World War II era (Kunstler, 1994; Pendall, 1999). Kunstler (1994:10) points out that "80% of everything ever built in America has been built in the last 50 years". While the urban population of the United States has doubled, the area occupied by that growth has quintupled (Mitchell, 2001). New York has grown physically by approximately 30% yet has

recorded little population increase (Cameron, 2000; Weiwei *et al.*, 1999; Pendall, 1999). The United States of America has reached a point where sprawl is considered one of the premier issues currently affecting the environment (Mitchell, 2001).

In 1969, when discussing how to accommodate increasing populations, Constantin Doxiadis wrote “the most dangerous escapist solutions are those which advocate a return to small towns ... still more dangerous is the theory recommending as the ideal solution the establishment of new satellite towns outside the large cities” (from Legates & Stout, 1996:462). While Doxiadis’ ‘Ecumenopolis’ (a world city created from the ever increasing networks of sprawling cities) may seem far removed from the perceptions of the common citizen, ‘suburban sprawl’ is a topical issue for both planning and lay communities world-wide. Doxiadis argued that correct planning could produce liveable sprawling cities.

2.3 Traditions of Home Ownership

Economic structures have a significant impact on the shape of cities (Davison, 1993; Nivola, 2000). Public policies in New Zealand of the last 70 years have encouraged an ideal which has led the majority of New Zealanders to strongly believe home ownership should occur ‘as of right’. New Zealand has one of the highest rates of home ownership in the world along with Australia, (although this has dropped from 73.4% in 1991 to 68.9% in 1996) (Kirwan, 1992; Richards, 1991; ACC *et al.*, 2001). Although for many Aucklanders the idea of a quarter acre section may be a thing of the past, the notion of a single site dwelling such as those found in ‘the suburbs’ is still something strived towards.

“The suburb has become so closely identified with popular conceptions of the good life that any move away from it, for example towards urban consolidation, is apt to be viewed as an attack upon people’s living standards.” (Davison 1993:63)

The Auckland RGF undertook research of attitudes of residents living in, or next to, high density dwellings to better understand perceived benefits and detriments of more

intensive accommodation. As part of the 'Residential Research and Monitoring Programme, Stage 1: Community Perceptions and Attitudes', researchers questioned both residents of high density developments and their neighbours. The results showed three types of neighbours. 39% of those neighbours interviewed rejected the concept of high density housing "on philosophical grounds, in the belief that everyone in New Zealand ideally 'deserves' to live in a standalone house on a full section". Another 32% accepted the concept for others but not for themselves; and 29% accepted it for themselves in certain circumstances (ARC, 2000:16).

In her introduction to Robert Kiyosaki's book 'Rich Dad Poor Dad' Sharon Lechter stated "The world around us has changed, but the advice hasn't" (1997:2). Although associated with money management, this quote can be related to the purchasing of a house also. What we chose to buy and whether we chose to buy or rent is often a reaction learnt conditionally, rather than a carefully considered investment option (Richards, 1991).

"A retired man recalled his setting out on the proper path. Owning your own home was 'a fundamental thing when I was 16 years of age. And my parents taught that to me. My first thing in life was to buy a home, and then everything came after that'" (Richards, 1991; 121).

2.4 Political & Economic Structures Contributing to Low Density Growth

New Zealand has a strong tradition of home ownership. Michael Joseph Savage and the first Labour Government of New Zealand initiated what is now known as the 'Welfare State', the social and economic policies which shaped in New Zealand a pioneering base for the philosophical egalitarian view of home and land for all. Under the leadership of Savage this government introduced socialist policies that aimed to guarantee New Zealand citizens were provided with social and personal security from 'the cradle to the grave'. The Welfare State, set in motion the now strongly held belief of home ownership 'as of right' for all New Zealanders.

State mortgage financing was first introduced in New Zealand under the Advances to Workers Act 1906, which aimed to finance urban housing. In 1936 Savage established the State Advances Corporation which provided low interest loans for land development and housing. During this time the Labour Government also set up an initiative to provide state housing for all identified as 'deserving' (Oliver, 1977). The construction of the state houses was a great source of employment as well as vastly improving the housing situation within New Zealand.

Many of the policies initiated by the Savage Government were kept in place and even extended by successive National Governments that held power until the mid 1980's. However, in 1984 the fourth Labour Government set about dismantling these long standing socialist provisions in favour of neo-liberal or 'New Right' concepts of deregulation. As Davison (1993) pointed out with regard to similar Australian conditions, today's economic and environmental limitations have forced us to review the reasons we aspire to the ideal of home and land ownership.

New Zealand was not alone in its promotion of socialist public policies prior to the 1980's. Post World War II economic and planning policies in Australia have also been driven by the desire to generate a constant supply of affordable housing. Tax systems in Australia and New Zealand have created a situation where home owners are protected and encouraged (Kirwan, 1992). It is now recognised that such policies have also engendered urban sprawl (Kirwan, 1992). With one of the highest levels of home ownership world-wide there is little chance of complete reversal of these economic conditions in New Zealand.

In his article titled 'Are European Cities Better?' Pietro Nivola (2000) argues that compact European cities are not a result of clever planning techniques but rather a consequence of agricultural subsidies, high consumer taxes (ie. on gas, car imports, electricity etc) and anti 'big block/megastores' policies. One should question, however, the degree to which economic mechanisms used in many European cities facilitated compact urban form as suggested by Nivola, or rather if they were created to protect traditional urban cultures. Evers *et al.* (2000) looked to strategic growth management

strategies, frameworks and guiding principles, when comparing the growth patterns of the Netherlands and the US, which they claim have weak planning traditions.

Kirwan (1992) discussed local planning ordinances which obstruct attempts for higher density developments. Developers involved in the ARC Residential Research and Monitoring Programme indicated frustration at local land-use policies which exaggerate monetary and time costs, often making high or medium density developments uneconomical. Local authorities limited in their solutions to this problem find themselves caught between the competing needs to supply infrastructure, enhance quality of life to existing residents, keep rates to a minimum and continue to encourage further housing increases at affordable levels.

2.5 The Influence of the Private Sector on Accommodation Choices

Marketing has been highlighted as a major contributor to the desire of consumers in the late 20th century. Marketing strategies have become so sophisticated that they attack our psyche, playing with our need for social acceptance. Langdon (1994) discussed the influence of marketing on the building sector. He observed that the language, house design, neighbourhood design, even the design of the letterbox is all determined by marketing factors. For example, labelling a development a 'village' creates a perception of a strong community in what could actually be an empty subdivision. The subdivision (Green Views) discussed by Richards (1991) advertised 'lifestyle' as the purchase, rather than housing, or neighbourhood amenity.

Langdon (1994) claimed that marketing has outplayed practicality in the design of modern developments. Developers employ planning methods which appeal to buyers on an individual level, yet may not in the long term provide the best social and environmental outcomes. For example, a new subdivision may offer an outstanding spatial experience through innovative landscape features, however once residents have moved in, these same subdivisions often lack pedestrian orientation and become devoid of activity, creating a feeling of social isolation among residents. Bernheim (2001:81) points out, with regard to 'green' development, "most developers are interested in near-term returns ... less attention is paid to long term costs".

The extent of demand vs supply needs to be considered. Developers argue that they supply what the market demands (Gordon & Keston, 2001). As Hopper (2001) pointed out in his recent paper to the New Zealand Planning Institute Conference, the preferred option for the development industry is always that which yields the greatest profit. In a recent publication produced by the Auckland Regional Council (2001:5), it is noted that “the demand for smaller houses may be supply driven rather than demand driven”.

This may be particularly so for those on limited incomes. A correlation between supply and purchase does not always indicate a clear correlation between supply and demand. Purchase decision, particularly in lower price ranges, may involve making the most of what is available rather than getting exactly what is desired (ARC, 2001). As mentioned earlier, Richards (1991) observed a clear indication of acceptance of lack of provisions for specific needs, particularly those of teenagers and non-working mothers, as given, with no complaint. Many of the Green Views residents who participated in Richard’s research, traded the convenience of neighbourhood amenity in an older and possibly less respected community, for the status of home ownership in a newly established subdivision.

The builders and developers always fall back on the argument that if people didn’t like it they wouldn’t buy it. This is a vastly oversimplified version of what’s really going on. Many homebuyers buy houses or communities that they know are flawed. They buy them because of the location, the quality of the local schools, or the price, even though they might prefer houses and communities very different from what the builders and developers are offering (Langdon, 1994:78).

2.6 Local Government Policies and Growth in the Auckland Region

Auckland’s Regional Growth Strategy sets a direction for growth in the region over the next 50 years. Effective implementation of the Strategy also depends on partnerships between the various local authorities, other infrastructure providers and agencies such as Transit New Zealand, Watercare Services Ltd and the wider community.

Current growth patterns in Auckland present something of a dichotomy for planners and developers. The Auckland region was without question New Zealand's fastest growing region for the year ending June 2000, accounting for 85% of New Zealand's 0.5% growth in that period (ARC, 01). Much of this growth occurred in the Rodney District, Auckland's fastest growing district, where a growth rate of 2.4% was recorded, compared with Auckland region's 1.5% (ARC, 01). Furthermore, while some of this growth is occurring within the urban Orewa/Hibiscus Coast area, much of the growth is rural, being accommodated firstly in the general rural areas, secondly within small towns such as Waimauku & Omaha, and lastly within the larger rural towns such as Wellsford, which actually recorded negative growth during the decade 1986-1996 (ARC, 2000).

Growth is being attracted to the city for the usual reasons of opportunity however much of this is being accommodated in the surrounding satellite towns or rural areas, which offer the attraction of low density living within easy access (increasingly so with the development of the new State Highway 1 and planned State Highway 18 Motorways) to the main business areas.

The Rodney District encompasses the northern-most part of the Auckland region. The RGS envisages a population increase of 168% for Rodney District, the highest for all seven of the region's local territories. Managing this growth is likely to be an intricate juggling act for Rodney District, particularly considering the high quality environments of the area and the strong desire for residents to preserve the rural nature of both the peri-urban and rural areas. Research looking at the attitudes of Rodney's residents found that most value both the proximity to, and distance from Auckland (Forsythe Research, 1996).

Around 65% of the region's current growth is through natural increase. The RGS expects this trend will continue (RGS, 1998). It is likely that much of this escalating population will want accommodation similar to existing areas. There is currently an increase in higher density/low maintenance accommodation and, conversely, a proliferation in peri-urban rural/residential development.

Public transport proposals have been toyed with in greater Auckland since the 1950's when the Halcrow Thomas report recommended an electric rail system and later in 1966 when the *de Leuw Cather Transportation Plan* recommended comprehensive public and private transport systems, favouring public as the priority. However numerous planning strategies such as the 1951 Auckland Metropolitan Planning Organisation's *Outline Development Plan*, the 1955 Auckland Regional Planning Authorities *Master Transportation Plan for Metropolitan Auckland* and the opening of the Harbour Bridge in 1959, have continued to encourage private transport over public due to the scattered nature and persistent growth pattern of the Auckland region (RGF, 1997).

Containment policies for Auckland have been hindered by the incessant promotion of development and improvements to roads and motorways, as has also been found overseas (Mitchell, 2001; RGF, 1997). Welfare State economic and social policies of various central governments, discussed previously, also contradicted regional planning schemes for a more consolidated Auckland region. However, in their account of the Auckland region's planning history, the Regional Growth Forum (1997:19) maintains that these urban containment and consolidation policies "may have been more successful than we think", and point out that the Metropolitan Urban Limits have moved little since the 1950's. Although a good portion of growth has been absorbed into existing urban areas, Auckland has in fact physically grown substantially over this period. The lack of any extension to the urban limits may be attributed more to their original placement than to absence of change, if indeed this statement is correct (Bates, 2001; Lyndsay, 2001).

The RGF debates the term 'urban sprawl' opting rather for 'peripheral growth', and attempts to focus discussion on the specific location and form of such growth arguing that "most people live in what was once considered sprawl" (1997:18). This writer however questions the legitimacy and value of such debate - call it what you will, the adverse consequences of constant, unfocused physical growth remain. Furthermore the RGF have provided a limited definition of the term 'sprawl' ("low density growth from city edges" (1997:18)).

So what is 'Sprawl'? As Pendall (1999) points out defining sprawl can be a difficult task, and may be better pictured as one end of a continuum rather than a distinct category. Sprawl encompasses a broader concept than that of 'peripheral growth'. It encompasses forms of unfocused growth, such as infill housing, also seen by many as problematic (Miller, 1996; Nixon, 1997) and is therefore discouraged by the Regional Growth Strategy.

The physical size of Auckland is large by world standards yet with a relatively undersized population. For example Curitiba in Brazil has a metropolitan population of 1.5 million, yet a landmass of only 432km² compared to Auckland region's metropolitan area of 540km², with a similar population base. Curitiba is renowned internationally for its innovative planning methods, enhancing the social and physical attributes of the city and contributing to its high growth rate of 3.4% compared with the national growth rate for Brazil of 1.53% (www.curitiba.pr.gov.br; PCE, 2001). Curitiba has a self-funding and inexpensive public transport system, with one of the highest user rates in the world. While social, geographical and economic conditions differ from those of Auckland, we can learn valuable lessons from cities such as Curitiba, a view shared by New Zealand's Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE, 2001).

2.7 Arguments For Peripheral Growth

Is continued growth on the fringe of the city necessarily a bad thing? Nixon (1997) does not perceive this growth as a threat, and even argues that medium or low intensity development would be a lesser threat than rural allotments in terms of wastage of versatile soils and productive land and amenity values.

