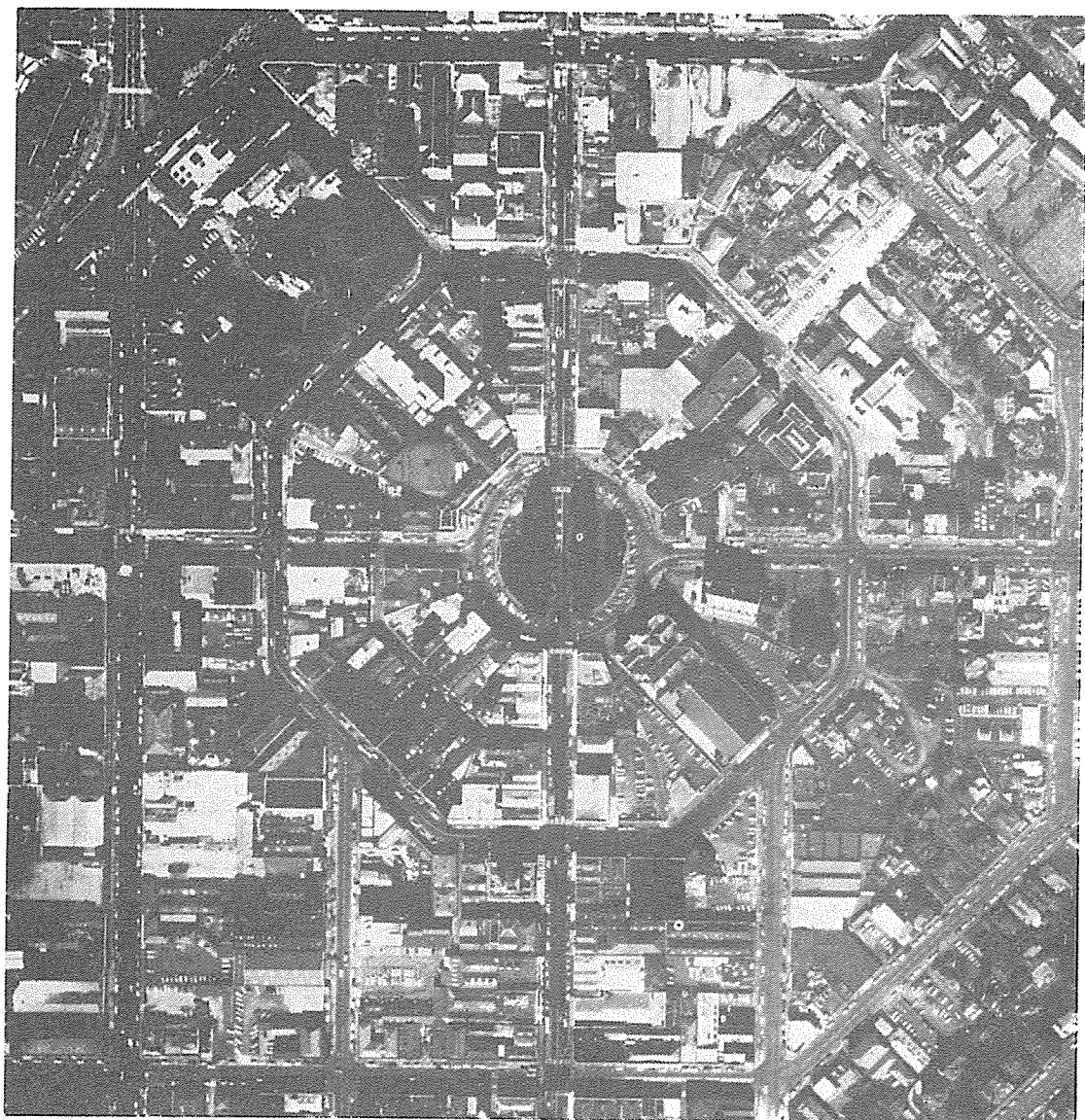




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# Town Planning Quarterly

Number 41



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**Editor:** J.R. Dart

**Technical Editor:** M.H.Pritchard

Department of Town Planning, University of Auckland

**Design:** David Reynolds

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# Editorial

## Experiments in Living

New Zealand, Australia and British Columbia have each experienced recent major political change. Commentators see it as part of a general trend towards conservatism which was to be expected, even if the timing and the rate were not.

All three represent the world of affluence; they fall into the category of Ehrlich's first class passengers on this spaceship, earth, travelling under the impression that the craft exists primarily for their benefit, quarrelling over the dwindling stores, and largely indifferent to the suffering of the passengers in steerage.

It is no coincidence that each of the three is seeking to put a brake on immigration. Nor is it a coincidence that overt racialism is re-emerging. An otherwise difficult task is made so much easier by the simple expedient of equating skin colour with social, moral and economic standards.

The next decade could well see a hardening of attitudes. On the one hand, will be the failure to act in a sufficient way, internationally, against population growth. At the present rate of increase of 70 million people per year, the population of a New Zealand is duplicated each 17 days and that of an Australia every two and a half months. On the other, will be the inevitable attempt, not to see to an equitable sharing of resources, but to stock-piling for one's own use.

Ehrlich and Harriman, in their book, **How to be a Survivor: a Plan to Save Spaceship Earth** (1971), note that the profligate use of resources "results in part from desperate attempts to provide bare subsistence for most of mankind. But it also derives from the exploitative economic systems of the overdeveloped countries, which persist in the pursuit of an 'affluence' based on almost limitless wastage. Since the non-renewable resources consumed by these wastrels are resources which will not be available to their descendents, this behaviour has been accurately described as grand larceny against the future."

Forrester, in **World Dynamics** (1971), rather less emotionally, reached the following conclusion: "The industrialized societies have become geared to a philosophy of growth and rising standards for everyone. This cannot continue indefinitely. New human purposes must be defined to replace the quest for economic advancement. Nature must be helped rather than conquered. Civilization must be restrained rather than expanded. Social pressures probably must increase rather than decline, until those pressures can be transformed into a change

in social values that take satisfaction from an equilibrium society ... Both the developed and the underdeveloped countries face the common problem of sharing the natural resources and the pollution dissipation capacity of the earth. Without effective arbitration, only war and violence can settle the competition for a limited earth."

A variation of this pending battle for resources is echoed in the revival of the First World War 'triage' theme in which it is suggested that whole nations should be abandoned because of our collective inability to raise their standard of living to a tolerable level without sacrificing our own.

It has been said that an optimist is one who proclaims that we live in the best of all possible worlds; and that a pessimist is one who fears that that is true.

In view of these solemn considerations, it is sad to note that the new government is not as sympathetic to the establishment of rural communes, the *ohus*, to give them their New Zealand name, as was its predecessor. Cohn, in his, **The Pursuit of the Millenium** (1957), noted that the rejection of contemporary society values is a reaction that can be traced back at least as far as the 12th Century and that the movements arise when the traditional life is becoming impossible in a period of rapid socio-economic change, and especially when threat is felt.

It is too shallow a judgment to call our experiments rural slums occupied by lethargic drop-outs. For some of their occupants, they are clearly the equivalent of the religious retreat; a place where one may go to seek to resolve personal problems in undisturbed peace and solitude. For others, it is an attempt to escape from the claustrophobic crowded rush and bustle of city life. For others, still, it is turning away from the materialist society of conspicuous consumption and built-in obsolescence. It is a desire to discover for one's self what few possessions are really necessary; what little food one really needs and the pleasure of unadulterated nutrition.

It is an experiment that we need constantly to make; a search for utopia that we need constantly to pursue. Our present life-style is coming to an end. The *ohu* is one alternative future that will meet the needs of some and for a while. All credit to those national and local politicians that perceived its value and nurtured its growth.

*J.R. Dart*

# The case for performance standard zoning in rural subdivisions.

**Dennis C. Stickley**

*Dennis C. Stickley, BS, MS was 1974 Fullbright Scholar Dept. of Town Planning, School of Law University of Auckland.*

Land use controls in rural areas were initially used to set the stage for the transformation of the land from an agricultural use to that of an industrial, commercial, or residential nature. Prime agricultural land was not considered as a limited resource and farming was not thought of as a commercial pursuit.

This perception of rural land use control has undergone a marked change over the years. In more recent times rural or agricultural zoning has been used as a tool to contain urban sprawl and encourage denser development in existing metropolitan areas. It has been said that agriculturally zoned land is the "highest, least intensive, most exclusive type of land use." (1) While rural or agricultural zoning ordinances generally allow the operation of agriculturally related industries and in some cases permit residential uses on small acreages, they also attempt to prohibit large scale subdivisions and other urban uses which remove prime agricultural land from production and lead to a demand for the extension of public services.

Many societies have begun to value their productive agricultural areas more highly. In some developed countries concern for the preservation of agriculturally productive areas has found expression through the enactment of various types of protective legislation. This legislation has taken a variety of approaches. In the United States, for example, 31 state governments have enacted some method of differential or use-value assessment law as a modification of their real property tax code.(2)

In New Zealand, Parliament passed the Town & Country Planning Amendment Act of 1973 and gave governmental authority to its intent to protect coastal and agricultural land by elevating this concern to "Matters of National Importance". Recognition is now to be given to the importance of these objectives in the preparation of regional and district schemes. This amendment reads as follows:

## **Matters of National Importance —**

2B The following matters are declared to be of national importance and shall be recognised and provided for in the preparation, implementation, and administration of regional and district schemes:

- (a) The preservation of natural character of the coastal environment and of the margins of lakes and rivers and the protection of them from unnecessary subdivision and development:
- (b) The avoidance of encroachment of urban development on, and the protection of, land having a high actual or potential value for the production of food:
- (c) The prevention of sporadic urban subdivision and development in rural areas. (3)

This article reviews such recent developments in rural subdivision control legislation in New Zealand and traces the contemporary history of the controlling legislation and the decisions of the Town & Country Planning Appeal Boards in interpreting that legislation. This article also argues for the adoption of performance standards as the criteria on which rural subdivisions should be considered, and further calls on the government to issue a policy statement on the methods of achieving the policy goals of Amendments 2B(b) and 2B(c) similar to that which has already been issued for 2B(a). The article is not primarily concerned with rural/residential subdivisions but as this land use issue offers many illustrations of the way in which performance standards can be utilized in the broader area of rural subdivision criteria, much of the discussion in this article is in terms of rural/residential subdivision. Also previous research done in New Zealand by G.O. Winn has shown that the connection between rural subdivision is inseparable on some levels.(4)

## **Counties Act**

With the passage of the Counties Amendment Act of 1974, unquestioned jurisdiction over subdivisions in rural areas was expanded beyond the previous limitation of four hectares and subdivision of rural land cannot be accomplished without formal consent from the governing County Council. The present legislation now states:

22. Scheme plan of subdivision to be prepared and approved by Council.

- (1) Where any person holding any land in the county proposes to subdivide the land, a scheme plan of the subdivision, with such additional copies as the council requires, showing the several allotments and their dimensions, and the roads and reserves (if any) proposed to be made, shall be prepared by a registered surveyor and approved by the council by resolution duly authenticated as provided in section 439 of the Principal Act before the subdivision is made ... (5)

## **Town & Country Planning Act**

The general practice has been for county coun-

cils to regulate the subdivision of rural zoned land on the basis of establishing minimum standard areas (MSA's) in their district schemes as provided for by Regulation 15 (2), First Schedule of the Town & Country Planning Regulations 1960.

TABLE I

**RURAL SUBDIVISION STANDARDS IN OPERATIVE COUNTY DISTRICT SCHEMES**

STANDARD	NUMBER OF COUNTIES
MSA only	8
MSA as per Town & Country Planning Regulations 1960	66
Economic Efficiency only	6
Economic Efficiency and no demand for Public Services	4

a) Source: compiled from operative district schemes and ordinances for New Zealand Counties; Ministry of Works Library, Town & Country Planning Division, Wellington.

As the pressure for rural/residential living has increased, the typical response to this demand by many rural county councils has been to avoid the impact caused by people and their subsequent demand for public services by merely raising the MSA for subdivisions from say 4 hectares to 20 hectares. While such action may reduce the influx of population, it is at least arguable that such an approach actually serves the purpose of keeping agricultural land in production, since, in reality, what happens is that the category of potential purchasers is only narrowed without full thought being given to the future use of the land. For example a person whose income is large enough to purchase a 20 hectare parcel of land can under-utilize this area as much as five people each with sufficient purchasing power only to acquire a 4 hectare parcel.

It is important to note at this point that Ordinance III, Clause 3, Fourth Schedule, gives councils the discretion to permit subdivision in rural zones, where the subdivision will result in a tract less than the established MSA. This is done on the basis that the sub-standard development can be operated as an independent economic unit, or that such an allotment is necessary to avoid undue hardship. (6) Approval is further conditioned by the requirements that the subdivision is: (i) in the economic interest of the region and district; (ii) not likely to result in diseconomies in the provision of public

services; and (iii) will not result in interference with traffic movement.

This approach to zoning and land use control, called "Performance Standard Zoning", is particularly suited to the implementation of the 1973 Matters of National Importance amendments, and is in harmony with the interpretation of the Town & Country Planning Act by the Town & Country Planning Appeal Boards.\*\*

In effect, performance standards set by ordinances provide that a particular land use is permitted which is compatible with the predominant use in the zone. Compatibility is measured by the external effects produced by the use. In the case of rural subdivision, the factors were economic viability and demand for public services.(7)

**Town & Country Planning Appeal Board Decisions**

The Number One Town & Country Planning Appeal Board first introduced the term "open living" to describe the life style of residential living in a rural zoned area in **Parsons v Hawkes Bay County Council** in 1971(8). In **Parsons** the Board stated "... it is bad planning to permit the use of rural land for purely residential purposes..." in accordance with Regulation 16 (2) of the Town & Country Planning Regulations. (9) The Board went on to give recognition to the demand for rural/residential living and stated the following:

But the Board also records that there is a place in our way of life for what has come to be called "open living" in a rural environment. It can be good planning to provide for this in appropriate circumstances in localities that are suited for this purpose and in such a way that the individual allotments created for that purpose are self-contained and will not either individually or collectively, cause a demand for public services. (10).

The Board also took note of the fact that the remaining land would be able to function as an independent economic unit.

The decision is reflective of the policies suggested by the Regulations to the Town & Country Planning Act, while at the same time trying to impart some flexibility in the law to allow open living to be permitted. The Appeal Boards continued to follow this policy in similar cases almost to that time when the 1973 amendments came into effect. While the Board was concerned with provisions for residential subdivisions, it also made an effort to extend council control to subdivisions larger than 4 hectares, prior to the 1974 Counties Amendment Act, through the Town & Planning Country Planning Act. In **Booth v. Wairarapa South County Council** the Board held that such authority existed under Sections 18 and 21 and the Second Schedule to the Act. (11)

The decision in **Booth** was doubly significant in that the Board found a performance standard approach by the respondent council, defining suita-

ble subdivisions in terms of economic farming units, to be preferred to an MSA approach. As the Board stated:

Indeed, that form of standard appears to be more realistic and a better implementation of the responsibilities conferred on the respondent by Sections 18 and 21 of the Act than an arbitrary minimum quantified in acres and applying generally, whatever the productivity of the soil or the type of farming proposed.(12)

After the passage of the 1973 amendment to the Town & Country Planning Act the decisions of the Appeal Boards reflected the governmental attitude towards the granting of requests to subdivide rural land for residential living. This change, imparted by legislative directive, was noted in such recent decisions as **Astwood v. Hawkes Bay County Council** (13) and **Transport (Nelson) Holdings Ltd. v. Minister of Works and Waimea County Council**. (14) Such decisions indicate that the Appeal Boards are no longer in the position to be as judiciously flexible in expanding the open living concept as they have been in the past.

In short, public policy in this area has changed and the Appeal Boards mirror that change in their decisions. As the Board stated in **Coom and Munro v. Hawkes Bay County Council**, so far as granting specified departures for residential subdivisions the new rule is to be:

The Board would observe that its attitude towards specified departures has hardened considerably since the date of those decisions and that this hardening in respect of residential uses in rural zones has been given statutory recognition by Section 2B of the Town & Country Planning Amendment Act 1973 in relation to sporadic residential development. The Board does not therefore propose to follow the precedent (if any) set by the decisions brought to its notice.(15)

## Performance Standard Zoning in Rural Subdivisions

Now that county councils have unquestionable authority to regulate all real estate subdivisions, and that the 1973 Amendments to the Town & Country Planning Act have given priority status to the preservation of agriculturally productive land, the remaining issue to be dealt with is the selection of the method which best allows this policy to be implemented. It is submitted that, given the direction of statutory law, administrative interpretation and land use planning principles, the performance standard approach to setting limits on rural subdivisions achieves the following:

- (1) It is a criterion that is easily reconcilable with the expressed policy goal of protecting agricultural productivity;
- (2) It is a concept that has already gained ac-

ceptance in county district schemes and before administrative tribunals;

- (3) It would be a non-arbitrary test in implementing policy which considers the nature of the land and its use in each case; and
- (4) It acts to promote a more efficient utilization of a productive resource than the MSA approach.

Performance zoning in rural areas best meets the test for rural subdivision control set out by the 2B Amendments in that by the very nature of such zoning the index on which subdivisions are measured is one of economic efficiency of productivity. What could be more in harmony with statutory direction?

