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Understanding Intergovernmental Tensions around Urban Containment: A Case Study of Auckland through a State Rescaling Lens

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Abstract

The research contained herein aims to explore the relationship between contemporary patterns of state scalar restructuring and current intergovernmental discursive tensions surrounding the shaping and containment of Auckland's urban form. By exploring this relationship, the research also aims to contribute empirical insights to the nature of central-local government dynamics around urban policy in New Zealand. Informed by Brenner's (2009a) proposed state rescaling methodology, two objects of analysis were selected for study across a 50 year temporal period: the scalar referent of spatial planning in Auckland; and the evolving scale articulation of Auckland as an institutional-territorial space.

Discourse and thematic analysis were used to select and analyse primary and secondary data sources; comprised of regional planning documents, government position papers, transcripts from semi-structured interviews, and newspaper media commentary. Analysis revealed that differences in central and local government perspective on urban containment are reflective of wider intergovernmental discursive tensions around the appropriate role of local government with regards to urban planning decision-making. Additionally, the rationale for contemporary state scalar transformations appear to resonate deeply with themes in broader current central government objectives for Auckland and New Zealand; namely, global competitiveness, economic performance, and affordability. Finally, patterns in transformations to the state scalar architecture of Auckland's spatial planning, against a backdrop of market-led discourse, indicate a creeping centralisation of Auckland's urban governance.

Based on the findings generated, state rescaling conceptual frameworks and methodology provide useful techniques for organising data, as well as insightful approaches to understanding the significance of spatial planning trajectories and state scalar transformations to a specific policy element, such as urban containment mechanisms. At the same time, it is recognised that nuances of the Auckland experience are more closely engaged with through other conceptual frameworks that focus on the internal dynamics of institutional and policy change.

Dedication

To Pino, for being an unwavering source of love, strength and encouragement since the beginning.

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I am eternally grateful to my supervisor, Susan Owen, for her amazing support throughout my thesis research. Without her encouragement, patience, ideas, and good humour, I very much doubt I would have made it. Many thanks also go to my co-supervisor, Nick Lewis, for his insight, perspective, and encouragement. I feel truly lucky to have had such supportive and kind supervisors during what has been, at times, an anxiety-inducing endeavour!

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I am especially grateful to the individuals who gave up their time to speak with me in interviews. Much of the most interesting insights into the complex realm of Auckland's spatial planning came from these interviews. Undoubtedly these insights have been invaluable for my research, but they have also sparked within me a keen interest in Auckland's political landscape.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Situating the research	1
1.2 The Case Study and its Significance.....	2
1.3 Research Objectives	3
1.4 Thesis Overview.....	4
Chapter 2. Understanding Institutional & Policy Change	5
2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Approaching the Complexity of Spatial Planning Episodes.....	6
2.2.1 Politics and Planning	6
2.3 The State Rescaling Lens	8
2.4 Moving Beyond State Rescaling: Internal Dynamics of Policy Making.....	10
2.4.1 The Individual Actor and Agents of Change.....	10
2.4.2 Rooms and Moments in Policy Trajectories.....	11
2.5 Local Governance Dichotomies and Constructive Engagement with the Rescaling Literature.....	13
2.6 Discursive Linkages between Local Governance Models, Urban Planning and Spatial Planning Policy.....	16
2.7 Conclusion	19
Chapter 3. Methodology.....	20
3.1 Introduction to Chapter	20
3.2 Justification of Approach.....	20
3.2.1 The Qualitative Case Study	20
3.3 Research Design	21
3.3.1 State Rescaling Lens.....	22
3.3.2 Discourse Analysis.....	22
3.3.3 Thematic Analysis of Text	25
3.4 Method.....	26
3.4.1 Accessing Data and Sources.....	26
3.4.2 Primary Sources	27
3.4.3 Secondary Sources	29
3.5 Data Analysis	29
3.6 Positionality and Assumptions	32
3.7 Ethical Practice	33
3.8 Summary.....	34
Chapter 4. Shaping Auckland’s Urban Form	35
4.1 Introduction.....	35
4.2 Transformations of the State Scalar Architecture.....	36
4.2.1 Institutional reorganisation of local government	36
4.2.2 Ongoing modifications to local government structure and function	41
4.3 Policy Trajectory of Spatial Planning: Contemporary Urban Planning Reform.....	42

4.3.1	Greater Central Government Input Needed	43
4.3.2	Economic Growth through Efficiency & Productivity	46
4.4	Central Government Objectives for Auckland	47
4.4.1	Global Competitiveness.....	47
4.4.2	Economic Performance	48
4.4.3	Affordability.....	48
4.5	The Auckland Spatial Plan: A Delicate Balance of Risk and Opportunity.....	49
4.6	Central-Local Government Perspectives on Local Governance: A Discursive Rift.....	51
4.7	Through the Lens of Early State Rescaling Theory.....	54
4.8	Conclusion.....	56
Chapter 5.	Journey to a Compact City.....	59
5.1	Introduction to chapter	59
5.2	Urban containment policies in Auckland: Evolving rationale for an enduring goal	60
5.2.1	Facing Inward: Efficiency and Rural Productivity (1951 – 1988).....	62
5.2.2	Looking Across: Managing the Region’s Resources Sustainably (1999).....	64
5.2.3	Facing Outward: A Globally Competitive & Liveable Auckland (2012)	66
5.3	Current Central Government Perspective on Urban Containment	68
5.3.1	A Legacy of Failure.....	70
5.3.2	Less Regulation, More Market	71
5.3.3	Housing Affordability.....	71
5.3.4	Feasibility.....	72
5.3.5	Individual Choice	73
5.4	The Endurance of the Compact City Model & Local Government Discursive Agility ...	75
5.5	At the Nexus of Urban Containment Tensions and Changes to the Scalar Dimension of Governance: Lessons from Auckland and the Conceptual Contribution of Contemporary State Rescaling Frameworks	77
5.5.1	Beyond State Rescaling	80
5.6	Conclusion.....	82
Chapter 6.	Conclusion	84
6.1	Key Findings	84
6.2	Empirical Contributions	86
6.3	Limitations & Opportunities for Future Research Agendas.....	88
6.4	Concluding Thoughts: An Uncertain Future for the ‘Quality Compact’, ‘Liveable’ City	89
Appendix A.	Dataset Four	91
Appendix B.	Participant Information Sheets.....	94
Appendix C.	Consent Forms.....	100
Chapter 7.	List of References	104

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Situating the research

New Zealand's governance landscape is characterised by the existence of multiple tiers of government, ranging from central to district and which are endowed with varying degrees of representation, mandate and accountability respectively. The dimensions of New Zealand's local government tier are rarely stable for long, indicated by the waves of various reform repackages over the past three decades that have modified structure and function. Against this backdrop of evolving governance, Auckland has recently entered a new chapter in planning for its long term future. The Super City, product of the amalgamation of the existing eight Territorial Authorities, represents an unprecedented local government structure in New Zealand (Cheyne, 2010). Section 79 of the 2010 Local Government Amendment Act (Parliament of New Zealand, 1992) stipulated that the new Auckland Council prepare and adopt a spatial plan for Auckland. The Auckland Plan was adopted by the Auckland Council's Governing Body on 29 March, 2012. Like the new unitary council, the spatial plan represents a unique moment in New Zealand's regional planning in terms of its geographical scope.

As the city is increasingly viewed as pivotal to the country's economic future, there has been growing central government interest in Auckland's metropolitan governance over the past 15 years (Le Heron, 2009), and Auckland's urban planning issues are no exception. Indeed, Auckland plays a central role in the New Zealand economy, both as a revenue contributor through taxation and as a location for central government expenditure. In 2010, the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research reported that for the 2009 fiscal year central government operating expenditure in Auckland was \$20 billion, and capital expenditure was \$2 billion (Healey, 2004). Not surprisingly, the state has substantial economic interest in contributing to the design of Auckland's future. Auckland Council and central government have differing scales of focus and sets of accountabilities (Cullingworth, 1993), as well as occasionally conflicting ideologies, and so the existence of divergent interests and priorities in relation to future growth is understandable, if not expected.

The 8th Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey, released in early 2012, calculated that the average Auckland house is valued at 6.4 times the city's annual average household income, making housing 'severely unaffordable' by international standards (Cox and Pavletich, 2012). The 'unaffordability' of Auckland's housing stock has become a regular focus of political journalist, with commentators highlighting that the message from both the current central government and the property development sector is that containment policies such as Auckland's

Metropolitan Urban Limit (MUL) are having an adverse effect on housing affordability by limiting the availability of land for housing. The heavily publicised and complex recent developments in local governance, Auckland's urban planning and specifically, the urban containment debate provide the backdrop to this research endeavour.

1.2 The Case Study and its Significance

The Auckland Plan (AP) outlines a 30 year plan to deliver a strategic vision for Auckland and its communities, integrating social, economic, environmental and cultural objectives, as required to by recently introduced legislation. The development of the vision to be 'the world's most liveable city' has required engagement with central government, infrastructure providers, the private sector, and the communities of Auckland, as well as various other stakeholders. Among other mandates, the AP was required to determine how and Auckland will continue to grow. Auckland is projected to grow by around 640,000 people by 2040, and the question of which approach is best taken to manage this growth, in terms of urban form and structure, has been a point of extensive debate and negotiation between the newly formed Council and government.

At the commencement of this research the existing strategy for Auckland's development was The Auckland Regional Growth Strategy, which defined clear Metropolitan Limits (MLs) for containing development within the current urbanized area (Nelson and Dawkins, 2004). However these current boundaries and their appropriateness in a regional growth strategy have been contested within government (Auckland Council, 1995), as demonstrated by conflicting, publicly declared positions. Since the release of the discussion document, Auckland Unleashed, in 2011, Council has declared its intention to continue aiming for a quality compact urban form via a myriad of development targets and infrastructural and transportation projects. Central government, through a series of position papers released shortly prior to the release of the Auckland Unleashed document, expressed a clear desire to review and potentially reshape the way Auckland's growth and development was being managed, causing some political figures and commentators to question the level of autonomy and freedom that the Auckland Council will ultimately have in shaping a strategic vision for the region (see, for example Downs, 2005; Oram, 2011; Pendall et al., 2002).

Leading up to the formation and release of the Auckland Plan there have been significant structural changes to local government, namely the two rounds of amalgamation of regional and territorial authorities, first in 1989 and then again in 2010. Concomitantly, while local governments in Auckland had previously been endowed with far-reaching responsibility over community wellbeing, recently introduced legislation has again redefined the role and purpose of local government, signalling continuing transformations to the country's local governance landscape.

The research presented here is an Auckland-based case study of intergovernmental tensions around urban containment, and how the governance of spatial planning and policy (through which urban containment mechanisms are promoted), relates to broader state rescaling patterns; of which the Auckland Council, its Auckland Plan, and the Rural Urban Boundary established therein are the most recent elements in a chronology spanning at least five decades. The case study represents an opportune and pertinent moment through which to qualitatively explore the evolving nature of scalar divisions of regulation in New Zealand's most populous city; how a particular policy element is contested and negotiated between tiers of governments, and how these negotiations relate to an evolving national landscape of urban planning governance. The interest in examining intergovernmental dynamics around setting urban policy through a state rescaling lens stems from the understanding that planning reform in diverse contexts is bound up with a broader rescaling of state power (Albrechts et al., 2001).

More broadly, this case study of evolving state scalar architecture and urban containment tendencies in Auckland aims to contribute empirically to literature which links state rescaling processes to emerging political strategies of socioeconomic intervention, literature to which Brenner (1999; 2003; 2004; 2009a), Lefebvre (2009), Jessop (2002; Jessop et al., 2008), and Swyngedouw (1997; 2000) are significant contributors. Equally, however, the thesis also serves as a critique about the limitations of the extant state rescaling lens, which are exposed through the nuanced findings that emerge from the case study.

1.3 Research Objectives

Grounded in the aforementioned rationale and case study context of this research project, the thesis attempts to address the central research question:

What insights do contemporary transformations to Auckland's state scalar architecture provide into the intergovernmental discursive tensions surrounding the containment of Auckland's urban form?

Specifically:

- A. How has the role of government in shaping Auckland's future urban form changed over the past 50 years, in terms of the scale articulation of Auckland and the scalar referent of spatial planning?
- B. What is the nature of intergovernmental tension around the use of the current urban containment mechanism in Auckland, as actively constructed and pursued by local and central government?

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

- C. What is the discursive relationship between the broader central government agenda, the rationale for local government restructuring and urban planning reform, and urban containment perspective?

Based on this central research question and sub-questions, the following research objectives were identified:

1. Examine how central and local government have worked to shape urban growth in Auckland.
2. Identify and discuss central and local government responses to mechanisms for containing Auckland's urban form.
3. Discuss the discursive tension around urban containment in the context of both transformations to the state scalar architecture for shaping urban form, and local governance models.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This thesis explores the emergent themes in central and local government discourse around local government, spatial planning and urban containment, situated in the context of Auckland's evolving urban governance landscape at the institutional level. Specifically, it explores the intergovernmental tensions around urban containment through the lens of state rescaling. The structure of thesis is as follows. Chapter Two reviews approaches to understanding the complex multi-scalar and multi-stakeholder politics realised in and around spatial planning episodes. Chapter Three presents the research design; epistemological influences; and the techniques employed for organising and analysing data and reporting the findings. Chapter Four reveals findings which address the first objective. Specifically, it discusses the relationship between institutional reorganisations of local government and the policy trajectory of spatial planning to set up the broader context within which urban containment policies and mechanisms and negotiated and contested. In revealing the themes in central government discourse which has worked to rationalise these transformations, Chapter Four also presents two significant findings: that the themes in the discourse of the most recent transformations to state scalar architecture resonate with central government's current objectives for Auckland; and that central and local government perspectives on the appropriate role of local government in urban/spatial planning decisions diverge considerably, which appears to reflect conflicting views on decentralisation/recentralisation more generally. Based on the findings discussed in the Chapter Four, Chapter Five discusses the discursive tension between central and local government over the use of growth containment mechanisms in Auckland, in the context of changes in the scalar dimension of urban governance. Chapter Five also discusses the conceptual contribution that theoretical and conceptual state rescaling frameworks provide to the analysis. This chapter concludes with a brief reflection of the types of insights than can be generated by other conceptual frameworks, such as those focussed on governmentality, political projects and active agency.

Chapter 2. Understanding Institutional & Policy Change

2.1 Introduction

Planning and resource-use decisions are ultimately about politics. (Perkins and Thorns, 2001: 653)

This Chapter starts from the understanding that policy projects – such as government-led changes to urban governance and spatial planning, or the deployment of compact city/urban containment strategies through regional plans – are produced through complex multi-scalar and multi-stakeholder decision-making processes, and characterised by equally complex politics. For these reasons, analysis of any spatial planning episode must necessarily question the contextual ‘who’, ‘how’, and ‘for what purpose’. Intersections in state rescaling literature and discussions of policy entrepreneurship and rooms and moments allow for further exploration of the internal complexities of central-local government dynamics that manifest in tensions over urban governance. In order to capture the breadth and depth of the concepts that the research objectives aim to address, and comfortably shift between them, it is therefore helpful, if not necessary, to make use of various bodies of literature, as each provides unique and useful theory and methods for understanding complex phenomena such as the politics of policy making, and institutional and policy change.

Therefore, this Chapter uses diverse literatures, grounded in different theory and methodology, to explain the multiple concepts that are mobilised throughout the analysis and discussion Chapters. In some cases, literatures can provide equally valuable insight into different facets of the same concept, by virtue of the fact that they are founded on distinct conceptions of structure, agency, representation, and performativity. Similarly, the Chapter combines literature expounding abstract concepts, as well as that detailing concrete empirical evidence. In this way, this literature review spirals dialectically among various levels of abstraction (Brenner, 2009a) so as to explore theoretical understandings as well as more detailed concrete exemplars and provide more nuanced approaches to a multi-dimensional and multi-scalar context.

The first half of the Chapter presents the state rescaling conceptual framework, which comprises the analytical lens of this thesis research. The Chapter begins with a review of how planning, is an unequivocally political process. This review is followed by an introduction to the emergence of the state rescaling lens as a way of understanding regulatory and institutional change over time. Finally, the internal dynamics of policy making – which the state rescaling lens fails to capture in any detail –

are discussed through the conceptual contributions of literature on individuals as agents of change, and post-structural political economy-informed research.

The second half of the Chapter moves to ground the concepts mobilised by the state rescaling literature in the specific context of urban governance, and spatial planning and policy. In order to achieve this, three ideas are discussed as follows. Firstly, central government institutions play both an explicit and implicit role in shaping the form and function of local government, both of which have consequences for the way in which local government may exercise governance in spatial planning and policy issues. Secondly, the governance dichotomy offered by 'decentralisation versus recentralisation' does little to explain trends, shifts and nuances visible in the reconfiguration of local governments and the redistribution of resources. By contrast, the state rescaling lens offers a much more dynamic focus on the scalar redefinition of urban governance over time. Lastly, the language used in local governance models are useful markers to look for in the rationale used in institutional and policy reform, including perspectives on specific policy mechanisms such as urban containment. Consequently, local governance models can provide discursive clues to accompanying perspectives on urban planning policy and mechanisms.

2.2 Approaching the Complexity of Spatial Planning Episodes

Normative definitions of spatial planning abound. At a very general level it is essentially a tool of integrated policy making, but due to the multiple understandings of the concept it is best understood as a wide-ranging set of practices (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2009). Albrechts (2010: 1119) summarizes the condensation of these practices as:

A transformative and integrative public-sector-led socio-spatial process through which the visions or frames of reference, the justification for coherent actions, and the means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and what it might become.

This definition of spatial planning highlights two important ideas that drive much of the discussion contained herein. Firstly, contested urban governance landscapes problematize the use of the deceptively cohesive term 'public sector' in relation to spatial planning processes. Consequently, power differentials, politico-institutional context, and complex internal dynamics are very important concepts to bear in mind when attempting to understand the ways in which planning visions are shaped and framed by different tiers of government.

2.2.1 Politics and Planning

Political projects, often involving the formulation and implementation of policy, spring from rationalities that justify and legitimate claims and actions (Le Heron, 2009: 140) made during policy processes.

CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING INSTITUTIONAL & POLICY CHANGE

Policy processes – especially the overarching cycles of agenda-setting and decision-making – are constituted by and subject to multiple forces: namely, knowledge claims and differing capacities to mobilise and realise political projects. Substantial and valid academic debate exists around the legitimacy of rationality displayed during these processes, yet, as Richardson (1996: 279) explains:

This obsession with establishing or disproving the credentials of rationality binds us to the simple fact that policy is shaped by arguments, or discourses, based on knowledge claims which may be rational or irrational, reasonable or unreasonable. The shaping of policy, however, depends ultimately not on these 'surface' characteristics of rationality, but on a deeper dynamics of power and knowledge within and between discourses.

Policy rationalities are underpinned by material and ideological interests and in turn constellations of knowledge which are themselves embedded in political projects. Discursive struggles in spatial planning events are inherently influenced by power differentials and underlying ideologies (Jacobs, 2006), and so the formal decision-making that occurs throughout planning episodes similarly raises complex questions about power. As Campbell argues, referring directly to the planning process, there are always complex politics at play in relation to “whose knowledge constitutes proof, and, indeed, what constitutes proof, and when, where, and how such knowledge should be deployed” (2002: 278).

Planning processes are fundamentally exclusive, yet rely on democratic states in legitimating discourses of inclusivity. Inevitably this means confronting the contradiction that “many voices are either actively, or, less conspiratorially, inadvertently excluded from decision making about place” (Campbell, 2002: 278). Knowledge framings and the mobilisation of knowledge in planning are thus inescapably political. Planning is therefore simultaneously a political process and displays aspects that are characteristics of politics, demonstrable in a variety of ways. At the micro scale, planning is part of a host of methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy. More generally, planning consists of social relations involving authority or power. In contemporary, democratic (admittedly western European) societies, both ‘planning’ and ‘politics’ ideally require decision makers to move beyond individual benefit and towards common interests and the collective good (Storper, 2001) yet, importantly, not at the expense of individual identity (Campbell, 2002). All planning episodes, like politics, are primarily concerned with making ethical judgments about value: what is better and what is worse (ibid. 271). They are also alike because, normatively, both are focused on the collective good (Storper, 2001). Yet, arguably as a result of being grounded in subjective judgements of value, both planning issues and political issues are commonly contested in both process and outcome. Planning is a process which is guided by institutions and the individuals therein; dependent on knowledge, values and judgement, and power. It is a process that is ultimately about making choices; a part of politics and therefore inseparable from the political conditions from which it arises (Albrechts, 2010).

2.3 The State Rescaling Lens

Following the geoeconomic geopolitical transformations of the post-1970s period, increasing areas of scholarship - critical geographers, heterodox political economists, historical sociologists and urbanists – have become attuned to the changing geographies of statehood, the possibility that established formations of state space might be qualitatively transformed (Brenner, 2009a: 124). and (Macleod and Goodwin, 1999). Three decades ago, Burton and Carlen (1979: 34) proposed that state apparatuses are materialised practices within a particular modality of power, and state discourses realise their power through these apparatuses. Contributions to the state rescaling theorization and research – by scholars such as Brenner (1999; 2003; 2004), Jessop (2002; Jessop et al., 2008), Swyngedouw (1997; 2000), and Lefebvre (2009) – have broadened the conceptual framework of state scalar organisation by examining it at once as a site for, mechanism of, and outcome of, political strategies (Macleod and Goodwin, 1999). This ‘first wave’, or foundational, research is characterised by a multi-faceted interest in the spatial construction/transformation of state power, central-local government relations, and in particular, discussions of the production and reshuffling of state space at diverse sites and scales across the world economy. In contrast to other theoretical approaches, early state rescaling work recognizes two important ideas: the spatial context of a particular inquiry (that is, the issue of scale) must not be taken for granted (Bulkeley, 2005); and the state actively shapes the urban and regional fabric (Macleod and Goodwin, 1999). Processes of state rescaling “must be understood in terms of the contextually specific political strategies that engender them” (Brenner, 2009a: 127; see also Swyngedouw, 1997). Accordingly, early state rescaling research takes relational approach to inquiries of the changing form and governance of cities. When state scalar processes are analytically approached as “a site for, mechanism of, and outcome of, political strategies” it then becomes possible to ‘periodize’ institutional and regulatory trends and patterns, thereby providing “both concrete and meso-level insights” into emergent strategies of political-economic intervention and state rescaling patterns (Brenner, 2009a: 135).

State rescaling is therefore a field of political action that is understood differently in the literature. Brenner cautions against using the term as an all-encompassing label for sociospatial transformations, and instead promotes its usage as a “conceptual rubric within which to interpret otherwise disparate patterns of worldwide sociospatial restructuring and territory-specific institutional reorganization” (2009a: 131, emphasis added). The word patterns implies accumulated changes, a dynamism in the spatial constructions of state power, and “the evolution of the relative roles of different levels of governments over time” (Martinez-Vazquez and Timofeev, 2009: 100). In this sense, rescaling refers to ever shifting scalar relations, constantly produced by the (re)organization of social, political and economic life “both horizontally and vertically in space” (Gualini, 2006: 885), as well as the consequent effects on the geographies of socio-political life. Conjunctural processes of rescaling include institutional recalibrations, state restructuring, new modalities of place-making and

regulatory experiments; and these processes all serve to transform established formations of what Brenner terms the 'state scalar architecture', understood as "intrinsic dimensions of the state institutional apparatus and all forms of state intervention" (2009a: 126).

Importantly, contemporary conceptualisations of scale have evolved from viewing it as simply a "preordained hierarchical framework for ordering the world", to more of a "contingent outcome of structural forces and practices of human agents" (Marston, 2000: 220). Attention to the socio-political agency and interactions that shape processes of scale formation thus "encourages us to consider where the locus of power is situated", which is hidden in how actors "exercise different levels of power, authority, and action to determine 'who gets what' and 'who gets to decide'" (Reed and Bruyneel, 2010: 646). However, there are several social science literatures specifically relevant to discussions of governance and spatial planning – including studies of multilevel governance, metropolitan governance reform, intergovernmental relations, decentralization, local government reorganization and policy networks – that focus on state rescaling issues without ever explicitly using the term 'rescaling' (Brenner, 2009a), indicating a limited degree of cross-over between the sub-disciplines.