Edward Goldsmith (2001), a renowned ecologist, argues that high and medium density development is counterproductive to efforts for sustainable development. In a recent interview he argued that small-scale, self-sustainable village-like communities would provide a sound solution to current environmental problems, as opposed to concentrating people and infrastructure in one area. This argument supports that of Nixon (1997), in that continued peripheral growth does not necessarily waste productive soils. With larger sections, residents can have their own gardens or run small scale

agricultural or horticultural enterprises that will contribute to the greater community through ecological sustainability.

In New Zealand, currently, with its low population figures this may be possible, however in more densely populated countries, such as Japan, this would be infinitely more difficult to achieve. Goldsmith himself admits to this and advises New Zealand to tighten its immigration policies in order to restrict population growth. Although this may be good in theory, controlling population levels is in reality a complex task. As the population increases and available land decreases we will find ourselves asking, once again, ‘the people – where will they go?’

It is interesting to note that while Goldsmith argues against increasing densities in his quest to reduce the effects of climate change, a recent survey co-ordinated by the Ministry for the Environment (MfE) (2001) on the contribution of New Zealand’s Territorial Local Authorities (TLA’s) to minimising climate change impacts found that most TLA’s considered energy efficiency required an increase in urban densities.

2.8 The Influence of the Resource Management Act 1991

1991 heralded a new paradigm for environmental policy in New Zealand. The previous Town and Country Planning Act and related legislation was replaced with the Resource Management Act 1991. Public debate spurred on by increasing environmental understanding on both global and domestic levels was characteristic of both the new environmental legislation and its development.

Influenced by changes in the thinking of the time, the ‘Resource Management Law Reforms’ were part of a larger framework of public reforms as New Zealand’s state and major legislative value base shifted from left wing socialist grounding to a right wing or ‘New Right’ liberalist administration. Key concepts associated with New Right in New Zealand include monetarism, market liberalism, commercialisation/privatisation, local government reorganisation and decentralisation of environmental decision making (May 1996). The then Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, sought to create a free-market by taking control of the economy out of Crown hands and giving more control and freedom

to the public. Minister for the Environment, Geoffrey Palmer, took this concept into the environmental mandate when he developed the RMA.

The past 50 years have seen a public awakening to the devastating effects on the environment from depletion of the world's natural resources. Yet during this period we have also seen an increase in exploitative activity and a decrease in resources, life forms and areas of land still in a natural state. Dr Aldo Leopold wrote in 1947 that in order to combat negative effects that anthropocentric activities caused, a whole new ethic, a 'land ethic', was needed. Today this ethic, translated into an 'environmental ethic' is slowly pushing its way into many aspects of society, through legislation and education, to help create a more sustainable future.

New Zealand's international commitments increased dramatically during the 1970's and 1980's. In 1972 New Zealand was party to nine international environmental treaties. By 1997 that figure had jumped to more than 50, most needing to be reflected in domestic law. Increased environmental awareness and understanding on both a global and local scale and global concerns addressed by international treaties influencing national and local legislation pushed public interest and pressure in this area and highlighted the misdemeanour behind New Zealand's 'clean green image'. Although New Zealand had adopted for itself an image of an environmentally friendly state, it was not the haven it pretended to be. Burhs & Bartlett (1993:37) describe New Zealand's clean green image as "inflated if not false". (Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) and interest groups were also fighting to have more input into the environment).

Sustainability – a concept of the last 30 years or so – recognises that the economy and nature are intrinsically linked and has become one of the guiding principles of our future (Tryzna, 1995). 'Sustainable development' as a concept was promoted by the 1987 WCED report *Our Common Future* (The Brundtland Report) and further developed in *Caring for the Earth* and *Agenda 21*. The *Brundtland Report* defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs" (1987: 43).

Within the new Zealand context, the purpose of the Resource Management Act 1991 is to promote sustainable management of environmental and physical resources rather than the broader umbrella term of sustainable development discussed internationally. This purpose is integral to the management of New Zealand's resources and has a key influence on planning methodologies and outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO URBAN DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

Urban design is a dynamic field encompassing skills from a range of sectors including architecture and planning, as well as human sciences. While the architecture of buildings is important, urban design includes consideration of urban spaces, and the interaction between spaces, buildings and people. Currently in Auckland, and indeed throughout New Zealand, urban design standards and guidelines are being introduced, as awareness of the positive effects of good design increases.

This chapter discusses in brief, recent trends in urban design internationally and locally (both within Auckland and New Zealand as a whole), with particular attention paid to social impacts of design. Auckland's current physical form is then discussed. Finally, the wants and needs of individuals and communities are reviewed, in light of research from both the United States and within the Auckland region.

3.1 Social Impacts & Urban Design

More and more practitioners are realising the effect of urban form on sustainability. For example, higher densities in selected nodes may encourage neighbourhood stores. In today's global environment it is vital that economies are decentralised to a local level, providing more community control over waste, resources and energy, and creating a more environmentally and socially desirable society (Lunday, 1996). Furthermore

higher densities along corridors and in selected nodes will encourage alternative transport.

The relationship between environmental sustainability and urban form is developing and dynamic and the influence of urban form on social structures is also important. Forsyth (1997) comments that although the high levels of home ownership achieved by Australia and New Zealand (and Norway) may be a great social achievement, this is somewhat counterbalanced by the consequential urban sprawl.

Langdon (1994) believes that there is a strong causal relationship between the increasing urbanisation of the western world and the crumbling social fabric of western society. New-urbanists such as Langdon, Kunstler and others write that post World War II patterns of development, modernism and increasing dependence on the automobile have caused loss of rural land through continuous spreading of urban development, increasing reliance on private transport, and disconnections between jobs, homes, schools, shops and other public places. Furthermore they state that these patterns can also be held responsible for modern social problems such as loss of family and community values, lack of tolerance of others and increasing perceptions of social isolation.

The emphasis on lessening the adverse effects of continued sprawl and loss of rural land in the United States has led to the nation-wide establishment and promotion of Smart Growth concepts (Cameron, 2000). Smart Growth principles are closely related to those promoted by New-Urbanists, and include such factors as:

- Third places ie neighbourhood community & business centres
- Grid pattern roading networks
- Promotion of public and alternative transports
- Pedestrian friendly design and linkages
- Human scale
- Mixed-use development & zoning
- Higher density nodes and corridors

These concepts are similar to those being promoted by many of Auckland's TLA's, eg. North Shore City Council's (NSCC) *Good Solutions Guide*. The RGS recognises that effective urban design is integral to its implementation process, as well as social conditions and infrastructure and economic issues.

The adverse effects of peripheral growth in Auckland are not of the same scale as those currently being experienced by sprawling cities in the United States. Cerverno (2001) points out with regard to Australian cities, that principles such as those promoted by advocates of New Urbanism and Smart Growth are vital to countries like New Zealand where little other than public land use controls stand in the way of continued spread.

Pendall (1999:555) writes "If state and local governments wish to promote more compact development, then they should be aware that some land use controls may fight sprawl, whereas others promote it". Kunstler points out that while zoning, particularly single use zoning, is having negative effects both environmentally and socially, dismantling such a system is 'monumentally difficult', as is the ability to stop sprawl. "Whenever you change a rule about land development, you make or break people who seek to become millionaires" (1996:146).

Single-use zoning, a planning tool which separates different land uses and activities (e.g. residential from industrial uses), is a legacy of Howard's time and has been particularly dominant in post war development (Murray, 2000). This technique is still strong and continues to be promoted in the post 'Town and Country Planning' era (Rodney District's 2001 mayoral candidate John Law campaigned on buffer zones between conflicting land uses), despite improved technologies allowing cleaner industry, increasing white collar businesses, the strong 'small business' culture of New Zealanders and the national promotion of effects based planning under the Resource Management Act 1991. New-urbanists would argue against the long established planning approach of single-use zoning (Kunstler, 1996; Langdon, 1994).

Reference to the automobile is significant. As Miara (2001:85) notes "[c]ommunities have always developed along transportation routes". Improved motorways and roading allows people to move outwards, further away from employment and civic centres

(Collie, 1990; Mitchell, 2001). The supply of new roading has a cyclical effect on demand. Roothing allows people to move further away from the city centre, yet has an adverse impact on the ability of the city to provide public transport, keeping people in their cars (Mitchell, 2001). The move from walkable to automobile communities is seen by many as having had devastating effects on both the social and environmental infrastructure of modern society (Lunday, 1996; Langdon, 1994; Kunstler, 1994; Miara, 2001). Kunstler (1994:57) believes the automobile has made a “mockery” of the suburban ideal.

In his study of urban growth management in the United States, Lindsay Gow (2000) highlighted planning methodologies of key cities as succeeding in slowing the progression of urban sprawl in their areas. He noted Portland, Oregon, as being a leader in metropolitan management of growth and believes the key to Portland’s success is the co-ordinated approach of the various authorities. Gow also highlighted transport management as a vital area of growth management, stating Portland went against the recommendations of its traffic engineers. Instead of going ahead with proposed roading developments and improvements, city managers developed and encouraged a comprehensive system of public transport, as well as initiatives encouraging pedestrian and cycle transport modes. Although the adverse effects urban limits can have on housing affordability is noted (Staley & Miller, 2001), they are also noted as being fundamental to Portland’s success (Gow, 2000).

Conversely, the New Zealand Herald (09.04.01:A5) recently reported on a seminar organised by private Auckland business and roading groups regarding future transport policies for the Auckland region. Wendell Cox, an environmental economist from Utah State University, and Professor Randal O’Toole a demographer and transport analyst from Illinois, offered their predictions for the future of transport in the Auckland region. The two speakers felt Auckland should “forget about public transport and build more roads”, stating that residents will simply not be willing to give up the convenience of private vehicles, using Portland as an example.

Suburban sprawl is not just a problem in Australia, NZ and the USA. In fact the problems associated with it are being experienced all over the globe (Miller, 2000;

Krieger, 2000). Miller (2000) discusses design techniques used in Bahcesehir, a newly established and still developing satellite city outside of Istanbul, Turkey. The designers and developers of this city were very aware of the problems associated with continued sprawl – a problem associated with the wealthy influenced by the ‘American Dream’ notion. Design elements of Bahcesehir were based on traditional Turkish and Ottoman architecture and planning styles which create a pedestrian friendly urban environment and are proving to be both very popular with the market and practical in terms of curbing sprawl and creating a liveable community in today’s social, economic and environmental circumstances and expectations.

3.2 What Do Suburban Residents Want?

Just how committed are we to our built environment? The RGS consultation focused on the question “How can another million people be accommodated?” (RGS, 1999:26). Whilst planners and developers debate the benefits or otherwise of specific design principles, the question ‘what are residents looking for in their neighbourhood?’ always needs to be asked.

Alexander (2000) discusses the results of two surveys conducted by American LIVES Inc, on Californian residents of new and resale homes, which sought to identify what home owners wanted and what they looked for in their surrounding communities. Regardless of the type of accommodation or community lived in, the amenities which topped the list as the most favoured by residents surveyed were natural open spaces, small neighbourhood reserves and walking/cycling trails.

Alexander also highlights that new urbanist design packages in the USA only appeal to a small number of homebuyers, although most respondents prefer some, if not most, of the principles described by the researchers, the most popular being features such as a town centre and community meeting places. Pedestrian rather than automobile oriented communities were also strongly preferred. Most respondents preferred lower density neighbourhoods raising issues regarding noise and lack of visual privacy as reasons against higher density accommodation. A majority wanted to become ‘part of a community’ rather than just having somewhere to live, and were less than satisfied with

the design and layout of their suburbs. 75% preferred a mixture of housing styles and variety of people and lifestyles.

Two studies commissioned by Rodney District Council on community preferences for residential areas showed a majority of Whangaparaoa residents were against any increase in either development or density in the areas they lived in (Forsyte Research, 1991; Forsyte Research, 1996).

Privacy, both indoor and outdoor, was of considerable importance to residents, many of whom saw increasing densities as a threat to existing privacy. External space was of less importance to older people and those without children. Trees are popular in Rodney, with most people saying there should be as many trees as possible; parks are also desirable. Residents in Whangaparaoa appeared to be less concerned about amenities, with little concern for having everything within walking distance. These residents were also happy to trade off long commuting distances and times for the advantages of living in the Whangaparaoa area. Residents in Orewa however preferred to have more amenities close by.

It would appear from the results of the discussion groups that residents in Orewa may be more accepting of new-urbanism principles and of the ideals of the Regional Growth Strategy, than those in Whangaparaoa, who value their outdoor privacy and a more suburban, low density setting.

Figures 3.1 to 3.10 below, illustrate the typical northern Auckland suburb. Houses are set back from the street frontage, with privacy further enhanced by fencing and/or planting. Extensive garaging and separation from the street often dominates contemporary house design. The large amount of space dedicated to vehicles illustrates the importance of the automobile for home owners. Figures 3.11 and 3.12 show recent examples of terrace housing on the North Shore. Fencing often dominates both medium and low density development.



Figures 3.1 & 3.2 – Planting and fencing separate house from street.



Figure 3.3 - Smaller sites combined with front yard setbacks encourage fencing of frontages.



Figure 3.4 - Marketing campaigns exploit recent backlash against medium density housing.



Figures 3.5 & 3.6 - Fencing is so commonplace it often the first thing built.



Figures 3.7 & 3.8 - Contemporary house design emphasises privacy.