As the decisions of the Town & Country Planning Appeal Boards cited in this article indicate, the Boards are decidedly in favour of such a planning approach. As suggested by these decisions the Boards favour productivity zoning and, in several instances, have expressed a preference for this approach over the minimum standard area where the two alternatives presented themselves in the same district scheme or have even gone so far as to strike the MSA approach from the scheme.

Such an approach makes county councils more accountable for their formulations of goals when drafting their ordinances. No longer could local governments pursue a policy of urban containment under the guise of protecting their agricultural resources. As the Number One Town and Country Planning Appeal Board notes in **Otago Branch of the New Zealand Surveyors v. Dunedin City Council**,

If in one or other of the Rural zones, or if in any part or parts of a Rural zone, the policy of preventing urban expansion should prevail over the policy of permitting small farms then the district scheme should say so by declaring in clear terms that subdivision below a certain minimum area will not be permitted for purposes of primary production in that zone or that part or those parts of a zone. (16)

Finally, and perhaps most important, performance standards promote a more efficient use of agricultural land than do MSA's.

Subdivision of agricultural land can be seen in terms of the classic question of welfare economics. The problem involves the selection of that method, from an array of considered alternatives, which will in the long run maximize net social well-being. Critics of the approach to land use control such as that taken in the recent 2B Amendments have said that such legislation is "simplistic" and since prime agricultural land is often prime building land, efforts to legislatively lock up land specifically for agricultural production have the end effect of imposing added building costs on society. (17) These increased costs are said to outweigh the economic benefits accruing to society from the protection of productive agricultural land. However, proponents of agricultural production have advocated that it is economically questionable for society, in the long

run, to subsidize the construction of low density housing at the expense of future agricultural production. (18)

This article does not attempt to answer this complex question of welfare economics. Yet, before either argument can be convincingly made, the following must be authoritatively shown:

- (1) That the value of possible food production from low density areas for domestic and internal consumption is considered in light of the agricultural export earnings foregone by subdivision, i.e. projections of returns from small vegetable plots may not be valued when taken in terms of larger areas.
- (2) The possible market effects resulting from oversupply of agricultural produce best suited to production on smaller units will not depress existing markets.
- (3) That the effects from the sale of farm land for subdivision will tend to either allow farmers to reinvest in agricultural pursuits in other equally productive agricultural endeavours, or causes capital previously invested in agriculture to shift into other sectors of the economy.
- (4) That the pattern of residential development in former rural areas actually would favour low income, low density housing, i.e. that the demand and pattern of development would indeed result in the benefits being spread over society and not just accruing to a privileged few.
- (5) The general desirability of increasing rises in real estate costs precipitated by reducing the amount of raw land available for development.

A case has yet to be made for meeting the legitimate demand by certain parts of society for a rural/residential style of living. It is clear that present MSAs do not protect agricultural productivity, nor do they adequately meet the need of people who wish to live on small acreages in rural areas. The 20 hectares MSA is especially vicious in that it does not work as a deterrent to subdivision since the developer merely has to subdivide fewer units and the resulting scarcity of land available for rural living increases the cost of real estates, reducing the range of potential buyers and producing a situation where there is a greater loss of land for any beneficial use, agricultural or residential.

Rural subdivision under performance standards would ensure that the economic contribution of prime agricultural land could be maintained, whatever the size of the unit and could make possible an innovative approach for making smaller acreages in other less sensitive areas available for rural living life-style.

## Implementation

Full scale implementation of performance standards for subdivision in prime agricultural areas

can easily be achieved providing that adequate information is available and certain problems are solved. First, the government should also direct some effort towards defining in more empirical terms what is going to be considered, for the purposes of national policy, as "having a high actual or potential value for the production of food." (19) It has long been recognized that New Zealand has a limited amount of very productive soils. (20)

**TABLE II**  
**LAND RESOURCES IN NEW ZEALAND**

Land Use	Percentage of Land
Arable	1.9
Improved Pastures	29.3
Rough grazing	19.6
Exotic production forest	1.5
Indigenous production forest	1.8
(Mountain) protection forest	19.8
Urban, lakes, rivers etc.	3.3
Mountains, wastelands etc.	22.8

b) Source: **The New Zealand environment**, National Report to the United Nations Preparatory Committee for the 1972 conference on the Human Environment, p.7 (1972)

In any effort to preserve productive agricultural areas it would be essential to know the type and location of the areas which are to be protected. Such an inventory could be accomplished under the present system of land use capability classification. (21) Prime agricultural land could be identified and preserved on a national basis. Counties whose boundaries did not include such areas of an important national resource could then be given the discretion to administer the subdivision of less productive agricultural land on the basis of whether or not the county council chose to pursue a policy of protecting local agricultural economic bases, restricting residential density, or encouraging subdivision development.

Productivity tests should not be limited to soil quality. Market influences can have a great impact on whether or not the most fertile soils are used productively. With this in mind, efforts to establish performance standards for rural subdivision should not be made without first consulting with government departments and producer marketing boards who are responsible for setting commodity schedule and market forecasting as to what types of agricultural products show promise for capital returns to the country and the farmer. This recommendation requires the type of interdepartmental co-ordination necessary to the administration of a complex natural resource that is the concern of



several different governmental and quasi-governmental bodies.

Secondly, many county councils are in the position of having to administer subdivisions which took place before the formal requirements of the 1974 Counties Amendment Act. In those situations where existing subdivisions have residential buildings already built upon them it is too late to take any preventative action. However, in the case of so-called 'paper subdivisions' the same technique of with-holding building and sewerage permits could be used to limit land use in productive agricultural areas to those purchasers who can demonstrate that they will carry out a productive and economically viable operation.

Also, it is important that information concerning the use and agricultural activities carried out on existing subdivisions be compiled in order to accurately assess the utilization of the land held in this manner. Earlier studies have provided information about various provincial situations, but a more comprehensive understanding will lead to a better informed implementation of national policy.

Currently the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Works is in the process of undertaking a national survey to detail the use made of existing rural/residential areas. The "Small Rural Properties Study" will be completed and results made available shortly. The analysis of this information should be the basis for the issuance of a national policy statement concerning sporadic development and subdivision of agricultural land, similar to the "Statement on Coastal Planning and Development" which has already been issued.(22) Such a statement of policy would provide direction and uniformity in implementing the 1973 Amendments. This would improve on the singular efforts of more progressive county councils and the process of change and instructions that is possible through the decisions of the Town & Country Planning Appeal Boards.

Specific problems are encountered with performance standards and will need to be overcome to accomplish a successful administration of the 1973 amendments through this method. First, attention must be given to a method to make subdividers accountable to county councils after authorization has been given for subdivision. A novel and interesting approach has been taken by the Taieri County Council whereby permits for building dwellings and sewerage disposal systems are not granted until the subdivided property has been operated as an economic unit for a period of one year. Closely related to the problem of accountability, is the question of the use to be made of the land after the original subdivider transfers title to a subsequent purchaser. A later purchaser acquires the property under notice of the zoning restrictions and conditions of subdivision imposed by the governing local body's ordinances. Where the zoning is based on the economic viability of the unit, provision needs to be made for a specified departure

application where circumstances render the authorized agricultural operation infeasible.

In addition to a policy statement by the administering Ministry, it would be useful if the Town and Country Planning Regulations, particularly Regulation 15, Ordinance III, of the Fourth Schedule, concerning the subdivision of land were modified to allow county councils to retain MSAs when it is deemed important to use rural zoning to prevent the encroachment of urbanization. However, where the county council has stated as its goal the preservation of prime agricultural land, the council should be obliged to adopt performance standards zoning according to criteria for economic validity of the unit on the basis of soil conditions and the nature of the proposed farming activity, including market forecasts.

Finally, since the government is involved in the ownership and management of a considerable amount of productive agricultural land, the Crown itself should tacitly or formally be bound by the methodology that could be set out in a policy statement for the subdivision of agricultural land on a performance standard basis as per the recommendation of the Report of the Town & Country Planning Act Review Committee.(23) Co-ordination of this information on an interdepartmental basis will enhance the efficiency of the administration of the 1973 Amendments.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, so far as the subdivision of rural land in New Zealand is concerned, the important first steps have been taken by legislative and administrative branches of government in the formulation of national policy goals. What is now required is the full articulation of methods for implementation of that policy. Performance standards offer an approach which is uniquely harmonious with that policy and which have been adopted in many areas in spirit if not in fact. The information necessary for the full and uniform expression of this method has been or is now being gathered. With efforts such as these New Zealand could be well on the way to a meaningful change in public policy towards the management of its productive agricultural resources.

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1. Hagman, Donald G. **Urban Planning and Land Development Control Law** (1971), p.108, West Pub. Co., St. Paul, Minn.
2. **State Programs for the Differential Assessment of Farm and Open Space Land**, Agr. Econ. Rpt. No 256, Econ. Research Ser. U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. April 1974.

\* These laws are based on the valuation principle that eligible lands are valued for property tax purposes according to their value in current use rather than according to market value. This can also apply to land used for forest, open space, recreational, scenic, historical or ecological, as well as agricultural, importance.

\*\* The principle of the performance standard is based on the use of tests to determine whether a particular industry conforms with

established basic criteria or standards of acceptability. The performance standard is said to render obsolete the old basis of zoning where land uses are arbitrarily grouped into particular districts. It should be noted that the success with which performance standards are used depends on the quality of the information used to set the standards and the precision with which their compliance can be measured.

3. Town & Country Planning Amendment Act 1973.
4. Winn, G.O. "Ten Acre Subdivisions in the Waitemata County", unpublished Dissertation, Dept. of Town Planning, Univ. of Auckland, September 1970.
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6. Town & Country Planning Regulations 1960.
7. Chapin, F. Stuart Jr., **Urban Land Use Planning**, 2nd Ed. (1965), p.378, Univ. Ill. Press, Urbana, Ill.
8. (1971) Decisions p.8225.
9. *Ibid* at 8226
10. *Ibid*
11. (1970) 3 NZTPA 321.
12. *Ibid* p.322
13. (1973) Decisions p. A983
14. (1974) Decisions p. A1288
15. (1974) Decisions p. A1015 at A1017
16. (1971) 4 NZTPA 96 at 100
17. Boileau, "Future Patterns of Land Use", 8 N.Z. Ag. Sci.J. 220 (1974)
18. Burns, Editorial, 8 N.Z. Ag. Sci.J. 184 (1974)
19. Town & Country Planning Amendment Act 1973
20. Leamy, "Resources of Highly Productive Land", 8 N.Z. Ag. Sci.J. 187 (1974)
21. **Land Use Capability Survey Handbook**, N.Z. Ministry of Works, Water & Soil Division, Wellington (1971)
22. **Coastal Planning & Development**, statement by the Minister of Works and Development, August 1974.
23. **Report to Government**, Town & Country Planning Act Review Committee, September 1974.

affect the operation of s.33A(5) because normally no **proposed** reserve can be a public reserve under the Reserves and Domains Act, and intention for it to become such is clearly not enough.

The court's conclusion that far resulted in the meaning of s.33A(6) being considered. The difficult wording of that subsection was open to a number of interpretations so it is unlikely that every one will find it means what they thought it did but it is now **clear**, unless and until some other Court finds a different interpretation necessary — which is not a criticism of the learned Judge's interpretation but just a commentary on the ambiguity of the section. It was held that where land is designated in an operative district scheme for a purpose other than a public work or a proposed public work, the following are conditional uses: (a) the subdivision of that land; (b) the carrying out of any work thereon (including the making of any structure or excavation); (c) the use of that land for any other purpose which is inconsistent with the designated purpose, in the absence of anything contrary in the scheme.

On the latter point, His Honour said:—

"What I think was contemplated by the legislature when it enacted s.33A(6) is that a Council may by its ordinance provide for certain predominant or non-conditional uses on designated land including the matters which I have classified above as (a), (b) and (c) and in such an event that declaration of a predominant use would be something to the contrary in the district scheme."

Whether this means predominant uses specifically related to the designated land for the purpose of s.33A(6) or the normal underlying zoning which includes predominant uses, has not been made clear. In the case under consideration there was no applicable underlying zoning.

**Bates v. Waitemata City** (unreported, Supreme Court, Auckland, 29 April, 1975. Speight J.) has another surprise. Certain land owned by the second defendant was designated "proposed public reserve". Council publicly notified a scheme change to shift the designation onto other land owned by the second defendant and land owned by Mr Bates. Later, but before the objections were heard, it consented to a subdivision of the designated land under s.33A(5).

Mr Bates had lodged an objection to the change but was now likely to be faced with a **fait accompli**, for the physical subdivision and related works would have made a reserve impracticable on that land. He therefore brought an action for a series of injunctions to prevent all of these things proceeding.

His Honour was sympathetic but could not see any way of restricting the clear wording of s.33A(5) authorising such council consent and the injunctions were refused. The opportunity was not taken to test the perhaps doubtful applicability of s.50A (which deals with offences against the Act) to the situation, nor does the question of the applicability of s.33A(5), as in **Junction Motors**, appear to have

## Casebook

Derek Hall

### Designations for reserves and proposed reserves

In this area, some of the more obvious problems, as well as some lesser known subtleties, were dealt with in three recent cases.

Firstly in **Junction Motors Ltd v New Lynn Borough** (1975) 2 NZLR 131 the Court (Perry J.) considered the definition of 'public work' in the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 and 'public reserve' in the Reserves and Domains Act 1953 and concluded that because, in particular, the land designated as 'proposed public open space' had not been set apart as a reserve under s.13 of the Reserves and Domains Act, the reserve concerned could not be a public work under the Town and Country Planning Act and therefore s.33A(6) and not s.33A(5) applied. The comment that must follow from that is that it is now hard to see how the definition of 'public work' to include public reserves in s.2(1) of the Town and Country Planning Act can

been raised.

Finally, **Harris v. Manukau City** Decisions p.A2544 (unreported, No.1 Town and Country Planning Appeal Board, Turner S.M. sitting alone under s.40(10), Auckland 18 July, 1975) concerned an existing 'Reserve for public recreation and other open space'. It was desired to erect a play centre on part of the reserve. Play centres were conditional uses in the underlying Residential A zoning and application had been made accordingly.

The question was whether the use of the land defined in the application was part of 'the construction, execution or operation of the public work designated'. If it was, under s.33A(1), the zoning would not have effect and the Board would have had no jurisdiction to hear this conditional use appeal.

The Chairman found that what was permitted on the public reserve under the Reserves and Domains Act was not synonymous with what was permitted under the designation, and that the latter did not cover the erection of a play centre building which could not therefore be said to be part of the operation of the public work designated. If allowable at all, this would have to be as a conditional use pursuant to the underlying zoning.

The Chairman considered the meaning of s.33A(1) as to whether designated land could be put to a zoned use while the designation remained and found that it could, with the reservation that he had not had the advantage of any argument in support of any other interpretation.

This is the interpretation commonly given, and if it is wrong there appears to be little point in having an underlying zoning. However, firstly, it seems that the principle inherent in the Appeal Board's decision in **Richards-Jolly v. Mt Wellington Borough Council** (1973) 5 NZTPA 1 would have applied, on the grounds that the play centre building would, with a sufficient degree of permanence, make the land affected unavailable for the designated purpose and therefore the designation should be uplifted from the land affected. Secondly, the learned Chairman probably did not have before him a dictum of Speight J. in the **Bates** case (supra). There, in discussing the consent provided for in s.33A(5), His Honour said:—

"In regard to existing public works no such consent (i.e. conflicting with the designation) could be given ... because it would be contrary to the provisions of s.33(2)..."

As this statement was obiter, however, it only adds fuel to the smouldering fire left by the Chairman when he would not accept the 'normal' interpretation of S.33A(1) without reservation.

*Derek Hall, LLB (NZ), DipTP (Hons) (Auck), (M), is a Senior Lecturer in Town Planning at the University of Auckland.*

## Obituary



**Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis**  
1913 - 75

Writing an obituary for Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis for readers in New Zealand is a difficult task. Not that the facts are obscure, but because he was a man who reflected his cultural and geographical environment. He died on June 28, 1975, aged 62, after an illness lasting several years. As founder of Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements, he established a graduate school and an international planning and development firm, with offices in most continents and a staff of over 700. In journeying to Athens to study at the Center of Ekistics, staying to work for Doxiadis in his planning company, and returning later having joined the University of Waikato, I wish to go beyond ecumenopolis, human scale and dynapolis, to the person.

Like many conscientious and hard-working businessmen one's impression of Doxiadis tended to be superficial unless the interaction was over a longer period. Contacts were usually brief; the reason for meeting was treated in an efficient manner with no time allowed for superfluous conversation. Here was a well-organised, disciplined individual in full command. The man always did his homework and expected you to have done yours. He believed that every individual should be able to defend his position in a rational discussion and was ruthless when people couldn't justify statements

they had made. Behind this intense exterior was a humanist with a deep concern for people and their environment. He subscribed to Aristotle's belief that the city was created for human happiness. He grappled with this idea in his work. In particular, he tried to resolve the dilemma caused by the emergence of a machine scale which, while destroying the human dimension in our settlements, was providing increased human opportunity. To that extent he felt paternalistic towards Man in his settlements.