Intersections between recent work on state spatial restructuring and contributions to political economy demonstrate that effective analyses of contemporary patterns of regulatory and institutional change require reflexive engagement with the changing spatial parameters of statehood (Brenner, 2009a: 124). Linkages between state-mandated spatial planning initiatives and changing processes of governance, particularly through institutional rescaling in multi-level governance landscapes, have been described in the European (Brenner, 1999; Brenner, 2004; Macleod, 1999) and New Zealand contexts (Le Heron, 2009; Le Heron and McDermott, 2008). Indeed, a significant (and mounting) portion of the accumulated work on urban and regional politics incorporates a conceptual focus on 'scale' (Gualini, 2006); one of the academic by-products of the vast scholarly interest in globalization (Cox, 2009; Gualini, 2006). Various scholars (Albrechts, 2006; 2010; Albrechts et al., 2001; Healey, 2004) have emphasized the links between state rescaling processes and spatial planning trajectories, including Allemendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2009: 805), who assert that spatial planning is "firmly embedded within process[es] of rescaling and reforms to local and regional governance".

While contemporary state rescaling empirical efforts offer valuable conceptual insight into evolutionary aspects of the governance of urban form in Auckland, investigations of transformations to state space and scales of regulatory activity need not be restricted to the use of a state rescaling lens (be it analytical or methodological), nor at the expense of other scalar concepts such as "the site, the assemblage and the network" (Brenner, 2009a: 132). Brenner is adamant that "the lexicon of geographical scale is most powerful when it is reflexively combined with other conceptual rubrics that

are attuned to the polymorphic character of sociospatial relations under modern capitalism” (Brenner, 2009a: 132). Perhaps most importantly for this thesis research, Brenner (2009a) emphasises that an investigation of state rescaling need not commit a researcher to mapping the entire spatial context of all the processes that rework the scalar divisions of regulation *exclusively* in scalar terms. On the contrary, research into processes of state rescaling stand to benefit considerably when combined with other discussions, including those regarding the politics of place-making (Brenner, 2009a: 132).

2.4 Moving Beyond State Rescaling: Internal Dynamics of Policy Making

The state rescaling literature offers useful methodological and conceptual approaches to understanding central-local government relations around urban policy making and the tensions that arise. However, by virtue of its analytical focus on transformations to state scalar architecture over time, this body of literature offers little in the way of conceptual tools for understanding the internal dynamics of policy making. Such internal dynamics include the role of the individual as a potential agent of policy change, and the emergence of policy-making ‘rooms’ and ‘moments’; two concepts which are reviewed and discussed here.

2.4.1 The Individual Actor and Agents of Change

An interest in the effect of individual agency in policy making was brought to the fore by Mark’s (1993; 1996) multi-level governance work twenty years ago, in which he highlighted the contributions of the real life individuals, which had been largely disregarded by both the then-dominating theories of neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism. By emphasising this fundamental yet, surprisingly, overlooked ‘human’ dimension, Marks asserted that individuals actors did not simply and solely act in the interest of the institutions they represented (inter-governmentalism), nor were they completely moved and motivated by the social and economic forces of the market (neo-functionalism), but most likely acted in the interests of both in combination with their own “visions, passions and interests” (Piattoni, 2009: 165).

Indeed, within government planning institutions one can expect to find differing and possibly competing interests and orientations with respect to both strategic spatial planning and collective action more generally: “Planners, like others in the business of governance, have positions and ambitions to promote and as political actors they will respond to structural change, adapt the rules of the game and select tactics” (Newman, 2008: 1378). Planners can imagine and launch political projects, as well as be assembled into them. Newman (2008) elaborates on these framings, emphasising how political actors strategically interpret a variety of factors creates differing capacities to influence and shape plans. These factors include the political, constitutional, managerial and professional practices, and constraints of evolving ‘rule sets’ (Lowndes, 2005); and the openings, weak spots, barriers and resources of the political system itself (Tarrow, 1988). The existence of

these complex factors and varying interpretations prompted Newman (2008: 1380) to suggest greater academic attention not only to “political structures, to political opportunities and to how opportunities are perceived and acted on”, but also more focussed questioning of political actors’ own intellectual frames of reference and ambitions. In exploring the institutional and political constraints and opportunities of contemporary planning practice, its processes and context-specific path dependence, Newman (ibid.) maintains that it is the ‘ordinary’ politics of planning – the perceptions, short-term calculations, tactics and actions of individual actors as well as their attempts to manage the cost of collective action – that deserve more attention than the grander normative expectations of strategic spatial planning.

Evidently, the complexity of the individual actor is significant when thinking about the dynamics of policy change, which necessarily involves many individual actors. By questioning how individuals or small teams (or clusters) come to influence policy change or a particular policy initiative, Mintrom and Norman (2009) describe these highly motivated advocates as ‘policy entrepreneurs’; capable of seizing opportunities to promote major change when the established way of doing things is perceived no longer adequate for the challenges faced. It is important to recognise and acknowledge that these ‘windows of opportunity’ (Kingdon, 1984/1995) can arise from the presence of one or more exogenous and/or endogenous factors (such as real or perceived crises and public opinion), and these factors serve as catalysts for change that can be taken advantage of by policy entrepreneurs (Eidelman, 2010). Policy entrepreneurs (PE) can engage with policy processes and influence or instigate change in a variety of ways. Lindblom (1968) proposed that PE can influence incremental change by presenting specific arguments in an appealing way to the right proximate policymakers; actors with decision-making power such as legislators, council members and bureaucrats. Under his policy streams theory, Kingdon (1984/1995) recognised that PE can draw attention to issues and articulate them onto government agendas by linking problems, policy ideas and politics; rendering them “agents of change” (Mintrom and Norman, 2009: 655). Other ways include bringing policy issues out into the public domain, emphasizing major problems and policy change as the solution, proposed under the concept of punctuated equilibrium (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993); and through maintaining and evolving policy with others in advocacy coalitions (Sabatier, 1988). Numerous studies seeking to explain policy change in diverse policy areas have used the concept of policy entrepreneurship, including in the New Zealand context (Mintrom, 2006).

2.4.2 Rooms and Moments in Policy Trajectories

According to Wetzstein and Le Heron (2010), inquiry of the development of political ideas, policy goals and practices should necessarily include an examination of the “emergence of the economic and institutional context” in which these concepts are developed, highlighting the interdependencies between policy development and economic and institutional conditions (Le Heron, 2009: 1903). This

assertion stems from the idea that political projects are always developed and mobilised in spatial and historical context, and they are also embedded in institutional and organisational contexts (Reed and Bruyneel, 2010). For example, Le Heron (2009: 136) argues that all policy projects are embedded within wider policy trajectories, or “ongoing and linked activities”. Whilst political projects are themselves assemblages, they are also “networked or aligned discursively into other political projects” (ibid. 140). That is, they are at once constituted and constitutive (Rose, 1999). According to Albrechts (2010), past and current conditions and structural constraints therefore define what is and what is not possible. Similarly, Pierson (2004) points out that all forms of planning (past and current) are the origin and residue of previous institutional designs that generate constraints and forms of path dependence, or “continuities with inherited institutional geographies” (Brenner, 2009a: 134), which more often than not make radical changes of strategic direction difficult to achieve (Newman, 2008), but not impossible, as the concepts of policy entrepreneurs and agents of change have demonstrated. The link between the role of the individual and policy projects is an important one, because individuals involved in the policy-making process are very often the active agents of assemblage, strategically or tactically articulating change imaginaries or new coalitions of material/ideological interest to political and/or investment trajectories (Le Heron, 2009).

Le Heron (2007; 2009) has explored the ways in which knowledge is used during policy project trajectories (through time) through analysis of what he refers to as ‘Rooms’ and ‘Moments’. ‘Rooms’ are defined as the everyday settings where decision-making possibilities are exercised in some way; and ‘moments’ connect processes that are implicated in room experiences. In focussing on these rooms and moments, he takes the question of content to the micro-scale of practice, and examines how spatial and historical context materialise, not just in organisational and institutional framings but at the point of policy making. In his 2009 study of political projects in and for metropolitan Auckland, Le Heron embarks on a detailed discussion of “in-the-room interactions and room-moment interconnectedness” (2009: 141), presenting a background to what had occurred in Auckland and New Zealand to produce the particular trajectories in which specific regional political projects of interest were nested, as well as highlighting possibility for strategic academic engagement. The observation that policy rooms are co-constituted by knowledge and interests (Lewis, 2009) re-emphasizes that ultimately is the individual who inspires, influences and develops what is politically possible. A PSPE-informed analysis thus involves focussing on the “situated knowledge production capacities and capabilities” (Le Heron, 2009: 136) of individuals present in the relevant ‘rooms’ and ‘moments’, while necessarily including careful exploration of the political-economic context and historical trajectories within which such rooms and moments are situated.

2.5 Local Governance Dichotomies and Constructive Engagement with the Rescaling Literature

Central level governments in many Western nations (including New Zealand) have a long history of using reform as a way of reconfiguring the various facets of local government (see Tiley, 2010). According to Sharpe (1995), local government restructuring began in the 1950s as a response to demographic and socio-economic changes, borne out of the perceived need to match governmental structures to rapidly shifting socioeconomic realities. Reforms are legislated alterations to municipalities, and can impose six types of changes: structural, functional, financial, jurisdictional, and organizational and managerial (Garcea and JeSage, 2005). Such changes are made with the professed intention to make local government better (Collin, 2004), or, conversely, to abolish malpractices and deficiencies (Bealey, 1999). Public sector reform is therefore an opportunity to review and change practices, processes and structures (Wensing, 1997), with the ostensible objective of improving governance capacity, intergovernmental relations, and the relations between municipal authorities and their communities, making the former more accessible, responsive and accountable. Central government-led reconfigurations of local government shape many of the structures and functions through which local governments are able to exercise governance.

Many scholars engaged in research on intergovernmental relations and state rescaling support the claim that governance arrangements in most western industrialised countries have experienced a general trend toward decentralised decision-making and increased interpenetration of central and local tiers of government. Decentralisation is understood here as “the process of transferring decision-making powers to sub-national tiers of government” (Martinez-Vazquez and Timofeev, 2009: 86). Predictions of state decline or erosion pervaded research on globalization during the 1980s and early 1990s (Brenner, 2009a), indicating that the foundational beginnings to these claims span back at least three decades.

Not only has decentralization supposedly already largely occurred in the western industrialized world, it is also prevalent in developing and transitional countries, seen in the widespread re-allocation of formal authority “from central states both up to supranational institutions and down to sub-national governments” and outwards via “public-private networks of diverse kinds” (Hooghe and Marks, 2001b: 1). Allocation of authority outwards is referred to as destatisation, or “the diminishing role of the state vis-à-vis the private sector” (Martinez-Vazquez and Timofeev, 2009: 91). Some researchers of state spatial restructuring and intergovernmental relations propose that although the drivers have varied according to regional circumstance and existing government structure (Bradford, 2004), there has been widespread recognition that citizen preferences vary across jurisdictions, and that decentralized decision-making has the potential to enhance welfare by more closely matching government output to local tastes (Garman et al., 2001). These realisations and drivers have resulted

in a notable empirical shift to 'the local', the recognition of the 'place-shaping' role of local authorities (Davies, 2008), and in turn more 'place sensitive' polity and policy.

According to Bradford (2004), for example, the governance of Canadian cities over the past two decades has experienced a trend of devolving responsibilities for infrastructure provision and service delivery from central ('upper-level') government to regional and municipal authorities. Driving this devolutionary trend has been recognition of the division between municipal responsibility and available policy resources - compounded with the municipal inability to significantly contribute to decision-making at the upper levels of government. In Bradford's opinion, traditional 'top-down' intervention by distant central government suffers from a critical information gap about the exact nature of specific local issues, and consequently it is ill placed to set targets and determine the necessary resources. Like Canada, both the European Union and United States experienced widespread shifts to place-based multilevel governance throughout the 1990s, where hierarchical governmental systems were systematically replaced by more interactive, network-based systems, in order to produce more place-sensitive policies and programmes (Bradford, 2004). In a 2001 study, it was found that half of all EU countries had decentralized authority to a regional tier of government, and no country had become more centralized since 1980 (Hooghe and Marks, 2001a). In the monograph produced by Haughton et al. (2010), six case studies of spatial planning in Britain and Ireland are examined, and the authors propose that the recent devolution of spatial planning to local and regional authorities has resulted in a new type of spatial planning characterised by 'soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries': where initiatives may overlap both spatially and institutionally, or create gaps. The authors conclude that, at least in the selected case studies, devolution has seemingly bolstered spatial planning in the sense that "better" strategy documents have been produced (although, notably, implementation has been less successful) (Clifford, 2011).

However, not all academics pursuing research themes of state scaling agree that the industrialised west is experiencing a trend of decentralization. Cox (2009: 1) contests the "major assertion that has attracted a remarkable degree of agreement" that there has been significant decentralization of state functions to sub-national tiers of government, largely by questioning the strength of the evidence used to support this claim, and by highlighting the inability to extend findings from what are essentially European examples to the rest of the world. Richards and Smith (2002) conclude their analysis of British governance by emphasizing that not only does central government currently set the 'steering' direction of policy, it also often sets the rules for 'rowing', suggesting limited decentralization. This sentiment is echoed in various works produced over the past two decades, which acknowledges the role played by non-governmental and sub-national authorities in policy matters, but concludes that these roles are defined and dictated by national governments and therefore not capable of truly shaping policy (see Bache, 1998; Bache, 1999; Pollack, 1995).

If many examples of decentralization supposedly exist, empirical examples of attempts to recentralize decision-making and policy development are equally abundant, particularly in the contemporary Australian context. Searle and Bunker (2010), for example, have documented the many ways in which the previous planning system has undergone significant changes over the past two decades, notably: the transfer of regulatory powers from local to state governments, the widespread rollout of metropolitan strategies developed almost entirely by state governments with little or negligible local government collaboration and input, which pursue compact and denser urban growth ; the expansion of specific purpose authorities whose aim is to speed up development projects, bypassing local government if necessary; the increased intervention in development decision areas traditionally the responsibility of local government; and the creation of new powers over previously less-regulated aspects of city development. In addition, the national government has made moves to develop a national strategy for cities, including national criteria for the future strategic planning of major cities (Rudd, 2009). This recentralization of planning has had a variety of (no doubt) unintended consequences: special purpose authorities operate independently of wider spatial plans; and spatial coherence has decreased, both within and between states (Searle and Bunker, 2010).

Ultimately, though, the nature of emergent spatial governance structures cannot be assigned any overarching label, much less be easily dichotomized into terms such as decentralized or centralized. This is because, as Gualini (2006: 884) points out:

The shift “from government to governance” in public policy is not equal — as often trivially assumed—to a demise of the state. On the contrary, governance practices redefine the ways the state intervenes—more or less directly—in realizing new forms of sociopolitical regulation at the threshold between the public and the private, between the economic and the non-economic.

In the global post-Fordist environment, where production regimes have been systematically transnationalised and globalised, the function of the state has largely shifted to primarily support competitive capitalism on an international scale (Zaric et al., 2008); a feature of an ascendant “globalised neoliberalism” (McGuirk, 2005: 60). Countless scholars have cited Jessop’s (2002) claim that, as a consequence of the aforementioned tendencies in market economies, state functions have been redistributed upwards to supranational entities, downwards to subnational institutions, and outwards to non-state actors. Reed and Bruyneel (2010) point out that a common thread in vast and varied research literatures is the acknowledgment that shifts in global politics are reflected in the widespread emergence of ‘new geographies of governance’ (Bulkeley, 2005), witnessed through reconfigurations of state power and authority, and the redistribution of responsibility and functions. Jessop’s term of the “hollowed out” state is regularly quoted when referring to trends of reconfiguration and redistribution, yet Brenner argues that such usage is the result of a common

misinterpretation; that Jessop was not implying that the nation state is being marginalised, but rather “being redefined in relation to other scales of institutional organisation, regulatory experiments, and political strategy” (Brenner, 2009a: 126, emphasis added). Brenner cautions against employing traditional methodologies that approach ‘the national’ as an ahistorical and atemporal unit of territorial organisation, as these commonly culminate in attempts to erroneously assign an overarching label to complex processes of state rescaling (such as ‘post-national’ or ‘denationalized’), and therefore succumb to the methodological fallacies of teleology, substantialism and essentialism.

2.6 Discursive Linkages between Local Governance Models, Urban Planning and Spatial Planning Policy

Local governance models come with different rationale for organising local government, and each model carries with it distinct discourses around the work that governance should do. This section looks at two (essentially polar) local governance models as a way of illustrating the variance between their associated discourses. These discourses are shown to often also accompany associated perspectives on urban planning and planning mechanisms. These discursive linkages are significant because institutional arrangements for urban governance and strategic spatial planning have far-reaching consequences for localities in terms of urban development patterns and investment in infrastructure.

Two models which represent the extremes of the spectrum of governance models for spatial planning, in between which most of the world’s metropolitan governments tend to fall (Sharpe, 1995), are the Fragmented Model and the Consolidated Model (Memon et al., 2007). The Fragmented Model is the creation of a minimal, area-wide entity based on voluntary cooperation between existing units of local government, with no permanent independent institutional status. The Consolidated Model, by contrast, is a local governance structure based on the creation of a new, directly elected, area-wide authority (with or without a lower tier of smaller, elected municipal units), with full multifunctional powers. While a popular endeavour, experiences of local government reforms have been fraught with difficulty, not least of all because the most common form of structural reform – the consolidation or amalgamation of local government authorities – is considered by many to be a highly intrusive measure because they alter the basic character of local councils as well as their communities, and are therefore often contentious in practice (Collin, 2004; Tiley, 2010). Introduced and implemented by state or territory government, amalgamation is the horizontal concentration of local government (Dollery and Robotti, 2008), involving a reduction in the number of councils in an area (and sometimes the boundaries of these councils), and subsequently the number of elected representatives in the resulting new council/s. A key trend in the international context, this type of structural reform more often than not also includes the reorganisation of functions between levels of

CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING INSTITUTIONAL & POLICY CHANGE

government and to many represents a global shift away from traditional, self-governing approaches to local government (Caufield, 2003).

Proponents of the Consolidated Model (CM) argue that this type of structural arrangement is inherently more equitable, inclusive, responsive, and representative than fragmented structures (Memon et al., 2007). Fragmented Model (FM) proponents claim that competition between local government service providers creates pressure to be more efficient and thus drives down taxes. Indeed, one of the biggest criticisms that FM proponents have against CM is that consolidation is thought to hinder market competition and the ability of residents to exercise rational, jurisdictional choice (Memon et al., 2007); where people choose to live in the jurisdiction that best suits them in terms of services and taxes. Critics of FM respond that the evidence of this 'market efficiency' is not compelling, and point out that the inability to pay for services cannot be equated to mere differences in 'taste' (Logan and Molotch, 1987). As Memon et al. (2007) succinctly articulates, the FM is "ideologically committed to ignoring social cleavages within cities". From the arguments supporting FM it is evident that this type of local governance model promotes a discourse around so-called public choice, market competition, administrative efficiency, and economic freedom, and presents "deep antipathies to social collectivities and sociospatial redistribution" (Peck et al., 2009: 104).

Based on the arguments outlined above, it appears that these diametrically opposed models fundamentally differ in how each conceptualizes 'local government', and in turn, what each expects from it. The models' conceptual understandings of local government represent two distinct views that exist: that understood in ethical terms, and that understood in expediency terms (Chandler, 2008). Expedient arguments value local government to the degree to which it contributes to the purpose of another state institution, such as central government. In other words, local government is valued for its functionality and ability to deliver services and outcomes efficiently. Ethical arguments, by contrast, value local government in its own terms and for its intrinsic value and "morally desirable purpose" (Chandler, 2008: 356), regardless of the functions it may carry out (Reid, 2011). Ethical justifications for local government are based on ideas that value democracy and distributed power. The idea is that local government stands closer to community interests than higher-level government, it acts as a check on the power of the sovereign, and decentralised self-government represents an aspect of the freedom of communities.

Rose et al (2006) warn that it is misleading to describe any political programme that supports neo-liberal *elements* as simply implementing neo-liberal philosophies. While this is reasonable, Sager (2011: 148) contends that the vast academic literature on neo-liberalism and its links to urban policy and planning indicates that the term represents "arguably the most useful concept available for connecting the political discourses of the economising of social life, the reformation of the welfare

states, and the complex processes of globalisation”. The values espoused within the two models of local government represent a distinctly neoliberal perspective at one extreme and a more social democratic perspective at the other. While it is argued that planners themselves strive for professionally ‘good’ solutions rather than embracing politics or the market (Jackson, 2009), (thereby avoiding taking a set stance, be it social-democratic, neo-liberal, or ‘third way’) ideologically-charged political trends and bureaucratic transformations shape the politico-economic and institutional conditions in which they work, as well as having wide-ranging impacts on a variety of urban aspects that they are professionally engaged with (Sager, 2011). Thus, ideological aspirations, whether at the individual or institutional level, arguably come into play during spatial planning process and outcome.

Most forms of government intervention and publicly planned solutions are regarded by neo-liberal proponents as an intrusion into the voluntary contractual arrangements between individuals (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005), and so strategic urban planning at the regional metropolitan scale is considered an unwarranted and thus undesirable intervention into the land market (Memon et al., 2007). Among other tendencies, neoliberalism “mobilises urban space as an arena for market-orientated growth and elite consumption practices” (Sager, 2011: 149), by employing market rationality and favouring so-called ‘choice’. By this logic, those who ‘choose’ (can afford) to live in desirable neighbourhoods (near employment, services, and recreation) will do so; and those who ‘do not choose’ (cannot afford) to live in such neighbourhoods, will not. The neo-liberal stance on spatial planning is in favour of leaving issues relating to urban economic development, infrastructure provision, and housing entirely to the free market, supposing that private interests would then be allowed to most efficiently allocate resources so as to provide affordable housing for all. This rationale, combined with a ‘growth first’ approach to urban development, underpins the neo-liberal rejection of any and all regulatory attempts to contain urban development patterns through policy or mechanisms (Memon et al., 2007).

The so-termed ‘Third Way’ can be considered to sit somewhere in the ideological middle of the two aforementioned extremes because it “seeks a synthesis of tradition forms of interventionism and regulation with sympathy for pricing and nuances of a market-orientated neo-liberal agenda” (McGreal et al., 2002); an ideological compromise of sorts. In Australia, the ‘Third Way’ approach to planning reform has called for “selective government intervention and leadership in urban and regional planning” (Searle and Bunker, 2010: 517), and a “whole of government approach to place-based development” through the creation of plans that are “both competitive and socially inclusive” (Jackson, 2009: 401-403). According to Searle and Bunker, the resultant spatial planning reforms have been purposed with ‘fast tracking’ growth areas and by-passing local resistance, and ensuring that proposed development and infrastructure projects are assessed on the basis of ‘cost-benefit analysis’. The main imperatives of Australian planning reform have thus far been to spur economic

development and simultaneously ensure that this development is environmentally sustainable; both nominally consistent with a Third Way political approach.

However, political strategies are complex by nature and always nuanced. For example, compact city approaches are employed in all Australian metropolitan plans, where the strategy is referred to as 'urban consolidation', despite widespread local resistance. Searle and Bunker argue that this consolidation approach is linked to the driving discursive imperatives of economic competitiveness and development, and sustainability (2010: 524), and that the international sustainable development and global warming discourses of recent years have in fact allowed the compact city "doctrine" to prevail in state-led growth management plans for metropolitan areas. In this instance, the compact city approach to spatial planning has been framed as a rationale and appropriate response to global city competition and diminishing natural resources, and serves as an example of local governance complexity.

2.7 Conclusion

A significant proportion of studies relating to governance, while in-depth and informative, tend to offer somewhat binary conclusions about the structuration of political-economic life, by offering summaries of complex processes that support the idea of a 'hollowed out' state, or conversely, a 'filled in' state. Contributors to the state rescaling literature conceptualise the nation state and its position relative to other scales of government as constantly evolving in response to internal and external circumstances, and propose that state rescaling be analysed in the context of wider political trajectory and strategy. Cowell and Owens (2006) emphasize that in order to trace the long-term impacts of governance reforms it is necessary to study new spatial planning structures, but also how interested groups are able to interact and shape these structures, which the state rescaling lens is not particularly adequate to examine. Instead, internal dynamics of policy making and change can be more closely engaged with by examining the role of individual actors (or clusters of actors), and how spatial and historical context materialise in 'rooms' and 'moments'.