Figures 3.9 & 3.10 - Garages often dominate, particularly in newer areas.



Figures 3.11 & 3.12 - Repetitious terrace housing does little to promote higher densities.

3.3 Tradeoffs and Affordability

Davison (1993:67) asserts that home owners are prepared to make the tradeoff between aesthetics and home ownership.

I suspect that if the push came to the shove, many Australians would prefer their cities to be a bit uglier, and even perhaps a bit more dangerous, than to give up the prospect of owning their home, however humble, poorly serviced and unplanned it may be.

Most young home owners, seeking the kind of accommodation they believe is suitable for child rearing, are pushed to the edges of the cities where land is generally less expensive (Davison, 1993). Affordability obviously plays a huge role in accommodation trade-off decisions and is recognised by the RGS as playing an important role in the implementation of the Strategy. Affordable housing policies are among those which lie at the heart of the Growth Strategy. The Forum has set up a team looking specifically at this issue and the Draft Auckland Regional Affordable Housing Strategy was released in early August 2001.

At a recent workshop involving the state and research sectors, Housing New Zealand officials highlighted the need for continued supply of single level detached housing for lower socio-economic groups. Much of their client base comprises of Maori and Pacific Island groups, involving larger family groups and strong cultural and traditional bias towards lower density communities. This view is supported by Pool (1986) who reminds us of the differing compositions and needs of Maori and Pacific Island households compared to those of European families. The lifestyle choice of smaller and low maintenance sections may be primarily one of middle and upper class families who dictate the choices of the lower classes.

The need to supply a range of housing types at affordable prices cannot be underestimated. "Some of the diseases indicative of housing problems such as tuberculosis and rheumatic fever are high in Auckland by world standards and are increasing" (RGF, 1997:22).

3.4 Public vs Private Good

In her study of ways in which different groups envisage new forms of urban development, Ann Forsyth (1997) identified five groups of professionals and activists. 'Expansionists', who have a strong egalitarian view linked to universal home ownership and low density urban form. 'Developers', whose commitment is to making money rather than any specific type of development. 'Scientific Environmentalists', who focus on protection of ecosystems. 'Local Environmentalists', dealing with perceived or actual threats to their homes and daily activities. And lastly, 'Consolidationists', professionals such as planners favouring compact and mixed-use urban forms.

The views of the various groups relate to the goals each shares. More than often individuals can associate to two groups, changing their point of view depending on the circumstances of the situation. For example a planner may promote consolidation, yet oppose it in his/her own neighbourhood.

Ongoing tensions between public good and private rights to property have produced a history of systems attempting to find a suitable compromise of the two that can be dated back to the Magna Carta 1297 (Kirkpatrick, 1996; Dixon, 1998). Currently in New Zealand there appears to be an unavoidable conflict caused by the introduction of a socially democratic based environmental legislation, the Resource Management Act, and an operating system, based on user-pays notions of a free market (Dixon, 1998). Increasing costs and complexities of administrative systems for implementation, are testing the level of commitment of the general public to the purpose of the Act.

The modern economy has put aside traditional morality. Rainbow (1993:66) argues that "the market has become a primary influence on the way people lead their lives". Despite what may be best intentions towards achieving positive environmental outcomes our level of commitment is clearly correlated with the level of income we are willing, or able, to contribute. Requesting that property owners sacrifice traditional property rights today, for the benefit of generations of a future that no one can possibly predict, can be a big ask, especially if the average lay person is already having difficulty understanding the complexities of the issues and related legislation and administrative systems.

Dixon (1998) writes that our commitment to the purpose of the Resource Management Act may not be as strong as we would like to believe. She comments “[a]s a nation we appear to be losing sight of these concepts in the drive for greater efficiencies”. Lack of commitment to environmental goals can be seen world-wide and highlights the extent to which economic and environmental issues are inextricably linked (Gore, 1992).

It is easy in New Zealand for the public to become oblivious to environmental problems faced by other societies when faced with our own pressing short term economic issues. Furthermore it is effortless to deny environmental degradation when one is not attuned to the intricacies of the problems and aesthetic appearances seem more than satisfactory. Why should we live in compact dwellings, with reduced privacy and limited open spaces when so much empty land is available? Finding the right balance between such issues can be a daunting task for private citizens let alone for governments trying to create and implement policies with regard to them. Caverno (2001) points out that while private sacrifice is needed for public gains, examples in countries such as Sweden show that it need not always be painful.

Some writers believe that the era of environmental awareness was launched by Rachel Carson’s 1962 book ‘Silent Spring’ (Gore, 1997; Linden, 1997), however despite nearly 40 years, societies are still struggling to interrelate environmental, social and economic issues within policies (Linden, 1997).

[M]aking nations pay attention to [the] environment has been like trying to teach kids to eat spinach. This is because the benefits of environmental degradation are usually as obvious as cold cash. The benefits on the other hand, are often camouflaged, spread through society and left for future generations to worry about (Linden, 1997:80).

Despite all our best intentions toward environmental goals, our current lives are intertwined with economic issues from which it is almost impossible to separate. Implementation of such long term goals aiming for the greater public good is increasingly difficult in a user-pays economic environment. Complexities of

implementation of the current system can limit participation to the more affluent members of society, which threatens democracy. This, combined with the high costs associated with the exercise of property rights may result in reduced commitment to the purpose of the RMA, as private citizens and public authorities struggle to find an equal balance between long term environmental goals and the associated short term costs.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

A methodology describes the research approach used to obtain the data (Bouma, 1996). Identifying this is important to enable a greater understanding of the data collection and sampling methods, as well as to clarify the objectives of the research. Limitations may also be discussed. In social research a methodology is vital to express a broad understanding of the research, in relation to the researcher and the environment within which the data has been collected. This contributes towards objective interpretation of the results.

This chapter provides an outline of the hypothesis and problem statement, which guides the research. Specific research questions and objectives have been presented in Chapter One: Introduction. The sampling and data collection procedures are discussed, followed by a review of some of the limitations of the research. Key terms are defined in the glossary section of this report.

4.1 Problem Statement and Hypothesis

Problem Statement: Auckland's population is expected to increase to approximately 2 million people by the year 2050. With New Zealand's key planning legislation based around the purpose of sustainable management of the environment¹, and the growing recognition of the need to plan growth under the wider principles of sustainable development, New Urbanist principles of consolidation, pedestrian environments,

¹ See definition of 'environment' section 2 RMA 1991.

mixed use development etc are being promoted by some the city's various planning documents. In a country which has grown on opposing principles of sprawling suburbs, quarter acre sections and vehicle oriented communities, how easily will the people of Auckland accept the higher density growth patterns being promoted?

Hypothesis: That residents living in suburban Auckland will support a higher density environment, for others living in neighbouring suburbs, but not for themselves or their own neighbourhoods.

4.2 Phase One

Part One of Phase One of the research involved posing the following question to participants:

“1. Current growth predictions show a significant increase in Auckland’s population over the next 50 years. What form of city would you like to see, to accommodate this growth;

Peripheral suburban growth of single dwellings per site?

A more ‘urban’ higher density compact city?”

Part two involved asking the respondents to justify their answers. There was a total of 59 respondents for Phase One of the research, obtained using various sampling methods and grouped into four different categories. Table 4.1 shows the number of respondents for each category and the sampling method used to obtain each cohort.

Table 4.1: Sampling Method/s & Number of Respondents for Each Area.

Area Surveyed	Sampling Method/s	Number of Respondents
Red Beach, Rodney District	Door knocking on randomly selected low/medium density dwellings	9
Various, North Shore City	Door knocking on randomly selected low/medium density dwellings Questioning volunteers from community groups	20

College Of Education	Questioning a random sample of volunteers consisting of teachers and students from Auckland College of Education	23
Planners	Questioning a 'snowball' sample of planners from various organisations, both private & public, throughout Auckland.	7

4.3 Phase Two

Phase Two involved selecting a sample of participants from Phase One and questioning them further on their preferred growth patterns and amenities, specifically around their close neighbourhood. The written questionnaire which consisted of both quantitative and qualitative questions is attached as Appendix B.

During Phase One participants were asked to provide their contact details if they agreed to being contacted for further questioning. Of the five North Shore participants chosen for further questioning, two preferred more compact further development, two peripheral growth and one chose both scenarios. One Rodney District respondent was also chosen for further questioning. This respondent preferred compact development for Phase One. All were home owners and as with Phase One all participants lived in low density type dwellings.

In all cases the participants were contacted by the researcher by phone and the questionnaire was then delivered to their place of residence or in one case, workplace. Participants were given approximately two weeks to fill in the questionnaires in their own time. The researcher then arranged a time to pick the forms up personally.

Participants were provided with information regarding the research objectives and questions, as well as confidentiality and other ethical matters, as set out in the *Massey University Ethical Guidelines*. Participants were aware that at any stage in the research they could discontinue their participation, and ask to have the data they had provided destroyed. At all times the researcher was available to the participants, to clarify any issues of concern.

4.4 Limitations

Bouma (1996) explains that qualitative research is always subjective as the results always lead themselves to interpretation by the researcher, who will have his or her own epistemology, based on personal life experiences. While quantitative research allows the researcher to remain distant from the research object (to some extent), Sarantakos (1995) claims that objectivity in qualitative research is both unachievable and undesirable. Understanding and interpretation are never common and some degree of cultural bias is always likely to lend itself to analysis of the results (Bouma, 1986; Sarantakos, 1995; Dunham, 1988; Bracken, 1981). For this reason it is necessary to outline the research method utilised, and limitations which may have occurred, to allow the reader to form his or her own conclusions on the implications of the research.

The main limitation of this study was the small sample size, which limits application of the results. The smaller the sample, the less representative and greater the margin of error which may occur (Sarantakos 1995). This is usually the case in both qualitative and quantitative research. A number of limitations to both qualitative and quantitative research are raised in social research literature (see Bouma, 1996; Sarantakos 1995 & Dunham 1988; Bracken, 1981). Further limitations, specific to this research, both external and internal, arose during data collection stage.

4.4.1 Phase One Limitations

1. The question did not lend itself easily to interpretation for all of the participants. With both the North Shore City sample and the Rodney District sample the researcher was on hand to answer individual questions and to clarify meanings of the terms. While the researcher took precaution not to create a bias with explanation, there is some possibility this may have occurred.
2. While the lack of a 'both' or 'neither' answer may be seen as a limitation, it is the view of the researcher that this answer would have provided many respondents with an easy decision, allowing them to not consider the consequences of the options before them, or choose a preferred direction of the two alternatives given.

3. The sample selection method of door knocking, specifically used for the North Shore City and Rodney samples, was chosen to minimise sample error by gaining a representative sample, however, in hindsight this method was not ideal. Many who were approached declined to participate, while those who did respond did not appreciate being interrupted in their homes. The answers of these participants were, in the researcher's opinion, less considered than those selected by other methods. This is particularly limiting for the Rodney sample, for which all participants were selected via this process.

4.4.2 Phase Two Limitations

1. As with Phase One some participants found the questions difficult to understand. While this was ameliorated by the researcher being on hand to explain concepts, this may have unintentionally created bias.
2. The answers to Phase One were not comprehensively analysed prior to preparing and administering the Phase Two questionnaire. The researcher based the Phase Two questionnaire on the assumptions of the hypothesis. Had the Phase One results been more closely analysed, the second phase questionnaire may have been quite different.
3. There was inconsistency within the Phase Two questionnaire of the terms 'intensive development' and 'high density'. Both terms were used at various stages of the questionnaire and were presented to have the same meaning. One term should have been chosen and used consistently throughout, to avoid confusion. It may have also been useful to define the terms, to ensure all respondents had the same interpretation, although this in itself may have limited the responses.

4.4.3 Alternative Methods of Data Collection

A questionnaire approach was chosen as the most suitable method of data collection for the task at hand. This approach was selected to allow the respondents time to answer the questions in their own time, particularly for Phase Two of the research, and was considered to be the most suitable method, in light of the project size and resources.

Alternative methods of data collection for this type of exercise include focus groups or face to face or telephone interviews. In hindsight, in-depth interviews may have been more appropriate for Phase Two of the research.

Further limitations, relating to specific questions, are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents information gathered during the field research using the methodology set out in the preceding chapter. The method of data presentation is largely descriptive, as in-depth discussion is the focus of Chapter Six. The chapter is arranged into two sections, relating to the two phases of the field research.

When interpreting these results, the low sample size and other sampling limitations as discussed in Chapter Four: Methodology, allowing a suggestive picture only, need to be considered. These limitations are further emphasised when comparing the various groupings, for example Rodney verses North Shore City, due to the larger sample size of the North Shore respondents and the extra sampling method utilised for North Shore, ie. asking members of community groups, which was found to be a more suitable questioning method. Respondents were more receptive and willing to give up their time, than when they had been interrupted in their homes.

5.1 Phase One

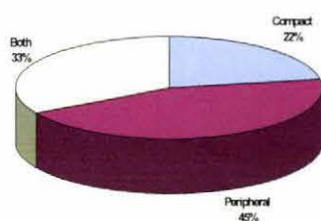
A total of 59 participants responded to the Phase One questionnaire. A number of groupings have been identified including, renters, home owners and location groups, as well as the processional group of planners and the group from the Auckland College of Education. The results have been separated into two stages. Part one simply examines the preferred growth alternative from the two options given. Part two outlines the reasons given for that choice.

5.1.1 Part One

The results of Part One were surprising and in most groupings did not support the hypothesis. There was a significant difference between the point of view of Renters (mainly younger respondents) to (largely older) Home Owners. There was also a difference in view point between the wider community and those respondents working and interviewed as planners.