This paternalistic attitude was central in his life. It is reflected in the design of his "village" at Porto Rafti and in the way he kept in touch with his staff. One example of this was the New Year party for staff and their families. On this occasion Doxiadis officiated over cutting the traditional pitta which was then given to the guests with a gift. Special entertainment was always provided for the children. This was the action of a benevolent father-figure concerned for the happiness of his employees. But his concern for the employee was seen as a reciprocal arrangement; the expectation was clearly spelt-out that one had to play the game. And, on the whole, people did because he also set the pace, provided the example. This included little details such as starting work on time. If he required students to prepare a seminar paper he often set himself the same task.

Doxiadis lived a life of stress, travelling extensively. He strenuously defended his ideas in print and at the lectern. This may help explain the times when he was ruthless in his comments, even cruel, as he responded to questions. Certainly he was merciless to people who dismissed his ideas without offering any alternative. This attitude came from a conviction that we must create better settlements for man, "human" settlements first and foremost. It was also because he saw the problem simply; it was a "building" problem in that it called for a practical solution(s). The emphasis was on implementation hence his sensitivity to processes and trends which he saw as "being inevitable". It was not possible to stop what was happening, but one could shape or change the detail within it. This was his attitude to world urban growth and urbanisation; establish the human scale by planning at the micro-levels while capitalising on the increased mobility and opportunities inherent in ecumenopolis.

Within his character there was a dichotomy. There was the practical man, the builder (as he described himself), and there was the philosopher-theoretician. It was the former which went into the Middle East and built houses but it was the latter which established the A.C.E. research projects of Ancient Cities, City of the Future (C.O.F.), Human Community, and Capital of Greece. It was a fusion of the two which evolved the notion of Ekistics as an interdisciplinary scientific study of Man in his settlements. This new discipline was the vehicle for merging the theoretical studies with practical is-

sues; the way the practical solutions could be gradually improved as more information was assembled. What to some may be a contradiction could also be seen as complimentary aspects of his character. Research was always firmly directed. The questions posed were ones which when answered had immediate practical application. For example, the Human Community project provided information on the physical and social dimensions of communities. This came through in his planning at that scale (see Islamabad). Similarly, the C.O.F. project supported work on the Urban Detroit Area, the Mediterranean coast of France, and Iran to name a few. Naturally, feedback from this work helped the research, and so knowledge was accumulated.

The one feature which impressed people most was his ability to synthesise, to draw the essence from verbal exchanges or written material. His final summing-up of the annual Athens Ekistic Month and Delos Symposium was such a demonstration of his mental agility. A pot pourri of ideas was crystallised into a lucid conclusion which left people nodding in agreement. This was a personal ability but he recognised the need for this in our efforts to improve human settlements. He sought to encourage its development in his students and his theoretical work had synthesis as its major objective. Ekistics was his main attempt at a higher level of handling knowledge on settlements. The I.D.E.A. method used in Detroit was another attempt, but at a practical planning level.

Finally, he saw the 1976 HABITAT conference as the forum where people could begin to see the bridges between disciplines, the common problems and any universal solutions. Towards this end he wrote four Red books, the last completed a few days before his death. To the last he was practical, stating how things could be done, but at the same time he still sought the ideal, he was still the philosopher. Time alone will tell what long-term impact this man had on our human settlements. Certainly he stimulated the thinking of his generation, challenging them to justify their own ideas and beliefs. Curiously enough, no one today questions the need for an interdisciplinary approach to planning human settlements, but they did when Ekistics was a fledgling.

T.W. Fookes

ΟΙΚΙΣΤΙΚΗ  
EKISTICS  
ΟΙΚΙΣΤΙΚΗ

# Cluster housing in Victoria

**D.W.Simson**

"Throughout the country, communities are rejecting traditional zoning techniques in favour of new techniques that provide increasing flexibility in dealing with residential development proposals.

An ordinance that permits Planned Unit Development is the most convenient means of ensuring that high-quality housing can be made available at lowest cost to the residents and with maximum fiscal benefits to the local government." \* "Exclusionary Zoning", R.J. Babcock & F.P. Bosselman ASPO 1970.

On 1st October 1975 the Cluster Titles Act 1974 will be proclaimed in the State of Victoria thus creating a new range of opportunities for builder and homeseeker. Planning authorities are already receiving a steady stream of applications from the better prepared of the developers.

Until comparatively recently the vast majority of residential land in Melbourne was developed along very conventional lines. The Uniform Building Regulations laid down a series of allotment sizes, frontage dimensions and boundary setbacks. These together with such other restrictions as the requirement under the Health Act that all public streets be a minimum of 50 feet wide virtually ensured little variation in the layout of residential estates.

In 1967 a degree of flexibility was introduced with the proclamation of the Strata Titles Act. This was primarily designed to allow the subdivision of multi-storey buildings into individual flats, however it did free the siting of buildings from the restrictive controls relating to block size, street frontage etc. contained in the Uniform Building Regulations. Its main disadvantage, however, was the requirement that all units in a development be completed before

**Typical Cluster Plan**  
Density 6.8 lots/hectare overall



Site area 75 Hectares  
Total number of Lots 510  
% Public open space 5%  
% Communal open space 25%

**KEY:**

-  Public and Communal open space
-  Cluster and Mews Courts
-  Community Centre

the plan of subdivision could be sealed and houses sold. This created major cash flow problems for developers limiting severely the size of developments.

The vast majority of developments carried out were small groups of town houses or villa units and it was largely the demand to expand this flexibility into more conventional outer suburban densities that led to pressure initially for changes to the Strata Titles Act and thence to the Cluster Titles Act.

The Minister for Local Government, Mr Alan Hunt convened a Committee in 1972 to advise him of any necessary changes in legislation. The committee chaired by Mr David Yencken, a Melbourne builder developer was chosen to be widely representative of Local Government, legal, planning, architectural and development skills. The legislation was presented to Parliament in Autumn of 1974 and passed both houses of Parliament in December of that year.

The basic concepts behind the legislation —

1. The land is subdivided into lots and common property. The latter is particularly important introducing a wider range of design possibilities in the relationship between buildings, open space and roads.
2. The siting requirements of Chapter 8 of the Uniform Building Regulations relating to lot size, frontage dimensions and boundary setbacks will not apply to cluster subdivision.
3. Because of the introduction of common property and the resultant necessity for machinery for its control owners of property in the development will become a body corporate.
4. The subdivision of lots in strata (i.e. one on top of the other) will not be permitted under the Act. This means all flat development will be controlled by the existing Strata Titles Act.
5. The development may take place at one time or in stages but the developer must indicate on the full plan of subdivision the location and phasing of the stages.

Three important basic controls are also contained in the Act —

1. Cluster subdivision can only take place in these areas which have an operative planning scheme or interim development order (Section 6 (1) (a))
2. Councils have considerable powers relating to their ability to refuse to seal the plan of subdivision. In particular section 11 (6) (g) allows them to refuse to seal the plan where they consider that the lots being created are too small.
3. No sale of individual lots can take place until the plan of subdivision is registered or in the case of a staged development until after the Certificate of Title to the particular lot has been issued by the Registrar of Titles (Section 12).

Together these sections of the Act provide a firm basis for control. However, the waiving of the siting requirements of the Uniform Building Regulations could have meant chaos without some other code of performance standards as a substitute. Accordingly the Cluster Committee with some consultant assistance prepared the Model Cluster Code. The Code gives guidance to developer and planning authority as to the procedures which might be used in assessing a cluster application and to the performance standards against which any development can be measured. The layout of the Code is based on the "Planning by Objectives" technique which will be familiar to New Zealand Planners. For each particular criterion, a "Principal Objective" is stated, and this is followed by a general statement outlining the "Requirements to satisfy objectives".

The third column states the "specific control" which will be used by the planning authority when — in its opinion — the standards proposed by the developer do not meet the objective as stated.

One very important consideration, naturally, is density. The model code makes no pronouncement as to the sort of density which might be appropriate as this is clearly a matter for the local planning authority. Cluster housing can be constructed in a wide range of densities from high density town house developments through those of conventional suburban densities, to very low density rural clusters. It is particularly relevant in recreational and resort areas on land which requires a sensitive approach to landscape. It will add a valuable dimension to residential development in Victoria.

A recent statement by the Victorian Minister for Local Government and Planning expresses a point of view which I believe would be shared by those concerned with achieving better standards and a greater variety of housing in our community today. He said "...If the Cluster Titles Act is to achieve new community objectives, it is also important that it is administered in the spirit of these objectives. Whilst, therefore, it is essential that the community's interest is carefully protected, it is important that councils do not seek to impose unnecessarily conservative or restrictive standards, since that would defeat the whole purpose of the legislation..."

Present indications are that the majority of Councils are reacting favourably to the new legislation which is indeed encouraging for those who have worked hard to effect some improvement in the character, style and layout of at least a part of typical Australian suburbia.

*D.W. Simsion, MRTPI, MAPI is Deputy Director of the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works*

# Hobson's choice — or making ends meet

*Martin Stephenson*

*Neil Olsen*

*Graeme Nahkies*

*Planners*

*Housing Corporation*

## The ends

The Auckland Regional Authority is currently seeking public reaction to its study of growth alternatives for Auckland. (The study, itself, will be the subject of two articles starting in issue No. 42). Two of the alternatives offered envisage significant changes in the location, rate and density of the city's future residential growth.

Changes in the settlement pattern of Auckland will require the development of new and different forms of housing. These will only become accepted on a scale sufficient to affect Auckland's growth if our attitudes towards housing change.

Behaviour and attitudes do not change overnight. They can only change as different situations

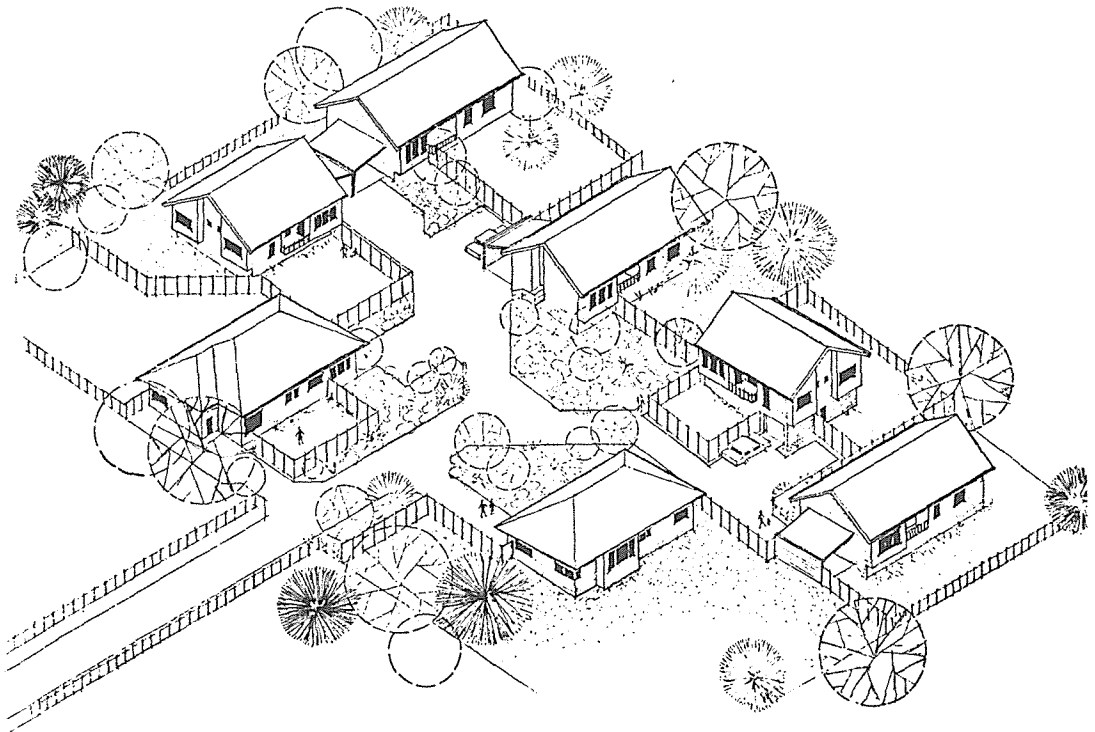
are experienced. Can we really say that Auckland has had sufficient experience of different housing forms to enable people to make a reasoned choice between the growth alternatives now before them?

## Trends

Actively encouraged by lending policies, most housing and subdivision layouts represent only minor variations on a traditional and standardised theme. While the single family detached house suits many people there are significant groups in society whose real housing needs are not adequately catered for by the market. The only current alternative to the detached house is the relatively intensive multi-unit flat or townhouse.

The boom in multi-unit development caught both the public and the planners by surprise. Some of the more unfortunate results of this development can be directly attributed to the use of inappropriate subdivisional patterns and bulk and location controls. These patterns and controls, which evolved from our detached house tradition, were unsuited to multi-unit development.

While this form of housing may have initially helped to satisfy a latent demand for smaller units with limited outdoor space, in many instances its "success" could not reflect a "sellers market" rather than willing public acceptance. Contrary to what many builders would have us believe, in such



*Cluster housing: Avondale*

a situation it is not necessarily true that people express their housing preference through their purchasing behaviour. It is akin to saying that a condemned man, offered a choice between hanging and garroting, can express a preference.

## Result

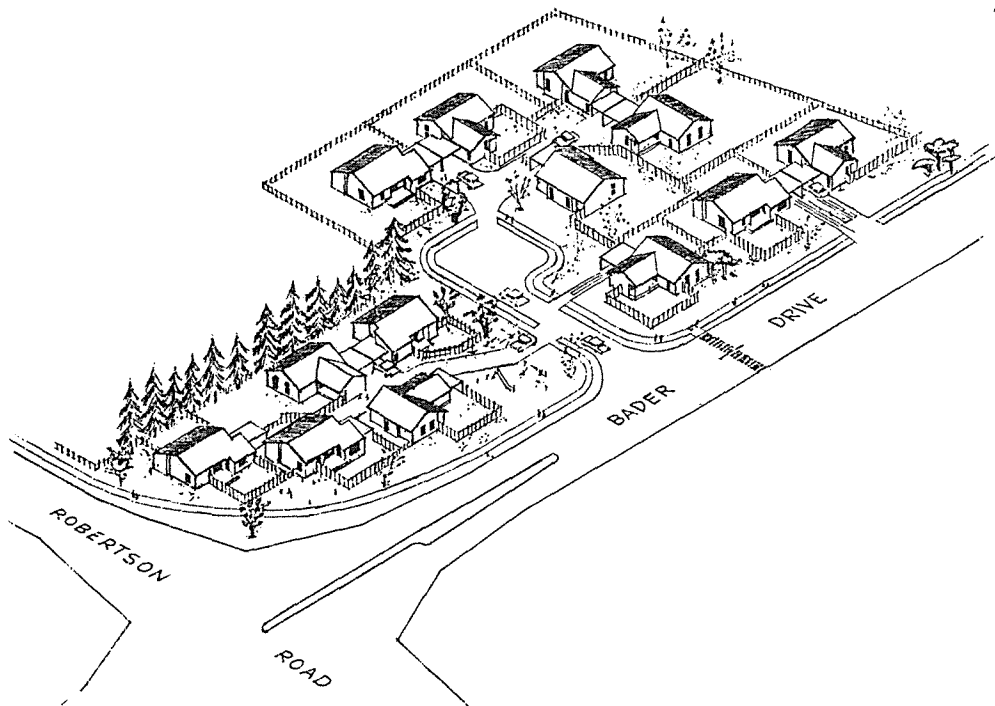
We are left with the choice of two forms of housing which occupy the extreme ends of a continuum: at one end there is the detached house and, at the other, the multi-unit flat. There are very few examples of housing which fall between these two extremes. It is as if there is a segment missing

## The role of the public sector

It appears that New Zealand is unable to sustain the highly competitive housing market characteristic of more populated countries. For this reason the public sector should play a significant part in promoting new forms of housing through its planning, construction and financial activities.

## Local

The prime responsibility for creating a climate for housing innovation rests with the local authorities. Through their district schemes they should ensure that control techniques are flexible enough to allow innovation in housing style and layout, whilst re-



*Cluster housing: Mangere*

from our housing history — a segment which might have contained a whole range of housing of varied density and form.