Finally, preferences for consolidated or fragmented local governance models are underpinned by fundamentally divergent understandings of local government, and these tend to be conceptualised either in ethical terms or expediency terms. The rhetoric and rationale that support and surround local governance models have discursive correlations to perspectives on urban and spatial planning, and arguably go some way to illustrate the ideological values that underpin them. Based on this argument, discursive correlations can also be drawn between issues such as local governance models and urban planning perspectives, and the specific language and rhetoric used to support or oppose spatial policy, such as compact urban growth and/or urban containment.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction to Chapter

The aim of this Chapter is to demonstrate that the research is positioned in a thoughtful conceptual, analytical and methodological framework which is grounded in both foundational and more contemporary theory and method. It also serves as a detailed record of the analytical steps taken through the data. While this research endeavour is necessarily interpretative, a step-by-step account of method provides a replicable analytical path through the data sets selected.

The Chapter commences with an explanation of why the qualitative approach was selected, and elaborates on the usefulness of the case study for examining phenomena in-depth and in context. This section is followed by a description of the Research Design; specifically the methodological and conceptual contribution that state rescaling provides the research, how and why the layers of discourse and thematic analysis were arranged in order to facilitate the objectives. Next, a description of method outlines the boundaries of analysis set and why, the specific primary and secondary sources chosen, and the process for how exactly data was subjected to thematic analysis. The Chapter concludes with a brief explanation of my particular positionality and the research assumptions, as well as an account of ethical practice adhered to.

3.2 Justification of Approach

3.2.1 The Qualitative Case Study

The contributions of qualitative methods to applied policy research are wide ranging, but they are particularly useful in providing insights, explanations and theories of complex social behaviours and systems (Huberman and Miles, 1994). Central to qualitative enquiry is the search for underlying logic of apparently disparate events, recognizing causal inferences at work through amplifying interpretations via comparisons across settings, and using representational techniques to evaluate and explore connections between categories (Dey, 2007).

The qualitative nature of this study is reflected in the research questions posed, which are both contextual and diagnostic (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). They are contextual in the sense that they seek to identify the dimensions of attitudes and perceptions held by political actors and decision-makers involved in making changes to the structure and function of local government; changes to the scalar referent of spatial planning; shaping Auckland's urban form through growth containment strategies. Contextual questions therefore allow the broad range of perspectives held by these

stakeholders over time to be delineated, typified and traced. Other questions are diagnostic in that they serve to examine the complex factors which motivate particular attitudes and perceptions (ideological, institutional, political, and professional), and illuminate why decisions or actions are taken or not taken. Diagnostic questions therefore assist in exploring why individuals hold the perspectives that they do, and subsequently inform understanding of the types of consequences these perspectives have on the situational context.

Comparative research that focuses on large random samples aids in understanding the degree to which certain phenomena are present in a given group or how they vary across cases, however it is the disadvantaged by the lack of depth provided by such samples (Flyvberg, 2006). By contrast, the qualitative case study has a number of merits, particularly in the realm of the social sciences, because of the rich data collected in context. Flyvberg argues that “a scientific discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one” (2006: 219). In essence, single, context-specific cases are the building blocks for constructing generalisations and theories. This perspective breaks away from conventional views on case study-based research, which tend to value the case study as useful only when linked to a hypothesis, under the hypothetico-deductive model (Flyvberg, 2006). Thus, the contribution of the case study, as a research strategy, is to “provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied” (Hartley, 2004: 323).

3.3 Research Design

The thesis research aims to explore the relationship between contemporary patterns of state scalar restructuring and current intergovernmental discursive tensions surrounding the shaping and containment of Auckland’s urban form. The state rescaling literature provides both an insightful conceptual lens with which to explore these ideas, as well as a useful methodological strategy for selecting and approaching the specific objects of analysis across a defined temporal period. Discourse analysis is then a valuable method with which to explore the evolving relationships between the objects of analysis that Brenner has identified as useful, not only in terms of the language used to frame ideas, but also in terms of wider discursive context (how and why has been produced and consumed). Finally, thematic analysis was employed to identify and extract the specific elements of interest from the data in order to trace discursive shifts, linkages and tensions. The emergent findings from both of these analyses allow me to explore the concepts of state rescaling in the Auckland spatial planning context. This next section examines the state rescaling lens, discourse analysis and thematic analysis in more detail and their particular applicability to an investigation of policy change and intergovernmental tension.

3.3.1 State Rescaling Lens

The relative paucity of state rescaling work undertaken in the New Zealand context compared with that based in many other parts of the world (Brenner, 2009a) presents an exciting opportunity to offer interesting insight into New Zealand's state scalar landscape. In this study I used both foundational and contemporary state rescaling work, firstly to organise the data in a way that is amenable to the exploration of changes to the politico-institutional context of spatial planning governance over time, and then as a set of conceptual frameworks with which to interpret the findings. In this way, state rescaling provides both a methodological strategy to organise the data, and a conceptual lens with which to understand the findings.

The specific objects of analysis for this thesis research were defined using Brenner's (2009a) proposed two-tier methodological strategy for tracing transformations to state scalar architecture over a specific temporal period. These two objects were: the scalar referent of spatial planning in Auckland; and the scale articulation of Auckland as an institutional-territorial space. The decision to use Brenner's (2009a: 135) suggested objects of analysis is based on his and others (Cox, 2009; Pelkonen, 2005; Scarpa, 2009) comments the analytical approach used in *New State Spaces* for the periodization of rescaled urban governance strategies would benefit from more systematic reflection on rescaling processes on a concrete level. Brenner was inspired by the "more systematic reflections" on the periodization of state rescaling that has been undertaken in contemporary, 'second wave' state rescaling work, as advanced by scholars like Fürst (2006), Goodwin et al. (2006b), Négrier (2006), Voets and De Rynck (2006), and Salet (2006) in the European context.

3.3.2 Discourse Analysis

The Foucauldian approach to policy analysis is based upon an examination of discourse, knowledge and power (Parker, 2007: 193). This approach to policy analysis enabled consideration of the rhetorical manifestation of discourses within spatial planning documents, as well as the power struggles occurring within and between the broader policy processes engendering changes to state scalar architectures (Richardson, 2000). The following sub-section gives a brief background to the theory and practice of policy discourse analysis which has informed my research design.

The concept of focussing on the wider social world comes from Foucauldian discourse theory, so termed by Richardson (1996), centring on issues of exclusion, governance, power and truth, and placing discourse at the interface of power and knowledge. The extensive work by Michael Foucault (see 1970; 1971; 1977; 1982; 1984; 1987; 1990) constructs the argument that there is no objective truth; that power simply appropriates knowledge and weaves it into discourses (Richardson, 1996), and that multifaceted discourse, not simply language, creates meaning (Hall, 2001). At the heart of this constructionist theory of meaning and representation is the idea that discourse produces and defines the topic and all the objects of knowledge surrounding that topic; how a topic can be

meaningfully communicated, how ideas can be translated into practice, and how we can conduct ourselves in relation to that topic (Hall, 2001). Analysis of policy making can then shift from a focus on the nature of its content to an examination of the competition between discourses, based on power/knowledge dynamics, over time (ibid. 290): one of the key aspects of this study.

Within the realm of planning and environmental policy research, discourse analysis is a popular means of “providing coherent and consistent explanations for events” (Jacobs, 1999: 208), recognizing that the research subject is necessarily socially, politically and culturally situated (Sharp and Richardson, 2001). Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) concisely summarize the suitability of linguistic discourse analysis for the examination of social practice, and simultaneously highlight how it is particularly apt for investigating policy:

... discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power.

Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional model (see Figure 3-1) for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on the processes that create meaning, the interrelationship between language and power, and the tensions and struggles among various discourses (Rogers-Hayden et al., 2011: 135). Under this model, discourse is formed by the combination of three dimensions: a) text; b) the ways in which text is produced, distributed and consumed; and c) the wider social context within which these are embedded. The CDA approach underpinned the analytical framework of Rogers-Hayden et al (2011) in their empirical study of the struggles between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses relating to UK energy policy. So although the particular policy issue studied differ (energy policy versus spatial planning growth strategy), the present study and that of Rogers-Hayden et al both focus on the nature and construction of divergent discourses, as well as the relevant actors, events and political initiatives involved.

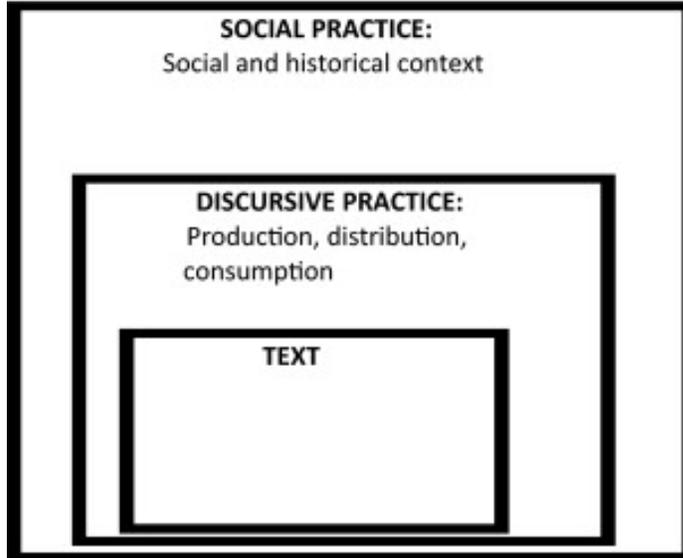


Figure 3-1. Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis. Source: (Rogers-Hayden et al., 2011)

The majority of this study's analysis was grounded in policy documents regarding both urban planning and local government. Policy documents are perceived as a good reflection of the ever-shifting balance of power between competing discourses, and for this reason they often constitute a large part of the focus of such analysis (Richardson and Jensen, 2003: 16). Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that a purely linguistic and textual focus tends to ignore the role that ideas and action play in policy formation and communication, and how policy ultimately relates to broader social processes (Richardson and Jensen, 2003; Sharp and Richardson, 2001). The concept of discourse necessarily "implies a concern with meaning – and value-producing practices in language rather than simply the relationship between utterances and their referents" (Shapiro, 1989: 320). Bridging the gap between language and practice therefore subtly redefines discourse as "an entity of repeatable linguistic articulations, socio-spatial material practices and power-rationality configurations" (Richardson and Jensen, 2003: 16). This definition eloquently introduces issues of policy reform, state power and ideological perspectives that interact during the production, distribution and consumption of publicly available spatial planning policy documents and plans, and can therefore be considered essential to an examination of less visible policy process and politics. Richardson (2000) reiterates the importance of moving away from purely text-based policy discourse analysis, by reframing policy discourse as a complex body of thought, strategy and value, shaped by power and knowledge, and expressed in language, practice, spoken and unspoken actions (Foucault, 1979; Foucault, 1990). The logic behind the collective argument to widen discourse analysis focus from simply text-based sources has thus informed and supported the decision to include direct primary (interviewees) and secondary sources (online media articles) into the research design.

Taking a Foucauldian informed approach to an analysis of a spatial planning episode requires investigation of the conflicts which arise within the policy-making community and among the various stakeholders who have set ideas and interests regarding to spatial planning, growth, and governance. It is also necessary to examine and describe the historical social and broader political processes which form the backdrop to discourse construction, in order to contextualize the situation at hand. Additionally, scholars interested in state rescaling theory have argued that forms of state intervention are tightly woven through contextually specific political strategies, and therefore analysis of any spatial planning episode should also include examination of “the mobilization of potentially persuasive narratives, the design of new institutions, knowledges, calculative and other spatial practices, and... the construction of infrastructures of spatial intervention” (Richardson, 2006: 204), as well as the broader multilevel processes that transform state scalar organisation.

Text

Due to the time, resource and accessibility constraints it was deemed not feasible to apply analyses of practice and power rationalities to the dimensions of Social and Discursive Practice, as detailed above. Given these constraints, the decision was made to simply review and document relevant Social and Discursive elements in chronological order as they were available in primary and secondary sources.

I approached analysis of Text in a similar way to Healey (2007) during his examination of the conceptual use of strategic spatial planning in Europe. Linguistic analysis entailed the characterisation of the containment policy/mechanisms vocabulary, frames of reference, organizing concepts and metaphors; an examination of how arguments were constructed and supported through comments made during interviews or in recorded public statements; and a focus on the language used to articulate and rationalise policy in various government-produced documents. On the basis of this linguistic analysis it was possible to repeatedly reorganize the myriad of actors into communities of meaning with regard to their views on the gamut of research-relevant topics: the role of government in spatial planning, appropriate urban form, and urban containment mechanisms.

3.3.3 Thematic Analysis of Text

Thematic analysis involves the search for overarching themes that emerge as being important to the description of phenomena (Daly et al., 1997), traditionally via a process of careful data examination, coding, and theme identification and characterization (Rice and Ezzy, 1999).

A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon). The themes may

be initially generated inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory and prior research. (Boyatzis, 1998: vii)

Unlike related analytical methods, thematic analysis is a relatively discipline-free approach (Rapley, 2011), which endows it a greater level of flexibility in terms of what medium it can be applied to, be it interview transcript, policy statement/report or printed media coverage. In this case, this flexibility makes it a more appropriate choice over otherwise similar analytical approaches, such as framework analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis, which tend to assume that the data is primarily made up of recorded interviews (Pope et al., 2000; see Rapley, 2011). It is also flexible in the sense that a wide range of analytic techniques can be used, and it is possible, even encouraged (see Guest et al., 2012) to select and combine the most appropriate elements and techniques as deemed necessary to rigorously explore qualitative data. The range of techniques available to applied thematic analysis means that the research can be simultaneously positivist and interpretive in epistemological approach, because although subjective meaning is interpreted and extrapolated from the discourse, any assertions made must be supported with textual evidence. For these reasons thematic analysis was considered a suitable analytical method.

3.4 Method

3.4.1 Accessing Data and Sources

Data, understood here as “the words, symbolic objects, and acts of policy-relevant actors along with policy texts” (Yanow, 2000: 27), cannot be collected in the physical sense, nor can they be separated from their sources. Data is therefore accessed, rather than collected, through observation and interpretation (ibid.). The secondary and primary sources as described below were included in the study because they encompass a wide, yet relevant, range of discursive manifestations: official government position statements, statutory plans, advisory documents, and national and regional level policy. By including sources that span across temporal and institutional scales I hoped to capture the complexity of discourse dynamics and thus better document their evolution.

Boundaries of Analysis

The whole political and policy landscape relevant to the issues of interest was changing, even while designing and writing this study. It was necessary to make a decision about what *not* to include, and therefore the study does not attempt to make any detailed observations or analysis of reforms or political developments outside of the release of the Auckland Plan, with the exception of noting the passing and content of the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Act 2012 in December.

3.4.2 Primary Sources

Primary sources are understood here as sources which were created or produced at the time of study, and are interpreted by me. These sources were either produced by 3rd parties, such as the position papers released by central government position papers and the regional plans produced by local government; or produced by me, such as interviews conducted and transcribed.

Third Party Primary Sources

3rd party primary sources were selected on the basis of their specific relevance to one or more of the following inter-related concepts: Auckland regional planning, spatial planning, urban economic development, metropolitan governance, growth strategy, and the Auckland Plan. Collectively, these sources represent a timeline of official political positions and projects, as well as responses to these, that link in to the aforementioned concepts. Additionally, these sources provided valuable insight into:

- The evolution of objectives, priorities, visions of metropolitan governance and growth strategies for Auckland (from 1950 to present).
- The evolution of central and local government roles in spatial planning, and the discursive elements surrounding episodes of governance reform.

Specific secondary sources regarding the structure and function of local government (A) and urban containment (B) were identified as follows.

Dataset 1: Central Government perspective

- Building Competitive Cities Auckland (A)
- Local Government reform documents (A)
- Better Local Government 2012 (A)
- Cabinet Position Papers (A+B)
- 2011 Briefings to the Incoming Ministers of Transport and Local Government (B)

Dataset 2: Regional/Local Government perspective

- Regional Plans (B): 1974 Regional Planning Scheme, 1988 Auckland Regional Planning Scheme, The Auckland Plan
- Regional strategies and Policy Statements (B): 1951 Outline Development Plan for Auckland, 1999 Regional Policy Statement, Regional Growth Strategy: 2050

Direct Primary Sources

The analysis of direct primary sources was considered supplementary to the analysis of third party primary sources, based on the notion that including such sources gives a more nuanced interpretation of the discourses surrounding the objects of analysis because of their professional

proximity to processes and/or concepts relevant to the research. Policy workers, as individuals whose work is orientated towards policy, are particularly apt primary sources for the present study, and this includes political leaders, bureaucrats, professional experts, advocates, interest group representatives, as well as representatives from think tanks, professional bodies, community associations, and non-government organisations (Colebatch et al., 2010). Individuals that fell into this category were identified as potential primary sources, and they were selected because they have been involved in, or are relevant to, the development of previous regional and plans/strategies/policy regarding spatial planning, growth and governance; and/or the current Auckland Plan. The primary sources selected for data analysis were:

Dataset 3: Government staff

- Auckland Council staff, specifically planners and policy analysts
- Political party representatives (Labour, National, and Green)
- Ministry policy advisors

The individuals in Datasets 3 were categorized into seven main groupings: national government, local government, and political party representatives. They were selected for interview on the basis of their title, or because they were identified as high profile and/or knowledgeable individuals in their field, as per the approach taken by Rogers-Hayden et al (2011). The primary sources were accessed by semi-structured interviews undertaken by me, and journalistic records of statements made by these and other (equally relevant) primary source individuals.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are important sources of information for analysis. They provide the opportunity for researcher/analysts to test their provisional assumptions about the boundaries of discourse communities, the important artefacts through which their views are expressed, and allow for meanings to be refuted or corroborated (Yanow, 2000). They also enable the researcher to build a context in which to access knowledge from actors, both initially and as a foundation for further discussion and observation (ibid.). Objects, as policy artefacts, and language sets which hold specific meaning to different actors, are vital components of this context.

Interviewees were invited to express their opinions in response to questions relating to some/all of the following six themes.

- Stakeholder Contribution to Auckland Plan;
- Historic input to spatial planning documents;

- Nature of visions for growth and growth strategy;
- Policy Legacy;
- Implications of multiple visions for Auckland;
- Reconciling multiple visions for Auckland

The set of individuals interviewed, detailing interview group to which they belong, position type held and interview date, is presented in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1 Interview Set

Interviewee	Interview Group	Position Type	Interview Date
A	Local Government	Senior Manager	April 23, 2012
B	Local Government	Planner	April 11, 2012
C	Labour Party	Representative	March 12, 2012
D	National Party	Representative	March 14, 2012
E	Green Party	Representative	April 13, 2012
F	Central Government (Ministry)	Policy Advisor	June 27, 2012
G	Central Government (Ministry)	Policy Advisor	July 5, 2012

3.4.3 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources in this study were used to signal key events of relevance that occurred over the past three years, with regards to legislative development, released reports, and statements made. The secondary sources were selected by searching for online media articles containing keywords like ‘Auckland Plan’, ‘local government reform’, and ‘spatial plan’. These sources were useful in building a timeline of events, social and discursive practice.

Dataset 4: Other

Printed media coverage and political commentary (Appendix A) (A + B)

3.5 Data Analysis

The text from selected datasets was subjected to thematic analysis Table 3-2, while all datasets were useful for signalling salient elements of Social and Discursive Practice, and supporting the wider framing of discourse. Two tools of case study-based interpretive policy analysis were employed during thematic analysis: document analysis and semi-structured interviews.

Table 3-2 Thematic Analysis of Datasets

Documents subjected to thematic analysis
Building Competitive Cities Auckland
Better Local Government 2012
Cabinet Position Papers
Briefings to the Incoming Minister of Transport 2011, and Local Government 2011
Regional Plans (1974 Regional Planning Scheme, 1988 Auckland Regional Planning Scheme, The Auckland Plan)
Regional Strategies and Policy Statement (1951 Outline Development Plan for Auckland, 1999 Regional Policy Statement, Regional Growth Strategy: 2050)
Transcripts from interviews with Auckland Council staff (Interviewees A and B)
Transcripts from interviews with Political party representatives (Interviewees C, D, and E)
Transcripts from interviews with Ministry policy advisors (Interviewees F and G)

The final method used in the thematic analysis of text consisted of five iterative steps, summarized in Table 3-3, and is based on modified versions of that proposed by Guest et al. (2012) and Rapley (2011).

Table 3-3 Thematic Analysis of Text

Key Steps	Procedure
1 Familiarization with the dataset	Note initial comments and ideas
2 Segment dataset	Segment dataset based on relevance to Focus Questions (see below)
3 Generate initial codes	Systematically colour code relevant dataset segments according to Focus Questions
4 Search for themes	Collate similar codes into potential themes Gather all data for each potential theme
5 Review and organize themes	Crosscheck themes in relation to the other datasets Generate a thematic map/diagram
6 Refine themes	Refine specifics of each theme and the linkages between them Look for patterns, associations, and clustering Generate explanations and propositions

The process of ‘constant comparison’, in which each item in the data is systematically checked or compared with the rest of the data, was fundamental to the overall procedure and critical in establishing analytical categories. Constant comparison is an inclusive process, whereby categories are added in order “to reflect as many of the nuances in the data as possible, rather than reducing the data to a few numerical codes” (Pope et al., 2000: 114).

Focus Questions for Thematic Analysis

Certain datasets was analysed in terms of predetermined Focus Questions, which aimed to analyse both content and context. Content analysis refers to the systematic identification and characterisation of the vocabulary, organizing concepts and metaphors present. Context analysis focuses on the frames of reference, rationale and contextual justifications present. The specific Focus Questions applied to each Dataset are detailed in Table 3-4 During the Key Step 2 of Thematic Analysis, segments of text relevant to each Focus Question were flagged by colour coding. This approach served to focus analytical attention solely on themes that were of direct relevance to the research sub-questions and objectives. Other datasets were not subjected to Thematic Analysis, but rather analysed in terms of Social and Discursive Practice (see below).

Table 3-4 Dataset Focus Questions

Dataset	Focus Question
Building Competitive Cities Auckland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How is the role of Auckland (as a city/region) expressed in relation to the rest of New Zealand? - What is the rationale for urban planning reform? - What are the appropriate respective roles of central and local government with respect to urban planning decision-making and why? - What is the perspective on urban containment and supporting rationale?
Better Local Government 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the appropriate purpose of local government? - What is the rationale supporting this perspective? - What are the types of changes to local governance and why?
Cabinet Position Papers, Briefing to the Incoming Ministers of Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the perspective on containment? - What is the rationale supporting this perspective? - What broader objectives does this rationale link into?
Regional Plans, Regional Strategies and Policy Statements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the containment policy? - What is the rationale supporting these policies and mechanisms? - What broader objectives does this rationale link into? - How is the role of Auckland in relation to the rest of New Zealand? - What is the language around the role of govt (both central and local) in spatial planning (actions and objectives-setting)? - What is the role of regional planning or the regional plan in question?
Auckland Council staff, Political party representatives, Ministry policy advisors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the perspectives on containment policies in Auckland? - What is the rationale supporting these perspectives?

Building a Picture of Social and Discursive Practice

In order to analyse Social Practice, I reviewed existing literature, policy documents, journalistic record, and interview transcripts. In this way it was possible to build at least a summarised version of historical and political events and processes which contextualise the Thematic Analysis output. The

analysis of Discursive Practice was limited to making note of where, when, and by whom discourses had been turned into and consumed as written text, and was achieved by reviewing government legislation, discussion documents, planning documents, position papers, journalistic record, select submissions, and Ministry briefings.

3.6 Positionality and Assumptions

Due to the interpretive nature of this research, it is important to acknowledge and clarify my own observational standpoint and potential biases throughout the investigative and analytical processes. In the words of Charles Lester (1996: 658), “what are the basic value commitments animating [my] interpretation?”. The topic of my research was not derived so much from personal motivations or work interests, but instead resulted from a number of unrelated conversations with academics, both from within and outside of the University of Auckland. The timing of the research proposal serendipitously coincided with the release of the Auckland Plan discussion document, during which time there was both ample media commentary with which to supplement my initial ideas, as well as a general abundance of current government and public written response. The research has therefore been primarily driven by curiosity, and I am not personally or professionally invested in the immediate development or production of the Auckland Plan.