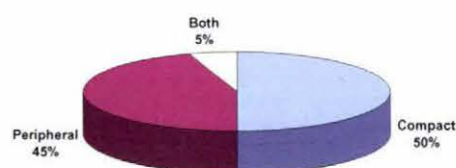
Figures 5.1 to 5.4 illustrate the preferred growth alternative of the total number of respondents for each of the four groupings identified in Table 4.1 in Chapter Four: Methodology.

**Figure 5.1 – Total ‘Rodney’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



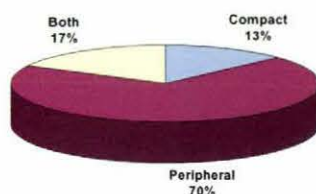
$n = 9$

**Figure 5.2 – Total ‘North Shore’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



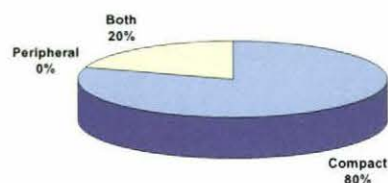
$n = 20$

**Figure 5.3 – Total ‘College of Education’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



$n = 23$

**Figure 5.4 – Total ‘Planners’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



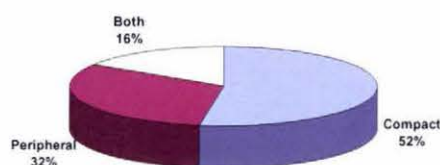
$n = 7$

Figure 5.1 shows that the Rodney District sample preferred largely peripheral growth, with 'both' options also preferred over compact development. Considering the small sample size the difference between all three options is not significant. The North Shore sample, which was larger than the Rodney sample, showed a greater preference for compact development, although once again the difference between the two is not significant. In the College of Education sample a significant majority preferred peripheral growth. This group was the largest and youngest sample, with the highest number of renters, as well as some students who still lived with their parents. Figure 5.4 (the planners group) shows a definite preference for compact development, with a small number choosing both. It is interesting to observe that although this group was not chosen based on their current accommodation situation (unlike the North Shore and Rodney samples) none of the respondents live in high density housing themselves.

It is interesting to note in the figures above the strong preference for peripheral growth in the College of Education sample. This sample consisted of the largest proportion of renters and younger participants, and the opposing views of the Planners sample, in which, as expected, no respondents answered they preferred peripheral growth.

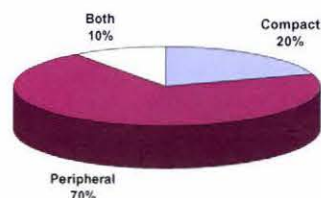
Figures 5.5 and 5.6, below, show the difference in opinion between the Home Owners and Renters of the combined North Shore City and Rodney samples. Figures 5.7 and 5.8 show the Home Owners and Renters separately, and respectively, for the College of Education sample. It is important to point out here, that the split between Home Owners and Renters in this sample does not simply represent the split between students and lecturers who responded. This split, however, did present a significant difference in age groups (ie. students and lecturers of similar age gave similar responses), with Renters being significantly younger than Home Owners, more so than the other samples. There were only two renters in the Planners sample, with one preferring compact growth and one specifying both options.

**Figure 5.5 – Home Owners Combined
'North Shore' & 'Rodney' Samples
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



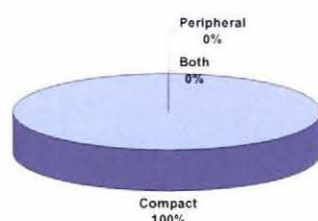
$n = 19$

**Figure 5.6 – Renters Combined 'North
Shore' & 'Rodney' Samples
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



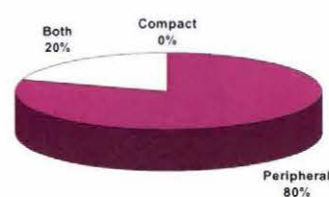
$n = 10$

**Figure 5.7 – Home Owners 'College of
Education'
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



$n = 3$

**Figure 5.8 – Renters 'College of Education'
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**

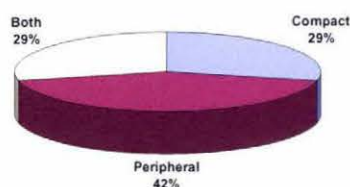


$n = 20$

The difference between Renters and Home Owners as to their preferred growth pattern is significant. In all samples (except for planners) the Renters preferred peripheral growth, whereas the Home Owners preferred compact growth. This may be attributable to Home Owners wanting to protect their assets. This is further discussed in Chapter Six: Discussion.

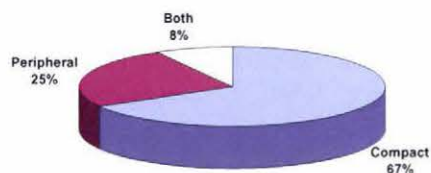
Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show separately and respectively the Rodney and North Shore Home Owning respondents preferred growth pattern for Auckland over the next 50 years.

**Figure 5.9 – Home Owners ‘Rodney’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



$n = 7$

**Figure 5.10 – Home Owners ‘North Shore’
Phase One: Peripheral Vs Compact Growth**



$n = 12$

Figure 5.9 shows a near equal split between the three alternatives, with peripheral growth shown as the preferred option by an insignificant margin, based on the small sample size. Figure 5.10 shows that North Shore Home Owners significantly prefer compact development over the other two options.

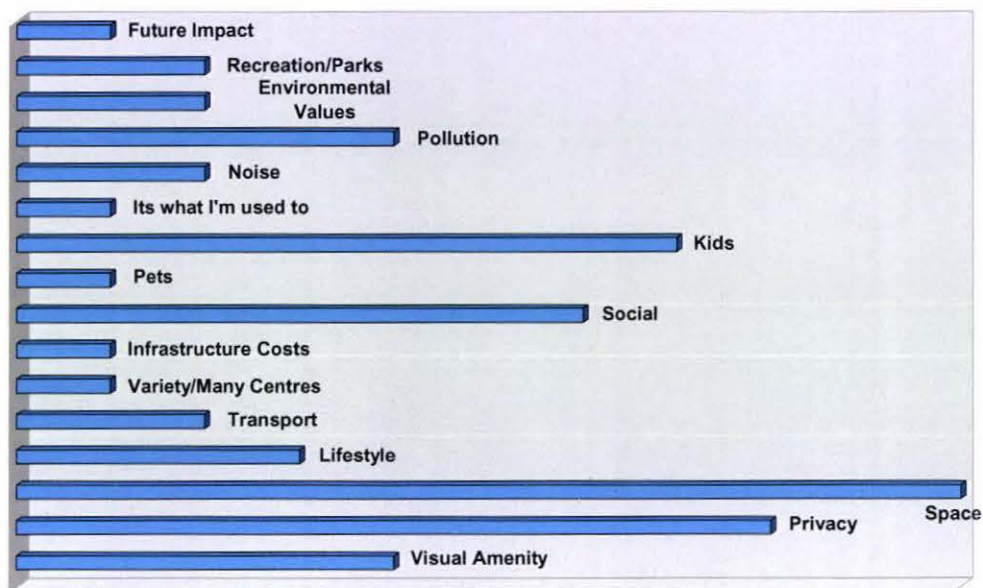
The exact age and sex of participants was not questioned in the Phase One survey.

5.1.2 Part Two – Qualitative

In Part Two of Phase One respondents were asked to justify their answers to the question discussed above. Those answers given by respondents selected by way of random ‘door knocking’ are not as thoughtful or comprehensive as those answers from respondents selected using the other sampling methods. The comments from the Rodney and North Shore samples are attached as Appendices A and B. Comments from the College Of Education and Planners samples are not attached as complete lots, however some comments have been referred to/referenced in the text.

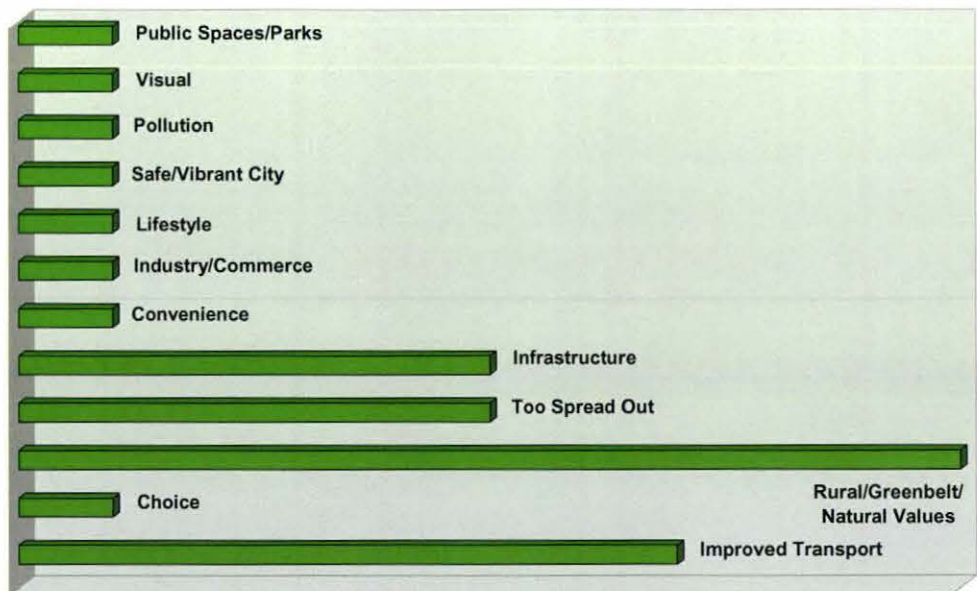
Figures 5.11 and 5.12 identify the general reasons given by the North Shore and Rodney samples in support of peripheral development and compact development, respectively.

Figure 5.11 – Phase One: General Concepts Given in Support of Peripheral Development: Rodney & North Shore Samples



n = 29

Figure 5.12 – Phase One: General Concepts Given in Support of Compact Development: Rodney & North Shore Samples



n = 29

Box 5.1 Sample of Responses from Phase One

Intensification

Planner: "...It should be encouraged for those who like this type of living – however personally I prefer the free-standing house and sections option."

North Shore: "Decreased costs of services, sewerage, water, power etc and roads; Changing lifestyles now showing an increasing preference for higher density housing; Scaring of productive rural land".

Rodney: "I don't like to see the countryside (including greenbelt areas) being swallowed up by more and more development..."

Peripheral Growth

College Of Education: "...Although they are pretty [town houses], I think it would be a shame to substitute the family friendly scenery of Auckland for housing that is merely convenient. Backyards are Better! Kids need Space!"

Rodney: "I hate apartment style living. Prefer community style living."

North Shore: "I've lived in a city with 7 million people in an area about 2/3rds that of Auckland. Too crowded, too much grime and crime inherent in having too many people living in such close proximity. While a sprawling city definitely causes some problems, I feel they are minor."

5.2 Phase Two

Six respondents were chosen for further questioning, and are referred to as Respondent 1 through to 6. Five were from North Shore City and one from Rodney District. Table 5.1 shows the sex and age group of the six respondents, as well as the area in which they currently reside, and their answer to Part One of Phase One of this research.

Table 5.1 Respondents Selected for Further Questioning

Respondent Number	Area Currently Living In.	Sex	Age	Answer to Part One ie Intensive vs Peripheral Growth
1	Birkenhead, North Shore	Male	46-55	Peripheral
2	Glenfield, North Shore	Female	26-35	Peripheral
3	Pinehill, North Shore	Male	46-55	Both
4	Pinehill, North Shore	Male	46-55	Compact
5	Mairangi Bay, North Shore	Male	46-55	Compact
6	Red Beach, Rodney	Female	46-55	Compact

The results from Phase Two are discussed below. Where possible, results are arranged in question order under the headings set out in the questionnaire, however, there is also some comparison between questions from different sections of the questionnaire. The first section of the questionnaire consisted of personal information of each respondent, such as age, ethnicity etc, this section is not discussed in detail, except where the

researcher considers this information to have specific relevance to the issue under discussion.

5.2.1 Intensive Housing Development

This section of the questionnaire focused specifically on intensive/high density housing. Only one of the six respondents felt there was no place for intensive housing in their town/city, being Respondent 1 (who felt strongly against high density in any form). In the cases of Respondents 1 through to 5 their town/city would be the general Auckland area and Respondent 6 this would be the Hibiscus Coast. Respondents 2, 3, 4 and 6 answered that there was a place for intensive housing in their town/city and Respondent 5 did not respond to this question, however did indicate in Question 10 that they would choose intensive housing for themselves. Respondent 6 (Hibiscus Coast) further added that they would like to see more apartments along the beachfront.

Box 5.2 presents the answers given to Question 8 *‘What are your views on intensive housing ie terrace housing/apartment block type accommodation?’*. Box 5.3 gives the answers to Question 10 *‘Would you choose intensive housing for yourself? Why/Why not?’*.

Box 5.2: Answers to Question 8 “What are your views on intensive housing”

1	Quality of life is impaired, especially for families. A limited amount of intensive housing may suit single people but for a real sense of value, families need space and safety. Intensive housing does not give this quality.
2	I tend to think of this type of housing as suitable for temporary housing for young people/low income families. I think this type of housing needs to be well maintained and have gardens, lighting etc to make it look attractive. There are some apartments in the inner city for high-income people which are attractive – but I am concerned that the desire for this housing is a phase and they will soon become uncared for.
3	They have their place.
4	OK for people who are seldom at home – ie working long hours – or studying or do not wish to have a garden.
5	Providing the intensive housing is of a good standard and kept under building codes suiting the area – no problem.
6	Intensive housing is necessary in a city environment but should be designed in attractive garden like setting with nice balconies or outside areas available if possible.