## Reaction

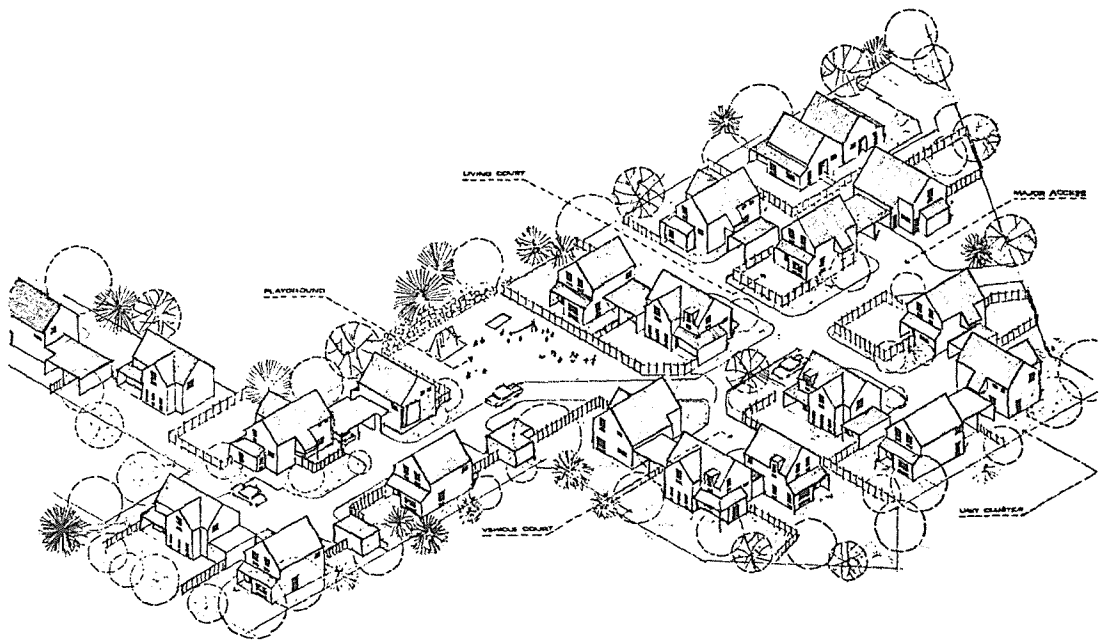
It is becoming increasingly apparent that many potential occupiers of medium density housing are rejecting multi-unit development because of design deficiencies. Moreover, people who are accustomed to the qualities of a traditional, detached-housing environment resent the intrusion of unsympathetic multi-unit development.

Can we really expect Aucklanders to choose a growth alternative consisting of medium density housing on the basis of this experience?

maintaining sufficiently firm to ensure that the qualities people like in their neighbourhoods are not threatened by new forms of housing. There is much to commend the new generation of district schemes emerging in Auckland (eg. Devonport Borough) where direct and extensive participation has enabled residents to identify and communicate to the Council those neighbourhood qualities which they would like to preserve. These are then incorporated into the district scheme to form the framework from which quantitative ordinances are derived and on which all building applications are judged.

Additionally, a council may have a more direct influence by itself developing and demonstrating





*Cluster housing: Mt Albert*

new forms of housing (eg Auckland City's Sheridan Square townhouses).

## Regional

There are dangers inherent in the Auckland Regional Authority's Growth Alternatives study. It requires choices to be made between alternatives which could necessitate substantial alterations to existing housing forms and residential behaviour. As already mentioned these alternatives and their implications have not been sufficiently well demonstrated to enable realistic choices to be made. Much can therefore be gained if housing innovations were promoted at the regional level. As well as providing substance to the regional planning process, regional housing could also encourage the reflection of regional differences in climatic conditions and housing preferences.

## National

The Housing Corporation is a major influence on the housing industry and is the largest single source of housing finance. It therefore has a special obligation to ensure that innovation is promoted both through its financial policies and, by example, through its subdivision and construction activities. In addition, it has access to the skills and resources necessary to design and test new housing forms and to accept the risk and delays nor-

mally involved in such innovation.

Innovation for its own sake however, only leads to the unsatisfactory situation presented by the multi-unit flat. **Innovation must take place within a framework where evaluation is an integral part of the process.** Because the Corporation can treat housing as a long term process it is in a position to test systematically the assumptions and consequences of its activities. This includes establishing and then evaluating new directions in housing, the results being fed back into both the public and private housing sectors.

Recently, the Corporation has been exploring housing layouts which might fill the gap between the detached house and the conventional multi-unit flat. With most of its clients being young families, the Corporation has been particularly concerned to develop forms of medium density housing which feature visually identifiable and separate dwelling units, but which also provide a greater degree of both privacy and communality than either the detached house or multi-unit flat have achieved.

The illustrations show recent examples of Housing Corporation rental developments, either built or proposed, in Mangere, Mt Albert and Avondale. Such courtyard or cluster housing layouts (the new vogue?) while creating greater-than-normal densities and well-defined private/communal/public

outdoor spaces, also retain and enhance many of the positive attributes inherent in the familiar suburban pattern (such as separate building, an identifiable site, ground contact, on-site parking etc.).

These layouts may appear little different from the norm but it is this subtle variation which is one of their most important features. Such examples can demonstrate to potential consumers and neighbours, councils, the general public, and building industry, that varied forms of housing can be built which reflect, rather than threaten, traditional patterns.

The public sector's role should also extend into other areas not adequately catered for at present — such as co-operative/communal housing, low-energy and 'self-built' housing.

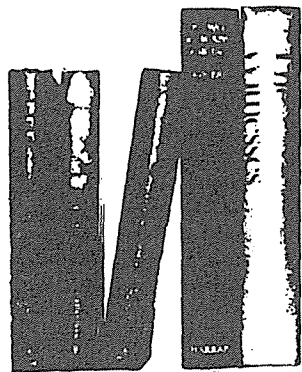
### The beginnings

In view of the deficiencies in the range of choices available, the task facing the planner and designer is to ask "what might have happened to the New Zealand house if it had been allowed to evolve more slowly — what might have been the critical steps in such an evolution?" And then to consciously promote and progressively test each step so that each innovation, each change in density,

each new relationship builds on the tested outcome of the preceding one.

What we are talking about is a process. It is a conscious process — it is planned. It is also a relatively slow process and one that allows a continuous interplay between a changing housing scene and the changing attitudes and values of the people of Auckland (and elsewhere). The people, in becoming familiar with a greater variety of housing, would be able to understand its implications and, with familiarity, to gain confidence with new ways of living and the new shape of their environment. Such a process is far more likely to determine the ultimate shape of the city than all the good intentions of the ARA's plans.

This is not to say that the ARA's growth alternatives study is unimportant, but to recognise that, because of its "master plan" approach, it has a basic limitation. It is not the total picture but merely the undercoat upon which the colourful mosaic of Auckland has yet to be painted.



## Book Reviews

A.H. Bogle, **Links in the Chain: Field Surveying in Early New Zealand** NZ Institute of Surveyors, Wellington, 1975. 88pp; illu. \$8.00

Few books have been written by surveyors on their work dur-

ing the pioneering days in New Zealand. Perhaps, the most enjoyable is E.S. Brookes', **Frontier Life, Taranaki, New Zealand**, which appeared in 1892, but there is probably better material contained in the diaries of people like Mein Smith and Carrington which has yet to be published.

Archie Bogle was not of those generations. He began his professional career at the turn of the century. Nor was he given the opportunity to design a whole town and mark its boundaries up on the ground. His work was mostly in the country districts of the lower half of the North Island, cutting farms out of the bush and a measure of the remoteness of that time and place is the fact that he was one of the last people to have been familiar with the sight and the sounds of the huia bird.

The sixteen tales in this book revolve around the decade before the First World War. They are intimate stories of people and places and examples of his gentle, often self-mocking

humour are on every page. He was a master raconteur and the quality of the writing is of a standard to earn it a permanent place in our literature. The sadness is that he was not persuaded to record these anecdotes until he was into his eightieth years at a time when he was beginning to lose the steadiness of his hand and eye. It is a reflection upon the lack of initiative of those of us who were fortunate enough to have listened to his dry voice and astute observations that we did not think to set a tape recorder in motion. He was too modest a man to believe that an autobiography would find an audience beyond his immediate family.

For those who would welcome an insight into working conditions for the surveyors of 60 and 70 years ago; for those who enjoy good writing and gentle humour, here is a set of tales that should be read. The Institute of Surveyors is to be congratulated for its publication.

J.R. Dart



## Handmade houses are alive and well and living somewhere in the New Zealand bush.

**Peter Healy**

*Peter Healy has a BA degree in Geography and is at present studying for a BTP at Auckland University.*

Hidden in valleys, high on ridges, beside rivers and, even in swamps, hand-crafted houses are being built again in New Zealand. Only the locations have been changed to deceive the guilty and protect the innocent.

For some years hope has been pinned on extravagant technological promise of housing at low cost. New forms and materials have been developed along with ingenious production techniques, with little or no saving in costs. Highly processed materials and high basic standards have made a 'low cost' home impossible for most. The 'correct' New Zealand house has been specified

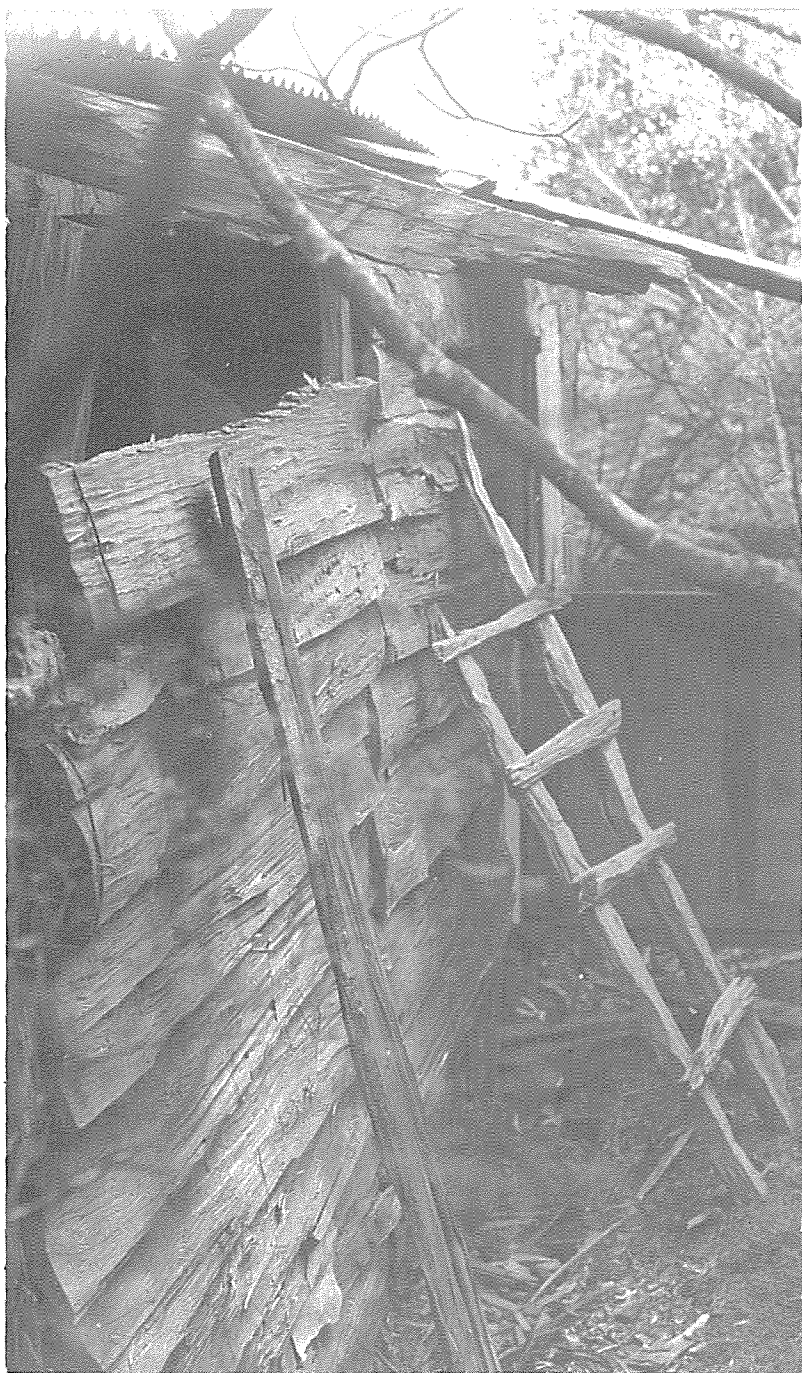
and protected by a host of bylaws. All building is forced to be a variation on the same theme.

Why can't you have a bath in a bedroom or bed in a bathroom? Why can't a house be unfinished and occupied? Why can't lending institutions accept that houses can grow with needs?

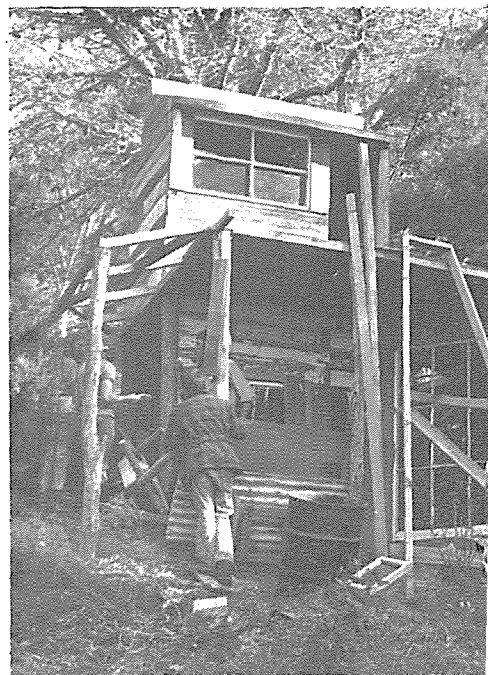
New Zealand housing has not always been so restricted by the system. Early settlers built and lived in houses they constructed themselves. They started with essential shelter and gradually added and improved the basic unit. The house grew and developed closely related to need and resources. It was a low-cost house.

Now 'hand-craft' houses again provide an alternative to both the cost and design of the stock house. But their construction will need an entirely different planning approach. For a start most of them don't have a plan. The spontaneity of these houses would make a plan impossible. Most will never be finished and will just evolve as ideas and materials occur.

People should be encouraged to build their own homes. Planning and bylaws must be reconsidered for their impact on the builders of hand-craft houses. If a different form of building fulfills the basic housing aims of shelter, health and happiness then they should be supported by planners.

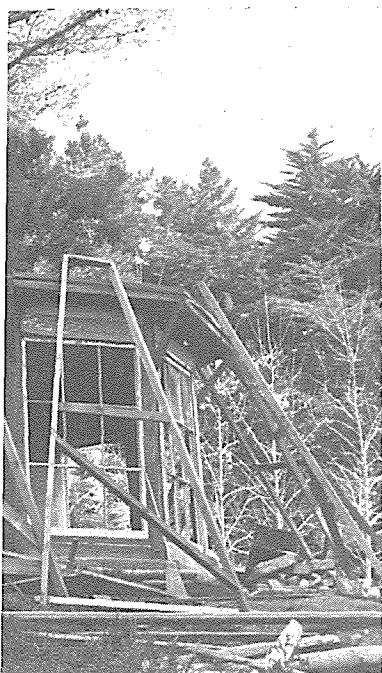


*Constructed from a huge log found in the bush. The timbers were split on the site. It fits well with the surrounding bush.*

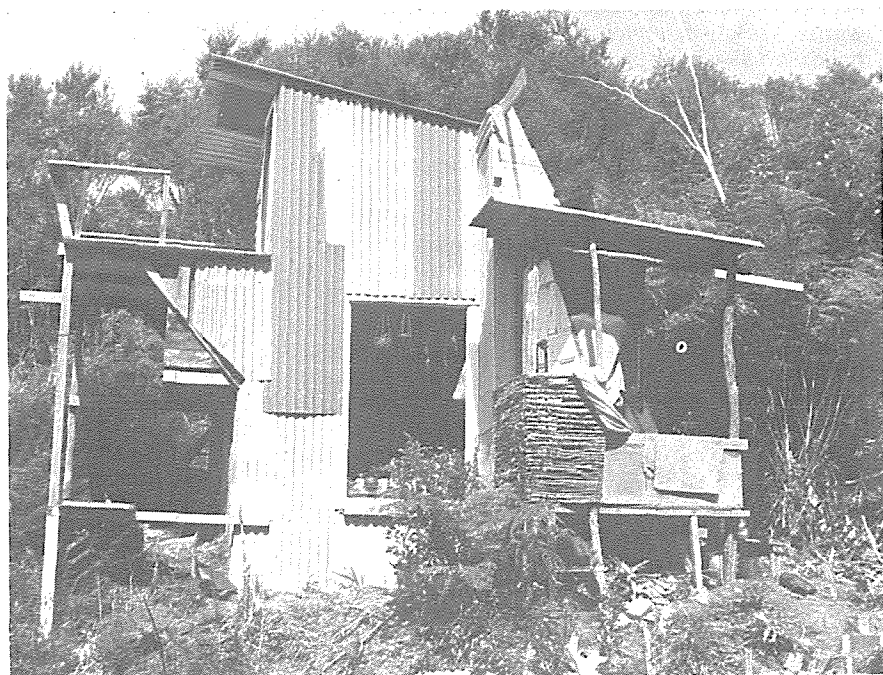


*Demolition materials, natural or crudely processed, methods and materials will not meet present standards.*

**Handmade houses are all over New Zealand bush and living somewhere.**



*ed elements, mean that construction  
lding codes.*



*In some, space grows between uses so that no rigidly determined functions could be  
isolated at all: Space could be used in different ways at different times*

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# The theory of socialist territorial planning in the German Democratic Republic (GDR)

G. Rosenberg

In theory, the planned territorial development of a socialist economy is seen as an important, and objectively necessary component of the socialist economic system, whose central aim is the satisfaction of the existing and future needs of the society, leading to the full development of its human potential. It is a basic element of socialist conviction that economic conditions exercise such a strong influence on the quality of life that it is possible to achieve an economy in which people will **feel** secure, where each individual will have his own dignity, and where personal creativity will be fully developed. Socialist theory is therefore quite certain of its overriding aim, and also of the steps needed to reach it, namely through the mobilisation of all social "productive forces". They are also certain about the relative importance which the location of these forces and their territorial planning have in achieving the main aim.