As a postgraduate student coming from an undergraduate background in biological sciences, I have approached this research endeavour as an opportunity to compliment my physical sciences understanding of ‘the environment’ with an exploration of the concepts afforded by the social science literatures. Furthermore, I have approached the topic with as much objectivity as much as I have been able to, but necessarily challenging the frames of reference held by groups that I have approached, and problematizing seemingly distinct policy actions as situated within complex political-economic and historical trajectories and contingent upon a myriad of intangible elements.

As far as my assumptions go, it is fair to say that throughout the interview process I was under the impression that all views expressed to me were in fact true personal or institutional perspectives. In order to be able to undertake my research it was necessary to believe that all interviewees were honest in their responses, insofar as they were statements that reflected truthful opinions on which I could base my analysis.

3.7 Ethical Practice

The themes around which questions have centred do not relate to personal, cultural or spiritual values. For this reason, the interview content and nature was not considered particularly sensitive. However, as with any research that incorporates an interview component, there were some concerns with personal representation and interpretation of views. In an effort to minimise discrepancies between what interviewees expressed and my interpretation of these views, any individual who requested it was sent a copy of my transcription of the interview, and/or copies of relevant thesis sections that included interpretations of information provided by them, and was also invited to clarify or correct any section, before use in the final thesis draft. Similarly, a final copy of the entire thesis document was sent electronically to two individual who wished to receive it.

Additionally, there were ethical concerns regarding consent and confidentiality, specifically with reference to job security and relationships with colleagues, which are consistent with Western research ethical guidelines where human participants are involved (Ryen, 1994). At first contact, all individuals approached were informed of the nature and purpose of my research, the relevant topical areas they would be asked to give views on, and how those views would be incorporated into my research. Individuals were also informed of their right to withdraw from the project as well as withdraw their authorisation for the use of the information they had provided to the project, up to four weeks following the completion of their interview. Prior to interviews individuals were asked whether the discussion may be recorded with a digital recording device. If they preferred, notes were annotated rather than recorded. Written informed consent was obtained prior to advancing into the actual interview stage, by way of a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix A), and a Consent Form (Appendix B). Every individual that was interviewed was granted anonymity unless otherwise specified by them in the Consent Form, and permission was sought to identify them by their job title, as per the Ethics Guidelines mandated by the University of Auckland. In addition to being given the option to receive copies of the interview transcript, individuals could choose to receive draft versions of relevant thesis sections which included my interpretation and intended use of information provided by them, with the assurance that they clarify, correct or remove their contribution, before inclusion in the final draft. It was my hope that by remaining anonymous and by being provided these options, individuals would feel more at liberty to express more personal opinions in addition to any official positions they may have been required to convey, which would ideally improve the accuracy and depth of my research. Approval for the research was granted by the University of Auckland's Human Participants Ethics Committee on 21/09/11, Reference Number 7580.

3.8 Summary

The state rescaling literature provides both an insightful conceptual lens with which to explore contemporary patterns of state scalar restructuring and current intergovernmental discursive tensions that surround the shaping and containment of Auckland's urban form, and Brenner has proposed a particularly useful methodological strategy for selecting and approaching the specific objects of analysis over time. The emergent findings from both discourse and thematic analysis facilitate a nuanced exploration of state rescaling concepts in Auckland's spatial planning context.

Chapter 4. Shaping Auckland's Urban Form

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to explore how Auckland's urban form is shaped by central and local government. In order to do this, the Chapter will discuss the transformations of the state scalar architecture of spatial planning Auckland as observed in a) the structural changes to local government in New Zealand, and b) the evolving scalar referent of urban planning and resource management. Informed by state rescaling theory (Brenner, 2009a), this discussion is based on the understanding that both types of transformations have shaped the governance of spatial planning in Auckland, and consequently, decisions around policy mechanisms to shape urban form.

Interpretive observations of structural changes and policy shifts were generated by the thematic analysis and discourse analysis undertaken as outlined in Chapter 3. Grounded in the two-tier methodological strategy proposed by Brenner (2009a), I trace how New Zealand's state spatial form has been transformed over the past 50 years, specifically in terms of the institutional changes and policy shifts which have had a bearing on how central and local government shape urban form, and discuss relevant contextual elements. By identifying nature and evolution of discourses over time (both in terms of structural and thematic developments) in politico-institutional terms, this Chapter identifies and organises the prominent discursive elements in a state rescaling framework. The generation of this detailed framework enables a closer inspection of the intergovernmental discursive tensions surrounding Auckland's most recent spatial planning episode and urban containment policy; which constitutes the conceptual purpose of Chapter Five.

The Chapter begins with a description of how the scalar configuration of Auckland has been qualitatively modified throughout the years. This description is followed by a discussion of current central government discourses around local government restructuring and urban planning reform, and the themes which emerge from the current government's broader objectives for New Zealand, to which Auckland is viewed as a vital contributor. An analysis of central-local government perspectives on local governance exposes a discursive rift between the two tiers of government, characterised by conflicting discourses around where decision-making responsibility should lie in urban planning and development.

The Chapter finishes with a review of the specific objects of analysis based on Brenner's (2009a) two-tier methodology, followed by a discussion of the kind of insights foundational state rescaling

theoretical frameworks provide for understanding Auckland's state scalar architecture for spatial planning.

4.2 Transformations of the State Scalar Architecture

The two-tier methodological approach to analysing transformations to Auckland's state scalar architecture articulated by Brenner stems from his (and others) acknowledgment that previous case-study based reflections have lacked sufficient systematic analysis of concrete level rescaling processes, and the discontinuities and path dependencies associated with national institutional trajectories and policy repertoires. It has also been argued that governance of spatial planning must be studied in the context of structural changes, where politics are kept "front and center" in the analysis (Newman, 2008: 1373). This section is a somewhat descriptive account of the institutional reorganisation of local government and policy trajectory of spatial planning in Auckland, followed by a more critical discussion of themes that have been identified in the discourse, including public statements, interviewee comments, and government documents.

4.2.1 Institutional reorganisation of local government

The 'two-tier' local governance approach was introduced to Auckland in 1963 in an attempt to overcome the parochialism that had plagued Auckland's fragmented local government framework since the 1870s (Memon et al., 2007). Consequently, Auckland's local authorities were restructured into a single Auckland Regional Authority, a number of ad hoc special purpose bodies, and 30 territorial authorities responsible for strictly local services. This regional authority was responsible for cross-boundary services including regional planning, and public and private transport, metropolitan regional planning and infrastructure service delivery (Memon et al., 2007).

After a period of relative stability, the next wave of functional and structural reform of local government occurred under the Fourth Labour Government (1984-1990), along with significant other public sector economic and political reform, which Boston considered "the most sweeping reorganisation of the machinery of government even undertaken in New Zealand" (Boston, 1991a: 233) at the time. The economic policy reforms during this period were led by liberal democrat Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, and were characterised by market-led restructuring and deregulation. These (often controversial) 'Rogernomics'¹ of the late 1980s were a response to multiple forces: fiscal imperatives due to international indebtedness and economic stagnation; the quest for greater bureaucratic and political accountability; widespread political enthusiasm for commercialisation and

¹ A portmanteau of "Roger" and "economics", the term was coined by journalists at the New Zealand Listener as an analogy to 'Reaganomics' in the United States. Source: Wikipedia. 2012. *Rogernomics* [Online]. Available: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rogernomics> [Accessed January 8, 2013].

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

privatisation, as well as a general ideological shift to the right and appetite for reform, both in New Zealand and abroad (Boston, 1991b). Indeed, the changes to New Zealand's economic policies were largely reflective of the broad neo-liberal ideological shift that much of the world was already experiencing (Harvey, 2005). Perhaps most importantly to note, the guiding analytical framework of departmental officials and policy analysts at the time was grounded in public choice theory, managerialism, agency theory and transaction-cost analysis (Boston, 1988b; Hood, 1990), collectively referred to as "new institutional economics" (Larner, 2000: 7).

The economic reform of the 1980s directly influenced many of the structural reforms that followed (Boston, 1991a), including those relating to local government. The introduction of the Local Government Act 1989 by then-Minister of Local Government, Michael Bassett saw the establishment of a revised 'two-tier' structure of local government, and Auckland's 31 existing authorities were replaced with four city councils, three district councils and one regional council. This new arrangement was considered necessary to enable the delegation of new resource management functions to the local government level (Bassett, 1988: 4; Boston, 1988a: 67). In addition to structural changes, the new Act replaced sections of the LGA 1974 that related to local government's organisational and accountability requirements, as well as its constitutional and electoral basis; the focus of local government was widened from service provision only to include planning and policy development; and a clear separation between governance and management was introduced (Drage, 2011: 12).

The incoming Fourth National Party (1990-1998) worked quickly to undo the reform to local government that had been established by the Labour Government. Then-Minister of Local Government, Warren Cooper, was particularly opposed to a regional government level, in favour of dual-function unitary authorities with limited socio-economic functions instead (Ericksen et al., 2004); an overwhelmingly functionalist view of local government (Reid, 2001). Minister Cooper "feared a strong Auckland, and emasculated the proposed strong regional council" (Rudman, 2009) by facilitating the Local Government Amendment Act 1992. This Act limited the role of regional councils to environmental management and regulation, with few exceptions (Reid, 2009). The Regional Council's major assets and liabilities, primarily bulk water and wastewater and the Ports of Auckland, were transferred to a special purpose body created for the purpose, and it was effectively excluded from a role in economic and community development (McKinley Douglas Ltd., 2010a). At the time, these reforms were viewed by then-Local Government New Zealand Strategy Leader, Mike Reid, as "a transformation on a par with the abolition of the provinces in the 19th Century" (Reid, 2001), yet, as will be discussed later, he was to re-evaluate this statement within the next 10 years.

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

The Fifth Labour Government (1998-2008) once again embarked on a programme of local government reform, this time embedded within the discursive rationale of increased local government empowerment to meet community needs, and enhanced intergovernmental partnership (Reid, 2001). Reid (2001) observes out that these objectives were consistent with the domestic and international discourses of 'joined up' services and 'whole of government' approaches in vogue at the time (Le Heron, 2009). Concurrently to the reform, a central-local government forum was established in March 2000, and Cheyne (2008) recounts that there was a new expectation that central government agencies engage in local authority community planning processes. Labour's Local Government Act (2002) rewrote the purpose of local government to (a) enable democratic decision-making and action by, and on behalf of, communities; and (b) to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and in the future.

Tiley (2010) argues that this period of local government reform was permeated by 'Third Way' politics, which emphasised democratic renewal and increased local autonomy through devolution of responsibility to local authorities, the introduction of various social reforms and the provision of general powers to promote community wellbeing. While some observed that the 2002 legislation did not explicitly provide full powers of general competence to local government (Cheyne, 2008: 40), Tiley contends that the power to promote wellbeing was, in effect, a power of general competence (2010: 23). Sellars and Lindstrom (2007) propose that moves to empower local government and enhance intergovernmental relations were consistent with the discourses of devolution and decentralisation that were prevalent in Social Democratic welfare states at the time, though it has also been argued that these local government consolidations were enacted for the purposes of administrative efficiencies rather than improved democracy (Dollery et al., 2005: 11-12).

Arguably, concern for the "four wellbeings" also demonstrated alignment with the burgeoning global sustainability discourse of that period (Dryzek, 1997). Local government interest in sustainability as a development concept and planning ethos was evident in the thematic rhetoric embedded within the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy (ARGF, 1999) and Regional Policy Statement (ARC, 1999), and Auckland Sustainability Framework (RGF, 2007) produced by Auckland's regional and local authorities at the time.

The Fifth Labour Government also set up The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (RCAG) in 2007, tasked with examining Auckland's governance structure and recommend a structure that would make Auckland an internationally competitive city (Reid, 2009). The establishment of RCAG was the culminating event at the end of nearly a decade of calls to resolve Auckland's governance 'problem'. This problem was characterised by central government frustration at the lack of unified, regionally consistent local government voice, and the inability to engage with multiple councils to

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

develop Auckland economically as a 'world class city' (McNeill, 2011a; Reid, 2009). Part of this fragmentation was thought to stem from the two-tier structure itself, manifest in tension between socio-economically driven development at the territorial level, and the restriction of development through the regulation of effects on the natural environment at the regional level (Elliot, 1992: 17). The establishment of Royal Commissions on Local Government by central government is an act that serves (or attempts) to legitimize the state-led process (Tiley, 2010), and these types of Commissions have similarly preceded local government reform in Britain and Australia, invariably resulting in recommendations of wide ranging reform measures including the need to reduce the number of municipalities and establish large, unitary (one-tier) municipal governments, or two-tier systems that include expansive regional authorities to oversee smaller territorial bodies.

After 18 months, the Commission publically released their report, recommending a fundamental rebalancing of public policy decision-making, and a much stronger, integrated relationship between levels of government. Along with the recommendation for a unitary Auckland Council and six local councils, one of the dominant themes throughout the report was the need for a more integrated approach across the four well-being areas: social, economic, environmental and cultural (Reid, 2009). The Commission sought to ensure that Auckland Council would be able to focus primarily on the strategic challenges facing the region as a whole, and proposed that their role would be regional and district planning; infrastructure planning and investment (public transport, roads, water and waste water); economic and social development; and environmental protection (Reid, 2009: 41). By this time, the National Party had replaced Labour as government, and their response to the Commission's recommendations were released within two weeks, encompassed in a document titled Making Auckland Greater: greater communities; greater connections; greater value (New Zealand Government, 2009a), and simultaneously laid out the new blueprint for Auckland governance. Numerous Commission recommendations were rejected and alternatives put into place, including the creation of 20-30 local wards instead of six local councils. This latest suite of proposed changes to local governance was now the biggest restructuring of Auckland's governance since the removal of the provinces in the mid-1870s (Reid, 2009). Critics of the reforms argue that the two-tier structure as established by the government will result in unfavourable representation ratios, as elected members will represent significantly more citizens than previous councils, leading to a diminution of citizen's democratic rights (McKinlay Douglas Ltd., 2010a; Reid, 2009). The Government response to this argument was that local boards will have greater decision-making power than the previous community boards (though less than local councils), and thus better represent community voice (Reid, 2009).

A series of acts were passed by the National Government: the Local Government (Tamaki Makaurau Reorganisation) Act 2009, the Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009, and the Local

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

Government (Auckland Transitional Provisions) Act 2010, and as a result of these pieces of legislation the newly-formed Auckland Council began operating on November 1, 2010. The current Council thus represents a completely new model of regional government made up of two complementary and non-hierarchical decision-making parts: the governing body (elected Mayor, councillors elected on a ward basis) and the elected local boards (McNeill, 2011a). Len Brown was elected as Mayor in the October 2010 local elections after securing a 60,198 vote majority over rival candidate John Banks (Orsman, 2010). By virtue of the size of his constituency, the new Mayor has a very clear public mandate (McNeill, 2011b), and the new 'Super City' represents a similarly unique and unprecedented arrangement in New Zealand's local governance landscape.

The Local Government (Auckland Law Reform) Bill of 2010 effectively devolved responsibility for major services to the Council-Controlled Organisations (CCOs), which received the combined functions and asset management roles of local authorities and previous organisations. Seven Auckland CCOs were approved by Cabinet², and these are companies, trusts or other forms of separate entity which are controlled by Auckland Council in the form of the right to appoint 50% or more of the board or exercise 50% or more of the vote at any general meeting of members. While Councils had been able to establish CCOs since the enactment of the LGA 2002, and Auckland had over 40 CCOs operating in the region prior to the reorganisation, a distinctive feature of the new CCOs is that virtually all service delivery for Auckland will now take place through them. Additionally, their first chairmen were appointed by the government through the Auckland Transition Agency, outside of the influence of the elected governing body (McKingly Douglas Ltd, 2010a). Critics and academics alike have highlighted concerns over the potential loss of democratic control over the CCOs, which operate at arm's-length from the new governing body, and the lack of transparency and public accountability provided by the new arrangement (McNeill, 2011b). In response to these concerns, then-Minister of Local Government Rodney Hide stated that Auckland Council's CCOs will be the most accountable of any in the country: "The Auckland Council will determine their Statements of Intent, and can dismiss directors or disestablish the CCO entirely if the Council's wishes are not carried out" (Hide, 2010a), referring to the accountability and transparency requirements of the Local Government (Auckland Council Amendment) Act 2010 (2010b). Crucially, however, this provision excludes Auckland Transport and Watercare; meaning transport decisions are the sole domain of the CCO and therefore not subject to any public scrutiny through public board meetings, nor the requirement to publish agendas and minutes.

² Auckland Transport; Watercare; Auckland Council Investments Ltd; Auckland Tourism, Events and Economic Development Ltd; Regional Facilities Auckland; Auckland Council Property Ltd; and the Auckland Waterfront Development Agency.

4.2.2 Ongoing modifications to local government structure and function

The Minister of Local Government announced an eight point reform programme for local government on March 19, 2012, entitled Better Local Government (BLG) (Cabinet, 2012). The Department of Internal Affairs states that the reforms “are aimed at providing better clarity around the role of councils, stronger governance, improved efficiency and more responsible financial management” and are “part of the Government’s broader programme for building a more productive, competitive economy and better public services” (2012a), echoing prevalent themes throughout the current government’s policies. This reform programme led to the introduction of the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment 2012, which was passed in December 2012.

The amended Act introduces a raft of changes to the way councils are governed and the process for reorganising local government, and introduces new financial prudence requirements (DIA, 2012a). Section 3(d) of the Local Government Act 2002 was also amended, replacing the purpose of local government (“to promote the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of communities”) with the new purpose “to meet the current and future needs of communities for good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses” (New Zealand Government, 2012). This amendment means that councils will have to ensure that their decision-making processes deal with matters pertinent to the new purpose. However, “because the Auckland spatial plan was developed for the whole of Auckland, including the council, the private sector and the government, and has a broader perspective, it will not be affected by the new purpose statement” (DIA, 2012a), although the Council work plans will have to align with the new purpose. The Auckland Council planners interviewed do not expect that the (then³) future changes to local government purpose would have much effect on the extent to which Council is concerned with the four wellbeings:

[Changes to the purpose would simply call into question] whether or not we become actively involved in pursuing social policies to address those issues. (Interviewee B)

We have a statutory duty to prepare an Auckland Plan with respect to the four wellbeings... so as far as we’re concerned [the Better Local Government paper] doesn’t affect our plan at all. (Interviewee A)

Another significant change to local governance arrangements is the trigger for potential Ministerial intervention in local government matters, which is now broadly dependent on “a failure by a local authority to demonstrate prudent management in its financial dealings” (Ash et al., 2012). Political opponents, in this case Green Party local government spokesperson Eugenie Sage, has argued that this move “sets a very low threshold for Ministerial interference, and gives the Minister wide scope to

³ The interviews took place six months prior to the passing of the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Act.

intervene and push central government priorities" (Sage, 2012), with potentially little regard for local objectives.

The second phase of the BLG reform programme consists of six further work streams: an efficiency taskforce, an expert advisory group on local government infrastructure efficiency, a review of the use of development contributions, a framework to guide the allocation of regulatory roles between local and central government, investigation of a dual or two-tiered governance model for local government, and development of options for a performance framework for local government (DIA, 2012a). These work streams will feed into a second Amendment Act anticipated in late 2013, indicating that local government can expect yet more modifications to how it is governed and, in turn, how it may govern.

4.3 Policy Trajectory of Spatial Planning: Contemporary Urban Planning Reform

This section details how the scalar referent of spatial planning in Auckland has been slowly centralised since the introduction of the Resource Management Act in 1991, and that this recentralisation trend has accelerated during the current government period. Salient themes in this policy trajectory and the rationale for recent changes to the resource management/urban planning framework have emerged through the thematic analysis applied to central government position papers, discussion documents, and statement made by senior government officials. Where appropriate, comments made by respondents in interviews are used to strengthen and support observations and interpretations made. These themes are significant in the sense that they illustrate the nature of central government discourse around not only urban planning in Auckland, but also the specific objectives and priorities for Auckland's first spatial plan under the newly amalgamated Auckland Council.

Part of the sweeping changes introduced during the Fourth Labour Government included modifications to the existing environmental legislation, which resulted in the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). Since then, this Act has formed the cornerstone of all regional and local plans and environmental decision-making, and emphasises the management of the effects of development on the natural environment. All regional authorities manage their natural and physical resources under the RMA through regional policy statements, which are given effect through regional plans. The RMA's emphasis on the biophysical environment and nonurban issues has been interpreted as a demonstration of central government's vague interest urban affairs at the time (Perkins and Thorns, 2001), and a clear attempt by the ruling National Government at the time to delegitimize strategic planning and contest the role of the ARC in steering urban growth within the RMA framework (Memon et al., 2007: 48). Indeed, many have commented how the RMA's heavy emphasis on the biophysical environments created potential difficulties for those interested in pursuing urban social and economic planning (see Memon and Gleeson, 1995; Memon and Perkins, 1993; Murray and Swaffield, 1994; Swaffield, 1997). Winder has commented that at this stage central government was not yet "into

sustainability and economic transformation, and did not acknowledge Auckland's role in New Zealand's future" (2010: 4) While the Act did aim for the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, indicating that a global environmental agenda concerning the wise use of environmental resources and more sustainable practices had indeed entered into New Zealand's policy process (Gow, 1999), it has been referred to as an "uneasy legislative compromise between environmentalists and business interests" (Perkins and Thorns, 2001: 641).

Reacting to a growing consensus that urban issues could no longer be ignored by the existing framework (Perkins and Thorns, 2001), the newly elected National Government initiated a two-phase reform of New Zealand's resource management framework in December, 2008. The Minister for the Environment's Technical Advisory Group reviewed reform proposals and its perspectives (MfE, 2009) fed into the Phase One (RMI) introduction of the Resource Management (Simplifying and Streamlining) Amendment Act 2009.

In 2009, the National-led government Cabinet agreed that the primary objective of Phase Two (RMII) should be to "achieve least cost delivery of good environmental objectives" (Smith, 2011: 1). RMII is currently underway, and in January 2010, the Minister for the Environment established two Technical Advisory Groups (TAGs) to provide advice on Urban Planning and Infrastructure issues. The MfE released its Building Competitive Cities discussion document for public consultation in October 2010 (along with the two TAG reports), and the broad rationale for the current planning reform is articulated therein, rendering it a prime text for discursive analysis.

Two important themes materialise within the Building Competitive Cities document: there is a strong and consistent drive for greater central government input to urban planning processes; and economic growth through efficiency and productivity remains a political priority. Statements made by then-Ministers and interviewee comments support this interpretation of the thematic relevance of the discussion document.

4.3.1 Greater Central Government Input Needed

The pervading government perception about the current urban planning system is that it has resulted in a "lack of clear direction from central government on cross-sectoral issues" (MfE, 2010a: 8), which has led to a lack of consistency in decision-making. Similarly, the current infrastructure planning system lacks clarity about national objectives and standards (MfE, 2010a: 11). In order to achieve the "efficient, effective and integrated resource management framework" that it desires, central government "needs to be clear about its priorities and objectives to make sure these are reflected in urban planning and infrastructure projects, and to provide clearer signals to local government" (MfE, 2010a: xi). The stated aim of the planning reform process currently taking place is to select reform options that provide "stronger central government leadership" (MfE, 2010a: Foreword) and "greater

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

direction on resource management” (MfE, 2010a: vii). The logic that follows is that when central government direction about priorities for economic, social and environmental resource management are more clearly conveyed local government uncertainty can be reduced, investment can be better integrated with that of central government, and central government’s infrastructure objectives are more likely to be achieved (MfE, 2010a: 13). These three notions appear to clearly mirror central government’s perceived risks and opportunities of engagement in the Spatial Plan process. Indeed, the Royal Commission’s 2009 recommendation to establish a new unitary council and Auckland spatial plan was accepted by Government because it was recognised as a “key factor in realising a successful outcome from the governance reforms” (MfE, 2010a: 21), and that “the success of the governance reforms [would], to some extent, be measured by the success of the spatial planning process” (Hide, 2010b: 11).

The Auckland Spatial Plan, as both a planning process and outcome, was also described as an “opportunity for the Auckland Council and Government to identify those initiatives that will make the most significant contributions to achieving national and regional objectives” (Cabinet, 2011a: 3). Then-Minister of Local Government viewed the Plan as a very important document which could be used to turn Auckland into a city “capable of making a significant contribution to the long-term growth of the country” (Hide, 2011). Currently, the spatial plan “is viewed by Government as a key way to develop an integrated approach to managing Auckland’s growth, meeting central government objectives and avoiding duplication of effort across local and central government” (DIA, 2012b). The Auckland spatial plan is considered a vital tool to “help the Auckland Council deliver on its regional aspirations”, “help central government deliver on national objectives”, and, “more importantly”, help ensure the alignment of central and local government objectives (MfE, 2010a: 22). The choice and arrangement of words in these statements imply that local government objectives should align with those of central government, and local authorities might only develop their own, potentially divergent, aspirations for the region.