Box 5.3: Answers to Question 10 “Would you choose intensive housing for yourself? Why/Why not?”

1	See 8 above
2	I would choose an apartment if it were more convenient to my work place and child’s school, still allowed for privacy, there was reasonable hope of re-sale or return on investment, there was space provided for children to play (e.g. park/playroom) and there was a high standard of maintenance and security.
3	~
4	Preference is for the privacy of our own small patch, open outlook and access to a garden (small lawn) at ground floor level.
5	Answered in Q8.
6	Approaching retirement we are thinking of an apartment in pleasant grounds, maybe with a swimming pool and BBQ facilities for all apartment holders. We wouldn’t be interested in cheap, sub-quality building materials (maintenance free) but the apartments with room to move.

Overwhelmingly none of the respondents felt there was a place for intensive housing in their own neighbourhood with all of the respondents answering no, except for Respondent 6 who gave no response to this question. Varied responses were given regarding whether there was a place for intensive housing in their closer community/suburb. Respondent 1 answered ‘No’, Respondents 2 and 3 answered ‘Yes’, Respondent 4 answered ‘possibly in areas not yet developed’ (note the only options given in the questionnaire were ‘yes’ or ‘no’) and Respondents 5 and 6 gave no response to that question.

Boxes 5.4 and 5.5 show the answers given by each respondent to Questions 9 (regarding the effect of intensive housing on their properties) and 11 (regarding what would attract them to intensive housing).

Box 5.4: Answers to Question 9 “What effect do you think intensive housing will have on your property, should it go ahead in your neighbourhood?”

1	Of course it should not go ahead. It would increase the number of people who live on takeaway foods and all that consumer crap that fills so many lives.
2	Depends on the quality/attractiveness/price of housing. But in the long term I think it will restrict the desirability and price of my property.
3	I don’t see why it should have any effect
4	It might restrict our present open views. It might shelter us from sun. It could create more (very locally) noise and traffic.
5	In this area of mainly one dwelling sites I think intensive housing would lower re-sale prices.
6	We have some cross-leased sections in our area and I don’t believe they have made any impact on prices etc. However if high rise development were allowed and views blocked off that would make a big difference to prices.

5.2.2 General Accommodation Choices

Questions 13 to 18 concentrated on the accommodation choices of the participants in general terms. Box 5.6 shows the answers provided for Question 13 ‘*What do you look for in the area you choose to live?*’ and Box 5.7 shows the answers to Question 14 ‘*Why did you move to your current home?*’.

Box 5.5: Answers to Question 11 “What would attract you to live in high density accommodation?”

1	Only the voyeuristic attributes of watching other peoples lives
2	As above (#10)
3	Convenience & attractiveness of the particular property.
4	Maybe, when too old or too infirm to travel or maintain a property, the convenience of serviced accommodation with security from intrusion.
5	Low maintenance, easy care houses.
6	As above (Question 10)

Box 5.6: Answers to Question 13 “What do you look for in the area you choose to live?”

1	Local street shopping, not a shopping mall. A sense of individuality, space and a balance of green and street. A local dairy, pub and post office, Fish ‘n’ chip shop. Library, a place to sit, trees, parks-small.
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good schools/community facilities - Security and safety - Attractiveness (e.g. well maintained housing/trees/parks) - Convenience to shopping centres & motorways - Quiet
3	Price, convenience (handy to city/motorway), low crime area.
4	Outlook, easy transport, close to sea.
5	Nice neighbourhood, warm area, closeness to shops, work etc.
6	Sun, pleasant views, areas to walk, restaurants and local shops, doctors etc not too far away.

Box 5.7: Answers to Question 14 “Why did you move to your current area?”

1	Green space and outlook. Didn’t need to own the 3 acres next door but I can enjoy it as much as they do.
2	First home for beginning family
3	The purchase deal available on the property
4	Views of sea and distant islands.
5	Q13. (Nice neighbourhood, warm area, closeness to shops, work etc.)
6	Views, sun and space to bring up a family, pleasant environment and work available.

Question 17 discusses the importance of home ownership, asking '*How important is home ownership to you?*'. All respondents felt home ownership was important. On a scale of 1 to 10, 10 being 'very important', the answers provided were (listed in respondent number order) 7, 7, 6, 9, 10, 10. There is some degree of variance between the level of importance the respondents assigned to home ownership. This, however, this did not appear to correlate to any of the other variables, such as age, gender, length of home ownership, length of time expected to stay in current house, or current level of satisfaction with own house or neighbourhood.

5.2.3 Initial Reasons for Purchasing

Questions 19 to 22 focused on the initial reasons for purchasing the respondents current dwelling, while the next section (Questions 22 to 33) focused on the current views and situation of the respondents. Retrospective questioning is problematic, as being able to see matters in hindsight alters perceptions, and in some cases a significant time lapse had passed since the respondents purchased their current homes. However, this section was included in an effort to determine if the respondents' initial attraction to the house and/or neighbourhood had changed at all, with hindsight and experience.

Question 20 asked respondents to identify if the house or neighbourhood was the main factor when choosing to purchase their homes. Answers favoured towards the house being the main factor with some variance towards neighbourhood for Respondents 3, 5 and 6. It is interesting to note that Respondents 5 and 6 who both scored 6 on a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being house and 10 being neighbourhood, which was the strongest indication towards neighbourhood, also both indicated cost/finances as other aspects that were considered at that time (Question 21). Respondents 1 to 4 scored 4, 2, 5/6 and 3, respectively.

5.2.4 Current Situation

In this section of the questionnaire respondents were asked questions relating to their home at the time of the research, as opposed to the previous section which focussed on issues of concern at the time of purchasing. A number of questions are asked relating to likes, dislikes, suggestions for improvements, neighbourhood social interaction and travel impacts.

Box 5.8 shows the answers to Question 22 regarding likes of the respondents current homes, in comparison to the first part of Question 19 “*What initially attracted you to your current home?*”. Box 5.9 lists the dislikes of the respondents homes. Box 5.10 shows the answers to Question 21. Questions 24 and 25, asking participants to rank their current satisfaction levels, and Question 26, regarding what, if anything, they would change about their neighbourhoods, are discussed in the following section, 4.2.6 Neighbourhood Qualities.

Box 5.8: Answers to Questions 22 “What do you like about your current home?” and 19 “What initially attracted you to your home?”.

1	22	That it is very spacious and accommodates our lifestyle. The children have room to play and explore and it is a sanctuary like a small farm only 15 minutes from the city.
	19	See 14. The house was also solid (Lockwood) and there was room to move and grow.
2	22	Not much. Spacious gardens, reasonably quiet.
	19	Spacious gardens, nice outdoor living. It was clean and tidy, not too old. Price.
3	22	Designed to suit ourselves, privacy, handy to motorway/shopping
	19	Area, purchase deal, able to design own home.
4	22	Easy transport. Ease of maintenance. Some lawn/garden but not too much.
	19	Sea views, affordable, could be renovated and added to.
5	22	Location, size, easy to maintain, small section.
	19	Location, size, cost.
6	22	Warmth, sun trap, views, space, within walking distance of all facilities.
	19	We built our current home for the beautiful views and proximity to work and facilities.

Box 5.9: Answers to Question 23 “What don’t you like?”

1	There is no longer a dairy just around the corner! The need for constant maintenance.
2	High maintenance gardens. Shared driveway. Drop in value, small size. Basically “I’m over it”. Its cold – no insulation. In a valley and gets muddy from rain from above.
3	Distance from CBD, high mortgage, no decent supermarkets close.
4	Main arterial road getting busier and busier. Some traffic noise.
5	N/A. I like the house.
6	It’s getting far too big for just the two of us.

Questions 28 to 30 focused on social interaction within the neighbourhood. As would be expected there was a range of levels of neighbourhood social interaction indicated, however no correlation was obvious between neighbourhood social interaction and age,

gender or length on time the respondent had lived in their current dwelling. As with Richards (1991) social interaction may have been more closely linked to work habits, however this was not questioned within the survey. The answers provided, on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being Very High Social Interaction were 4, 2, 8, 6, 3/4 and 4, in respondent number order.

Box 5.10: Answers to Question 21: “What other aspects were considered at that time?”

1	Garden space, privacy, closeness to good shopping, potential to develop. Native bush outlook.
2	~
3	~
4	Easy transport to Auckland. Good swimming beaches within mile or two.
5	Cost was a high factor.
6	Finances.

There also did not appear to be any direct link between neighbourhood social interaction and how well the respondent knew their neighbours, which was the subject of Question 29. However there was a small link between this question and Question 30, which asked respondents if they would like to know their neighbours better. Respondent 4, who indicated the lowest score on how well he knew his neighbours, was the only respondent to answer ‘Yes’ to Question 30, indicating that he would like to know his neighbours better. Excluding Respondent 6, Respondent 1 indicated the highest score for Question 29 and also was the only one to answer ‘Already Very Close’ for Question 30. Respondents 2 to 4 scored a 5, 7 and 8 respectively for Question 29 and all three indicated ‘No’ for Question 30. Respondent 6 indicated both a 10 and a 1 for Question 29, indicating that she knew some neighbours on one side of her very well and the neighbours on the other side not at all. She did not give a response for Question 30. It is interesting to note that strong social ties with the community was not chosen by any of the respondents as being important in a suburb (Question 33, discussed below).

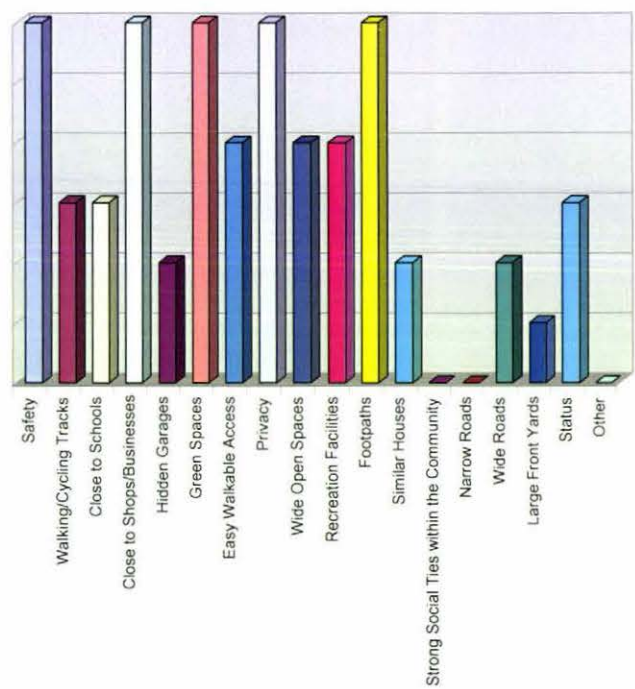
There did not appear to be any relationship between travel times and impacts on family and community bonding or leisure and social activities.

5.2.5 *Neighbourhood Qualities*

Participants were asked to identify from a aspects of suburban design, which they considered to be important. They were then asked to identify, using a similar list, which aspects were provided in their own neighbourhoods. An ‘other’ option was provided in the list. No participant choose this option in either scenario.

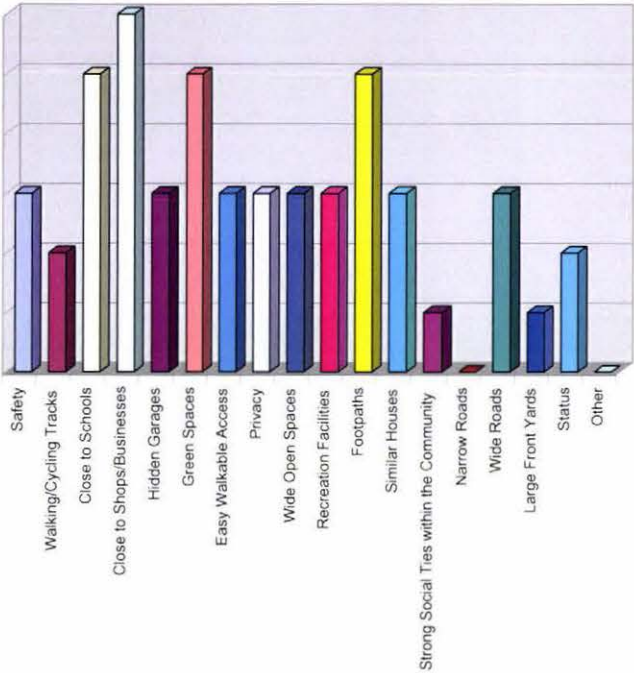
Figure 5.13 shows the neighbourhood aspect, vs the number of respondents choosing that option as being important. Figure 5.14 shows the number of aspects already provided in the respondents’ neighbourhood.