## Step by step development

When one looks at the achievement of town and regional planning in socialist countries, one must be clear about the stage in their development towards socialism which they themselves claim to have achieved, before forming any opinion about the merit of their planning theories. Lenin spoke of stages on the way to communism: there is a first, lower stage, and a second, higher stage of development. It is only the higher stage which deserves the name of communism, and none of the socialist countries has reached that stage. The development is gradual: 'Socialism peeps through all windows of modern Capitalism', wrote Lenin (*The Imminent Catastrophe*, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 370, German Ed.) There are similarities between advanced capitalist planning and present socialist planning, which are so strong that there has been talk about a 'convergence' of the two theories. The consensus of socialist planning theorists is, however, that after initial 'convergence', there will be more and more marked 'divergence'. At present, socialist theorists are feeling their way across the frontier into a territory that they can explore only by means of rigorous logical analysis. What they are hoping to produce at this stage are not definitive socialist solutions, and not even compromise solutions, but adequate answers to changing and evolving problems in a situation that will lead towards communism, not by the end of this century but sometime in the coming century.

If they are convinced that the socialist way of life, with its security, dignity and creativity can only be the result of a socialist economy, they are equally convinced that this way of life will, in turn, increase the productivity of the economy. There is, there-



*Berlin, DDR: Where the worst tenements once stood, the heart of the capital of the DDR.*

fore, no conflict of interests between industry — the "productive forces" — and life. The theory of industrial location becomes the territorial ordering of all productive forces. It is not only a concern for industry or 'the firm', but for everybody's way of life, and for the patterns of settlement.

In order to arrive at the socialist economy, the productivity of the social productive forces has to be directed towards the creation of social wealth. Marx wrote: 'Disposable time is the true measure of wealth. The real economy — in the meaning of the real saving — consists in the saving of time spent on work. The saving of working time is tantamount to an increase in spare time, that is time gained for the fuller development of the creativity of the individual, which in turn affects the productivity of labour, because it alone is the most powerful productive force.'

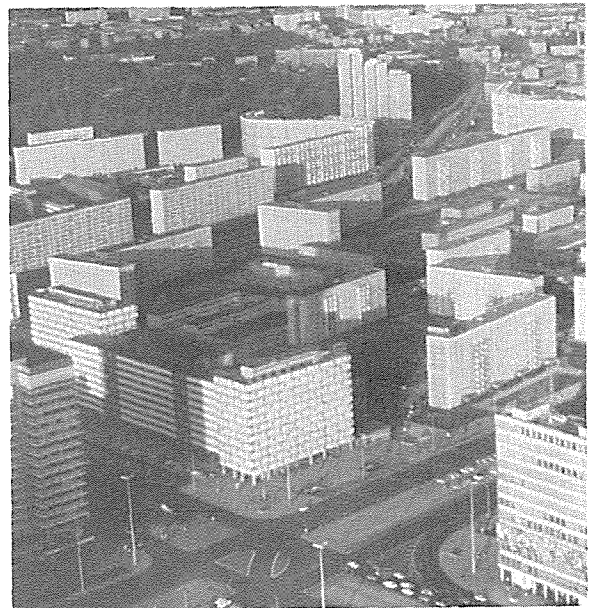
Starting with the aim to economise time, the socialist theory moves to an economy of space. They assert that about 60% of the total social effort is in one way or another concerned with transport or communications. Effective planning of the location of all forces is estimated to be capable of reducing it by 10%. This is the measure of the importance of territorial planning. It can have a considerable effect on the amount of 'disposable time', but not any miraculous or overwhelming effect. Many other factors have to be considered in the planning of the economy, and each sector of the economy has to

be considered, as well as the economic aspects of each territorial region. Sector planning and regional planning, therefore, exist side by side and complement each other. This is hard to understand, because it is bound to obscure the clarity of any neat structure of regional planning. There are bound to be inconsistencies which are resolved under the theoretical overriding aim of economic effectiveness by which decisions are intended to be measured. This is difficult to understand for us, who superimpose a regional structure on an economy which allows planners a 'do nothing', option. In conditions of incipient socialism, the 'do nothing' option does hardly exist at all, and decisions are needed for integrating the major productive forces into the regional infra-structure, as well as providing the necessary infra-structure for each sector of the productive forces. This complexity of demands makes the task of a planner in a socialist economy very much harder than it is for us. He is expected to keep every link in a complex system under review and in constant working order. It would not be surprising, therefore, if socialist theorists would be bewildered in changing situations, and actually changed the theory in order to produce practically effective results. Theoretical matters become so very important, because the technical experts and the political leadership hammer out solutions of the problems facing society in responsible team work. Theory is quickly turned into directive, and directive into everyday reality for thousands of people.

### The Sixteen Principles

Thus, in 1950, the **OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** (p. 1503) published **Sixteen Principles** of town planning, intended as a socialist answer to the 1928 Charter of Athens, the theoretical basis of CIAM, (Congress international d'architecture moderne). Where CIAM made the family's home the point of departure for the town plan, as an oasis in the battle for existence, the socialist planning principles fixed on the town centre, as an expression of the political power structure. We have to remember, however, that the 1950's were a period of transition, and of great stress in Germany, when almost overnight and against all intentions professed by the victorious powers, the country was de facto divided into two separate states. The opposition to the Charter of Athens was fundamental: where the Charter regards the individual psychological and physical needs as the basis — the **Sixteen Principles** assert that it is society as a whole, which throughout history has created the pattern of the city. Where the Charter of Athens aims at the greatest possible range of choice and freedom for the individual, the aim of the Sixteen Principles is social participation and integration. The first aim of socialist planning is economic success, the second aim is based on the conviction, held by the Soviet leadership at the time, that it was possible to transmit ideas by ar-

chitectural means — such as the beauty of life in a collective society. The directive was that the city's streets and major open space system should be regarded as a stage on which socialist life could be acted out. John Gwynn (1765) called it the role of parks to serve as a 'stage for the display of beauty and nobility.' The role of the streets and squares of a socialist city was to be a stage for popular demonstrations and marches. Streets should widen towards the city centre, as new columns would join the marchers. The centre of the city would be an immense open space to hold the massed popular demonstrators. At all nodes, and gathering places of the population, buildings would emphasise by their bulk and height, and by their important uses, the rank of these buildings. The town plan was to be comprehensible and easily read by the political



*Berlin, DDR: View from the television tower.*

masses. The main streets were the 'magistral' routes that linked the working population's housing areas to the centre. It was perhaps no accident that the working class areas of pre-war Berlin never had any clear connecting roads to the centre of that city. This central theory of the city, proposed under the '16 points' contradicted the more linear ideas of city growth propagated in the Charter of Athens, and by the Doxiades theorists.

Stalin's directive that town planning should be socialist in content, but national and traditional in form, was still held to be valid in 1959. Functionalism was reviled. In the sixties, however, 'de-Stalinisation' became more than a matter of personalities. The objective situation had changed and new principles were demanded. The new situation aimed first and foremost at the maximum overall 'social advantage'. In practice this meant

that principles similar to those of industrial location became most important for socialist planning, in order to create the best possible territorial conditions for each major industry and activity. When socialists talk of 'productive forces' they regard scientific institutions as well as manufacturing industry. Our's is a 'scientific-industrial' age. The all-inclusive term 'productive forces' requires an all-inclusive approach to their locational planning. They call it 'complex' planning, which could be translated by 'integrated' planning, and it includes environmental and social planning.

### Concentration and complexity

The next step in socialist logic is to relate social and environmental planning to the economy of space, which is a matter of reducing friction of distance by the concentration of land uses, on the one hand, and by improved linkages between related uses on the other. Concentration and complexity thus become the twin aims of planning. This kind of argument clearly leads to a compact urban society. Socialist planners raise their voice in praise of the big, densely built up city. One is reminded of Jane Jacobs in **Death and Life of Great American Cities**. The socialists plan for further urbanisation and further growth of the most concentrated urban regions. Agricultural employment dropped from 2 million in 1950 to 1 million in 1969. The many small rural service towns are being phased out, and only larger central places, over 10,000 population, and 18 cities, are selected as urban growth points.

Within urban concentrations, space economy leads logically to a considerable tolerance for some 'incompatible' uses, which are associated on **economic grounds. Industry and housing are more**



*Dresden central railway station: Another example of a bomb devastated central area that has been left wide open.*

finely meshed into one another than western planning theory would permit. As to housing, the continental tradition of high density, high rise housing is continued. Its form, however, is gradually being evolved on the basis of a new role of women in the economy. Analysis of women's work in the household pin-pointed those areas where the greatest time savings could be made. On the average, housewives spent 9.3 hours per week on cleaning, 6.3 hours on laundry, 12.3 hours on cooking and 6.9 hours on the children, with 4.8 hours on miscellaneous work. Tackling each aspect, these occupations were socialised outside the home: a chain of 'gastronomic' enterprises caters for meals outside the home, and is becoming a feature of social life. One eats out and invites friends to share meals outside the home. Laundry work is done centrally, by paid staff, but the collection and delivery of the laundry is a social occasion, for which separate spaces are set aside in each block of flats. The care of children is organised into a complete service of child care places, from infants to school age, and includes 'children's hotels' for overnight stays, so that mothers can go out for shift work. Women are no longer forced into the traditional role of housewife. In theory they are free to choose, but in practice, having once decided to 'externalise' work from the home, women are needed to go into employment, and very few are actually free to choose work in their own home. Social services that take the housework out of the house lead to new social occasions and social places, which in due course, will make life typically different from that in a non-socialist community. The labour saving tendencies themselves may be called 'convergent' with similar tendencies in free-enterprise countries, but their effect is 'divergent'.

In the design of housing, the single-minded pursuit of time economy has led to the use of 'reusable' projects, standard designs prepared in central design research units; it has also led to the use of massive pre-fabrication techniques. There exists a kit-set type of building, which is capable of producing some 1500 different designs, including blocks of flats of different height and bulk, office buildings, schools and shops. The kit-set has become the prescribed mode of building since 1964, no other types being normally permitted since then. However, in 1971 the 8th Party Congress authorised the construction of individual houses for home owners for up to 10% of the building programme.

### Regional planning

The same logic that led to a system of far-reaching decisions in housing, has led to a clearly defined theory of regional planning, which will increasingly show divergence with non-socialist regional planning theory. We take it more or less for granted that planning tends to be a means for correcting inequalities between regions. It is true that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have



made heroic efforts to raise the standards of living in their 'backward' regions, especially where these were due to past colonial exploitation. But in the long run, once a 'tolerable inequality' has been achieved, such efforts will have low priority. Socialist theory states that, when differential development has lost its class character, then regional rivalry will become an irrelevant relic of the past. Regional differences in themselves are not negative factors. Investment in each region will be mainly from its own resources. Within each region, local linkages have priority over inter-regional linkages, but the question of regional boundaries is not considered of importance. In fact there can be no homogeneous economic geographic complexes. Methods which are based on devising boundaries between regions are sure to fail'. (Scholz, 1968). Planning is approached both regionally e.g. by metropolitan planning of city regions, and from the sector point of view. In non-socialist terms this corresponds to the dichotomy between the planning by corporations, who plan for their own industrial sectors, and by territorial authorities, be they nations, regional authorities or local authorities, who plan for their administrative areas. The difference is that in a socialist society, there should be no conflict of interests between the two approaches. Efficient territorial planning is not the task of any one authority or expert team, but concerns all government departments, elected representatives, firms and institutions of society.

Where efficiency is so much emphasised, one is bound to ask, what methods are used to evaluate alternative proposals. The journal, **'Wirtschaftswissenschaft'** (Economics) has repeatedly brought theoretical papers on planning for territorial efficiency. The fuller utilisation of local resources, combined with a reduction of total local costs is the aim; both first costs and running costs are considered. External costs are included with costs incurred by the 'firm'. In particular, counter-vailing costs are set against one another to achieve an overall balance: thus, gains achieved by territorial specialisation and concentration are balanced against higher service costs and increased friction caused by congestion; investment in one territory may be at the expense of that in another territory; concentration of population and industry in a few places may lead to the loss in some important central places in rural areas; concentration of growth in selected centres will go at the expense of 'complexity' of outlying regions; increased communication links within regions may run counter to intra-regional and international links; accelerated development of selected growth points and centres may run counter to the even development of an infra-structure for the entire society:— what counts is the total overall balance, the main task remains the 'socialist intensification of reproduction'. (Boenisch and Ostwald). ('Reproduction' is the term corresponding to 'Production').

## Participation Vs scientific analysis

Since the theoretical basis of socialist planning is so firmly anchored in socialist logic, there is little room for 'public participation' as we understand it. The main decisions are based on 'scientific analysis'. The Party is considered to represent the people as a whole, and to determine the public interest. The Party acts as client, and local councils act as approving authorities. Land ownership is not allowed to be an obstacle to planning, but curiously little advantage arises from this fact. A system of land pricing has actually been introduced to help in deciding whether to change the use of any land. The problem of user satisfaction remains unsolved. Since 1964, public participation has been deemed desirable. How this is to be organised is not stated. There have been sociological investigations into housing, questionnaires and pilot schemes. Planners now have to 'defend' schemes in public meetings. There is a general system of 'grass roots' intervention by small groups and individuals. This consists of direct letters to Heads of organisations. These letters have to be answered within a statutory, short period. I know of no further formal system of objections and appeals against planning decisions. There is no single comprehensive statute, but planning law is based on decisions, directives and ministerial decrees. Plans for one year, five years and seven years have statutory power, but 20 year plans have not. They are normative 'offers', which may be 'bought', guide lines mainly, aimed at keeping options open.

## Which sort of planning?

Obviously, the question will be asked, whether socialist planning theory is 'superior' to planning theory in a free-market society. The role of physical territorial planning in a socialist economy differs so much from that in a market economy, that the question is largely irrelevant. In a socialist society, territorial planning is an indispensable part of a planned economy; and, since the economy is the most powerful influence on the way of life, it is the territorial component of the socialist way of life. In our mixed economy, planning plays an entirely different role. The bulk of decisions in our society are not planned, but left to the market and its allegedly self-steering, cybernetic mechanism. Territorial and physical planning is only one of the controls of the advanced steering mechanism of such a system. We can, therefore, afford to be less rigorously consistent, and at the same time more subtle and more varied in our approaches than the socialists. The question: 'is socialist planning theory better?' does not really arise. One could ask instead, whether the socialist planning theory that I have described is doing its job in a socialist society. One can confidently say that there is considerable internal consistency and logic in socialist planning theory. It is based on a step by step analytical method. That is its strength but also its weakness. 'Consistency is the refuge of fools.' Obvi-



**Berlin, DDR:** Blocks of flats in the P2 type industrialised building system, factories close to homes, private cars parked in the open, but carefully wrapped against weather and vandals.

ously, the 'real world' is too complex for single-minded consistency. The theory of industrial location, however widely interpreted, is not a broad enough base on which to build an entire system of territorial planning. However, there are signs that the actual range of decisions is much greater than the narrow theoretical base seems to support. There were tremendous changes between the 1950 - 1960 Stalinist era, and the present approach. Many of these changes were caused by objective changes in the situation, to which the socialist analysis has adapted itself, but one can confidently say that many aspects have changed in ways which show a certain freedom of manoeuvre, and even some individual and local trends. The Chinese socialist theorists seem to have come to widely different results from the planners of the Soviet orbit—in opposing urbanisation, complexity and concentration. Widely differing interpretations of fundamental economic facts seem, therefore, to be possible in socialist analysis. Of course, the socialist planners of the Soviet sphere simply accuse the Chinese colleagues of being heretics. To an outside observer, however, it seems to be evident that, however consistently an approach is applied, in the end 'it ain't necessarily so'.

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## Rural living studied

Over the past year researchers of the Town and Country Planning Division of the Ministry of Works and Development have been engaged in a major study of rural residential living. This work is expected to help planning for the best use of rural land.

In November 1974, mail questionnaires were sent out to a sample of properties of between two and 25 acres. Early results indicate that approximately 13,500 are being used for residential living. On these properties the household head is employed full time away from the property or is retired.

During this month and December, interviewers will call on about 750 families asking for further help with the programme. The interviewing will be carried out for the division by Market Research (N.Z.) Ltd.

Interviewers will be collecting information on why people take up residential living in rural areas, how they plan to use their land and the advantages and disadvantages they see in their life-style.

While the interviews are being carried out a number of smaller studies will continue. These will use data which is already available to assess the consequences of rural residential living.

Topics under examination will include: provision of bus, telephone, electricity, sewerage, drainage, postal, rubbish services and roading improvements and inflationary effects on valuations of surrounding rural land.

The problems raised by residential use of rural land — the "10 acre block" is the most often quoted — have become increasingly apparent.

Good agricultural land is in limited supply and local authorities are becoming increasingly reluctant to see it swallowed up by residential development.

Information on individual properties will remain confidential to the researchers engaged on the project. But it is anticipated that the picture which emerges will be of great help to central and local government in planning the future use of land in rural areas.

It is anticipated that the whole of the research project will be completed by the end of next March.