The then-Minister of Local Government articulated three principles that he proposed form the basis of central and local government engagement during the development of the first spatial plan: that the spatial plan was a key vehicle for negotiating and agreeing joint strategic priorities and actions between central and local government; that the successful implementation of the spatial plan would help meet central government objectives; and that developing a mutually agreed evidence base would facilitate better decision making and avoid duplication of effort (Hide, 2010b: 1).

While urban planning is “most often considered a local government issue”, central government “has a major impact on cities through policy making and regulatory and funding decisions” (MfE, 2010a: 26). In other words, there is a clear desire for central government to become more involved in local urban

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

and infrastructure planning, and increase its decision-making input in Auckland to match its financial input. Central government expenditure in Auckland heavily outweighs that of local government by a ratio of 8:1 (MfE, 2010a: 10), but, “despite the level of investment, traditionally centrally government has not been explicit about what it wants to achieve across its portfolios... for New Zealand’s cities”, and “decisions on resource management are predominantly made by local government” (MfE, 2010a: 10). In addition to this financially-based imperative to steer policy direction, one MfE representative spoken to implied that a sense of central government impatience for local government decisions might also be a factor:

As Auckland is a third of the population, a third of the economy and a sort of bellwether for New Zealand’s success, Ministers recognise they have a direct interest in Auckland performing well, and where they might perceive Council intransigence in terms of actually allowing Auckland to get on and prosper, they have a direct interest in opining on that and putting in place policies that they think might help.

The discussion document therefore supports the UTAG’s various recommendations to that the Ministry assist central government to be “much clearer about Auckland’s role within the national and international context and what central government’s specific interests are” (MfE, 2010a: 26).

Central government’s vision of greater input into local urban planning and policy, as expressed in early Cabinet papers and planning reform documents, was realised in the Auckland Plan development, which saw an “a much higher level of ministerial interest than before” (Interviewee F). While other spatial plans exist in New Zealand (such as the ARGS, Tauranga’s Smart Growth Strategy, Christchurch’s Urban Development Strategy, and Wellington’s Regional Strategy) they are all non-statutory, voluntary mechanisms to achieve coordination, and various interviewees who had been involved directly in the Plan’s development commented there was almost no central government engagement in those plans (save for the New Zealand Transport Agency); a claim that the lack of documented engagement appears to support. On the whole, it is considered unusual for Ministries like the MfE or MED to be involved in regional spatial plan development and even more unusual to see Ministers themselves involved (Interviewee G). The core group of central government engagement in the Auckland Plan was led by the DIA and came from policy ministries: the MfE, MED and MoT, as well as the NZTA which is a fixture in local government planning. Agencies like the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Department of Labour, Department of Building and Housing, and the Treasury were also regularly involved in central-local discussions. As details of Auckland Council’s plan started becoming apparent and the implications of what this would mean for central government objectives and investment became clearer, there was increased engagement from range of government agencies that were not normally well connected to the local government scene, such as the Ministries of Health, Education and Social Development.

These agencies' decision to commit time and resources to the spatial plan development process was arguably spurred on by Ministerial engagement: "it meant that there was a lot more impetus for [these] agencies to take [the plan development] process seriously and get involved" (Interviewee G). Previous central government engagement was a very "one-way" process, characterized by Ministry officials simply presenting central government objectives and implying that Councils should take heed of central interests if they wanted help in delivering their strategy. By contrast, engagement in the Auckland spatial plan involved regular two-way dialogue between Council and Cabinet Ministers, largely in the form of updates from Council and policy positions from Cabinet. Increased involvement of Ministers was seen by one interviewee as directly linked to the legislation ("Because this government is seen as having created the Auckland Council, and then given them the spatial plan legislation, they've been much more interested in participation"), as well as a possible sense of accountability to voters (Interviewee F).

4.3.2 Economic Growth through Efficiency & Productivity

Prior to RMI, the Cabinet had agreed on overarching objectives for RMII, and these formed the starting point for the Building Competitive Cities discussion document. The efficiency related objectives include improving the economic efficiency of implementation; avoiding duplication of processes; and achieving efficient and improved participation of Maori (MfE, 2010a: 3).

The planning reforms are thus framed as an opportunity to develop a more efficient planning framework, which will help achieve a way of planning that fulfils efficiency and economic goals, like "drive productivity", "lift New Zealand's productivity and international competitiveness", deliver "productive patterns of growth", "get value for money from infrastructure investment", and "allow for the flexible and efficient delivery of public services", as well as achieving social and environmental outcomes "without compromising environmental integrity" (MfE, 2010a: xi). Ultimately, economic activity is said to improve "our quality of life and is needed for New Zealand to be internationally competitive (MfE, 2010a: 6), and this comment illustrates the conceptual link between the two themes.

RMII has also resulted in the introduction and proposal of other reform packages, relating to aquaculture management and freshwater management, the proposed modification of the archaeological authority, and the establishment of the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) (Smith, 2011: 3). The EPA has taken over numerous environmental regulation functions from various government departments, in effect recentralising "some regional council decision-making, while providing a vehicle for further recentralisation if considered appropriate" (McNeill, 2011a: 124).

4.4 Central Government Objectives for Auckland

Thematic analysis of resource management/urban planning reform discourses also reveals three salient discourses in the current government's broader political objectives for New Zealand, to which Auckland is viewed as a vital contributor: "The success of New Zealand cities is important to our competitiveness, economic performance and the well-being of all New Zealanders" (MfE, 2010a: viii). Although well-being is mentioned in this statement, it does not appear in further references to government objectives for Auckland or New Zealand, while competitiveness and economic performance appears frequently throughout government discussion documents, position papers, Ministers statements and interviewee comments. Explicit references to Affordability are also observed in these data sources. Discourses in the underlying objectives of central government have been drawn out from references to planning reform generally, as well as to the Auckland spatial plan more specifically. Through identification of similar language and rhetoric in the data, the following section serves to illustrate how the discourse in central government's rationale for initiating changes to Auckland's local government and the urban planning framework can be seen to resonate deeply with its overarching objectives of global competitiveness, economic performance and affordability.

4.4.1 Global Competitiveness

An important component of the Government's economic agenda is ensuring New Zealand cities are internationally competitive (MfE, 2010a: Foreword).

An internationally competitive city is described as one that is efficient and attractive for business and investment, where citizens enjoy a "great lifestyle and affordable housing", and that attracts tourism (MfE, 2010a: Foreword). The Government wants New Zealand cities to support "our quality of life, growth aspirations and the integrity of our environment", so that they contribute to the country's global competitiveness (MfE, 2010a: vii). After all, the discussion document states "a country's international competitiveness relies more and more on the competitiveness of its major cities" (MfE, 2010a: viii); rhetoric completely consistent with an international consensus on the strategic role of city-regions in the current global economy (Clarke and Gaile, 1998; Scott, 1998). The then-Minister of Local Government expressed the desire to capitalise on Auckland's current role and population growth to ensure that New Zealand has a city of scale that can provide a key link to the global economy (Hide, 2010b: 15). Under this rationale, it is understandable that the government places considerable significance on competitive and successful cities (MfE, 2010a: 21), and particularly, on comparing well with Australia (MfE, 2010a: Foreword, xi).

The Minister-appointed Urban Technical Advisory Group (UTAG) supported the central government proposal that a new National Policy Statement (NPS) on urban design be developed, and also recommended that the scope of such a document be extended to "provide greater direction and clarity about the significance central government places on competitive and successful cities" (MfE,

2010a: 21). The NPS proposal and the subsequent recommendation for it to provide strong direction on matters of central government importance further illustrates and perpetuates the burgeoning discourse that more central government input into local government-level planning.

4.4.2 Economic Performance

The government proposes that planning system contribute to their broader objectives: “economic growth, integrated urban and infrastructure development, value for money from investment, and well-designed urban environments that create value”. Using financial terms such as economic growth, value for money, and investment these objectives are quite clearly geared towards improved economic performance. Similarly, the “spatial plan tool” has been a key focus of the government’s planning and urban design reform because of Auckland’s importance to the New Zealand economy (MfE, 2010a: 22). The Government’s stated programme is to further New Zealand’s economic objectives, part of which will necessitate regulatory reform (MfE, 2010a: 21). RMII will “improve” the planning system by “reducing regulatory red tape, improving the use of incentives and getting better value for money from infrastructure investment” (MfE, 2010a: 21); all arguably economy-focused actions as opposed to environment-focussed. For his part, the then-Minister for Local Government supported this economy-focussed approach by proposing that the Auckland spatial plan aim to lift economic growth and productivity, and maximise value from existing investment (Hide, 2010b: 15).

4.4.3 Affordability

While local government aspirations are acceptable co-drivers of spatial planning decisions, the pervading and omnipresent caveat remains: the spatial plan “must be affordable and feasible, given the likely available funding and Aucklanders’s preferences” (Hide, 2010b: 7). Government objectives demonstrate a desire to minimise costs to individuals, business and government, and the discourse surrounding urban planning reform supports this. For example, the-then Minister of Local Government proposed that the Auckland spatial plan facilitate housing affordability and cost-of-living affordability, as well as minimise the fiscal costs of growth to central government (Hide, 2010b: 15). Similarly, then-Environment Minister, Nick Smith, identified the impact of rigid city boundaries as one of the most pressing issues requiring reform in the Government’s Phase Two review of the Resource Management Act, and was primarily concerned about “the policy of metropolitan urban limits, the effect they have on section prices and the negative flow-on effects to the broader economy” (Smellie, 2010). Housing affordability and choice is an explicit key area of central government interest (Cabinet, 2011b: 6), which the New Zealand Property Council⁴ believes is being undermined by the Auckland Council’s compact city approach (NZPC, 2012). As part of their recommendations to government, UTAG proposed that the scope of a potential NPS on Urban Design should include policies requiring “local authorities to provide an adequate supply of land to meet future urban growth demands”, as

⁴ A 600-strong membership association representing New Zealand’s commercial property industry.

well as polices “requiring the consideration of housing affordability in decision-making, and regional and district plans under the RMA” (MfE, 2010a: 21).

4.5 The Auckland Spatial Plan: A Delicate Balance of Risk and Opportunity

The Cabinet Committee on Implementation of Auckland Governance Reforms agreed that central government engagement in the development of the first Auckland spatial plan was to be led by the Minister of Local Government, supported by the Department of Internal Affairs and the Ministry for the Environment. In 2009, Cabinet also decided that an Auckland central-local government forum be established and used as a vehicle for formal political engagement on the first spatial plan, to which the Mayor would be invited to meet with Ministers. At the behest of Cabinet, options for future central government engagement are currently being canvassed by the Minister for the Environment in the context of resource management (RMII) reforms. Several options for ‘enhancing spatial planning in Auckland’ - in terms of how the spatial plan was to articulate with existing council strategic plans, the strength of the legislative influence a spatial plan would have with other plans and decisions, and the relationship of a spatial plan to national planning instruments (2009b) - are described in the Building Competitive Cities document, including those which were recommended by the Minister-appointed UTAG.

According to the then-Minister for Local Government, and clearly articulated in a 2010 Cabinet Paper, the spatial plan (and spatial planning more generally) presents numerous opportunities and risks to central government, outlined verbatim in Table 4-1. The language used in these perceived risks and opportunities revolve around notions of economic growth and reduced regulation, and are therefore consistent with the aforementioned discourses around Increased Government Input, Global Competitiveness, and Economic Growth through Efficiency and Productivity. Furthermore, they resonate with the central government’s overarching objectives of Global competitiveness, Economic Performance and Affordability.

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

Table 4-1 Minister of Local Government's Perceived Risks and Opportunities of Engagement in Auckland Spatial Planning Process (Source: Hide, 2010b: 6-7)

Risks of not engaging	Risks of engaging	Opportunities of engaging
Central government objectives may not be reflected in the spatial plan.	Increased expectations for funding or policy change as a result of the plan.	To get better value from the government's infrastructure spend
Central government plans for investment may not be adequately identified and integrated into the spatial plan, or may be inappropriately reflected in the spatial plan.	If developed without recognising central government's fiscal constraints and the way it makes investment decisions, the spatial plan could become a vehicle for building unrealistic expectations about central government's ability to fund Auckland Council's priority projects.	To reduce transaction costs and provide more certainty by simplifying the planning framework, reducing the number of plans, strategies and processes, and making planning processes more negotiated and less adversarial
	Possibility of disagreement over key aspects of the plan.	To enable the type of growth required to make Auckland more competitive and help narrow the productivity and wage gap between New Zealand and Australia
		To engage more effectively with local government on a range of strategic issues, including infrastructure investment

Given the opportunities presented by the spatial plan, “appropriate, timely and coordinated” central government engagement with the Auckland Council during the development of the first plan was considered necessary if it was to make a contribution to Government’s economic growth, social, environmental and infrastructure objectives (Hide, 2010b: 1). A shared understanding of central government’s objectives for the spatial plan and its objectives for Auckland would also mean “less likelihood of conflicting or unrealistic expectations” arising during the plan’s development (Hide, 2010b: 1). In response to the perceived risks from both action or inaction, the Minister proposed that they be mitigated by “being clear about the principles and objectives for government engagement”, and he emphasised that engagement in the plan “should not, in itself, commit government to expenditure or intervention outside of usual Budget and policy development processes” (Hide, 2010b: 12).

4.6 Central-Local Government Perspectives on Local Governance: A Discursive Rift

One of the most interesting aspects of these findings is that the role of central and local government tiers in shaping urban form through planning decisions has been in flux over the years, largely correlated to oscillating central government discourse around the appropriate role of government in regional planning and decision-making. While central government engaged in and promoted decentralisation and devolution discourses around the end of the millennium (ostensibly signalling a ‘localist’ turn, or an era of ‘new local governance’) recent developments appear to signal a slowing of these discursive trends, if not a vigorous reversal. This section reviews the consequences contemporary state scalar transformations, and highlights how, unlike fluctuating central government stance on the matter, local government has consistently positioned itself as in favour of decentralised local governance models.

Collectively, accumulated state reorganisation efforts (and their drivers) have had the effect of reducing formal council decision-making scope (McNeill, 2011b). This effect can be seen in the recentralisation of various regional council environmental decisions; growing autonomy of the Council-Controlled Organisations; increasing powers of ministerial intervention into Council affairs; and the raft of current and proposed changes to local government in the Better Local Government reform programme. With respect to the resource management framework, the discursive shift away from decentralisation rhetoric has been seen in the push for simplified, consistent and streamlined consent processes, in the interest of facilitating economic development, and the push for increased central government input into regional planning processes.

Local government, on the other hand, has displayed a considerably more consistent and continuing interest in the idea of decentralised decision-making for urban planning and development, as

observed in the language used in Auckland's regional planning documents for nearly six decades. As McNeill (McNeill, 2011b: 226) comments, there appear to be "two apparently incompatible models of local government simultaneously articulated in popular discourse and public policy". By tracing these ideas through time, it is possible to illustrate how the concepts of subsidiarity and decentralised decision-making have persisted in local government discourse for decades.

The 1951 Outline Development Plan supported decentralized decision-making for local matters based on the argument that "a system of an overall Outline Development Plan with subsequent detailed plans provides the basis for sound planning in the metropolitan urban structure while still leaving local authorities the maximum amount of freedom as to considerations of detail and local interest" (AMPO, 1951: 31). In 1974, the Auckland Regional Authority also appeared to subtly support decentralised planning decisions-making, not so much through the language of the Regional Planning Scheme, but by providing a broad-scale vision of the distribution of different activities throughout the region, and leaving detailed planning to local councils (ARC, 2010). The language supporting decentralised decision-making and subsidiarity was noticeably strengthened by the 1988 Regional Planning Scheme, which took a broad level planning approach to objective-setting for the development of the Region, because regional planning was "only concerned with matters of regional significance" and not "detailed control" (ARA, 1988: 4). Subsidiarity in governance was thought to improve intergovernmental relationships (between central, regional and local authorities), and thus the Scheme makes a "deliberate and firm attempt to stay out of all matters which are most appropriately handled at the local level, provided the wider concerns and inter-relationships are appreciated" (ARA, 1988: 3-4). This approach was referred to as 'devolution', rather than subsidiarity, and the rationale, merits, and implications of this concept were clearly articulated:

Linked to the idea of improved decision-making is the need to promote greater devolution of those responsibilities. Devolution means that what can be better handled at a lower level of government should be handled at that level. All levels of government should periodically review the possibilities of devolving responsibilities to lower levels; from central to district government offices and regional bodies, from regional to district bodies and from district to the community. Naturally, some functions and responsibilities are best catered for at a higher level of government. Devolution is a question of appropriateness⁵. The Scheme proposes a high priority for greater devolution of decision making and responsibility at all levels of government. Devolution of means must accompany this (ARA, 1988).

The 1988 Scheme also points out that a wide range of national policies are not usually designed to accommodate the particular needs and attributes of the Region, nor well-coordinated with other

⁵ One example of 'appropriateness' is the suggestion that central government play a more active role in the identification and purchase of land suitable for land redevelopment and intensification schemes in rural Auckland (ARA, 1988).

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

national policies which influence various aspects of development, such as land use and housing. The explicit conclusion is therefore that regional level is the most appropriate level for “the expression and implementation of many planning and development policies” (ARA, 1988: 46), further perpetuating the decentralisation discourse and grounding it in notions of subsidiarity and integrated policy.

By 1999, however, there was little or no explicit reference to decentralised decision-making in the RPS *per se*, unlike its predecessors. Instead, the emphasis was on the notion that many of the issues facing the Auckland Region could not be dealt with by taking a regional approach alone, using language around the idea of collaborative governance, which was growing at the time (Reid, 2008a: 73). The issue of who would pay for development (and when) was identified as a primary concern in the Regional Growth Strategy, one which would continue to directly influence the success of the Strategy’s desired outcomes and targets (ARGF, 1999: 52). For example, the RPS presents a policy of increased efficiency in congested transport corridors, and one of the identified projects to achieve this was the “connection of the southern rail line to the Britomart public transport terminal in the CBD and to Manukau City centre” (ARC, 1999: 59). Economic assistance to such achieve goals was considered essential, as was the role of central government to “support local government and the community in managing the pressures of development in such areas as the funding of regional transport” (ARC, 1999: 18).

The Auckland Plan saw an unprecedented level of Ministerial interest in local government’s urban planning decisions (see Chapter Five), which was also reflected by an unprecedented Ministerial foreword in the document itself. In it, then-Minister of Local Government David Carter acknowledged that the Auckland governance reforms were enacted so that “the Auckland region could speak with one voice” and that the Plan and the Mayor’s vision “demonstrates the reforms working in practice”. However, central government stance on the Plan stops short of endorsement, and indicates that central government will step in with changes as it sees appropriate: “Though attention will shift towards implementation [of the Plan], there will be an ongoing need to adjust the Plan in light of what’s working well and changes in the national and international environment” (AC, 2012b: 5). This statement has important implications, considering that elsewhere the text highlights the “lead role” that central government (as well as the private sector) will necessarily play in implementation, as well as providing “much of the required investment” (AC, 2012: 15). The Council sees its own role as primarily one of “facilitation or advocacy”, and that of central government as one of investment and implementation (AC, 2012b: 15), which will require alignment and coordination within the public sector and between the public and non-governmental sectors (AC, 2012b: 340). This perspective appears to retreat somewhat from the explicit use of decentralisation rhetoric in local government discourse, perhaps reflective of the financial dependency for key projects that Council is facing.

4.7 Through the Lens of Early State Rescaling Theory

Following his cross-national examination of political strategies to regulate urbanisation processes across western Europe (Brenner, 2004), and recent interpretations of state spatial strategies in France and the Netherlands (Brenner, 2009a: 129), Brenner has proposed that, in most EU countries at least, urban-centric, competitiveness orientated forms of locational policy are being deployed and promoted subtly through institutional recalibrations, policy reorientations, and regulatory experiments. Based on analysis of publically available documents and commentary, using Brenner's terms, these three types of conjunctures are arguably observable in the transformations to the state scalar architecture for shaping Auckland's urban form (see Table 4-2).

Table 4-2 Conjunctural Transformations to Auckland's State Scalar Architecture for Shaping Urban Form

Concrete-Historical Conjuncture (Brenner, 2009a)	Example	Result
Institutional Recalibration	Local government amalgamation 1964	One regional authority, 30 territorial authorities (plus various ad hoc special purpose bodies)
	Local government amalgamation 1989	One regional council, four city councils, and three district councils
	Local government amalgamation 2010	One council (one governing body and 21 local boards)
Scale-specific regulatory experiment	Auckland spatial plan legislated in Local Government Amendment Act 2010	One plan for Auckland
Policy Reorientation	RMA reform programme starts 2009	Urban planning framework under construction, with moves to recentralise regional council decisions and increase central government input into urban planning process and policy

Based on his analysis of the broad trajectory of state rescaling during the post-war and post-1980s period in the EU, in which he tracked the evolution of scales of state intervention intended to stabilize, manage and redirect urban development patterns, Brenner (2004) postulated that the medium- and long-term tendencies of state rescaling during this period were characterised by self-undermining responses to self-perpetuated crises, and processes of state rescaling have been animated through regulatory failure (pp. 128), which he dubbed the 'Rescaled Competition State Regime'. The 'regulatory failure' of Auckland's regional governments' 'crises' appear to have engendered processes of state rescaling, exemplified most recently in the establishment of the Royal Commission for

Auckland Governance following the broadly popular perception that Auckland was suffering from a governance 'problem'.

In order to apply the analytical lens used in Brenner's *New State Spaces* (2004) to the present study, it is necessary to examine evolving state scalar responses to growth management in the context of post-Rogernomics, late 20th century New Zealand. It has been said that one of the characteristics of New Zealand's political environment is that political ideology often dictates the way in which local communities are governed and managed (Drage, 2011: 11). As a consequence, the undercurrent of new institutional economics in public sector reform has resulted in a focus on issues relating to reducing the role of the state and the rationalisation of government structures, the avoidance of bureaucratic or interest group capture and the concomitant decoupling of policy advice from implementation, the design of incentive structures, reducing transaction and agency costs, and the specification of outputs and outcomes (Boston, 1991b)(Boston, 1991). Gunder (2006: 208) has commented that the rise of neoliberal values, market deregulation, and public choice theory formed the 'commonsense of the times' (see also Allmendinger, 2001; Gleeson, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002). The intellectual currents of public choice and agency theories, transaction-cost analysis and managerialism in the 1980s have also had significant impact on subsequent local government and resource management reform, not only on the language of political discourse, but also on the way such policy issues are defined, analysed and responded to (Boston, 1991b: 23). The libertarian policy agenda and associated neoliberal reforms of the Fourth Labour Government were largely kept and built upon by the Fourth National Government (Memon et al., 2007), establishing the broadly neoliberal foundations of much of New Zealand's current policy framework. From the most recent central government discourse, evinced in the thematic analysis applied to official government position papers, discussion documents and journalistic records, it is apparent that local government restructuring and urban planning reform is rationalised through language that promotes, and indeed prioritises, economic growth and global competitiveness. This interpretation is only strengthened by the observation that the rationale for these transformations resonates deeply with the themes that are evident in broader central government objectives for Auckland and New Zealand: global competitiveness, economic performance, and affordability.

The general similarities among local government reforms in Britain, New Zealand and Australia - equally in terms of rationale, process and outcome - are perhaps not startling, given the colonial history of the latter two, Pacific nations. While the timing has varied, with Britain preceding Australia and New Zealand by at least two decades, local governments of all three nations have experienced Tiley (2010) concludes that the successive amalgamation and legislative changes enacted in New Zealand were intended to guide them to better meet 'market driven' national economic policy agenda, and that this is consistent with the popular New Public Management (NPM) style, the principles of

which include enhanced performance and regional/global competitiveness, cost efficiency, and the promotion of private sector management practices.