Figure 5.13 – Phase Two: ‘Important Qualities in a Suburb’ (Question 34)



n = 6

Figure 5.14 – Phase Two: ‘Amenities Provided in Neighbourhoods’ (Question 35)



n = 6

Table 5.2 shows the aspects considered important and the aspects identified as already provided by each respondent. Box 5.11 shows the answers to Question 26, regarding what respondents would change about their neighbourhoods, if they could.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Safety	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Walking/Cycling Tracks	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Close to Schools	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Close to Shops/Businesses	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Hidden Garages	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Green Spaces	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Easy Walkable Access	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Privacy	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Wide Open Spaces	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Recreation Facilities	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Footpaths	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Similar Houses	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Strong Social Ties within the Community	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Narrow Roads	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Wide Roads	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Large Front Yards	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Status	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>
Other	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>	<div></div>

Important

Provided

Table 5.2 – Phase Two: Qualities Vs Amenities Provided

Box 5.11: Answers to Question 26 “If you could change/add/remove anything about your neighbourhood to improve it – what would it be?”

1	Street signage at a lower level.
2	Make it quieter – less noise from helicopters/police cars
3	Get a decent supermarket.
4	Impose speed restrictions on East Coast Road to compel drivers to go earlier to motorway ie: (a) enforce low speed limit; (b) “Sleeping policeman” road bumps.
5	Noisy, inconsiderate teenagers with noisy cars.
6	~

It can be seen from the Figures/Table above that safety, close proximity to shops/businesses, green spaces, privacy and footpaths are considered the important qualities in a suburb by all six respondents. Answers provided for Question 26 also indicate that most respondents would prefer a quiet area. Only one respondent (Respondent 2) felt that her neighbourhood failed to provide these qualities, indicating that the only quality provided of these five was close proximity to shops/businesses. Respondents 3 and 4 indicated three of these qualities were provided in their own neighbourhoods, in both cases choosing proximity to shops/businesses, green spaces and footpaths. Respondents 1, 5 and 6 indicated that all five of these qualities were provided in their neighbourhoods.

Respondent 2 answered that footpaths were not provided in her neighbourhood, yet clearly footpaths were there in some capacity. When questioned further as to why she had responded as such, she replied that footpaths were provided on only one side of the street, as a mother with a young child, she did not feel this was adequate for herself, other parents with young children or people with disabilities.

The level of provision of the five most popular amenities as indicated by the respondents is consistent with the level of satisfaction with their current neighbourhoods (Question 25 ‘How satisfied are you with your current neighbourhood?’). For example, Respondent 2 who felt her neighbourhood provided only one of the five most popular

amenities (however indicated other qualities that it provided which she felt to be important in a neighbourhood, for example close proximity to schools), indicated a mid range level of personal satisfaction with her neighbourhood (ie 5 on a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 being highly satisfied and 1 being not at all satisfied). This is compared to Respondents 1, 3 4 and 5 who scored an 8 for their level of satisfaction with their neighbourhood and Respondent 6 who scored a 10 for level of satisfaction.

It is interesting to note that Respondent 2 who scored the lowest level of satisfaction with her neighbourhood (a score of 5) indicated that only four of all the aspects listed were provided in her neighbourhood, being close to shops/businesses, wide roads, recreation facilities, close to schools. Respondent 3 indicated a high level of satisfaction, with a score of 8, yet still only identified four of the aspects listed as being provided in his neighbourhood, namely close to shops/businesses, green spaces, footpaths, similar houses. Respondents 1, 2 and 6 listed 13, 6 and 10 aspects respectively. Respondent 2 also scored a very low level of satisfaction (2 on a score of 1 to 10 with 10 being very satisfied and 1 being not at all satisfied) with her current home (Question 24), compared with the other five respondents who scored either an 8 or 9.

Respondent 2 also differed from the other respondents in that she was significantly younger and this was the first home she has owned. Furthermore she had lived in the house for the shortest time, took more consideration of the house as opposed to the neighbourhood when purchasing the house than any of the other respondents (Question 20), was least satisfied with her current house by a significant degree (Question 24), scored a 10 (along with Respondent 3) on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being 'high burden', for burden of accommodation costs on lifestyle (Question 27) and scored the lowest for neighbourhood social identity/social interaction, with a score of 2, on a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 being very high social interaction and 1 being no social interaction (Question 28).

A limitation should be noted here. While the questionnaire grouped together Walking Tracks and Cycling Tracks (ie. 'Walking/Cycling Tracks'), and Close to Business and Close to Shops (ie. 'Close to Shops/Businesses'), some of the respondents separated

these out in their answers by deliberately circling only one of the options given. Specifically, Respondent 6 indicated that walking tracks only were important in a suburb, excluding cycling, and also that it was important to be close to shops, but not businesses. However, the same respondent indicated that both options of each grouping under discussion were provided in her neighbourhood. Respondent 4 indicated that he considered being close to shops, and not businesses, as both important and as being provided in his neighbourhood. Respondent 4 did not identify either walking or cycling tracks under either question. The remaining respondents did not differentiate between the two aspects for either of the two groupings.

The final two questions asked participants if they thought that areas of high density developments could offer none, some, or all of the qualities that they choose as being important. All six respondents recognised that at least some of the qualities listed could be offered. A limitation can be noted here, in that respondents could have been asked to identify which aspects, in their opinion, could/could not be provided in high density areas.

The final question asked the respondents if they would live in a high density area if it offered these qualities. Four of the respondents (2, 3, 5 & 6) answered positively, that they would live in an area that offered these qualities, and the remaining two (1 & 4) answered no. This is consistent with answers given to Question 10 "*Would you choose intensive housing for yourself?*", in that those answering 'No' to Question 10 answered 'No' to Question 13, and those answering 'Yes' or 'Depending on the Circumstances' to Question 10 answered 'Yes' to Question 37.

Box 5.12 shows the responses given when questioned why, in relation to Question 37.

Box 5.12: Answers to Question 37(ii) “Why/Why Not? (Would you live in a high density area if it offered the qualities you have identified as being important)”

1	By virtue of being high density it cannot deliver these qualities. Show me a large front yard in a high density block that I can cycle around. Even if I could get my bike in the lift where would I store it, certainly not in the hidden garage that is open to hidden burglary.
2	If it were also cost-effective/good return on investment and had added bonuses like high maintenance of gardens/security and inner city lifestyle.
3	~
4	Too old and settled in ways. Like things as they are, <u>but</u> for others high density is probably the way it needs to be.
5	I have an investment unit in a high density area and if it had more of the things I like as in Q34 & 35 I'd be very happy to live in the unit myself. <i>Q34 of the following which do you think are important in a suburb? Answer: Safety, Easy walkable access, privacy, wide open spaces, wide roads, close to shops/businesses, hidden garages, green spaces, footpaths, similar houses.</i> <i>Q35 Of the following which are provided in your neighbourhood? Answer: Safety, easy walkable access, privacy, close to schools, close to shops/businesses, green spaces, wide open spaces, footpaths, similar houses, wide roads.</i>
6	~

5.3 Summary

This chapter has presented information gathered to address the research questions guiding this study. Phase One of the research showed a significant difference between Renters and Home Owners regarding preferred growth alternatives for the Auckland region over the next 50 years. Renters, in whom the younger respondents were over represented, preferred a peripheral growth mode and Home Owners favoured a more compact growth mode. Phase Two discussed the specific aspects of home and neighbourhood qualities, social interactions and preferences towards intensive housing. While some respondents felt they could be attracted to intensive housing, should it offer their preferred neighbourhood qualities, none of the respondents felt that it was suitable for their specific neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction

Auckland's population is predicted to increase to approximately 2 million people by 2050. The already diverse population is likely to become increasingly so. This in turn creates a complex housing market, which no longer carries any mass trends. Characteristics including age, ethnicity, family type, work, status, life stage, household size, income, location and general housing preference interrelate to influence demand. The escalating intricacies of relationships between these characteristics limit conclusions on demand to imperfect observations of housing patterns. Perhaps most noticeable in recent housing trends is the proliferation of medium (e.g. terrace housing) and high (e.g. apartments) density housing and, conversely, rural/residential lifestyle blocks. With the onset of the Information Age, this trend is likely to continue, yet other fashions are beginning to emerge in line with improving technologies and affluence. (ARC, 2001)

This chapter discusses the results presented in the previous chapter in the context of the contemporary and historical literature and research on similar topics raised in Chapters Two and Three. The research questions are addressed in light of the data collected from the field research, following general discussion on the findings.

6.1 General Findings

The data presented the following general trends in Phase One:

- There was a significant difference between the point of view of renters (mainly younger respondents and the majority of the College of Education sample) to

home owners (largely older and the majority of the North Shore, Rodney and Planners samples).

- There was a difference in perspective between the wider community and those respondents interviewed as planners.
- The Rodney District and College of Education samples largely preferred peripheral growth.
- The North Shore and Planners samples preferred compact development.
- Children, social issues, space and privacy were the main concepts discussed in support of peripheral growth.
- Infrastructure, physical size of the metropolitan area, rural and natural values and improved transport were the most common concepts discussed in support of compact development.

6.1.1 Preferred Growth Alternatives

The large majority of renters who indicated preference for peripheral growth may help dispel the myth that medium density development attracts renters, often perceived as transients (ARC, 2000). However it is equally arguable that medium density housing may attract renters in the short term, yet longer term they look to purchase low density accommodation. Generally the renters questioned were younger than the home owners. It is possible that the promotion of medium density development may be perceived by this group as a threat to their ability to purchase low density homes in the future due to the likelihood of increasing land prices as the amount of available land, within the urban limits, decreases.

It is interesting to observe the differences between the preferred growth alternative for the Rodney home owners (participating in the current research) versus those from North Shore, in terms of current issues facing each area. With medium density topical with the Rodney media and community currently and with the recent release of the Rodney District Proposed District Plan 2000, it is not surprising peripheral growth is preferred. However recent debate over the Oteha Valley Road developments in North Shore City, close to the Rodney District southern boundary, does not seem to have left the North Shore respondents of this survey opposed to the idea of further higher density developments. It should be noted that North Shore City Council's *'Good Solutions*

Guide: for intensive residential development’ was released two or three months after this field research.

It is likely that these differences result from differing values of residents in the two areas. For example many residents in Rodney live there to escape the metropolis, and are therefore more anti the ‘urban’ experiences and/or perceptions of higher density areas. The research conducted by Forsythe Research in 1991 and 1996 highlighted that many residents live in Rodney because of its proximity to Auckland and because it is not Auckland.

More recent investigations by Rodney District Council emphasise a strong fear of Auckland engulfing the smaller Rodney townships (AC Neilson, 2001). The preliminary findings of recent research commissioned by Rodney District Council highlighted a ‘fear’ of the continued spreading of Auckland by residents of Rodney District. This fear was about the physical spread of Auckland, but also about its values, pace of life and density of people altering the distinct nature of each of the individual Rodney communities and their own ‘sense of place’. Residents liked Rodney because it was close to Auckland – but also because it was not Auckland.

The College of Education sample, which strongly preferred peripheral growth, may not be representative of the wider population, as they are likely to consider the needs of children more strongly than others, or have similar ideals on the needs of children. Nonetheless, renters in the North Shore and Rodney samples also preferred peripheral growth. While none of the planners chose peripheral growth, the two renters in the planners group chose ‘both’ alternatives, as opposed to the home owners in the planners group who all chose compact development.

The differences which emerged between those respondents who preferred compact growth as opposed to those who preferred peripheral growth are similar to two of the five groups portrayed by Forsyth (1997) (discussed in Chapter Three). In general the respondents who preferred compact growth could be related to Forsyth’s ‘Local Environmentalists’ group (those dealing with perceived or actual threats to their homes and daily activities). The respondents who preferred peripheral growth relate to her

group of 'Expansionists' (who have a strong egalitarian view linked to universal home ownership and low density urban form). The planners questioned in the current research would fit nicely into Forsyth's group of 'Consolidationists' (professionals favouring compact or mixed-use urban form). Finding a link (or common goal) between consolidationists (professionals) and expansionists (likely to be a significant portion of the community) is vital to the success of the RGS. The current research, specifically the planners group, agrees with that of Forsyth, in that individuals may associate with two groups depending on the circumstances, ie. the planners group promote low density housing yet do not choose this option for their own individual situation.

Phase Two highlighted some relevant issues also. What was perhaps most interesting in terms of the themes emerging during Phase Two was that while five of the six respondents supported intensive housing developments, with four answering that they would live in medium density housing if it offered the qualities they desired, none of the respondents felt this was suitable in their current neighbourhoods. This may be attributable to protection of assets, yet may also relate to a broader issue of protection of suburban neighbourhood character. None of the respondents live in close proximity to 'active' urban areas, such as a commercial or retail centre. Respondent 4 who lives in the busiest area, along a major arterial road on the North Shore, stated that he would like the traffic reduced or slowed along this road. The strong importance placed on home ownership by all respondents is also valuable to note.

To further investigate the NIMBY attitudes, additional research could examine where the respondents would have preferred to see intensive housing established, to determine whether rather than solely protection of private interests (NIMBY response), the responses were related to protection of traditional suburban character generally. For example would they prefer to see it in greenfield areas, or surrounding commercial urban centres. Respondent 6 did indicate that she would like to see intensive housing along the beaches, while Respondent 4 indicated he thought intensive housing was appropriate 'possibly in greenfields areas'.

6.1.2 Application of Planning Principles

New urbanist principles being promoted through design guidelines need to be carefully considered in the New Zealand context. For example while easy walkable access was a desired quality for the six Phase Two respondents, wide roads were preferred over narrow roads. The five most dominant qualities identified by the respondents (safety, close to shops/businesses, green spaces, privacy and footpaths) can be offered in well designed medium density areas, yet there appears to be a lack of confidence in this from the respondents. The findings illustrate a lack of appreciation from the general public of the benefits of medium density housing, both to private residents and the public. Education and experience could enhance this understanding and are therefore likely to promote medium density amongst greater sectors of the community. In turn this should reduce opposition to intensive developments in existing neighbourhoods.