# The acquisition of land for urban use by exchange in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

E.G.Pryor

*E.G. Pryor, PhD, BA, Dip TP,*

Throughout the "third world" countries of Asia the process of urban growth is occurring at an alarming rate and, for the most part, the development that has resulted has been in the form of ad hoc extensions that are the product of a multitude of individual investment decisions. Because of the traditional system of land tenure, holdings on the urban periphery usually comprise a bewildering number of small lots of irregular configuration which make it difficult, if not impossible, for individual owners to develop their land for urban use in a rational manner. However, in the case of Hong Kong and Taiwan a system of acquiring land for urban use by exchange has been developed by each country and this paper gives a brief outline of the processes involved.

## Land acquisition in Hong Kong

In the case of Hong Kong, it was found that upon the preparation of layouts for urban development about 40% of the gross area could be expected to become available as building sites, the balance of 60% being taken up by roads, school sites, recreation areas and other public uses. Thus, for every 5 sq.ft. of land in an area selected for development about 2sq.ft. would be yielded for building. On this basis, therefore, the Government devised a form of I.O.U. called a "Letter B" which gives land owners the right to acquire formed sites according to an exchange ratio of 5:2. Such Letter Bs can be exchanged for residential, commercial or industrial sites when land becomes available upon payment of a premium based on the difference in value between the value of the agricultural land surrendered and the building land selected as at the date of surrender.

Such a system thus enables the community to recoup, to a certain degree, the cost involved in the formation of urban land and also the increment in value occurring from such investment. At the same time, the original owner is able to retain an interest in his equity and benefit from any added value that inevitably arises if he wishes to defer the time at which he exercises his option to exchange his Letter B for a building site.

Further flexibility has been built into the system insofar as Letter Bs are freely assignable and can, without restriction, be sold by one person to another. Indeed, a brokerage system has developed and the current market value is HK\$12—15 per sq.ft., which is substantially higher than the original

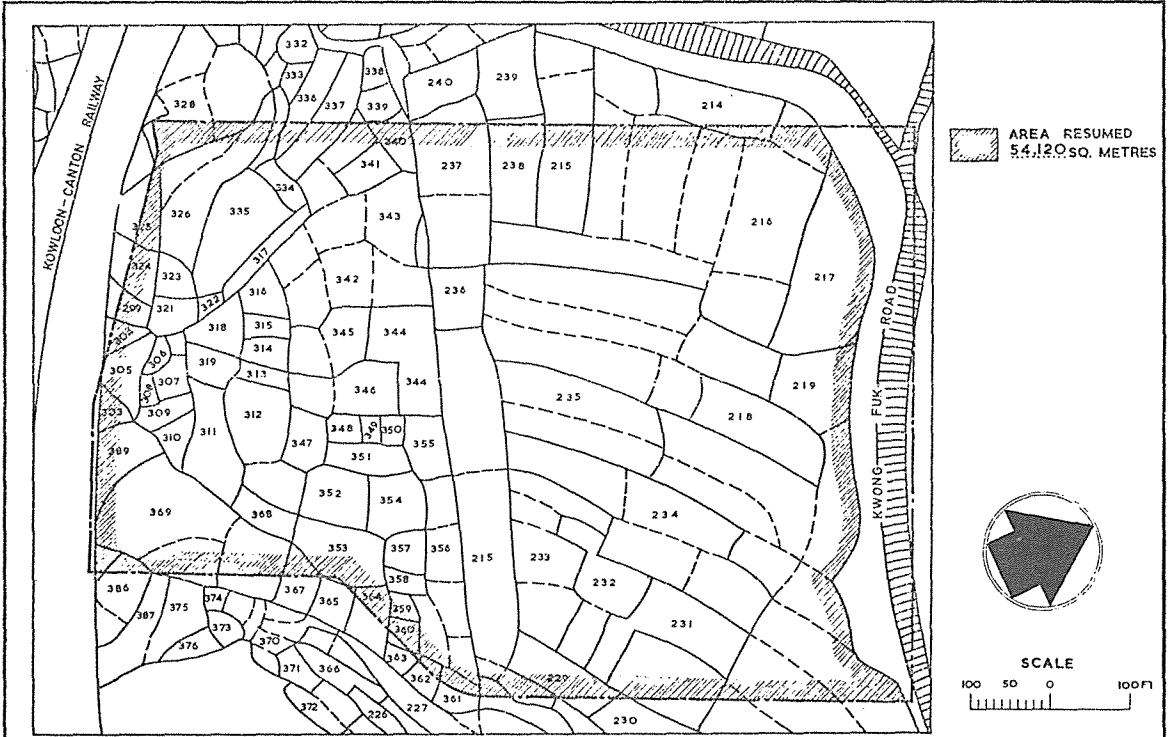
face value. Thus, if the original lessee does not wish to exercise his option to develop he can sell his entitlement to another entrepreneur who is keen to invest in property development. This way, a developer can assemble sufficient entitlements to secure a site adequate to meet his particular requirements.

The uniqueness of the system thus lies in the opportunity it affords the community for acquiring private land without the heavy expenditure that would otherwise be incurred through the more conventional means of acquisition by negotiation or resumption for which powers are also available. At the same time, it gives the private land owner a profitable return that he probably could not have realised if left to his own resources. The system has now been in operation for a considerable number of years and its popularity and success can be measured from the fact that in mid 1974 there were over 4 million sq.ft. of land entitlements still to be taken up.

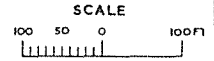
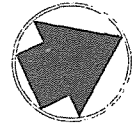
Obviously, if such a system is to be given credibility there must be a firm intention by Government to proceed with development without undue delay and, preferably, there should be an initial pool of publicly-owned sites available to act as a catalyst. There must also be safeguards against profiteering by developers once exchanges of building land have been taken up and on this account it is the practice for the Government to grant new leases with a building covenant requiring the development of sites within 3 years and to a specified value depending on the land use zoning and market value of the land.

One word of caution must be mentioned, however, in that the 5:2 ratio is not a standard which should necessarily be applied to other cities as the "productivity ratio" of land zoned for urban use depends on the particular standards adopted for the purposes of layout. Additionally, it may be necessary from time to time to adjust the ratio to take account of local circumstances to ensure that there is a reasonable balance between potential supply of sites and the demand resulting from the exchange process. Changes of standards of provision for various urban land uses and facilities may also require changes to be made to the exchange ratio but for political reasons any reviews should be widely spaced.

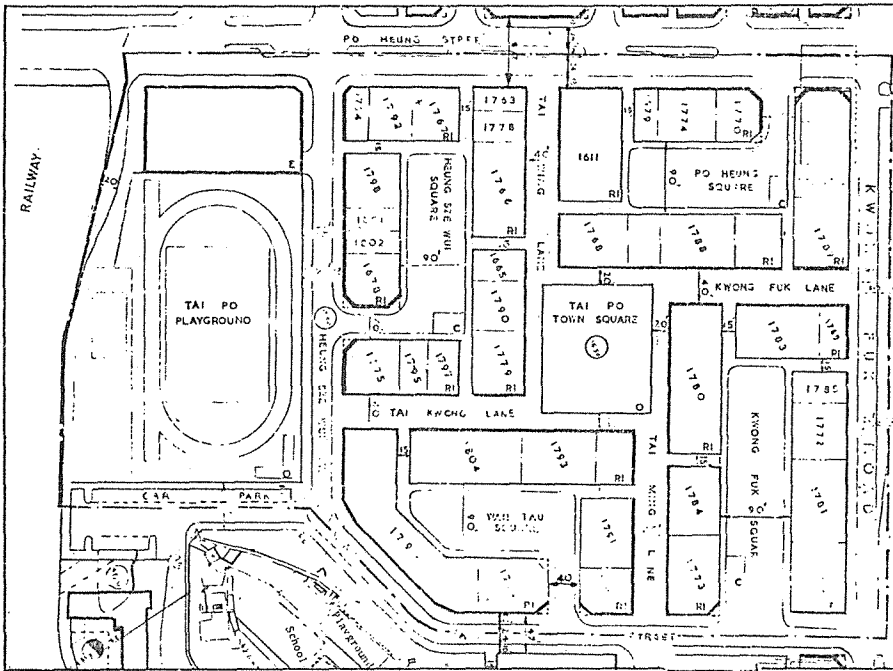
Yet further refinements could be made to adjust the balance between the land to be made available



AREA RESUMED  
54,120 SQ. METRES



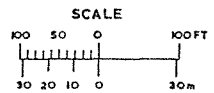
Area before resumption



- RESIDENTIAL  
21,232 m<sup>2</sup> (33.6%)
- EDUCATIONAL  
2,046 m<sup>2</sup> (3.2%)
- COMMUNITY  
279 m<sup>2</sup> (0.4%)
- OPEN SPACE  
11,765 m<sup>2</sup> (18.6%)
- ROADS & PED. WAYS  
28,002 m<sup>2</sup> (44.3%)
- TOTAL AREA  
63,224 m<sup>2</sup> (100%)

AREA RESUMED  
RESIDENTIAL SITES  
54,120 SQ. METRES = 5  
21,232 SQ. METRES = 2

OR 5:2 RATIO



same area with new layout

Illustration of the 5:2 exchange ratio

for exchange as against the supply of sites to be realised by way of sale; this would, of course, depend on such considerations as the type of layout and the availability of publicly owned land zoned for urban use. Depending on local circumstances, including the geographic coverage of administrative jurisdictions, land exchanges could be limited to specific areas and thus be used as an instrument for achieving a desired strategy of growth. Finally, it will be obvious that a system of land exchanges has possible applications in the field of urban or rural renewal schemes where, all too often, the impediments to better land use are inflated land values and fragmentation of land ownerships.

### Land acquisition in Taiwan

In Taiwan the system of land acquisition by exchange stems from Dr Sun Yat Sen's philosophy of equalisation of land rights. The first step in the process is the planning and designation of any area it is intended to develop for urban use. The land owners affected are then consulted and upon securing consensus of the majority of the original lots are pooled. Detailed surveys are carried out to establish the current market value of each lot as this forms the basis for reapportionment after the development scheme has been completed.

The costs of land development, including the provision of roads and services, are computed for, in theory, all expenses are met by the beneficiaries. In practice, however, the cost of all engineering works and administrative effort is financed from Government — arranged bank loans repayment of which is made through the surrender to the Government of land in the project area which is then sold. Reservations required for schools, recreation, areas and the like are also vested in the Government. The remaining land is then handed back to the landowners and is distributed on a proportionate basis according to the value of the original land holdings in relation to the total value of the land included in the whole scheme.

To avoid undue fragmentation of land, minimum lot sizes are specified and any owner whose original land holding was of insufficient value to entitle him to a regrant is given cash compensation; alternatively, he may pay the difference in value between his original holding and the site he desires to acquire. If land that is handed back to an owner is subsequently sold the added value realised is subject to an incremental value tax which operates on a sliding scale. Additionally, there is a vacant land tax so as to encourage owners to develop rather than speculate.

As in the case of the Letter B system in Hong Kong, the method of land assembly in Taiwan has the advantage of avoiding heavy initial capital outlays in the acquisition of land. Additionally, by securing the consensus of the majority it is possible to avoid interminable delays that would be otherwise caused by one or two owners holding the Govern-

ment to ransom. One limitation of the scheme, however, is that the system can be applied to only one area at a time and as such does not enable owners to transfer their entitlements to other areas where they may prefer to develop. Also, the system assumes that the original owners are in the better position to develop the formed sites. Notwithstanding, municipal authorities throughout Taiwan have made good use of the opportunities such a system of exchange offers in a society where attachments to land, however small the holding, are very strong and make development by individuals extremely difficult.

Even in a country such as New Zealand where land holdings are usually in relatively large units, the fragmentation of ownership still makes it difficult to achieve the comprehensive development of new areas for urban use through the efforts of private entrepreneurs. The problem becomes more acute in the field of urban renewal. Perhaps, therefore, some system of exchange and regrant as outlined above could be developed in a western context.

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## Australian Congress

The 14th Biennial Congress of the Royal Australian Planning Institute will be held at Adelaide, South Australia, from 16th — 19th August 1976.

### The Theme

"Where on earth are we going? What will it be like when we get there?"

Against this theme the Congress will aim to examine the various influences which are likely to affect the future of urban areas in Australia in the remaining 25 years of this millennium.

**Registration** will open in June and the address for all correspondence and inquiries is:

Western Girl  
R.A.P.I. Congress 1976  
67 Gawler Place,  
Adelaide S.A. 5000  
Telephone: (STD 085) 87 4202

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## Canada

The publication, **Contact**, published by the Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, is now appearing as a bi-monthly journal. The annual subscription is \$C9.00.

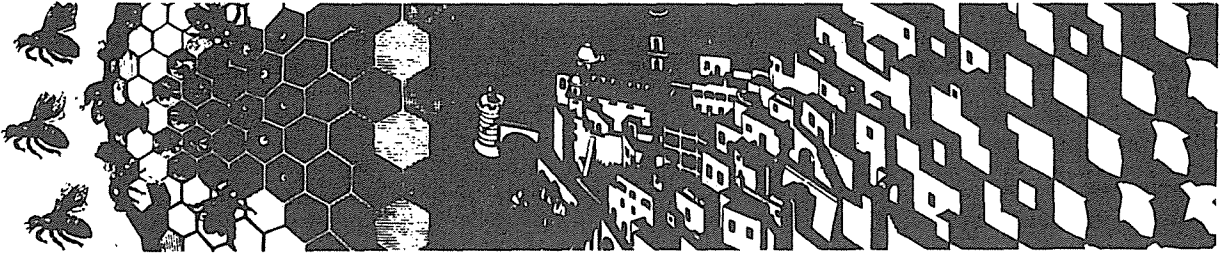
The submission of material for publication is invited.

All manuscripts will be refereed by an editorial advisory board.

The journal focuses generally on the multiple aspects of urban and regional planning and its allied sister — disciplines.

# The flat boom: characteristics and consumer reactions in Christchurch

G.E. Nahkies



G.E.Nahkies MA (Hons.) (Canterbury)  
Planning Assistant  
Housing Corporation of New Zealand  
Wellington

Since the early 1960s New Zealand has experienced a dramatic increase in the proportion of new housing units built as "flats" (1). From 15.4% of the permits issued for new dwelling units in the year ending March 1964, the proportion of flats had risen to 40.65% for the year ended March 1974. (2) In the main urban centres this transformation in housing characteristics has been even more marked. In Christchurch, the location for the research upon which this paper is based, (3) flats increased from 17.80% of building permits issued for new dwellings in the year ended March 1964 to 60.12% in the year ended March 1974. (4)

These flats are frequently criticized, both in New Zealand (5) and in Australia, (6) where a similar phenomenon has occurred, because of the impact they have had on the environment. Called "concrete jungles" and "slums of the future" a large proportion of flat developments do, in fact, exemplify bad architecture and bad site planning. To a large extent however, this state of affairs has resulted from inadequacies in planning and building regulations.

Despite its popular and widespread incidence, criticism of flats and the environment they produce has been noticeably absent from that section of the population most directly affected — the inhabitants — and who are the inhabitants anyway? This article examines the characteristics of a sample of flat dwellers interviewed in Christchurch during 1973 (7) and focuses particularly on those who were owner-occupants of flats. The ownership flat, home unit or 'own-your-own' has been the most significant factor in the recent flat boom in New Zealand, and the reasons for the purchase of flats and owner-occupants' attitudes to flat-type living represent a side of the debate to which those responsible for formulating housing policy at both a local

and national level have had little exposure. (8)

Neutze in a similar study (9) drew attention to the specialized role flats play in the housing market and, in particular, to the need to distinguish between the different tenancy groups occupying flats. There is in New Zealand however, a tendency, particularly in the official statistics, to group all flat dwellers together. As the following analysis shows, there are fundamental differences between people who are owner-occupants and those who rent flats which demand that the two groups be examined as separate components of the housing market. In addition, this dissimilarity is physically manifest in the design and appearance of blocks of flats. An experienced observer in Christchurch would have little difficulty identifying which blocks of flats were owner-occupied and which were rented, merely on the basis of external appearance (quality of design, style, size, number of units in the block, quality of maintenance etc) although this distinction is a little more blurred in Wellington and Auckland.

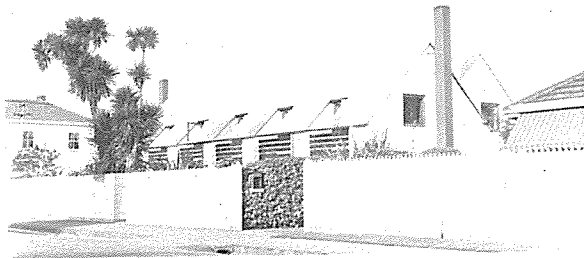
## The characteristics of flat dwellers

"Rental" households were generally larger than "ownership" households. (10) The average size of a rental household was 2.28 persons compared with 1.64 for ownership households. Whereas 90.97% of all rental households surveyed consisted of more than one person only 54.37% of ownership households were that large. As ownership flats in Christchurch generally contain more living space and larger bedrooms, rental flats are comparatively crowded.