One of the most interesting concepts to arise out of the early work on state rescaling (advanced by Jessop (2002) and MacLeod and Goodwin (1999)), is the concept that state scalar organization is at once a site for, mechanism of, and outcome of political strategies⁶. This notion bears semblance to Boudreau's (Boudreau, 2003: 184) proposition that social movements in Montreal use the unit of 'the territory' as a tool to attain larger goals, such as quality of life, social justice and identity. In the above-mentioned study of rescaled urban governance strategies in western Europe, Brenner (2004) theorised that periodized cycles of state scalar transformation were in fact a political strategic response to urban intensification and acceleration. Furthermore, he suggested that "rather than promoting 'balanced' urban and regional development within relatively autocratic national space-economies, the overarching goal of [western European] urban locational policies is to position major cities and city-regions strategically within supranational (Europe and global) circuits of capital accumulation" (Brenner, 2009a: 128). Another example of this concept could be interpreted from Searle and Bunker's (2010) study of Australian politics, in which the authors concluded that by appealing to two key discourses (economic competitiveness and development, and sustainability) Australian states have successfully recentralized planning control by "selling" governance restructuring as a necessary precursor to job creation, cities' economic competitiveness, and environmentally sustainable development. Under the architecture/strategy logic, transformations to local government structure and function, and scalar referent for spatial planning decisions, could appropriately be interpreted as mechanisms to recentralize urban planning, and simultaneously as outcomes of a political strategy that prioritises economic competitiveness at the international level. In New Zealand, growing central government concern over the Auckland Regional Council's ability to successfully manage their natural resources and make acceptable trade-offs between environmental and economic wellbeing led to concomitant reviews on Auckland governance and natural resource management performance in 2009. The timing of these two reviews, and the nature of the institutional change that both recommended (McNeill, 2011a), further supports the interpretation that not only is there a concerted effort to transform the state scalar architecture of urban planning, but there is also an effort to steer these transformations in a direction that recentralises urban planning and infrastructure investment decisions.

4.8 Conclusion

Analysis has revealed decades of significant transformations to the state scalar architecture of spatial planning in Auckland, evinced in the numerous central government-led changes to local government

⁶ Referred to hereafter as the architecture/strategy logic.

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

structure and function, and changes to the resource management/urban planning framework. These transformations are observed in institutional recalibrations, policy reorientations, and scale-specific regulatory experiments; and the scale differentiation and subsequent rescaling of urban spatial planning and process in Auckland (through which urban containment policies emerge). Thematic analysis has also revealed an accumulation of themes in current central government discourse around local government restructuring and urban planning reform, relating to notions of economic growth, international competitiveness, and minimal regulation (including regulation of urban form), which appear to resonate with the themes in the government's broader objectives for Auckland and New Zealand. Considering the identified discursive themes and explicit objectives, it is not surprising that central government has regarded the most recent Auckland spatial plan and associated processes, unprecedented in scope, as a promising opportunity, as well as posing considerable potential risk.

Based on existing New Zealand literature, Auckland's state scalar transformations appear to be reflective of evolving ideological tendencies, broader politico-economic context, and governance discourses at the time. Over time, and grounded initially in the principles of new institutional economics, the enduring objectives for local government reorganisation have ranged from "improved efficiency and accountability to greater contestability in the provision of both policy advice and government services" (Boston, 1991a: 233). Despite early discourse of decentralisation, there has been little evidence of a conscious policy of serious functional devolution (Reid, 2008b; Tiley, 2010: 24). On the contrary, based on the concrete-historical transformations to the state scalar architecture governing spatial and urban planning there appears to be an accelerating trend of increasing central government involvement in both local government and local governance.

In contrast to fluctuating central government perspectives on the issue, local government has demonstrated long-running support for the idea of decentralised responsibilities for urban planning and development, primarily based on the perceived benefits of subsidiarity and the potential for improved decisions and outcome. Since 1999, local governments' initial emphasis on the normative benefits of devolved decision-making has been replaced by a noticeable preoccupation with funding matters, specifically expressed as a desire for increased financial and implementation support from central government. Much of this new stance seem to be based on a heightened awareness that well-aimed investments in land transport infrastructure are critical to the realisation of growth objectives, including intensification targets. This awareness was perhaps most tellingly revealed in the Auckland Plan, although the recent messages coming from the current central government signal both the trepidation felt and readiness with which it might intervene in (traditionally) local government planning decisions. The seemingly divergent perspectives on the appropriate role of local government in spatial planning highlights the discursive rift that exists between these two tiers of government, which

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAPING AUCKLAND'S URBAN FORM

appears to resonate with a broader (and indeed, longer running) decentralisation/recentralisation debate.

Chapter 5. Journey to a Compact City

5.1 Introduction to chapter

Using the analysis outcomes discussed in Chapter Four, the primary purpose of this Chapter is to give empirical weight to the argument that the language used in local governance models are useful markers that resonate with accompanying perspectives on specific urban planning policy and mechanisms, such as urban containment. This argument is illustrated through an examination of the relationship between a) the intergovernmental discursive tension around the use of growth containment mechanisms in Auckland, and b) changes in the scalar dimension of urban governance; an examination that has been conceptually informed by contemporary state rescaling empirical work. In particular, this examination has been inspired by contributors that have traced the rescaling of state spaces for spatial development policy and planning in the context of the contested evolution of formal government institutions, in their efforts to detect emergent strategies of political-economic intervention (Brenner, 2009a: 135). The analysis allows for an interesting discussion of the conceptual insights this lens offers into understanding Auckland's experience, while also providing room for critique of this lens and a discussion of how other conceptual frameworks may be used to engage with certain aspects of the findings.

The chapter begins with a descriptive account of the use of urban containment mechanisms in Auckland since the introduction of the 'urban fence' in 1951, along with interpretations of the evolving rationale for such mechanisms, afforded by detailed thematic analysis of regional planning documents. This analysis reveals the persistence of this regulatory mechanism as a planning response to evolving regional objectives and discourse as detailed in the plans. Language in the rationale for urban containment mechanisms has long revolved around ideas of resource efficiency and the protection of environmental values, which were subsumed into a discourse of Sustainability at the turn of this century. More recently, it is possible to observe a repackaging of these and other concepts so as to frame Sustainability less as a free-standing discourse and more as a means to an end, in this case, the all-encompassing Global Competitiveness and Liveability discourses. Through contextual references to international planning best practice and legislative environments, this section of the Chapter discusses how sustainability rhetoric has been prevalent in Auckland's rationale for urban containment for considerable time, albeit variably expressed, and most that has been recently reframed in a way that clearly resonates with central government discourse and objectives for Auckland. Concurrently, the analysis suggests a subtle refocusing of regional planning perspective, from inwards facing to a more global outlook, arguably in response to an increasingly globalised national and regional economy.

Informed by foundational and contemporary state rescaling work, the final section considers how intergovernmental discursive tension around urban containment relate to salient elements of the broader discussion presented in Chapter Four. For example, central government-led transformations to the state scalar architecture of spatial planning aim to recentralize urban planning and infrastructure investment decisions, and central government discourse rejects regulatory planning tools in favour of free-market principles.

While considerable discursive effort (both structural and political) has gone into opposing the inclusion of an urban containment mechanism in the Auckland Plan, the RUB has persisted through to the final Plan, albeit with considerable modification. The endurance of the compact city and urban containment mechanism is attributed to the discursive agility displayed by local government actors. The Chapter concludes with a critical discussion of the conceptual insights offered by contemporary state rescaling research into the analytical observations and interpretations. At the same time, limitations of the state rescaling lens for understanding the more nuanced internal dynamics of Auckland's experience are recognised, followed by a review of concepts and empirical work that have engaged more closely with these dynamics.

5.2 Urban containment policies in Auckland: Evolving rationale for an enduring goal

Containment policies and a compact city approach have been present in Auckland's urban planning repertoire since the 1950s. Detailed thematic analysis of the regional plans since that period reveal only minor subsequent adjustments of the specific terms given to containment mechanisms. At the same time, certain elements of the rationale used to justify the use of these mechanisms have evolved subtly; but overall it appears that 'sustainability' concepts such as resource efficiency, and economic, social and environmental values, have persisted through the decades. In other words, the development and planning discourses in which these evolving rationales are embedded have shifted through time, yet have continued to frame urban containment as an appropriate and rational tool to achieve broader objectives. The summary results of the thematic analysis of various Auckland regional plans, policies and strategies from 1951 to 2012 are displayed in Table 5-1. Grounded in the analysis presented in this table, the following sub-section explores these local government-level discourses around urban planning in terms of the politico-economic context in which they arose, and their resonance with international planning discourses and best practice at the time.

CHAPTER FIVE: JOURNEY TO A COMPACT CITY

Table 5-1. Urban containment in Auckland regional plans, policy and strategy: 1951 – 2012

Produced By	Discursive Artefact (Year)	Containment terms used	Themes in the Rationale	Underlying discourse in policy objectives
Auckland Metropolitan Planning Organisation	Outline Development Plan (1951)	“the urban fence” “the green belt”	To limit economic inefficiencies associated with sprawl; to retain contrast and coherence of land uses; to protect rural land use and encourage investment and supply	Efficiency, Integration, and Productivity
Auckland Regional Authority	Auckland Regional Planning Scheme (1974)	None: “multi-linear growth” instead	N/A	Potential; Accessibility; Choice, Variety and Contrast
Auckland Regional Authority	Auckland Regional Planning Scheme (1988)	“the metropolitan limit” “urban consolidation”	To protect primary production capacity; a response to geographical and infrastructural constraints; and to protect values associated with nature and natural resources.	Efficiency and Productivity
Auckland Regional Council	Auckland Regional Policy Statement (1999)	“metropolitan urban limit”	Efficiency: cost-effective servicing by transportation systems, utility networks and other works and services Environmental Values: avoid, remedy or mitigate adverse effects on natural and physical resources.	Sustainability
Auckland Regional Growth Forum	Auckland Regional Growth Strategy (1999)	“metropolitan urban limit” “compact urban environments”	To ensure optimised diversity and choice (social values); optimised accessibility; optimised natural and physical environment.	Sustainability
Auckland Regional Growth Forum	Auckland Sustainability Framework (2007)	“quality compact form”	Supports the RGS’s policy on sprawl minimisation and promotion of compact development	Sustainability
Auckland Council	The Auckland Plan (2010)	“the rural urban boundary” “quality compact form”	For various economic, environmental and social reasons – all enhancing Competitive Edge, Efficiency, and Uniqueness	Global Competitiveness and Liveability

5.2.1 Facing Inward: Efficiency and Rural Productivity (1951 – 1988⁷)

Both the 1951 Outline Development Plan and the 1988 Regional Planning Scheme promote a discourse based on notions of efficiency and the protection of primary production in the rural area. The stated purpose of the 1951 ODP was to facilitate efficient functioning of the urban system, and integrated decision-making between localities. With reference to the form and structure of growth, the Plan's specific objectives were to "provide the means of checking the tendency towards uneconomic and unsatisfactory sprawling development" (AMPO, 1951: 6); "to correlate and integrate the elements which are vital to the efficient and orderly function of the urban structure" (AMPO, 1951: 7), and to "provide the means to guide the future development towards an efficient and economic urban structure while providing for the objectives of a healthier and more pleasant place in which to live" (AMPO, 1951: 7). Sprawling urban development was considered problematic and undesirable because of the economic inefficiencies it created: "The scattering of development over a wide expanse increases costs and reduces efficiency without providing any compensating advantages", and "from an engineering and servicing point of view, such a form is uneconomic and inefficient" (AMPO, 1951: 32). As such, dense, 'fenced in' urban development was considered the most logical response to sprawl, and, by the same token, the best strategy for efficiency: "there is every indication that... a more efficient urban structure would probably result from a more compact area" (AMPO, 1951: 34).

Besides the economic efficiencies offered by a compact urban area and corresponding urban fence, the 1951 Plan seemed to value the contrast and coherence that the latter was thought to provide. Low density areas outside the central city, "neither urban nor rural, neither town nor country", were thought to give an impression of an "incoherent and ill-defined pattern that appears to have few of the truly desirable urban qualities and yet manifesting no compensating rural characteristics" (AMPO, 1951: 32), demonstrating a preoccupation with visual aesthetic at the very local level.

⁷ The 1974 Auckland Regional Planning Scheme did not contain a policy of urban containment. Instead, it was proposed that the direction of urban growth be "guided in such a way that an urban form following a 'multi-linear' pattern evolves" (ARA, 1974: 12), and that "the coastlines and main transportation corridors will be natural directions of growth and these lines of growth should be controlled in a manner which insures a coherent form" (ARA, 1974: 10). This guidance was to be given through approved structure plans based on land-use and activity specifications, and a strategy of urban consolidation. Because the initial analysis centered on the rationale for urban containment as a reflection of wider planning discourse, this document has been excluded from further discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE: JOURNEY TO A COMPACT CITY

A discourse of Efficiency was also observed in the 1988 Regional Planning Scheme, not only because it was a stated principle objective of the Scheme, but also because the most frequent and explicit linkages exist between its rhetoric and references to the containment policy. The central principle of the Scheme was “making the best use of the Region’s resources” (ARA, 1988: 4, 6), and the “wise use and management” of these resources is crucial to this philosophy”. The terms ‘best-’ and ‘wise use’ meant “working towards sustainable options and the avoidance of waste” (ARA, 1988: 4); subtly introducing the first hint of sustainability rhetoric. Like the 1951 ODP, unplanned and inefficient development and expansion (“a sprawling city”) was considered undesirable in 1988, with associated costs identified as the “loss of good soils”, the financial costs of “providing essential services and transport” to spread out areas, and the “social implications” (ARA, 1988: 23), although the latter is not described in any detail. The proposed metropolitan limit was presented as a rational response to various structural and physical conditions that constrain urban development, such as geographical distance from existing public services, susceptibility to flooding or land instability, or limited existing infrastructural capacity, each of which posed significant financial costs to overcome.

The protection of land suitable for the production of food (‘prime agricultural land’) is also prioritized throughout both the 1951 OPD and 1988 RPS. The proposed urban fence and greenbelt aimed to protect rural land, highly valued as an important “food supply of market garden, orchard and dairy produce for the urban population” (AMPO, 1951: 35), “[playing] an important role in urban and rural economies” (AMPO, 1951: 64), and for its amenity values. Similarly in the 1988 Scheme, productive rural land was described as important for social, economic and cultural reasons, at varying spatial scales. For example, farmed land was highlighted as an important source of food and fresh produce for local consumption, and areas of primary production generate employment opportunities; make a significant contribution to the regional economy; and add diversity and character to the urban environment (ARA, 1988: 28). Based on these values, “any activity which is likely to permanently diminish primary production must be carefully examined” (ARA, 1988: 7), and areas of primary production should be protected “until there is a compelling need to urbanise the area” (ARA, 1988: 28).

Protecting productive land was evidently a core concern for both local and central government authorities throughout this period, exemplified in the statement that “primary production from the land is of vital importance to the Region and the nation” (ARA, 1988: 46), and that the Crown “has recognised... that the unnecessary expansion of urban areas into rural areas and the protection of land for food production are matters of national importance” (ARA, 1988: 36). The inward facing nature of these two plans is almost certainly a reflection of the economic and political dominance of rural productivity at the time, when New Zealand participated in the world’s markets through the sale of abundant agricultural surpluses (Franklin, 1978).

By 1988, language around the 'sensitivity' and 'vulnerability' of nature, and the environmental and amenity 'value' of nature and natural resources was also employed to justify the use of metropolitan limits. It was considered necessary to control urban development in such a way so as not to 'threaten' the 'significance', 'uniqueness' or 'quality' of nature or its perceived value. The Scheme asserted that 'visual and environmental' qualities such as 'high-amenity bays and beaches', 'natural backdrops', 'landscapes' and 'scenery' were to be 'protected' and 'safeguarded' by careful and considerate placement of metropolitan limits. The introduction of environmental concerns, even at the somewhat superficial level of vague mentions of value and uniqueness, demonstrates the beginning of a burgeoning interest in more holistic planning objectives, encompassing the environmental and social as well as the economic.

5.2.2 Looking Across: Managing the Region's Resources Sustainably (1999)

By 1999, regional planning documents wholeheartedly promoted the concept of sustainable growth, taking explicit direction from the (then) recently introduced resource management legislation⁸. Both the Regional Policy Statement 1999 and the Regional Growth Strategy 1999 make explicit mention of the term and associated objectives, including with regard to urban form and containment mechanisms. The 1999 RPS announced that its strategic direction would "guide development in a direction and towards a form which will provide appropriately for the Region's growth while managing the resources of the Region in a sustainable and integrated manner, as required by Section 59 of the RM Act" (ARC, 1999: 31). The urban containment policy contained within the 1999 RPS (achieved through the metropolitan urban limit) gave effect to the this strategic direction and met the requirements of Part II of the RMA (1991). Specifically, the MUL were designed and defined to "minimise the adverse effects of urban development on regionally significant resources", as outlined in the RMA (ARC, 1999: 38).

Based on this requirement, the RPS was designed to "retain options for future use of resources and to improve the efficiency of urban Auckland by encouraging development at locations that will promote cost-effective servicing by transportation systems, utility network systems and other works and services" (ARC, 1999: 42). In this way, the RPS built on the Efficiency discourse of the 1988 Auckland Regional Planning Scheme, centring on the various perceived economic, social and environmental disadvantages of inefficient low-density urban form and urban expansion which were portrayed as the antitheses of urban intensification and containment. Thus, an Efficiency rhetoric

⁸ The RMA defined sustainable management of resources as that which ensures people's and communities' ability to provide for their social, economic and cultural wellbeing; ensures the future use of natural and physical resources; protects and enhances the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and avoids, remedies or mitigates adverse effects on the environment.

became incorporated into and strengthened a wider Sustainability concept, rather than existing as a stand-alone discursive objective.

At the same time, the strategic direction was also designed “to avoid any adverse effects of urban Auckland on areas outside the metropolitan area” and to “protect the Region’s natural resources from significant adverse effects of urban development” (ARC, 1999: 42). The Statement’s detailed description of the wide-ranging values associated with the environment – ecological, cultural, amenity, and productivity⁹ – illustrate an ongoing and increased awareness of the interrelatedness and interlinked nature of the region’s resources.

In the same year, the 1999 Growth Strategy was prepared as a pathway to regional sustainability, and its outlined Growth Concept, based on compact urban environments, was said to illustrate the destination (ARGF, 1999: 26). One important aspect of the RGS was that it proposed intensification of housing as a way of achieving the Growth Concept, and another was that it supported the RPS’s metropolitan urban limit. The RGS was significant because it was produced by the Auckland Regional Growth Forum; a non-statutory collaborative strategic planning initiative between the ARC and the Territorial Local Authorities (TLA), in response to perceived National Government attempts to “dramatically to limit local government’s involvement in urban and social planning” (Perkins and Thorns, 2001: 639). Based on collaborative partnership, forum partners agreed to modify their RMA regional and district plans to ensure consistency with the RGS.

Objectively, the holistic focus on environmental, social and economic values as promoted in both the 1999 RPS and RGS is in large part due to the resource management legislation of the time. However, it is also arguably reflective of broader developments in planning at the time, in which the transcendental (and arguably, contestable) ideal of sustainability was adopted in the interest of developing and adopting new discourses and practices of environmental management. Gunder (2006) has explored how sustainability has come to occupy a central place within New Zealand planning as the organizing principle of one of the discipline’s most important discursive fields, and suggests that the concept came to encompass “humanity’s diverse environmental concerns and responses” (p. 209). Numerous comparative studies on metropolitan-level spatial strategies have identified frequent use of a “sustainability” discourse to frame strategic objectives (MacCallum and Hopkins (2011: 485) in both European and Australian contexts.

⁹ Ecological values described in the RPS include references to ecosystems, water quality, air quality, soil quality, wildlife. Cultural values contain references to Tangata Whenua and iwi. Amenity values are broader in scope, containing references to landscape and the coast, regionally and nationally significant landscape and features, visual features, and natural and cultural heritage. Productivity values relate to the economic and productive value of soils and land.

5.2.3 Facing Outward: A Globally Competitive & Liveable Auckland (2012)

By 2012, the newly amalgamated local government structure for Auckland had produced a spatial plan which promoted a multi-faceted discourse based on notions of Global Competitiveness and Liveability. Indeed, the stated aim of the Auckland Plan is for Auckland to be the “world’s most liveable city” (AC, 2012b: 2), and Auckland’s future is said to lie in “being an international city amongst other international cities, while maintaining the special qualities that make it a unique environment and an inclusive community” (AC, 2012b: 36). A quality compact form is described as advantageous for numerous economic, social and environmental reasons¹⁰, and therefore the Plan aspires to achieve 70% of total new dwellings inside the existing core urban area, as delineated by the baseline 2010 MUL, and 30% outside the limit. However, the Plan is flexible enough to provide 60% of new development inside the MUL and 40% outside it. Staged release of greenfield areas for future residential and business land will occur within the 2040 Rural Urban Boundary (RUB); the Plan’s updated urban containment mechanism. This RUB defines “the maximum extent of urban development to 2040 in the form of a permanent rural-urban interface” (AC, 2012b: 49). The emphasis for a permanent boundary perhaps reflects a desire to curb the past permeability of the MUL¹¹.

The rhetoric of Global Competitiveness revolves around helping Auckland “compete on the international stage” (AC, 2012b: 2), and is embedded in references, the built environment (through City Centre/waterfront renewal and transport projects), the natural environment, and the economy (in terms of ‘green growth’ and entrepreneurship). In reference to the built environment, the Plan argues that a targeted shift towards public transport will reduce congestion, improving productivity and competitiveness; reduce fuel consumption, improve energy efficiency and decrease dependence on imported fuels (AC, 2012b: 314). The net result of these changes will be “increased resilience of the transport system through strengthening its capacity to handle unexpected events” (AC, 2012b: 314).

In reference to the natural environment, the quality of the Auckland’s natural environment is repeatedly and explicitly linked to its international competitiveness. For example, the Plan’s High Level Development Strategy “acknowledges that Auckland’s environment is a defining feature which contributes... to our comparative advantage over other international cities” (AC, 2012b: 37), as well as

¹⁰ Denser cities are said to have greater productivity and economic growth; they make better use of existing infrastructure; improved public transport is more viable; rural character and productivity are maintained; negative environmental effects of urban development are reduced; and they display greater social and cultural vitality (AC, 2012).

¹¹ In the period 1999-2008, the MUL had been extended eight times to add nearly 2000 hectares of land (Hill, 2008).

to people's wellbeing. The Plan emphasises that Auckland's unique natural environments and resources should be protected for our own enjoyment but also because it makes the city attractive to visitors and migrants, including skilled workers (AC, 2012b: 24). The Plan emphasises the need to "build on local character, and to create vibrant, creative places and inclusive communities" (AC, 2012b: 3).

In terms of the Liveability discourse, the Plan places emphasis on 'place-quality', rather than development control, as a desirable part of the planning process, focusing on good design, identity, diversity, integration and efficiency (AC, 2012b: 45). Quality and liveability are thus linked conceptually, and the urban containment mechanism is argued to contribute to the objectives of both these notions, by aiding connectivity, efficiency, and the protection of values and identity. Liveability is alluded to through repeated references to the need to sustain "our quality of life" (AC, 2012b: 41), and Auckland's 'uniqueness'.

'Uniqueness' is a novel component in the pro-containment rationale of Auckland's regional planning documents. The Plan's "quality compact city model" is said to strike the right balance between accommodating population growth and safeguarding the things that Aucklanders value about the region, enhance Auckland's amenity and build on the lifestyle the region is renowned for (AC, 2012b: 3). References to the quality of the environment is explicitly linked to Aucklanders' quality of life and unique lifestyle, and both concepts are framed as vital to Auckland's 'point of difference' in an international setting, and must therefore be safeguarded. Urban containment is framed as being able to protect the multi-faceted uniqueness of Auckland, and the RUB is necessary to ensure that "future growth maintains, and does not erode, Auckland's essential qualities" (AC, 2012b: 44).

But quality of life and lifestyle are not considered sufficient to achieve the 'Mayor's vision' of being the 'World's most liveable city'. Lifestyle must be "underpinned by a stronger, more sustainable and more resilient economy" if it is to achieve that international title (AC, 2012b: 24). A sustainable and resilient economy is one which is "well placed to cope with and benefit from the changing global environment" (AC, 2012b: 24), with the "ability to cope with unexpected shocks", and is attractive "as a preferred destination for skilled migrants and dynamic companies with a green growth focus" (AC, 2012b: 25). Liveability also means that Auckland is "a place that others want to visit, move to or invest in". These statements illustrate the connection between the Liveability theme and the Globally Competitiveness theme, as well as the outward/global facing nature of its perspective.