The research shows a partiality towards continued peripheral growth by younger members of society. This group is also more likely to purchase on city edges, due to a tendency for lower house prices further from the city centre (Richards, 1991; Kirwan, 1992; Davison, 1993). The RGS makes allowances for continued peripheral growth, as well as growth of satellite towns, identifying significant portions of land as 'future urban'

Urban consolidation and containment has been encouraged in Auckland through regional planning techniques for the last 50 years. Although there has been continued reference to urban consolidation within regional planning documents, these have always been accompanied with provision for continued peripheral growth. The Regional Growth Strategy does not differ greatly in this respect. Kirwan (1992) believes continued greenfield development in Melbourne, where consolidation policies are also promoted, sends mixed messages to both the public and developers.

Minor dwellings (or 'granny flats') allow higher densities, yet are consistent with existing suburban patterns. Recent public outcry in Rodney over the omission of minor dwellings 'as of right' in their Proposed District Plan 2000 (they are a non-complying activity throughout the District) demonstrates strong public support for this mode of

accommodation, particularly interesting as medium density development was strongly opposed in many areas in Rodney.

Sanction of minor dwellings brings with it difficulties of infrastructure provision as well as complicating intentions for well planned higher densities in the longer term. However, the strong will of the public to include minor dwellings in the Plan begs the question, once again, of how willing are we to alter existing land use patterns? Successful implementation of the RGS may require changes to attitudes, expectations and perceptions about what makes good living environments, hence redefining the 'Kiwi dream'. The RGS will not succeed using land use controls alone, education and communication are fundamental to its execution.

Planning techniques need to be creative and flexible to encourage intensification and redevelopment. For example structure plans can be used to help retrofit existing areas by giving direction on growth. Incorporated themes should enhance neighbourhood character and incentives for developers may encourage development within specific guidelines for particular areas. Many older established neighbourhoods such as Devonport and Ponsonby attract high market rentals yet defy modern planning controls, requiring individual rules to preserve their existing character. Promotion of the benefits of such areas may well be a subtle way of introducing neo-contemporary urban design principles (such as new urbanism) into greenfields development.

Many controls and rules common in district plans (e.g. yard setbacks and height in relation to boundary restrictions) help to enhance individual privacy yet equally decrease public safety (e.g. with a reduction in street surveillance). Emphasis on individual privacy has created communities that are somewhat dislocated. You will not often see an Auckland resident sitting on their front porch chatting to passers-by. Kunstler (1994) argues that to achieve more sustainable growth patterns we need to change the psyche of home owners rather than rely on rules and controls that inevitably get mutated into undesirable developments when not applied as intended.

6.2 Addressing the Research Questions

6.2.1 *To what extent do traditional ideals influence peoples' accommodation choices?*

Defining cultural 'values' is difficult due to the complexity of individual interpretation and subjectivity. Cultural values are not simply based on ethnicity as many values unique to New Zealand are shared across the many ethnicities within this country. At the same time, those ethnicities also value their own individual cultural distinctions. Auckland is a city diverse with peoples from a wide range of ethnicities and cultures. It could be argued that the North Shore and Rodney samples, of people from largely Anglo-Saxon backgrounds, is not representative of the greater Auckland population, when compared to other parts of the Region. (ARC, 2000; ARC, 2001)

The traditional values of home ownership, assumed for this study, are those of the '¼ acre Kiwi dream', as presented in the Chapters Two and Three, facilitated by the economic and social structures of past Governments. The ¼ acre urban section is no longer common place in modern society, however peri-urban 'lifestyle blocks' are increasing in popularity (ARC, 2000). Respondents of the current research were chosen based on low density living arrangements. Most of the respondents participating did not have a ¼ acre section, however appear to prefer stand alone dwellings, based on similar value-based concepts.

Three out of the six Phase Two respondents choose 'wide open spaces' as being an important amenity in neighbourhoods and this was also the most important aspect for those Phase One respondents preferring continued peripheral growth. 'Space' was given in the reasons for compact growth as well. The College of Education sample was particularly interesting as nearly every respondent from that sample mentioned the word 'space' at least once. Renters wanted to see more peripheral development, to preserve space, whereas homeowners wanted to see compact development, to protect the space they already have. This is consistent with overseas studies (as discussed in Chapter Three).

Lack of personal space, or space in general, in countries such as Japan, facilitates New Zealanders valuing the space they have. The question "how much do you value private

open space?” could have been asked. Furthermore, differentiating between public and private open space may have enhanced the data.

Box 6.1: Phase One Reasons relating to ‘Space’.

Intensification

College of Education Home Owner: “I like the wide open space. I live in the bush and I don’t want to see it disturbed”.

Peripheral

College of Education Renter: “I believe a more urban higher density compact city would mean more pollution. [Peripheral] suburban growth would mean that homes are more spread out, with more space, meaning more opportunities for recreational things such as parks, skate parks, malls and more trees”.

Privacy was also an important quality for those preferring peripheral development, as well as the six Phase Two respondents. Figures 3.1 to 3.3, 3.7 and 3.8, in Chapter 3: Contemporary Approaches to Urban Design, illustrate attempts to protect personal privacy by way of fencing or planting along street frontages. These approaches, while protecting individual privacy, can impact adversely on public good, by diminishing safety levels on the streets through reduced surveillance. New urbanism, conversely, encourages surveillance of streets through direct frontage of housing onto streets and pedestrian areas. Private backyards are offered instead.

Many of the concepts raised in support of compact development, including adequate provision of infrastructure, protection of rural and natural values and improved transport are likely to be positive outcomes of successful implementation of the RGS. The physical size of the city is important with regard to these three issues, as well as socially. Social issues were used to justify continued peripheral development by the respondents choosing this option, however a compact city can equally produce positive social benefits. For example ‘walkability’ positively impacts on public health and good urban design can encourage social interaction. Physical size relates directly to these notions which are promoted through more intensive urban form. The interrelationship between reasons for and against compact development should be more closely examined in the public realm.

6.2.2 *What effect could traditional values of home ownership have on the success of the Regional Growth Strategy?*

The Regional Growth Strategy (RGS) is a comprehensive document, which accumulates a significant amount of research into a broad range of community sectors. It anticipates that 30% of Auckland's future growth will be contained within existing urban areas and aims to do this by way of consolidated intensive developments rather than general infill. Whilst research of residents living in medium density housing shows a good level of satisfaction within this group (ARC 2000), there has also been opposition to this type of housing. Many TLA's have released design guidelines for medium density housing to try to counteract these responses. The Ministry for the Environment also is currently drafting national design guidelines, in recognition of the lack of national leadership for urban related planning issues.

Design guidelines may improve the image of medium density housing in greenfield areas yet may not reduce NIMBY reactions when intensive development is promoted in existing suburban areas. The RGS does not encourage general infill, however infill may be more acceptable to the general public than intensive developments. It should be noted that North Shore City Council intends to accommodate 25% of its additional population to 2021 in infill development (ARC *et al*, 2001). This acceptance is especially of consequence considering the more gradual densification of infill compared with intensive developments, which can leave a perception of fewer adverse effects. The economic benefits to a great many more home owners that are able to subdivide their sections, greater control to the wider community and a general expectation that infill will occur on larger sites, also promote infill as a viable option. An opportunity for further research could be to question the general public as to whether they would prefer to see further infill housing rather than intensive developments in their surrounding neighbourhoods.

It appeared from the research that many of the respondents had a limited understanding of the complexities of growth management. Furthermore it seemed that those respondents preferring compact development, while having assets to protect, also

appeared to have a greater level of understanding of growth management issues than those choosing peripheral growth. This would indicate that to enhance the success of the RGS a more comprehensive education programme may be required. Nevertheless, despite a basic understanding of the issues, the vast majority of respondents lived in low density housing themselves (this being a pre-requisite for the North Shore and Rodney samples), including the group of planners.

The Regional Growth Strategy has been complemented as being a clear directive in terms of sustainably managing growth (Grant, 1988). However, provision for both greenfield and brownfield development may hinder its chances of success (See Kirwan, 1992). Although the need to provide affordable housing is recognised, continuing to allow affordable greenfield housing on the periphery of the city may risk the chance of discouraging intensive living and reinforcing the view that low density housing is not only desirable but preferable.

6.2.3 What form of growth would the general public prefer for the Auckland region?

This is a difficult question to address as the problem of accommodating the future population of Auckland is of course infinitely more complex than simply 'peripheral or compact growth'. Physical neighbourhood form is important to neighbourhood character. Community and individual esteem, along with a multitude of other environmental, social and economic variables interplay to effect overall quality of life.

The responses obtained during the research confirmed neither alternative overall, although specific groups within the sample set did identify a preferred option. Planners chose compact development, whereas renters generally took the opposite stance, preferring peripheral development. The general sample from the North Shore and Rodney areas showed a near equal split between the options. Although Rodney did appear to have a stronger pull towards peripheral development, this may be attributable to a preferred community-based low density lifestyle rather than a desire to see the continued spread of Auckland.

The sample of the current research was largely European. Other studies (ie ARC, 2001) show Pacific Island, Maori and Asian groups preferring larger houses and low density housing.

6.2.4 What tradeoffs are people willing to make regarding their own accommodation ideals to achieve a more intensive city?

The data shows that the wider public are not prepared to make substantial individual concessions to achieve a more intensive city. The issue of public versus private benefit is an interesting issue. This affects many areas of life and relates directly to NIMBY type attitudes. Most respondents agreed that medium density housing was fine for some people, but not for themselves. While this outcome was anticipated, based on the selection methodology of choosing people currently residing in low density dwellings, what was not expected was the large number of respondents who indicated that they would prefer peripheral development over compact development. Whether the responses were given based on the choice respondents would prefer for themselves rather than looking at the bigger picture is unclear, however, as discussed above the responses of those choosing peripheral development were more social in nature than those choosing compact development.

From the six Phase Two respondents, of the four that indicated they would live in medium density housing if it offered their desired neighbourhood qualities, three indicated earlier in the questionnaire that they would only live in medium density housing 'depending on the circumstances'. Furthermore Respondent 1 was totally opposed to intensive housing in any circumstance (he appeared to have a more negative perception of higher densities than the other respondents) based on the negative social conditions related to high density housing overseas.

There is growing recognition of the lack of national guidance for urban planning issues. This includes promotion of rural issues over urban issues in the Resource Management Act and the emerging trend of triple bottom line policy approaches. The term 'tradeoff' may no longer be appropriate in decision making on issues of urban development and design. The ecology of most urban areas is already compromised. It may be more

suitable to stop thinking in terms of tradeoffs and instead approach development and planning in urban and suburban areas in a more holistic manner.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Genius loci (a sense of place) should be considered in all housing projects and, in fact, in all aspects of development. New Zealanders' sense of place includes green, open spaces, and a strong rural flavour, even in its towns and cities. Privacy is vital, as is outdoor living. Testament to the feeling of Auckland's suburban living is the recent increase in peri-urban rural/residential development.

From the research conducted the following major themes emerged:

- Renters and/or younger respondents favoured peripheral growth over compact;
- Home Owners and/or older respondents favoured compact growth over continued peripheral growth; although compact development was only slightly preferred over peripheral and both options combined;
- Planners strongly preferred compact development, although none of those questioned chose this option for themselves;
- Space, privacy, social issues, rural and natural values and proper provision of infrastructure were strong themes of discussion from all groups.

It is recognised that the average household size, particularly for families in the northern part of the Auckland Region, is declining. However it cannot be assumed that reducing household sizes directly correlates to an increasing demand for smaller houses. In fact a recent analysis by the ARC of housing supply and demand in the region has shown a propensity towards houses with one or two bedrooms more than the average household size (2001). This is consistent with findings from studies in the United States

(Ahluwalia, 2001) and may be due to increasing incomes, improved technology and housing design, and/or the increasing need for home offices, with the new 'Information Age'.

"Like Australians generally, these people believed that the best thing to do with your money was save towards a home. They hardly had to justify this since they saw no other way" Richards (1991:123). As Richards discovered for Australians, home ownership is important for New Zealanders also. Furthermore, as also concluded by Richards, consideration of the qualities the house itself can provide appears to be of more concern to homeowners than the wider neighbourhood area, although vague concepts of chosen neighbourhoods are considered, particularly relating to affordability and familiarity.

Could the same could be assumed for renters? Renting is more often seen as a temporary situation on a progression to home owning in New Zealand, and probably in Australia. It may be that in these circumstances people consider the area more than the house, hence the high percentage of respondents to this research choosing peripheral development, perhaps in pursuit of long term goals.

As Richards (1991:117) points out, "Given the taken-for-grantedness of owning, 'Why do you want to own?' is an odd question". In the words of many participating in her study - 'Its just something you do'.

Many current local planning strategies promote more intensive development, using 'New Urbanist' design principles as a basis. While New Urbanist principles do appear to take a holistic approach to planning, and in the case of many strategies and guidelines released in the Auckland region, these have been adapted to suit New Zealand conditions. However, whether or not the wider public will accept these socially is still to be tested.

Space and privacy are important to New Zealanders, who have long-standing traditions of the '¼ acre kiwi dream', low density housing. Many houses are set back off the street frontage and fences are prominent in our urban landscape. Private issues appear

to have a much stronger influence on the accommodation considerations of residents than public benefits.