This difference in household size stems from the type of households found in the two categories of flats. Rental flats were primarily occupied by nuclear families (11) (72.9%) many of which contained young children (16.7% of all rental households contained children aged 4 and under). While the nuclear family figured less prominently among ownership households (49.0%) it was still the largest group followed closely by households containing only one person (45.63%). Flats containing groups

of unrelated persons were relatively rare and although this type of household was ranked second to the nuclear family for rental flats, it comprised only 17.4% of the rental households surveyed. The comparative figure for ownership households was negligible (2.7%). The reason for this low incidence of "flattening" groups is related to the focus of the study on new (post 1963) purpose-built flats. In Christchurch these flats tend to be too small and too expensive for these groups which find their needs better served by the older, house-conversion type of flats in which relatively low per capita rentals can be obtained.

Age structures are significantly different between rental and ownership households. Most rental flat dwellers were in the 21-30 group (51.8%) in comparison with the over 65 age group which was the largest group of ownership flat dwellers (35.8% of occupants). Of all rental flat dwellers, 77.7% were aged 30 or under, compared with only 14.4% of the ownership flat dwellers. While almost 8% of rental flat occupants had not reached school age (0-4 years old) only 1.3% of the ownership dwellers were in that age group. Significantly, there were few school-aged children (5-14 years old) in either category of flat suggesting that parents, wherever possible, prefer to raise their children in other types of housing.



This old/young dichotomy is further reflected in the ages of the heads of flat occupying households. While 68.1% of rental households were headed by those aged 30 or under, only 5.4% of ownership household heads were in the same age group. Although this latter group of young flat owners appears insignificant it is the most rapidly expanding group of flat dwellers. Particularly in higher socio-economic groups, young couples are delaying the start of their family, but rather than rent a flat (the size of which satisfies their accommodation requirements) or purchase a house (which doesn't) in the interim they purchase a flat. In comparison with renting this has the added advantage of allowing them to accumulate equity capital and beat inflation. The greater availability of mortgage finance for the purchase of flats has, in recent years, coincided with the escalating cost of detached houses to contribute to this trend. For most young couples however, a flat is still viewed as temporary accommodation and is rented while saving to purchase a detached house.

Another source of difference between flat owners



and flat renters is in the distribution of sexes. Whereas rental households were predominately headed by males (83.4%) only 53.1% of ownership households were. This difference is closely related to marital status structures and to the greater longevity of women. In both ownership and rental households the 'married' category was the most prominent (67.40% of rental household heads and 40.90% of ownership household heads were married), but 31.54% of all ownership household heads were widows and an additional 15.36% were 'never married', divorced or legally separated females.

It can be reasonably generalized therefore, that renters and owners come from opposite ends of the family cycle. Flat renters are predominantly young married couples who may have very young children; flat owners tend to be couples of middle age and older whose children have started their own families, or elderly women, mainly widows. The increasing proportion of flats built in New Zealand in recent years has given the impression that the flat has taken over the traditional role of the detached house. On this evidence however, it would seem that ownership flats, in particular, are serving a specialized and to some extent optional demand. Young families who in the past would have rented a flat, post-child couples who would have remained in a detached house and widows who would have been accommodated with relatives.

### Reasons for flat purchase

Theoretically, the decision to move to another dwelling is made in an attempt to reduce, or maintain at a tolerable level, "...stressors which ... derive from disparity between the collective needs of the household and the characteristics of its environment." (12) As only 8.1% of the flat owning respondents had moved out of flats into their current dwellings (13) it was not surprising that the nature of these stressors was found to be primarily related to dissatisfaction with other forms of housing.

The most important reason for moving into an ownership flat (36.9% of respondents) was dissatisfaction with the size of their previous detached houses and sections. (14) Those respondents who experienced disutility with dwelling size could be

divided into two main categories. The first of these consisted of people from the age groups in which household size undergoes contraction due to factors like the growing independence of offspring and the death of a spouse. In addition to experiencing a diminishing household, many respondents in this group had become, with age, less capable physically of maintaining a house and grounds. This factor was a particular concern to those whose garden had been a source of some pride to them. The second category consisted of a relatively younger group of flat-owners. The time demands on their non-home-based life styles had been sufficient for them to move (sometimes with children) into flats with considerably less curtilage for them to maintain. People in this category frequently indicated they would have preferred to purchase a detached house on a small section. This size of section was available only in association with aged dwellings in a deteriorated condition on the fringes of Christchurch's industrial areas. This raises the important question of whether today's subdivisional standards are providing the wide range of housing packages which District Planning Schemes commonly state as a major residential goal. This matter will be the subject of examination in a further article.

Also related to the age characteristics of flat owning households was another significant stress factor — the decline in income commonly experienced upon retirement or the death of the breadwinner. (15) Because income and housing consumption are closely related (16) the respondents citing this factor (14.7%) had commonly found themselves faced with two choices. They could either spend proportionately more on their income (now reduced) on their present housing or 'reduce' the amount of housing which they 'consumed' by moving to another cheaper and/or smaller dwelling. Because many of the people affected in this way occupied quite old dwellings, usually of timber construction, their housing costs (repairs etc) were increasing as the dwelling aged. The first option, that of spending a greater proportion of their income, became less

and less viable and many instead sought to reduce the quantity, if not quality, of the housing they 'consumed' by trading their detached house for an ownership flat. An additional consideration for some was that their older styles of housing, with large rooms and high ceilings, were expensive to heat. Others, living in the parts of Christchurch where rates were calculated on the unimproved property value, found the increasing rate demands and the diminishing utility of their ageing housing difficult to reconcile.

For respondents affected by a reduced level of disposable income the ownership flat had a number of attractions. The majority of flats in Christchurch have been built in the last decade.



Their brick veneer and latterly concrete block construction has, in addition to their recency, provided a stock of dwellings requiring minimal maintenance. Because of their generally small size (17) heating, for example, is less expensive and this is accentuated by the fact that the majority of ownership flats are built in Christchurch City and Waimairi County where new dwellings are required to be insulated. Because flats are land-intensive, rate demands are considerably reduced in many locations.

Although studies of intra-urban migration and housing choice have frequently found that a household's desire to own its own dwelling is a major factor stimulating its move, (18) the desire to own *per se* was of relatively minor importance among flat purchasers. Only 16.7% indicated the desire to own was their main motive (compared with 35.4% in Duffy's 1972 study in Christchurch). This can be attributed to the generally high rate of home ownership in New Zealand, particularly amongst the 'non active' sections of the population. (19) In fact only 25.5% of the respondents had not previously owned (with or without a mortgage) their previous home. Most of these hitherto non-owners were younger people purchasing their first home or those recently retired who had occupied dwellings provided by their employers.

Dissatisfaction with the 'address' rather than other residential attributes is another oft-quoted reason for a housing change. The desire to live in a





'better' area however, would appear more readily applicable to the younger, socially mobile households which did not figure significantly among flat owner-occupants. More than 56% of the respondents moved less than 1.61km (one mile) from their previous home and only 14.7% of moves involved distances greater than 3.22km (two miles). This distribution is an indication of general satisfaction with their pre-move locality but to a lesser extent may be related also to factors such as inertia and lengthy association with the area. These latter two factors were commonly found amongst the older respondents whose moves were often 'forced' upon them by well meaning or neglectful relatives.(20).

Other sources of stress were listed by respondents although individually these were comparatively unimportant. A number of widows, for example, had been attracted by the potential for companionship and security available in a block of flats. Often it was found that people had been living alone in a large house in an area where neighbours their own age had died or themselves moved away into flats. There were also several respondents who had moved into central city flats because of dissatisfaction with the suburban environment and location. For these people, flats were the most easily acquired type of housing, of the standard they desired, in the central area. The views of the city obtainable from flats in the high-rise buildings abutting Hagley Park were an additional environmental attraction.

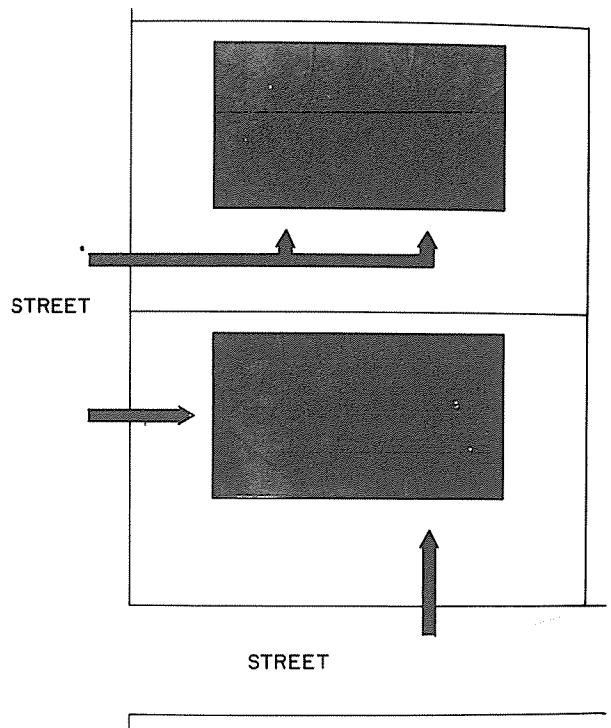
Finally, it should not be overlooked that ownership flats at the time of the survey were (and still are) very fashionable. It is certain that most post-child couples and widows who live in detached houses will sooner or later be asked why they do not move into an ownership flat. After continual 'harassment' of this type, five respondents eventually convinced themselves that they would be better off in a flat although they had previously experienced none of the stressors which had been described above.

### Consumer satisfaction

Despite the frequent criticism of the aesthetics of flats and especially their visual impact, and the speculative nature (i.e. without regard to the requirements of a particular user) of their design and construction, flat **owner-occupants**, in Christchurch at least, seem quite happy with their homes. Only 11.5% of the respondents expressed any form of dissatisfaction at all. To be fair to the critics, (see note 5), however, this dissatisfaction was usually associated with the so-called 'sausage' flats in which the block is built at right angles to the street on narrow gutted sections. This type of layout was that most frequently occurring in cases where respondents cited 'lack of privacy' as a major dissatisfaction. Visual privacy particularly was a problem in sausage flats. Access to rear units inevitably involves passing units closer to the street. That this



access is easily impeded on narrow sections by cars on the driveway outside front units is a source of much friction. The width of side yards once the driveway is taken out seldom leaves space for an outdoor living area for each unit. Where this space is available it is seldom screened making it as unsuitable for sunbathing, barbecuing etc. as most N.Z. front lawns. This type of layout often involves sharing common drying and garaging areas at the rear of the property. Although the majority of would-be flat purchasers are attracted by the reduced area of curtilage to be maintained, the experiences of the respondents in this survey suggests that a small area of private screened outdoor space (perhaps as little as 50 square metres) is desirable. Recognition of these problems has made



wide sections (usually corner sites) very popular for multi-unit development in Christchurch. Each unit may be given direct access to the street and private outdoor space is easily provided (see figure one).

Aural privacy was also a source of dissatisfaction although this problem was not confined to sausage flats alone. Sound intrusion was typically experienced where flats were separated by an unfilled concrete block wall. These dividing walls were only soundproofed in the more expensive developments although physical separation of the units by inserting garages between adjacent units is one method frequently used to maximise the amount of aural privacy. In less well conceived designs, however, privacy is dependent upon the actions of neighbours. The need to restrict activities such as entertaining and even television watching so that neighbours would not be disturbed, was a very real strain on some respondents.



Of the difficulties caused by sharing a property many were aggravated by uncertain title arrangements. Despite the introduction in 1973 of the Unit Titles Act which enables a clear Torrens-type title to be given each flat and its share of the grounds, the flats surveyed were invariably "owned" under some form of company or cross leasehold structure. While each household had indisputable rights to occupy its own flat, definition of the property external to the dwellings was blurred in a number of cases. This absence of clear definition as to which part of the property 'belonged' to each household and the necessity to obtain agreement with other households in the block concerning common maintenance, has been an added source of discontent.

- (1) Despite the use of more rigorous definitions of multi-unit housing forms overseas, in New Zealand all private residential buildings containing two or more dwelling units continue to be termed simply "flats". This custom is observed in this article. The reasons for this increase in flat building are examined in G.E. Nahkies, Multi-Unit Residential Development in Christchurch. *New Zealand Geographer*, October 1974, 151-165.
- (2) Source: Dept. of Statistics, **Official Year Book 1972**. Government Printer, Wellington, 1972; Dept. of Statistics, **Monthly Abstract of Statistics**. Government Printer, Wellington, September 1974.
- (3) G.E. Nahkies, Multi-Unit Residential Development in Christchurch With Particular Reference to Ownership Flats. MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1973.
- (4) Source: Canterbury Regional Planning Authority.
- (5) N.Olsen, Sausage Stew. *Auckland Architectural Association Bulletin*, October 1973.
- (6) J.Roseth, Techniques of Controlling Flat Development in New South Wales. *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal*, July 1971, 99-104.
- (7) The details of the sampling method are outlined in Nahkies, 1973 op.cit., Appendix A. There were 293 respondents of whom 144 rented their flats and 149 were owner-occupants.
- (8) From the sample survey 57.5% of all flats were owner-occupied and the remaining 42.5% rented.
- (9) M.Newtze, Flats and Houses-Who Rents and Who Owns. *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal*, July 1971, 95-99.
- (10) For ease of style flat owning households are referred to as "ownership households"; similarly renting households are "rental households".
- (11) "nuclear families" are defined here as couples with or without children living with them, and as solo parents with children living with them.
- (12) L.A. Brown and E.G.Moore, The Intra-urban Migration Process: A Perspective. In L.S.Bourne (ed.) **Internal Structure of the City**. Oxford University Press, New York, 1971.
- (13) 74.5% had owned detached houses, 17.4% had rented houses or flats, 8.1% had owned and occupied flats.
- (14) In fact 71% of the respondents moved into flats which contained fewer bedrooms than their previous dwelling.
- (15) At least 40.5% and probably as many as 69.4% of the heads of ownership households were not employed. See Nahkies, 1973, op. cit., p.51.
- (16) R.F.Muth, **Cities and Housing**. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969 p.99.
- (17) Although the majority of ownership flats were single storied units containing one or two bedrooms, a number of respondents were from spacious, 1000 square feet plus town house and high rise apartments.
- (18) See for example: P.H.Rossi, **Why Families Move**. The Free Press, New York, 1955; D.J.Duffy, The Nature and Characteristics of the Intra-urban Migration Process in Christchurch. MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1972.
- (19) 76.2% of all heads of New Zealand households classified as "non-active" (mainly retired persons) owned their homes compared with 66.6% of those still active (Dept. of Statistics, **New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Volume 9B**. Government Printer, Wellington, 1970).
- (20) Although this information was not elicited by the questionnaire, many of the older respondents told the interviewers that their relatives had talked them into moving into a flat for their "own good". Often it appeared, however, that minimal assistance with gardening or lawn mowing would have overcome the need for "grandma" to move into a smaller property. With such people it was a "condition" of their move that they be "allowed" to stay in the same area. Please note however, that these were pre-move attitudes and most were quite happily ensconced in their flats when interviewed.

# Letters

Sir,

## Re: **Wastes Management**

We have been asked to assist with the formation of an association of people interested in all aspects of waste management, and I would be grateful if you could arrange for publicity to be given to this through the columns of your publication "T.P.Q."

At this stage the principal interest would appear to be in the field of industrial wastes with the emphasis on solids. However, it is not desired to limit the interests of the association to these fields only. It has been suggested that a suitable name for the association would be:—

"Waste Management Association of New Zealand".

Membership is invited from those who generate wastes, transport wastes, dispose of wastes, manufacture and sell equipment, etc. Interested parties should write to:—

Waste Management Association,  
c/o N.W. Small, Rice & Stevens Ltd.,  
Consulting Mechanical Engineers,  
P.O. Box 29-005,  
Auckland.

Once the degree and type of interest is established, a meeting will be arranged and interested parties notified.

**E.E. Stevens**

**N.W. Small, Rice & Stevens  
Ltd  
Auckland**

Sir,

As one involved at present, in the review of the city's planning scheme, and consultant to two counties and two boroughs in the region, whose schemes are also being reviewed, I am anxious to get some feedback on proposals set out below:

### **History**

For a considerable time, local authorities have been

able to control the subdivision of land. This control has enabled local authorities to specify the minimum area and frontage which would be permitted for each lot in any particular subdivision, together with a host of other conditions relating to reserve fund payments, provision of services, streets etc.

The Town and Country Planning Act has given to local authorities the power to control the use to which land is put, as well as prescribing subdivisional standards. It has become accepted practice for local authorities to attempt to control the use of land through the subdivision procedure particularly in relation to rural subdivisions and the building of flats.

With the whole country now virtually under the control of various district planning schemes, it is time to take a new look at the place of subdivision procedures in controlling land use.

### **Philosophy**

Subdivision takes place primarily to facilitate the issue of a title to a piece of land. It was not intended originally, to control the use of that land. The district planning scheme provides a means for direct control over the use of land including the number, shape, appearance and design of buildings. The aim therefore should be to use the planning scheme to control land use and allow subdivision to follow as merely a legal process enabling the ownership of land to be determined. It is not normally any concern of the planning authority who owns what particular piece of land.