The Plan places explicit emphasis on remaining competitive on a global scale, and the relationship between liveability and competitiveness, is summarised in the following consideration of what the world might look like in 2040:

Cities will *compete* with each other in the development of new science and technology and the support for innovative business. The rapidity of technological innovation, ongoing *internationalisation* of national economies and the potential for further reductions to trade barriers will intensify *competition* between firms. Competitive advantages may be short-lived, and the pressure to innovate constantly will be intense. Successful cities in 2040 will consider how they can help local firms *compete* in this environment: support promising new businesses and attract dynamic companies from elsewhere. This will require more than the provision of *world-class* communication infrastructure and a conducive regulatory environment (AC, 2012b: 22-23, emphasis added).

In order to achieve its competitive and liveable vision, the Plan takes an “eco-city approach” to decision-making processes and actions (AC, 2012b: 35), with a strong focus on the natural environment and ‘green’ urban and rural economies. This approach is considered “central to Auckland’s aspirations to enhance its liveability and generate new and sustainable economic opportunities”(AC, 2012b: 35).

The eco-city approach taken by the Plan, and the explicit links made between sustainability, liveability and competitiveness, clearly demonstrates that ‘sustainability’ as a concept has shifted from being a primary regional planning objective, to occupy more of a strategic position in achieving objectives. Similarly, rationale for urban containment mechanisms have shifted from the avoidance of inefficient and uneconomic provision of urban structures, to the protection of environmental values, and finally to safeguarding of a range of social, cultural, economic, and environmental values. Triple bottom line notions such as a resilient economy, social wellbeing, and protected natural resources, all tenets of sustainability, are portrayed as integral components of a city/region which competes on the world stage and is well placed to remain competitive in a dynamic international economic environment.

5.3 Current Central Government Perspective on Urban Containment

Local government politics in Auckland have been characterized by fractious disagreements about who should plan for growth, where growth should go, and who should service it (Memon et al., 2007). Similarly, discursive tensions between central and local government over the use of urban containment mechanisms in Auckland, currently termed the Rural Urban Boundary, have been heavily publicised in the media during the past 3 years since (the latest round of regional planning). While the previous section reviewed shifting local government rationale for an enduring compact city goal and consistent deployment of an urban limit, this section of the chapter contains a detailed examination the divergent current central government perspective in order to better understand the parameters of these tensions. The section also demonstrates that the language used in the current central government rationale opposing the urban containment policy and mechanism reflects discourses surrounding local governance and resource management/urban planning.

Current central government perspective on urban containment and intensification is most evident in the Auckland Plan Position Papers released on February 28, 2011 (Cabinet, 2011a; Cabinet, 2011b). Prior to their release, these position papers were used to clarify the government's position on a number of key issues in a formal meeting held between Cabinet Ministers, Auckland Mayor Len Brown, Auckland Council Chief Executive Doug McKay and Chief Planning Officer Roger Blakeley. Central government perspective on urban containment was also gleaned from the Building Competitive Cities discussion document, released by the Ministry for the Environment in 2010 (MfE); Briefings to Incoming Ministers of Transport (MoT, 2011) and Local Government (DIA, 2011); and comments made by Ministry advisors during interviews. The analysis suggests that Auckland's previous growth containment policy and tool is perceived as not only ineffective at achieving urban containment and intensification, but also at odds with the concepts that are important to central government, namely: housing affordability, market feasibility, and individual choice.

Interestingly, the National Party representative interviewed did not support the idea that tension exists between central and local government on the urban containment issue ("In my view, they're not opposing or conflicting"), which sits in stark contrast with what has been expressed by political commentators in the media, and interview comments made by Ministry advisors, Auckland Council planners and other representatives from other political parties. Commenting on the Auckland Plan's "proud affirmation of past policy" to realise a quality compact city, one political commentator had this to say:

Seconds out of the ring. The latest battle for the control of Auckland has begun.... Today it is Mayor Len Brown versus Prime Minister John Key. With the release of the Draft Auckland Plan, Auckland Council has thrown down the gauntlet to the Government (Rudman, 2011)

Many interviewees also drew attention to the political tension between central and local government over the application of urban containment mechanisms in Auckland:

A typical [issue] might be the MUL/RUB... they're really hung up on that. [Ministers are] only interested in a few things; they don't necessarily have time to get right into across the whole [spatial plan] document, but that's the one that really seems to cause the most amount of interest (Interviewee B).

The difficulty for the MUL and RUB is that it creates a hell of a lot of political heat (Interviewee F).

Some Cabinet ministers meet with Len Brown and the Auckland Council from time to time, and the reports that I've had of those meetings are that the ministers have been kind of openly scornful and derisive of the Auckland Plan and the idea of the compact city (Interviewee C).

That was a real deal breaker for Ministers; they hated the MUL (Interviewee G).

The negotiations on urban containment that took place between Council and central government agencies such as the MoT, MfE, MED and others were thought to be have been complicated by the relative novelty and scope of the new Council structure and its spatial plan:

You had on one side the Council trying to deliver what it considered to be its objectives and what it wanted its strategies to be, the Mayor's vision and so on; and on the other hand you had the government being quite sceptical about the whole process, and having some quite reasonably narrow objectives... (Interviewee G).

The comments made by interviews revealed a number of perceived reasons for this tension, including a lack of understanding of spatial planning by central government; the unexpected election of Len Brown over John Banks; and miscommunication between the spheres of government over containment targets.

5.3.1 A Legacy of Failure

The official government position on the historical approach to growth management and containment policies in Auckland is that these have had limited success, evidenced in the residential greenfield/rural areas that have greatly exceeded development targets, and the level of new development in town centres that has fallen well short of levels targeted in the ARGs (Cabinet, 2011b). Even the targets set in the ARGs are considered to have been set at the “ambitious end” of range of targets set in Australian cities (Cabinet, 2011b: 4). The position papers attribute Auckland's limited success in its historic approach to growth management to a range of problems with ARGs implementation; such as planning delays, lack of private sector engagement and investment prioritisation, and inconsistent use of financial instruments.

Similarly, the then-Minister of Local Governance claimed that Auckland has historically struggled to provide the infrastructure and planning needed to match and capitalise on its rapid growth; the result of an inability to set strategic direction through its various plans (Hide, 2010b: 5). These statements suggests that the Minister perceived insufficient growth management approaches in early proposals, and was of the opinion that Council was proving incapable of providing adequate planning and infrastructure. Scholars and political commentators alike share this interpretation of central government sentiment. Rudman acknowledges that “senior National Party ministers have long fought against Auckland's old regional growth strategy, based around a metropolitan limit designed to stop urban sprawl into the surrounding farmlands” (Rudman, 2011), and Drage's comment that “central government has, until recently, largely shunned local government as the poor relation or the incompetent younger sibling” (Drage, 2011: 11) suggests that the sentiment has not been limited to the National Party. Indeed, one interviewee reported that central government were openly sceptical of

the land-use change forecasts that Council had used in the ARGS and were likely to be used in the development of the spatial plan (Interviewee F). This scepticism is widely shared by the property industry - developers, builders and property owners - who “believe that, historically, councils have got it wrong when matching growth predictions to supply of land” (Nixon, 2011).

5.3.2 Less Regulation, More Market

Analysis of the discourse in government position papers, political commentary and interviewee transcripts reveals the underlying central government perception that Auckland’s local governments have tended to place too much emphasis on regulatory tools, such as the MUL. The MUL is explicitly considered a “blunt instrument” compared to international uses of urban containment mechanisms, and is thought to have been applied rigidly, without consideration of broader costs and benefits of their use. This perception is observable in the following statement: “the objective of the Auckland MUL is simply to protect rural and coastal environments” (MfE, 2010b: 22). MUL and spatial plans are also identified by the MfE as two tools that may not be effectively supporting urban development, because they are either inadequate, or need to be complemented by new tools to be effective, respectively (MfE, 2010a: 11). These statements imply a lack of central government confidence in and support for those two tools as they stand.

During meetings with Council planners, MfE advisors have consistently advocated a less regulatory approach to compact urban form, in favour of “smarter ways of planning” (Interviewee G), meaning reducing barriers to intensification, incentivising more compact forms of development through infrastructure charging, and implementing more design-based development rules. This ‘smarter’ planning approach was portrayed as win-win by one Ministry representative, as it would still reduce pressure on the periphery, and avoid conflict between Council and Ministers over the issue of the MUL (Interviewee G).

Central government’s aversion to regulatory mechanisms for managing urban growth appears throughout the results of the thematic analysis of central government position papers and discussion documents, and interviews transcripts. Three predominant threads in the rationale opposing urban containment revolve around housing affordability, feasibility, and individual choice.

5.3.3 Housing Affordability

Housing affordability has been a very public central government concern since the release of the initial proposals for the scope of the spatial plan, when then-Minister of Local Government suggested that scope would require broadening to encompass “issues such as the overall approach to the accommodation of growth across Auckland” (Hide, 2010b: 5). This perspective was supported by the Productivity Commission, who argued that containment policies such as ‘Smart Growth’ and Auckland’s Metropolitan Urban Limit (MUL) have an adverse effect on affordability by limiting the

availability of land, and thus pushing up land prices, in their inquiry into the factors influencing the affordability of housing (NZPC, 2012). The Productivity Commission even went as far as to suggest that “Smart Growth and affordable housing are inconsistent goals for a single community to pursue simultaneously”, adding to the idea that local government’s growth management and urban planning approach is unrealistic (see below). John Key, now Prime Minister and leader of the National Party, supported this notion and demonstrated his opposition to a strongly regulated land market in past comments about the Labour-led government:

The truth is that when it comes to housing affordability, this Government is the problem, not the solution. It is the Government's economic management and its heavy-handed regulation that has made owning your own home unattainable for many people (Key, 2007).

5.3.4 Feasibility

Much of the language in central government’s perspective on urban containment, and spatial planning more generally, has emphasised terms like ‘realistic’, ‘feasible’, ‘achievable’, ‘credible’, and to a lesser extent, ‘likeable’. Interviewees who have been closely involved in the spatial plan development process, either directly as council planners or by providing advice to Ministers, shared the perspective that much of the disagreement between central and local government was centred on the assumptions underpinning the plan and the intensification targets, rather than the urban containment mechanism itself. For example, the National Party representative said:

What we have been very clear about is that whilst we recognize that a proportion of [growth] needs to happen within the MULs, we’ve also been very clear that we think it’s unrealistic for 100% of that to happen within the MULs, and so the discussions that we’ve been having with the Auckland Council have been specifically: ‘What is the percentage that can happen?’ Auckland needs to become more compact, it’s a question of how much and we’re relatively confident we’ll come to an agreement with the Auckland Council on that.

Similarly, the advisers in the Ministry of Transport were basically “concerned about the actual achievability of the land-use plans” set out in the initial Auckland Plan options development (Interviewee F). The reason for this concern links based on evidence that the intensification targets set out in the ARGS have not been achieved (see above), albeit recognising that it has only been 10 years since its implementation and the key rail transport investments happened later than expected. The logic used by MoT advisors was that it was unrealistic to advise government to “hang significant transport investment” off a compact city strategy which appears to be based on assumptions rather than evidence: “we’re concerned about a strategy that seeks to have all its transport projects based on... the assumptions of intensification when in fact all your growth is going to be someplace else” (Interviewee F).

Consequently, the message from central government to the Auckland Council is clear: rather than aspirational and visionary plans, decision-making should be evidence-based, 'achievable', and take cues from central government objective and direction:

Look at the evidence, because that's what spatial planning is supposed to be about. It's good to have visions and aspirations and want to go somewhere, but I think from a perspective of Ministers and this government, perhaps, is that OK that's fine, but just watch out what the wider effects are, and housing affordability is a classic example of that (Interviewee F)

What we're saying is it's all very well to have some lofty ideals about what percentage of housing you want to be within the MUL, but if you're not taking into account the fact that we've got certain RMA changes coming in, potentially another local government reform coming in, and if you're not thinking about the fact that we've been very clear from certain transport projects what we think is likely to happen, what we think is going to take longer, then you might end up filling up land in a place where the government isn't going to be setting up infrastructure to support it (Interviewee D).

Strongly tied to the notion of realism is the idea of market feasibility. Market feasibility is viewed by central government as fundamental to any solid assessment of land-use and transport options, and there was a sense that previous Council studies have tended to ignore this: "[The Council] never, in our minds, got their heads around the fact that yes, it would be wonderful if we all lived in a compact city, but the market doesn't support it. The feasibility is really difficult, even if you do have a RUB, or MUL or whatever" (Interviewee F). Approaches to urban form should therefore respond to market demand and be supported by rigorous, evidenced evaluation (Interviewee G). In other words, concern was not with the containment mechanism as such, but with the perceived infeasibility of intensified development, both in terms of what is achievable (enough "intensive opportunities for development in the existing urban area", fast enough), and in terms of what people want ("market support"). These ideas link back into previous points made about the perceived rigidity of Council regulatory mechanisms and central government's desire for Council to take advantage of the whole suite of tools available¹².

5.3.5 Individual Choice

Lastly, analysis of documents and interviewee comments revealed tension between central and local government ideas regarding the appropriateness of urban planning itself, as an activity and a process. As one interviewee put it, the tension around the broader debates about compact form and public transport investment stems from "two very different ideologies about perspectives and about urban planning, and for many people in the National Party urban planning itself is an anathema." (Interviewee C). The current government is perceived to be openly opposed to the idea of regulating

¹² Such as reducing barriers to intensification, incentivising more compact forms of development through infrastructure charging, and implementing more design-based development rules (see above).

housing location and type, and similarly opposed to any mechanism that ‘distorts’ the market and interferes with individuals’ ability to choose:

This is a government that believes in freedom of choice and individuals, the aggregate choice of individuals is the wisdom of the market and all that. But they were particularly worried about a planning regime that basically dictated to people where they can and can’t live; ‘force them to live in boxes by the railway stations’ I think was one of the quotes of one of the Ministers (Interviewee G).

National have a strong view that the MUL should go, just let development run, a scepticism about public transport, and a belief in the private car and motorways as being the way it’s always been and the way it should always be (Interviewee C).

Similarly, the then-Minister for Local Government emphasised that the point of spatial planning is “not to force people to live and work in particular ways” (Hide, 2010b: 5), and then-Minister of Transport Steven Joyce claimed that the challenge for Auckland’s spatial planners in developing the Auckland Plan would be “not to impose their ideal Auckland on us, but allow for an Auckland that reflects the varied ways in which the people of our biggest city already choose to live” (Rudman, 2011). These comments from two senior government officials clearly demonstrate at least a personal ideological penchant for individual choice, indicative of an ‘anti-regulatory’ approach to urban governance more generally. The central government position papers also point out that the use of regulatory containment mechanisms have proven highly controversial with affected owners and developers, in an apparent attempt to demonstrate the lack of “likeability” of the compact city approach to planning. As part of this argument, the government refers to local communities that have been resistant to change and strongly opposed plan changes that promote higher densities, and points out that there have been a number of poor quality examples of intensification (Cabinet, 2011b: 5).

The MfE also actively promoted the idea of individual choice to Auckland Council during the spatial plan development process: “We were really for trying to help council figure out ways of planning that weren’t just about regulation but were about allowing the city to grow in a more organic way, that actually incentivized and was in line with people’s preferences rather than trying to force them to ways of living” (Interviewee G). All of these comments and ideas evince central government’s strong political aversion to strict regulatory mechanisms.

After careful analysis of media articles, interviewee comments and central government position papers, it is evident that much of the rationale opposing urban containment mechanisms resonates deeply with broader central government objectives for Auckland (and arguably, New Zealand). Based on the repetition of rhetoric around less regulation, affordability and feasibility, current central government opposition to urban containment appears to reflect the body of discourse which has

underpinned contemporary transformations to local government and urban planning/resource management frameworks, which was first discussed in Chapter Four.

5.4 The Endurance of the Compact City Model & Local Government Discursive Agility

The Auckland Plan was built off the ARGS, the 2010 RLTS, Plan Change 6, and “everything that had gone before... in the context of the Mayor’s vision” (Interviewee F), and interviewees implied that the persistence of the compact city approach to urban planning in Auckland was in large part due to the policy legacy left by the ARC “compact city guardians” and accepted best practice among planners. Numerous interviewees referred to senior staff members of the Auckland Regional Council (ARC) as the ‘guardians’ or ‘watchdogs’ of urban planning and urban containment policies for Auckland. At the same time, policy ideas for urban planning tend to get imported from overseas: “we’re always looking to Australia or other examples internationally... to the States and Canada... for guidance” (Interviewee B), and the compact city concept was no exception. Both the past and current AC planners interviewed shared the view that there is “reasonably strong consensus” among planners around the idea that a compact approach to city planning is a good thing. There was also the sense that the rationale for taking a compact approach was much more readily accepted and understood by the lower level planning professionals in Council (“a lot of people who work within the circles in planning sort of take it as a given a little bit”) than senior staff (Interviewee B), supporting the previously made point that ‘compact’ pervades planning best practice here and abroad.

Yet despite the importation of planning ideas and legacy documents, Council interviewees gave the impression that planners had not simply “[rolled] forward the momentum of previous policy” (Interviewee B), that they “certainly started on the premise that we can use evidence that we already had, but we also had to test it” (Interviewee A), and had “actually [thought] critically about what actually works in Auckland”. The legacy ‘compact’ approach was considered sound and Auckland-appropriate: “the legacy planning [was] certainly built around the context of Auckland... every city is different and Auckland has a real mix of challenges” (Interviewee B). Ultimately, the containment policy is the result of a combination of policy trends, ‘sound’ legacy planning, and “a response to Auckland’s issues” (Interviewee B). In any case, basing urban planning approaches on legacy plans is a pragmatic response to the short timeframes imposed on the Auckland Plan development process: “You simply can’t reinvent the wheel in the time that we’ve had. It would be foolish to – it’s such a body of acquired knowledge” (Interviewee B). In the end the legacy approach to urban form and growth “has flown through as it needed to, because a lot of it was sound thinking”, however staff at the senior level still needed much convincing (Interviewee B). Despite this, there was the perception that central government and other critics of urban containment mechanisms viewed the local government’s long standing stance on compact form as an “ideology... that we’re going through [the

spatial planning process] sort of blinkered and everything”, rather than viewing it as a concept that had been analysed carefully and of valid merit. This perception was certainly supported by then-Transport Minister Steven Joyce’s comment that an urban containment approach to growth is underpinned by “a philosophy that argues that urban planners should have much more say about how we live our lives, and it’s an agenda that the old Auckland Regional Council had in Auckland for a long time: have a cast-iron metropolitan urban limit ...” (Joyce, 2010).

Central government discourse clearly promotes “enhancing economic efficiency and international competitiveness” (Larner, 2000: 7), and analysis has evinced that similar language and rhetoric has been incorporated into the Auckland Plan’s discourse of Global Competitiveness. But while core aspects of central government discourse arguably resonates with neo-liberal values and principles, the endurance of the compact city approach and urban containment mechanism in the Auckland Plan prevents drawing the conclusion that Auckland is experiencing a coherent, top-down neo-liberal policy programme.

If anything, the analysis demonstrates considerable discursive agility in the face of power differentials. Local government is not rolled over by a central government juggernaut, but instead appears to actively engage with central government discourse and agenda in order to justify its own. Institutional geographies (expressions of state space) and other forms of state rescaling (e.g. regulatory experiments) are inherited (Brenner, 2009a), and can therefore be reworked or strategically appropriated to fit incoming political strategy if necessary. And it appears that the Auckland experience is not unique or unprecedented. In their reflections on reflections on the RMA and the practice of urban planning in New Zealand, Perkins and Thorns (2001: 652) point out that city managers and councils have a long history of using centrally-imposed planning instruments in a way that coincides with central government’s objectives, but also disrupts them by responding to local factors, such as local political culture and economic activity.

Some scholars of spatial planning have advocated more academic attention be given to the non-strategic and less successful day to day work of actors in their political context (Friedmann, 1998; Newman, 2008; Stone, 2005) precisely because “governing officials are never detached from their political relationships and therefore do not make policy decisions in a way that is abstracted from these relationships (Newman, 2008: 1378). Similarly, Campbell (2002) has commented on the importance of recognising and acknowledging the role of personal and professional values in planning. First and foremost, planners are people, who by virtue of their own experiences and professional background use values to make judgments over what constitutes ‘good planning’ practice. Therefore the act of planning - “making choices, with and for others, about what makes good places” – depends on planners’ own judgement about distinctions between “good and bad” and

“better and worse” (Campbell, 2002: 272). Planners can therefore be considered “practical ethicists” (Forester, 1999: 31), exercising “situated judgement” in just institutions (Campbell, 2002: 272). Indeed, interview comments made by the Auckland Council planner directly involved in the spatial plan development processes indicated that planners working on the Auckland Plan generally embrace compact form and urban containment as given concepts and best practice approaches. Similarly, one respondent indicated that he actively facilitated communication between Council and senior government officials during the spatial plan development, and promoted the inclusion of a spatial plan in the LGA during previous employment in another central government agency.

The specific work and influence of actors in the spatial planning process, specifically local government planners and central government advisors, was picked up on during the analysis but the state rescaling lens failed to capture the finer detail of this work. The emergence and practice of important actors in the development of spatial plan legislation and the spatial plan itself can be usefully approached with a focus on policy entrepreneurship. Even the most cursory analysis of interviewee comments flags that important elements of policy entrepreneurship are evident in the present research. For example, by actively engaging with both Council and central government decision-makers; successfully presenting particular arguments in an appealing form to proximate policymakers; and maintaining critical perspective within a complex political environment, respondents demonstrate a high level of social acuity in understanding others and engaging in policy conversations to instigate change (Kingdon, 1984/1995; Lindblom, 1968; Mintrom and Norman, 2009). The entrepreneurial role of state-level policy analysts in influencing technical issues, such as the inclusion of a spatial plan within new legislation, has been demonstrated and discussed by Rabe (2004). Similarly, the role of key senior government officials in shaping local government reform during the government’s review Auckland’s local governance could be more closely examined under the lens of policy entrepreneurship. Specifically, this might focus on how the group led by then-Minister of Local Government Rodney Hyde were able to perceive and take advantage of the “window of opportunity” presented by the Royal Commission’s report to articulate Auckland local government restructuring onto the government’s agenda (Kingdon, 1984/1995). Influenced by Kingdon’s policy streams theory, Mintrom (2000) and Roberts and King (1996) have identified policy entrepreneurs in various contexts and analysed their actions.

5.5 At the Nexus of Urban Containment Tensions and Changes to the Scalar Dimension of Governance: Lessons from Auckland and the Conceptual Contribution of Contemporary State Rescaling Frameworks

The analysis and discussion presented in Chapter Four has argued that contemporary central government discourse around local government restructuring and urban planning reform is comprised of language broadly supportive of free market ideals, deregulation, and the minimalist state. Analysis

has also suggested that, in contrast to current central government discourse, successive local governments have advocating the planning benefits of decentralised decision-making and the use of regulatory mechanisms for urban containment. This next section draws attention to the discursive correlations between the rationale that support and surround local governance models, perspectives on urban and spatial planning, and official stances on urban containment mechanisms. It also explores the conceptual contribution of contemporary state rescaling frameworks to understanding these discursive relationships, and elaborates on other conceptual frameworks that engage more closely with the specific internal dynamics that the state rescaling lens fails to capture.

Aside from providing a highly useful method for organising large amounts of discursive data, contemporary state rescaling frameworks offer interesting ways of understanding state scalar shifts and the significance of specific discursive tensions. Voets and De Rynck (2006), for example, questioned how territorial governance is shaped in practice, and the extent to which “new” governance spaces have actually resulted in novel policy spaces. These authors found that while new and innovative decision-making processes have emerged from specific new governance spaces, the familiar challenges to innovation persist, namely, the reproduction of corporatists representation patterns and the reproduction of existing power relations, which both stem from “the persistence of intra-governmental and inter-governmental struggles, particularly at the ministerial level, leading to the persistence of old action rationales” (Gualini, 2006: 900). The conclusion drawn is that policy making in new governance spaces is largely the outcome of the interplay between politicians and civil servants of different tiers (Voets and De Rynck, 2006: 919) though the authors stop short of further examination into this interplay or the specific rationale and work of actors.