While medium and high density development is widely accepted in many countries overseas, particularly those in Europe, traditionally strong political agendas have promoted such concepts, forming an urban culture that is desirable to the citizens of these countries. However New Zealand does not appear to have such an urban culture. Rather it has a rural/suburban way of life, which must be addressed if we are to bridge the gap between consolidationists and expansionists and achieve a more sustainable city.

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APPENDIX A: PHASE ONE QUESTIONNAIRE

The physical form of Auckland in the next 50 years.

Research Undertaken by Kylie Hitchcock

This survey forms part of a thesis study to complete a Masters of Resource and Environmental Planning at Massey University. Your contribution is greatly appreciated.

Current growth predictions show a significant increase in Auckland's population over the next 50 years. What form of city would you like to see to accommodate this growth

Peripheral suburban growth of single dwellings per site?

Tick Preferred Option

☐

A more 'urban' higher density compact city?

☐

Why?

Please continue over page if needed.

What suburb do you currently live in?

Do you own or rent your home?

As part of this study I will be contacting a cohort of respondents to question further. Please provide you contact details if you would not mind being contacted for this purpose.

Name

Contact details (phone/email address)

Please tick if you would like to see the results of this study when completed.

☐

APPENDIX B: PHASE TWO QUESTIONNAIRE

Intensification Vs Urban Sprawl: The Physical Form of Growth in Auckland

Research Undertaken by Kylie Hitchcock

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Please ensure that you have read the attached information sheet and signed the Consent Form prior to filling in this questionnaire. Please return the completed consent form and questionnaire in the self addressed postage paid envelope provided **prior to Friday 31st May 2001.**

1. Please indicate you gender:

Please tick the appropriate box

Male

☐

Female

☐

2. How old are you?

25 and Under

☐

26-35

☐

36-45

☐

46-55

☐

56 and over

☐

3. Are you ...

Please tick the appropriate box

Married

☐

Single

☐

in a Long Term Relationship

☐

4. Do you have any children currently living with you?

Please tick the appropriate box

Yes

☐

No

☐

5. Were you born in New Zealand?

Please tick the appropriate box

Yes

☐

No

☐

6. How long have you lived in New Zealand?

Please tick the appropriate box

10 years or more

☐

Less than 10 years

☐

7. What other countries have you lived in, if any?

INTENSIVE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

8. What are your views on intensive housing ie terrace housing/apartment block type accommodation?

9. What effect do you think intensive housing development will have on your property, should it go ahead in your neighbourhood?

10. Would you choose intensive housing for yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐ Depending on the Circumstances ☐
Please tick the appropriate box

Why/Why not?

11. What would attract you to live in high density accommodation?

12. Do you think there is a place for intensive housing in your...

Please tick the appropriate box

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - Town/City | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| - Closer Community/Suburb | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| - Neighbourhood | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

GENERAL ACCOMMODATION CHOICES

13. What do you look for in the area you chose to live?

14. Why did you move to your current home?

15. How long have you lived in your current home? _____years _____months

16. How long do you plan to stay?

Short Term (0-5 years)

☐

Medium Term (5-10 Years)

☐

Long Term (10+ Years)

☐

Please tick the appropriate box

17. How important is home ownership to you?*Please circle the appropriate number*

Not Important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Important

18. Is this the only house you own/have ever owned?*Please tick the appropriate box*Yes ☐ No ☐**If no, how many homes have you owned previously?**

INITIAL REASONS FOR PURCHASING**19. What initially attracted you to...****...Your current home?**

...Your neighbourhood?

20. Was the house or the neighbourhood the main factor when choosing to purchase?

Please circle the appropriate number

House Only 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Neighbourhood Only

21. What other aspects were considered at that time?

CURRENT SITUATION

22. What do you like about your current home?

23. What don't you like?

24. How satisfied are you with your current home?

Please circle the appropriate number

Not at All Satisfied **1** **2** **3** **4** **5** **6** **7** **8** **9** **10** Very Satisfied

25. How satisfied are you with your current neighbourhood ie does it satisfy the needs of you and your family?

Please circle the appropriate number

Not at All Satisfied **1** **2** **3** **4** **5** **6** **7** **8** **9** **10** Very Satisfied

26. If you could change/add/remove anything about your neighbourhood to improve it – what would that be?

27. How much of a burden, if any, is accommodation costs on your lifestyle?*Please circle the appropriate number*

No Burden 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 High Burden

28. How would you describe your neighbourhood in terms of social identity/social interaction?*Please circle the appropriate number*

No Social Interaction 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very High Social Interaction

29. How well do you know your neighbours?*Please circle the appropriate number*

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Close Friends

30. Would you like to know them better?*Please tick the appropriate box*

Yes

☐

No

☐

Already Very Close

☐**31. How close (distance) are you to ...***Please indicate usual method of transport and approximate time taken eg 5 minutes walk, or 1/2 hour drive*

- Nearest Family _____
- Nearest Good Friends (other than those met through being neighbours) _____
- Main Place of Work _____
- Husband/Wife/Partners Work _____

- Children's School _____
- Social/Sports Clubs _____

32. On average how much time a week do you spend commuting?

Please Tick Appropriate Box

	You	Other Family Member	Other Family Member	Other Family Member	Other Family Member	Other Family Member
		<i>Please state who ie husband/child</i>	<i>Please state who ie husband/child</i>	<i>Please state who ie husband/child</i>	<i>Please state who ie husband/child</i>	<i>Please state who ie husband/child</i>
Not at All	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Less than 2 hour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2-4 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4-6 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-8 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8-10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
More than 10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. Do you consider travel time as having a negative impact on:

Please circle the appropriate number

Family Bonding.....	No Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High Impact
Community Bonding.....	No Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High Impact
Leisure.....	No Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High Impact
Social Life.....	No Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High Impact
Other _____No Impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High Impact

Please state what

NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITIES

34. Of the following which do you think are important in a Suburb?

Please circle all the concepts you think are important

Safety

Easy Walkable Access

Strong Social Ties within the Community

Walking/Cycling Tracks

Privacy

Narrow Roads

Close to Schools

Wide Open Spaces

Wide Roads

Close to Shops/Businesses

Recreation Facilities

Large Front Yards

Hidden Garages

Footpaths

Status

Green Spaces

Similar Houses

Other _____
Please state what

35. Of the following which are provided in your neighbourhood?
Please circle all the amenities provided

Safety

Easy Walkable Access

Strong Social Ties within the Community

Walking/Cycling Tracks

Privacy

Narrow Roads

Close to Schools

Wide Open Spaces

Wide Roads

Close to Shops/Businesses

Recreation Facilities

Large Front Yards

Hidden Garages

Footpaths

Status

Green Spaces

Similar Houses

Other _____
Please state what

36. Do you think high density Areas could offer the qualities you have chosen above?
Please Tick Appropriate Box

None ☐ Some ☐ All ☐

37. Would you live in a high density area if it offered these qualities?

Please tick the appropriate box

Yes

☐

No

☐

Why/Why Not?

Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is greatly appreciated. Please feel free to contact the researcher should you wish to further discuss this research.

APPENDIX C: QUALITATIVE ANSWERS TO PHASE ONE; RODNEY RESPONDENTS

Own or Rent?	Preferred Growth Alternative?	Why?
<i>Red Beach, Rodney District.</i>		
Rent	Peripheral	Hate apartment style living. Prefer community style living.
Own	Peripheral	Apartments pressurise people into smaller areas. We need space.
Own	Both	Let people have what they want, how they want it.
Own	<i>Unsure</i>	Should be a greenbelt to stop urban spread. Its just getting to much.
Own	<i>Don't Know</i>	Haven't thought about it.
Rent	Peripheral	Don't like built up areas. Prefer privacy. Neighbours are too close and it doesn't look nice. Boxy, not stylish.
Own	Peripheral	To reduce congestion in one place, but then can cause congestion because travelling into city.
Own	Compact	The city sprawl has increased greatly in the past 10 years. We live in a semi rural and beach area. Its disappointing to drive for ½ hour to our neighbourhood and have to sit in a traffic jam 5 minutes from your home. Urban density compact development seems to be suitable to the younger generation with busy lives. It may also be more suitable for those of us getting closer to retirement.
Own	Compact	I don't like to see the countryside (including green belt areas) being swallowed up by more and more development. The young nowadays are more open to apartment style dwellings which should be kept to an affordable price range but built within an interesting garden for BBQs etc. Retires people with time and money to spend on garden etc should be able to move if they wish to an area cheaper to live but with more land available.

APPENDIX D: QUALITATIVE ANSWERS TO PHASE ONE; NORTH SHORE RESPONDENTS

Own or Rent?	Preferred Growth Alternative?	Why?
<i>North Shore</i>		
Rent (Mairangi Bay)	Compact	4 million people live in Sydney – with a regional size not much bigger than Auckland. 18 million people live in the Netherlands – a country the size of Taranaki! I think that Auckland is already too spread out. We can learn from the examples of other cities around the world that large populations can live in compact cities. Auckland's major problem is that it does not have the infrastructure to cater for a larger population in either scenario – suburbs vs high density urban city..
Rent (Rothsay Bay)	Compact	Because enough land has been taken over for industrial and home development. Sooner or later we will have no countryside or forests etc left. If we have to accommodate for more emigrants and a growing population then stick them all together in controlled areas like big townships etc and leave some of NZ green.
Rent (Glenfield)	Peripheral	Because I like to see a city with many centres.
Rent (Glenfield)	Peripheral	With the increase of demand on infrastructure the need for upgrade to sewage etc has not been considered. Why should ratepayers pay for infrastructure upgrades. This cost should be borne by developers by form of an infrastructure fee. Should also include rubbish handling facilities, as recently highlighted by the media. Infrastructure should include roading, power grid, water, wastewater, public transport, recreational facilities including parks.
Rent (Greenhithe)	Peripheral	As density can become extreme and cluttering and problems with this can occur so i feel if you spread the city out there will be less transport to much people problems as there is more space to move and conduct the daily needs of the residents. Cramped spaces cause stress and frustration among citizens but if it is spread out the problems are not so severe.
Rent (Rothsay Bay)	Peripheral	People should have houses on big sections so that dogs have got plenty of room to run around, so lazy people like myself don't have to walk them.
Rent (Takapuna)	Peripheral	I've lives in a city with 7 million people in an area about 2/3 that of Auckland. Too crowded, to much grime and crime inherent in having too many people living in such close proximity. While a more sprawling city definitely causes some problems, I feel that they are minor.
Rent (Takapuna)	Peripheral	Because I hate having house squashed together and being bale to look into your next door neighbours windows. I would like to keep houses on their original sites instead of subdividing in order to squash more people in. It would be great having a more 'happening' city centre with better public transport out to the suburbs. I would rather have a backyard for my kids to go out and play than live in an apartment in the city – even though I go to the city frequently.
Own (Albany)	Both	Properly planned and managed there must be place for both options.

Own (Birkenhead)	Peripheral	<p>The early part (4 years) of my profession as a 'health inspector' was spent working in "urban high density" dwellings in an area called, ironically, the meadows, in Nottingham. The quality of life was low, very low. If one assesses that the backbone of life is good upbringing of children then it is quite obvious that kids need space to play. The safest and most communal play area is a private garden, where kids are safe, mums (and dads) can meet and help one another and the individual nature of single dwellings gives people pride in "their nest". Communities evolve. They are not created by town planners. As a matter of interest the answer to the meadows was a series of low rise high density flats, which 15 years later came tumbling down behind a bull dozer.</p> <p>The question is "would you like to live in one of these places". The answer is ultimately No, the surely all they really are is an expensive transit camp for low socio families.</p>
Own (Glenfield)	Peripheral	Its what I'm used to. I prefer to see gardens and space between the houses. I did not like the look of intensive apartment blocks in Tokyo when I travelled there.
Own (Mairangi Bay)	Peripheral	I have seen the social pressures in the UK of over development. Terraced houses etc with only 2 parks causes congestion in streets. No peace, kid playing in the street, vandalism and general deterioration in a few years. Most people come to live in New Zealand to rid themselves of high rise living, as in Asia.
Own (Torbay)	Compact	Because this would allow for development of green areas which would be an intrinsic part of high density development.
Own (Torbay)	Compact	The two main problems are transport and sewerage. With a high density population it becomes possible to have an efficient transport system and reticulation of amenities such as water and sewage becomes effective. The open spaces that become available with high density living are available to all at a close proximity. People have to travel less distances for parkland in low density suburbs.
Own (Glenfield)	Compact	The environmental issues and structural issues surrounding more suburban sprawl weigh with more bad issues as opposed to the development of higher density dwellings and the problems associated with them, Transport is a big issue with me too. The close proximity of rural areas is appealing and more urban sprawl will restrict that.
Own (Albany)	Compact	Because there is plenty of room for growth in urban Auckland.
Own (Albany)	Compact	Because there is plenty of room for growth in urban Auckland.
Own (Mairangi Bay)	Compact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Periphery can be reserved as 'green belt' – recreation/food growing. - More concentrated and cost effective use of infrastructure – drainage, water supply - Higher city density can support more efficient public transport systems - But with enclaves of industry and commerce and employees encouraged. To live closer to their work places, total people movements at peak times can be reduced.
Own (Milford)	Compact	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Decreased cost of services. Sewerage, water, power etc and roads. 2. Changing lifestyles now showing increasing preference for higher density housing. 3. Scaring of productive rural land.
Own (Browns Bay)	Compact	There is plenty of room for upward growth in Auckland. Auckland sprawls out enough – needs to be more compact, more high density growth and better services e.g. rail transport.