### **Justification**

There has been a considerable amount of time and effort spent in trying to devise a method to prevent the loss of good agricultural land to urban development. Most counties have attempted to control this by increasing the minimum area permitted on subdivision, but this has proved to be

largely ineffectual. More recently, a move has been made toward the "economic unit" concept, but as the Town and Country Planning Appeal Board has pointed out, this is an extremely difficult term to define, and while it is possible to determine the theoretical return for any particular given farm operation on a particular piece of land, it is not possible to ensure that the person actually farming that land will achieve that return.

In cities we have the anomaly of unit titles, and lease and licence arrangements, which to the man in the street, allow a property to be subdivided and to all intents and purposes, give to each individual owner a clearly defined area which he can call his own. The local authority has not received any additional provision for reserve, nor in some cases, has it been in a position to assess the demand that will be made on its services.

To me, it is a good tenet of town planning practice, that if a particular rule cannot be explained logically to "the man in the street", then the rule should be given a very thorough scrutiny.

### **Proposal**

A solution seems to lie in doing away with subdivision standards altogether and controlling the use of land directly by the careful use of zoning ordinances.

For example, in a rural area it will be necessary to set aside some areas which must be exclusively used for agricultural production, some which could be used for "hobby" farming, and some rural settlement areas. The predominant uses for the strictly agricultural zone could then be defined, one of them being "dwellings or other buildings which are secondary and accessory uses to other predominant uses in the zone and which are essential for such uses". The subdivision clause would then read "land may be subdivided to give ef-

fect to or assist in the establishment of effective operations of any use permitted under this scheme as a predominant use in this zone." There would be no minimum area or frontage laid down.

Similarly, in an urban area, the predominant uses for any zone could be clearly defined together with conditions establishing the maximum density and coverage of any site. Buildings could then be erected (as they are at present under the unit title system) to the local authority's requirements and a subsequent subdivision could be processed. Alternatively, the subdivision could precede the building, provided that the local authority was satisfied that the land was capable of being used for a permitted use in that zone.

This may mean a complete re-think about the position of subdivision in the development procedure. Finance companies may have to reconsider their position, and much more emphasis would be put on land management and design, than there is at present.

If the above proposal were adopted, then the surveyor would indeed need to become a land management consultant, rather than simply a "peg basher". He would need to keep abreast of the market trends, to be able to advise his client on the best way to utilise his land within the context of the district planning scheme. He may well have to work in conjunction with an architect, or other professional advisers, in a planning team which is looking at a whole concept rather than a part.

The planner must ensure that the ordinances are compiled in a realistic and thorough manner to provide for all eventualities and that they are administered with sound knowledge of the community's needs and desires. He must be prepared to open his mind to a new concept in which individual assessment of any par-

ticular proposal will play a much greater part than has been customary in the past. He must drop the attitude that the books says, 'so and so', and be able to justify his opinions and decisions on firm planning ground.

There is obviously a long way to go before such a proposal could be expected to be operating successfully. There will need to be experimentation and, no doubt, a period of trial and error which will cause some upsets and frustration. However, it is the only long term solution that I can see for the present problems created by maintaining a system which is now outdated.

I would be very pleased to receive comment from interested persons on these proposals, either through this publication or directly to me, at Box 637, Wanganui.

**E.C. Fox**  
**City Planner**  
**Wanganui City**

Sir,

In your Editorial in TPQ 40 you comment on the Waitemata Harbour Plan recently produced by the Auckland Harbour Board and the Auckland Regional Authority. You commend it as being of interest to those with similar planning responsibilities and as the first serious attempt in New Zealand, along with the ARA's growth alternative study, to identify community goals as a basis for decision making.

In its own more modest way the Dunedin Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority attempted something similar in the report on Otago Harbour which was published in September 1973. Although the Otago Harbour report did not investigate the planning process or the policy-making procedure to anything like the same extent, the conclusions and general recommendations of the two documents are remarkably similar.

Your readers may be interested to learn of the results achieved to date following the publication of the Otago Harbour report and its adoption by the Regional Planning Authority. These can be summarised as follows.

1. There is now much greater co-operation between the Harbour Board, the local Councils and the Authority in that proposals affecting the harbour submitted to one authority are now referred to the others for comment.

2. A Harbour Committee, with representatives of the Authority and the Harbour Board has been set up as a committee of the Authority. This provides liaison with the Board and studies matters of mutual concern.

3. It is now acknowledged by all the authorities that future reclamations should be undertaken only by public authorities and that they should be designed to bring benefits to the general public, not only to one small group.

4. A plan for recreational development in the Inner Harbour has been established as a long term project of regional significance which most of the local authorities, including those without a Harbour frontage, are prepared to support. The first stage of this plan, the improvement of the foreshore and provision of boating facilities at Macandrew Bay has already been successful in attracting a regional project subsidy from the Minister of Recreation and Sport.

5. Some of the minor tidying-up projects along the shoreline recommended in the report have been carried out by local authorities and community groups.

6. The report has provided a basis for evaluating the effects of major harbour proposals such as the environmental impact of the Port Chalmers container terminal and the conflicting interests of industry and nature conservation at

Aramoana at the harbour mouth.

No action has so far been possible on one of the basic conclusions and recommendations of the report, the need for a formal harbour plan with rights of public participation in the planning process. As stated both in the Otago Harbour report and in the Waitemata Harbour Plan this will require changes in legislation. In spite of this existing deficiency in planning legislation which may soon be rectified the report has succeeded in demonstrating the importance to the community of the wise planning of the harbour as a resource which can benefit everyone in the region. Subsequent actions have shown that the Harbour Board and all the local authorities concerned are prepared and willing to work together on matters of mutual concern.

**W.D. Paterson**  
**Regional Planning Officer**  
**Dunedin Metropolitan**  
**Regional Planning**  
**Authority**

Sir,

Again in 1976 and for the seventh time Det danske Selskab (The Danish Institute) will arrange a seminar on **SCANDINAVIAN ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING** June 20-July 3.

In the four Nordic capitals the programme will concentrate on modern architecture, urban planning and municipal building, e.g. schools, hospitals, public buildings.

In cooperation with the Danish National Museum Det danske Selskab will arrange a seminar on **HISTORICAL TOWNS IN DENMARK** July 1-11. During the European Building Preservation Year 1975 Denmark was met with an encouraging interest abroad because of its concern about old buildings and the Danish legislation on building preservation. We are, therefore, glad

to present the opportunity to study this topic in Denmark.

Both seminars will be conducted by experts and **in English**. The cost, Danish kroner 3650 and 2250 respectively, (approximately \$580 and \$360) includes accommodation, meals, transport in connection with the programme, lectures, and study excursions.

Further details and programmes are obtainable from Det danske Selskab, Kulturvet 2, DK-1175 Copenhagen K, Denmark.

**Helle Wisti**

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## Institute affairs

### Membership

The following were recently elected to Membership of the Institute:

I.T. Brownlee, BA, DipTp  
R.F. Coldham, DipTP, MNZIS, MIS (Aust)  
D.R. Hughes, MA, BSc, DipEd, DipTP  
J.W. Lello, BEng, MTP, MNZIE

### Student Members

D.A. Garland, BA  
P.R. Kirk, BA  
G.H. Elferink was resigned from student membership.  
I.A.C. Levingston is no longer a student member under Section 11.6 of the Constitution.

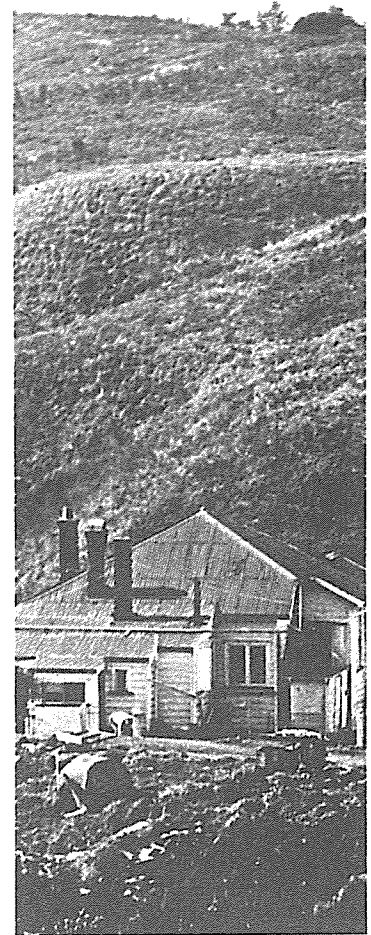
### Recent Movements

Crawford, J.L., BA, DipTP, from Auckland City Council to Waitemata City Council.  
Izzard, TA, BA, DipTP, from Auckland City Council to Northland Regional Planning Authority.  
E.A. Billson, DipCE and TP (Lond), MRTPI, MNZPI, from acting City Planner, Manukau City to private practice, Auckland.

D.P. Black, DipTP, MNZIS, from Housing Corporation to Assistant Director (district planning), Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works and Development.

H. Einhorn, Dipl. Ing (Berline), MRTPI, FNZIA, MNZPI, promoted to Assistant Director (environmental planning), Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works and Development.

E.D. Fraser, MA, DipArts, DipTP, MNZPI, promoted to Assistant Director (regional planning), Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works and Development.



### Back numbers:

Most back numbers may be obtained by writing to  
**TPQ: P.O. Box 8789**  
**Symonds St., Auckland.**

# New Zealand Planning Institute

## Professional Cards

These notes are inserted for the general information and guidance of the public. The consultant firms listed have one or more Members of the New Zealand Planning Institute amongst their partners.

### AUCKLAND

E.A. Billson 11 Maungarei Road Auckland 5 Dip CE & TP (Lond), MRTPI, MNZPI.

CURTIS B.J. Dip. TP, ARICS, MNZIS, MNZPI. 10 Takutai Ave, Bucklands Beach, Auckland.

RUSSELL DICKSON, 17 Peter Terrace, Auckland 9 BE (Hons), BSc, Dip.TP, MICE, MNZIE, MNZPI

DAVID DODDS ASSOCIATES 245 Parnell Road, P.O.Box 37-225, Auckland.

DODDS, D.A. Dip Arch, Dip TP, MNZPI, ANZIA.

FRASER, THOMAS, GUNMAN, SHAW & PARTNERS 152 Kolmar Rd, Papatoetoe

Partner: Parton A.O. Dip TP, MNZIS, MNZPI

Associate: Graveson J.F.

HARRISON AND GRIERSON AND PARTNERS

Cathedral Court, Parnell, Auckland 1.

JASMaD PLANNERS 2 Whitaker Place, P.O.Box 6648, Auckland.

Director: Davies, R. Dip TP, Dip. Arch, MNZPI, ANZIA, ARIBA

Clarke, J.R.P. BA, Dip.TP (Lond), MNZPI, MRTPI

Havill, S. BA, Dip TP, MNZPI

KINGSTON, REYNOLDS THOM & ALLARDICE LTD. 44 Wakefield St, Auckland P.O.Box 5348, Wellesley Street, Auckland

Principal: Reynolds I.B. B.Arch, FNZIA, MRTPI, MNZPI

Employee: Smith M.G.S. Dip.Arch (NZ), Dip TP, (Auck)

OWEN McSHANE 24 Arney Crescent, Auckland 5. B.Arch, Dip TP (Auck) MCP (Berkeley) MNZPI

MURRAY-NORTH PARTNERS LTD P.O.Box 821, Auckland

Principal: McIntyre I.G. Dip T.P., MNZIS, MNZPI

N.J.WILLIAMSON P.O.Box 9552, Newmarket, Auckland. Dip Urb, Val, Dip TP, Dip Bus, Admin. MNZPI

### WELLINGTON

D.E. BARRY-MARTIN & BLAKE Suite 437, DIC Building, Wellington

Barry-Martin D.E. B.Arch, Dip TP (Lond), ARIBA, ANZIA, FRTP, MNZPI

JAMES BEARD & COMPANY 59 Aurora Terrace, P.O.Box 5070, Wellington

Principal: Beard, J.A. MLA (Harv), B.Arch, MRTPI, FNZIA, ARIBA, ASLA, MRSH, MNZPI

JOHN WATSON COX 41 Ngaio Road, Kelburn, Wellington 5. LL.B. FRTP, MNZPI

GABITES ALINGTON & EDMONDSON, P.O.Box 5136, Wellington

Planning Partners: Gabites, A.L. A.A. Dipl (Hons) (Lond), ARIBA, FNZIA, FRTP, MNZPI. Edmondson D.J. Dip. TP (Manch.) FRTP, MNZPI

Associates: Stroud R.G. Dip TP, MNZIS, MNZPI. Rushford, D.A. B.Sc, Dip.TP, MNZPI  
M.B.PATIENCE P.O.Box 3548, Wellington

Principal: Patience M.B. Dip C.D. (L'pool), Dip.TP, RIBA, FNZIA, ARIBA, MNZPI

PORTER & MARTIN P.O.Box 5029, Wellington

Partner: Porter, D.G. B.Arch, ARIBA, FNZIA, MRTPI, MNZPI

### CHRISTCHURCH

DAVIE, LOVELL-SMITH & PARTNERS, 198 Hereford St, Christchurch Box 679.

Principals: Northcroft, Nancy, B.Arch, ARIBA, FNZIA, FRTP, MNZPI Barker, W.H. Dip TP, MNZPI, Grad NZIS.

Employees: Bryce, D.A. B.Sc, Dip.TP, MNZIS, Dalton, I.D. MNZIS Thompson B.W. MTCP (Sydney) BA.

ROYDS, SUTHERLAND & McLEARY P.O.Box 870, Christchurch

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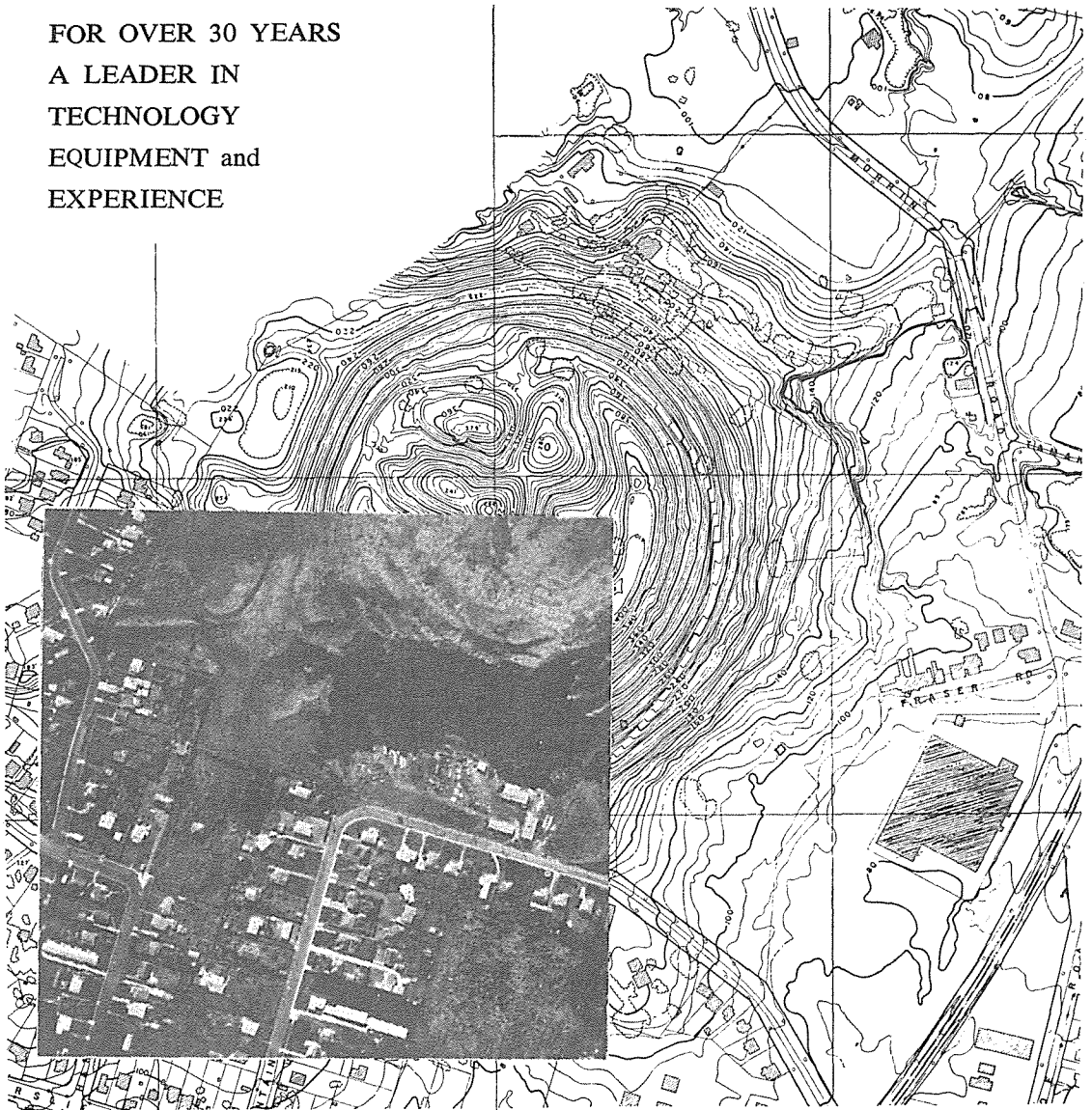
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