Nevertheless, some conceptual comparisons can be drawn between the Auckland experience and Voets and De Rynck’s inquiry. While the compact city strategy and deployment of an urban containment mechanism cannot be considered novel outcomes of Auckland’s regional planning process, the scope of stakeholder engagement beyond that of a reactive regulatory requirement, and spatial planning approach can be. The Auckland Council manager interviewed indicated that the Council approach to spatial planning was based on a European model, which focuses on four key objectives: to improve socioeconomic wellbeing, quality of life, the protection of the environment and formulation of a land-use plan in the public interest. This model was presented to the elected representatives before Councillors were even elected, in order to pre-empt discussions of what a spatial plan should be and should contain. Similarly, informal discussions with a very large stakeholder group were started early on, and there was a sense of total, open inclusion: “We were prepared to meet with any sectors, and anyone was welcome” (Interviewee A). Innovative decision-making processes can be detected in the development of the Auckland Plan, yet the analysis of central government perspective on urban containment suggests similar challenges to innovation as

detected by Voets and De Rynck in the Flemish context. Support for the idea of “persistence of old action rationales” was given by Interviewee E, who suggested that some people may oppose the compact city approach and urban containment mechanisms because they are “locked into old models, and think ‘Well it’s worked for us since 1950, we simply opened up new greenfields’. I think there’s a failure of imagination and they can’t accept that we actually have to do differently”. A further suggestion is that private sector lobby groups such as the business roundtable may oppose tightening the urban containment mechanism because the current regime (where boundaries can be contested and moved) has worked well for them so far.

The newly amalgamated Auckland Council and its novel spatial plan were introduced through a central government discourse of increased local government autonomy and unified representation. However, as analysis has shown, the changing scales and structures of spatial planning governance “cannot be interpreted in terms of a mere ‘hollowing out’ of the state” (Gualini, 2006: 901). Constituting conditions for market- and competition-orientated governance practices, observed in central government discourse, has instead led to a veritable “filling in” of state structures with new rationales around spatial planning and urban governance. This interpretation is consistent with Sager’s (2011) assertion that the structural devolution of the initial NPM reforms in New Zealand (as well as the US, UK and Australia) has subsequently been replaced by a reassertion of the centre. In an extensive cross-country comparison study, Christensen and Lægveid (2001) noted that, globally, a second generation of regulatory reforms has taken place in response to the fragmentation and siloisation created by the first reforms, as well as to the pervading issues (lack of co-ordination and control) that were not solved by the first reforms. Goodwin et al (2006a) found a similar reassertion of the centre in their analysis of the scalar dimension of processes of state restructuring in the United Kingdom. As a consequence of their study, the authors highlight the need to inquire into “the influence played by different sets of cultural, social and political factors in defining different trajectories of change in different contexts” and “the differential access gained into rescaling process by social forces” (Gualini, 2006: 901). Interestingly, this last point intersects conceptually with a post-structural political economy (PSPE)-informed approach, which provides the opportunity to explore dynamics beyond institutional architectures.

By virtue of their historical and institutional centeredness, current examples of state rescaling empirical research do not offer analytical tools to help understand other, more elusive, facets of the findings, such the role of individuals as policy entrepreneurs or brokers, the micro-political processes of political projects that emerge through rooms and moments. The next section goes beyond the state rescaling lens to discuss how at least some of these facets may be more appropriately approached through different disciplines – represented in the theoretical literature and empirical studies produced

by scholars like Le Heron , Lewis, McGuirk and Lerner – and how they allow for more nuanced understandings of governmental interplay.

5.5.1 Beyond State Rescaling

The concepts that arise from the analysis of current central government's opposition to urban containment policy and mechanisms - Housing Affordability, Market Feasibility and Individual Choice - stem from an aversion to regulatory mechanisms that are seen to interfere with or artificially restrict the market, and impinge on individuals' ability to make choices. Collectively, the concepts and aversions resonate with the broader themes observed in the rationale for legislative reform of the urban planning system and local government, and specific objectives for Auckland, which centred around global competitiveness, economic growth through efficiency and productivity, and affordability. Arguably, the rhetoric embedded within these discourses resonate with the broadly accepted neo-liberal values such as the individual, freedom of choice, market security, laissez faire economic approach, and minimal government (Belsey, 1996). Central government discourse of 'more market' and 'less regulation' reflects a neo-liberalist policy framework, in which "markets are understood to be a better way of organizing economic activity because they are associated with competition, economic efficiency and choice" (Lerner, 2000: 5). This interpretation of contemporary central government discourse in New Zealand is not a novel one. Le Heron (2009: 135), for instance, argued that over the past 30 years, as central government began to view Auckland as increasingly vital to the health of the national economy, new layers of "neo-liberalising governmental technique" have been added in order to advance and reconcile growth and sustainability agenda. Similarly, In his literature survey of neo-liberal urban planning policies, Sager (2011) concluded that planners in the US, UK, Australia and New Zealand are working in overwhelmingly neoliberal climates, and that these countries have undergone a number of similar occurrences in the name of entrepreneurialism, attracting international investment and market-led development, including: the simplification and speeding up of public inquiry procedures and development plan preparation; increased emphasis on re-imaging and marketing, large-scale urban developments, and improved physical city attributes and infrastructure. Ultimately, Rose et al. (2006: 97) contend that "neo-liberal ways of thinking and acting can be found in most governing regimes and programs today", and posits that these have emerged as a liberal resistance to perceived state interventionism, a diminution of individual responsibility, and constraint of market freedom (Rose et al., 2006: 98).

Rather than simply identifying the neoliberalising influences on the Auckland Plan, a finer lens, micro-scale inspection of state scalar transformations, such as that employed in the 'rooms and moments' analytical framework of contemporary PSPE work (see Le Heron, 2009; Le Heron and McDermott, 2008; Wetzstein and Le Heron, 2010), would facilitate a more contextual discussion of the imaginaries shaping the Auckland Plan as a policy initiative and political project. Post-structural political economy (PSPE) methodology has been instrumental in these and other collaborative

studies that problematize circulating institutional narratives concerning the economy and governance in and for Auckland, and query how these narratives mobilise and are mobilised in policy and political action; how they “compete, and how they are accessed, sidelined, used and elaborated on by economic and institutional actors” (Wetzstein and Le Heron, 2010: 1903). A PSPE-informed approach would “reveal a complex and hybrid imaginary, rather than the straightforward implementation of a unified and coherent [neoliberal] philosophy” (Larner, 2000: 12), as it places crucial value on “room-based empirics as ways to extend understandings of the making of governable spaces” (Le Heron 2009), instead of the state rescaling focus on meso-level trends in the state scalar architecture. Based on his inquiry into how metropolitan Auckland and its parts have been multiply imagined through politics and political processes, Le Heron has concluded that Auckland has been increasingly entangled in a political project about metropolitan governance that cohered around the idea of one spatial plan for Auckland and one super city (Le Heron, 2009: 141).

Larner (2000) clarifies that neo-liberalism can be conceptualised as a governmentality, while Foucault proposed that neo-liberalism be understood as a set of notions about the ‘art of government’. The governmentality concept emanates not from an analytical interest in politico-institutional shifts over time, as advocated by the state rescaling literature, but rather from existing analyses of neo-liberalism (Larner, 2000), and an interest in the doctrines of government and ‘techniques of power’ (Foucault, 1979; 1982; 1984). While some scholars have been criticized for overzealously applying a neo-liberal label to policy programs which display neo-liberal elements, other point out that rationalities on the art of government are constantly “undergoing modification in the face of some newly identified problem or solution, while retaining certain styles of thought and technological preferences” (Rose et al., 2006: 98). A neoliberal governmentality can thus be construed as a reaction to and resistance of “state intervention, diminution of individual responsibility, and constraint of market freedom”, rather than simply an implementation of neo-liberal philosophy.

Under a governmentality-informed conceptual lens, differences in discourse can be understood less in terms of meta-ideology and more in terms of a wider embedded set of practices and values on local government and local governance more generally. The question of what governing should look like has been picked up on by various scholars in the contemporary New Zealand context. For example, Chandler explains that local government is either understood in ethical terms or expediency terms (Chandler, 2008), and McNeill (McNeill, 2011b: 226) suggests that divergent views on local government “in terms of appropriate task span and ‘who should decide what’” are underpinned by ‘minimalist’ versus ‘maximalist’ philosophies of government, summarised in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2 Minimalist and Maximalist philosophies of local government. Source (McNeill, 2011b)

Minimalist view: Regulation as necessary and delivery of local public goods that the market would otherwise fail to provide. Every dollar paid in rates above this would be better spent by the ratepayer privately	Maximalist view: Delivering services within the context of fostering overall community wellbeing. Place shaping seen as a purposeful role. Service delivery would include but not be limited to local public goods
Supports restricting local government revenue raising	Opposes restricting local government revenue raising
Believes unfettered local government will not act in the interests of ratepayers and will grow excessively	Believes that unfettered local government will deliver a mix of services and rating levels appropriate to local circumstances and preferences
Places emphasis on ratepayers	Places emphasis on communities
Views local democracy as the means by which local citizens control their council to deliver services and regulation efficiently and keep rates as low as possible	Views local democracy as the means by which local citizens engage with their council to set goals, determine priorities and influence others who have an impact on the goals
Views higher levels of government as protecting ratepayers from their councils	Views high levels of government as partners in local and regional development

A multiscale approach to urban regime theory (URT), as advanced by McGuirk (McGuirk, 2003) in her analysis of urban governance in Sydney, requires that the form and institutions of urban governance be viewed as intrinsically related across multiple scales, therefore not simply the structural by-product of broad transitions at the macroeconomic scale. McGuirk concluded that Sydney’s governance could be understood by analyzing the city’s evolving position within a globalised economy, the mediation of this globalised economy by emergent policy strategies employed by the different tiers in the scalar organization of government, and the politics of how these various strategies play out in the practice of urban governance (McGuirk, 2003: 219). The analytical value of appreciating the scale politics in which Sydney is embedded is strongly emphasized and these particular politics resonate with the Auckland case study: the city holds a unique and strategic position in glocal space as Australia’s global city, and it is a key strategic lever in the pursuit of the national goal of achieving global economic competitiveness (McGuirk, 2003: 219).

5.6 Conclusion

In Auckland, urban containment mechanisms have been employed as a regulatory mechanism to contain sprawl and achieve visions of compact urban form for decades. While the underlying planning objectives and discourse have evolved from straightforward resource efficiency and rural productivity to more encompassing discourses of global competitiveness and liveability, sustainability rhetoric in some form appears to have persisted in regional plans. The most recent urban containment mechanism (RUB) is framed by local government in the Plan as a rational strategy to advance a wide range of economic, environmental and social objectives, which, by virtue of their scope, appear to encompass virtually all the elements of previous supporting rationale since 1951. By contrast, the

central government discourse around urban containment is characterised by a sense that local government has historically 'failed to deliver' on compact aspirations; that the Auckland Plan, mechanisms and targets lack 'realism' and feasibility; and that affordability (particularly in housing) should be of primary concern when developing any sort of spatial planning or regional growth strategy.

Central and local government display similar themes in the rationale for their divergent perspectives on urban containment and compact urban form. Both employ rhetoric based on efficiency, global competitiveness, and even quality of life (though local government rhetoric places significant more emphasis on this than that of central government). In other words, each discourse prioritises similar themes yet arrives at different conclusions, demonstrating discursive agility on the part local government. Agents of change were noticed throughout the analysis, and the work of policy entrepreneurship presents numerous useful concepts for further exploration of the specific actions and influence of these agents.

Ultimately, application of a state rescaling methodology to Auckland's shifting state scalar architecture around spatial planning facilitates characterisation of the resonances between intergovernmental tensions around urban containment and broader debates on local governance. Through this analysis, however, emerged a number of interesting observations that other literatures are considerably better placed to conceptually approach, such as those which focus on the work of policy entrepreneurs as agents of change, rooms and moments, governmentality and politics across scales in a globalised economy. These conceptual frameworks provide ample opportunity to further explore the internal dynamics of the Auckland experience, and combine state rescaling insights of institutional and policy change with both finer grain analysis at the level of the individual and political imagining in rooms and moments, and the interaction of meso- and micro-level scalar processes in Auckland's globalised context.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Following a method based on discourse and thematic analysis, this thesis research applied a state rescaling lens to the contested governance of spatial planning in New Zealand, and within that context, engaged in closer inspection of the intergovernmental discursive tensions around urban containment in Auckland. In doing so, this research has extended the broad ideas raised within the simplistic recentralisation/decentralisation dichotomy, and successfully answered the original research question:

What insights do contemporary transformations to Auckland's state scalar architecture provide into the intergovernmental discursive tensions surrounding the containment of Auckland's urban form?

The following section provides a summarised account of how each objective was approached, and the analytical results that were generated.

6.1 Key Findings

A retrospective response to Brenner's appeal that state rescaling research endeavours be precise and explicit about the explanatory agenda of any given study, would be that this study has demonstrated that rescaling is occurring in New Zealand's spatial planning architecture; an institutional context in which this process has not previously been sought or recognized.

By tracing the evolving scale articulation of Auckland and the scalar referent of spatial planning, I was able to examine how central and local government have worked to shape urban growth in Auckland over the past 50 years. Brenner proposed that transformations to the state scalar architecture are commonly enacted as state restructuring, policy reorientations, and scale specific regulatory experiments (Brenner, 2009a: 129). By tracking the discursive and thematic developments in Auckland's local government landscape and resource management/urban planning framework, it was possible to identify how and when the state scalar architecture of spatial planning in Auckland has undergone the majority of these transformations. Local government has experienced waves of structural and functional reform, the rationale for which has oscillated largely as a function of ruling government politics and agenda. While the RMA 1991 ostensibly gave local government the mandate to sustainably manage the region's resources, a purely biophysical focus arguably delegitimized any efforts to strategically plan in the urban context (Perkins and Thorns, 2001). The two-phase resource management reforms that began in 2009 have put the urban planning framework under construction,

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

and since then government has moved to recentralise regional council decisions and increase central government input into urban planning process and policy. Increased central government input is perceived as necessary to make sure central government objectives and agenda are adequately reflected in urban planning and investment decisions. The Auckland Plan, just like the Auckland Council which has produced it, is a novel regional planning document with unprecedented scope (Cheyne, 2010), and can therefore be considered a scale-specific regulatory experiment.

Through identification of central and local government responses to mechanisms for containing Auckland's urban form, I was able to discuss the nature of current intergovernmental tension around the use of the Rural Urban Boundary in the Auckland Plan. Local governments' long running support for an urban containment mechanism has been rationalised differently throughout the decades, starting with concerns of resource and servicing efficiency, to then include protection of environmental values, to more encompassing discourse of sustainability, and most recently, as a integral tool to achieving the quality compact urban form that will drive the city's liveability and ultimately, global competitiveness. Meanwhile, the current central government discourse on the topic appears to strongly oppose the urban containment policy and mechanism as proposed in the Auckland Plan on largely market-based grounds: citing concerns for housing affordability, feasibility, and the ability of individuals to exercise choice.

Using linguistic signals, I was able to identify discursive linkages between perspectives on urban containment, the rationale for transformations to Auckland's state scalar architecture for spatial planning, and local governance models. The language and rhetoric used by the current central government to rationalise their approach to urban containment, spatial planning, resource management/urban planning local governance, and the agenda for Auckland are all broadly consistent with neo-liberal values (Larner, 2000), and arguably reflect aspects of a neo-liberal governmentality (Rose et al., 2006). The resonance between these values and their accompanying perspectives sit in juxtaposition to the long-running support for urban containment mechanisms in Auckland, albeit under evolving rationale, and to the overarching support for decentralised decision-making in urban governance and policy such as spatial planning and growth containment. The variance in perspectives and discursive differences appear to reflect divergent philosophies of local governance (McNeill, 2011b), or at the very least opposing ways of understanding the purpose of local government (Chandler, 2008). State rescaling contributors propose that transformation of the state scalar architecture engenders political strategy (Jessop et al., 2008; Macleod and Goodwin, 1999). However, while the pervading neo-liberal rhetoric and policy practices surrounding the case study might superficially suggest a burgeoning neo-liberal strategy of political-economic intervention emerging in New Zealand, the depth and scope of analysis undertaken in this research, as permitted by the circumstances and resources at hand, precludes any such broad conclusion. Furthermore, the

analysis has revealed a number of emergent findings that serve to illustrate not only the conceptual limitations of the state rescaling lens, but also open up future research agendas.

6.2 Empirical Contributions

This section reviews the various findings that have emerged from the case study. While these fall outside the specific scope of the research objectives they offer interesting insights into an emerging trend in local governance, Auckland's ability to engage with central government discourse and retain their voice, and the role of central government actors as agents of change.

On the face of things, the situation in New Zealand has followed international governance trends, and its evolution can be tracked in changes to legislation and a range of non-legislative endeavours to build a more collaborative, equitable, central-local partnership. Indeed, an overview of the changes introduced in the past decade (the empowerment focus of the Local Government Act 2002, the central local-government forum set up in 2000, the 'super city' and 'one voice' for Auckland) quite convincingly portrays a "localist turn" (Cheyne, 2008: 30) in New Zealand's intergovernmental relations.

Yet, as Drage (2011: 13) explains, "the real level of local government autonomy versus the overall legislative control of central government" remains one of the major contradictions for local communities. This sentiment is shared by the Labour and Green Party representatives that were interviewed, as well as many political commentators media, who decried the discrepancy between the current central government reaction to the consequences of recent local governance reform, and the "professed point of the whole exercise" (Interviewee E). Language used in central government reform of local government has centred on the need for consensus among local authorities, but now government appears reluctant to accept the product of that consensus:

They created a super city so that Auckland... could speak with one voice. Auckland is now speaking with one voice. It's asking for a compact city. It's asking for a big investment in public transport. The government doesn't like that (Interviewee C).

The super city was constructed partly on the excuse that Auckland had been too parochial, conflicted, that nobody knew what Auckland wanted, that there were too many conflicting agendas. So they created the super city that had one voice. You know, the language of 'Auckland must be one voice'. They got that, but unfortunately the voice that was speaking was not saying what government wanted to hear. It was giving them quite a different message back (Interviewee E).

This perspective is supported by a number of observations. The legislative changes to both local government structure and function and the urban planning framework over time have systematically stripped down local government responsibility and ability to make decisions (Perkins and Thorns,

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

2001). Legislative changes introduced by the current government have created exceedingly ambitious local representation ratios at the risk of diminished local democracy; established the newly empowered CCOs that operate at arm's-length to the governing body in a highly autonomous manner; and, most recently, removed the "four well-beings mandate" from local government purpose. And most recently, the passing of Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Act (2012) has increased Ministerial powers to intervene in local government decisions. The current political barometer on RMI and local government reform indicates that this "creeping centralisation" (LGNZ, 2010: 6) of what was once local government domain is likely to continue.

A condition shared by local governments in Britain, Australia and New Zealand is a lack of any formal constitutional recognition, and thus their structure, powers and limitations, and relationship with other institutions and the public are subject to the ideologically founded and politically driven impulses of central level government (Cole, 2004; Reid, 2011; Searle and Bunker, 2010). In light of these circumstances, Reid has put forward a strong case for a constitutional status for local government, arguing that "without at least some form of constitutional status, councils that represent a contrary political view to that held by the state have little guarantee that the higher authority will not legislate to limit their ability to exercise discretion" (2011: 33). His point is supported by a 2009 article in *The Economist* magazine which reported that New Zealand was in actual fact one of the most centralised nations in the OECD, "a situation likely to become more extreme given the centralising preferences of recent governments" (2011: 38).

The endurance of the compact city approach and the persistence of the RUB in the Auckland Plan demonstrate local government's discursive agility in the face of increased central government input and tight planning timeframes. Following a common urban planning trend in regional and city councils throughout New Zealand (Perkins and Thorns, 2001), Auckland Council appears to have actively engaged with central government discourse and agenda in order to justify its own. Urban containment is framed as a logical and appropriate strategy for protecting all that makes Auckland unique and maximising the efficiency of infrastructure and services. These rationales can be seen to resonate with central government's overarching discourses of liveability and global competitiveness.

Ministry actors emerged as important agents of change in the case study. They were found to play an influential role in developing Auckland's urban containment policy and mechanism, by facilitating effective communication between local and central government; and in the shaping of Auckland's urban governance, by engaging with proximate policymakers and successfully promoting the inclusion of a spatial plan into local government legislation. Neither the two-tier state rescaling methodology (Brenner, 2009a) used nor the state rescaling conceptual framework permits close engagement with the internal dynamics of policy making, namely, the role of individuals as agents of change and the rooms and moments through which political projects emerge. This limitation has been

acknowledged in both theoretical and contemporary empirical contributions to the state rescaling literature (Brenner, 2009a; Brenner, 2009b; Jessop et al., 2008).

6.3 Limitations & Opportunities for Future Research Agendas

In response to cautionary comments made by Larner (2000), this thesis does not attempt to suggest that neoliberal arrangements have been imposed in a top down manner, and it has been acknowledged that the Auckland experience with local governance and spatial planning has emerged out of a complex (and ongoing) political struggle. Scholars that favour a post-structuralist political economy (PSPE) approach to the Auckland case study would warn not to attribute greater “historical coherence and seamlessness between neoliberal political projects of different forms and moments” (Lewis, 2009: 115) to the analysis than the data actually supports. In other words, they would strongly caution against reducing data and analysis to a totalising narrative of neoliberal ideology and practise. Instead, PSPE scholars like Lewis advocate aiming for a more nuanced account of neoliberalism in transformations to state space, by identifying and examining “how [political projects] are aligned and realigned through ongoing political and intellectual work” (2009: 116). The analysis would also benefit from closer inspection of the non-governmental groups and individuals that have been creative agents of the processes of political-economic change (Larner, 2000: 17), such as social movements, or the private sector. Specifically for the Plan and the contested RUB, this would entail an assessment of “who is placed on the landscape of key investors and actors, and subsequent questioning of what they know, do not know, do not want to know or do not wish to have known about growth and sustainability” (Le Heron, 2009: 142). Doing so would be a worthy and interesting academic venture for future research of the relationship between New Zealand’s state space and urban containment policies.

Analysis has revealed the apparent emergence of actors as agents of change in institutional and policy change; policy entrepreneurs in central and local government institutions. Even the very cursory findings highlight a myriad of research opportunities. As Mintrom and Norman convey, “the concept of policy entrepreneurship is yet to be broadly integrated within analyses of policy change” (2009: 660). These two authors describe two specific areas in which the role of policy entrepreneurs (PE) could be given more empirical and conceptual attention, and these are both apt research agendas for the Auckland case study. The first relates to closer study of the motivations and strategies used by PE, whereby systematic, comparative studies of the career trajectories of PE could give insight into motivations as well as build knowledge of how these actors develop social acuity, problem solving effectiveness, build teams, and lead by example (Mintrom and Norman, 2009: 661). The second involves the study of how PE interact within their specific policy contexts, and a focus on the contextual factors that constrain and shape their actions (Mintrom and Norman, 2009: 661). A systematic case study of Auckland under either of these directions would generate important insights

of policy entrepreneurship in the New Zealand context, as well as contribute empirically to this budding area of policy research.

6.4 Concluding Thoughts: An Uncertain Future for the 'Quality Compact', 'Liveable' City

McNeill (2011b: 223) claims that, unlike the 1989 structural reforms of local government, the creation of the new Auckland Council follows no grand design: it is an ad hoc response to the problem and difficulty of governing a metropolitan region. Like other ad hoc responses within the existing institutional framework, the Council exists ultimately at the whim of central government (McNeill, 2011b: 225), and under the current model "it does not matter much who exercises decisions over narrow task-spans where decisions are in any case highly constrained by legislation, courts and marginal revenue" (McNeill, 2011b: 229). In particular, the National government's decision to ignore many of the Royal Commission recommendations, and the return to a more regulatory approach for local government in Auckland ('core services') appear to signal the unravelling of what was very recently considered by some to be improving central-local government relations (Cheyne, 2008). Instead, these two recent developments indicate the "heavy hand of the state tightening around local government" (Drage, 2011: 14).

Changes to the local government purpose and local urban planning can shift the legislative ground from under local government's feet, impacting on the parameters of what they are mandated (and permitted) to make decisions on. While the Auckland Plan has successfully produced aspirational visions for the 'World's most liveable city', 'quality compact' urban form, and proposed the necessary transport and infrastructural transformations that such visions will require, the future of one of the primary tools to implement the Plan (the RUB), is far less certain.

Crucially, the Auckland Plan and the Unitary Plan¹³ designed to implement it are developed under separate legislation: the Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009, and the RMA, respectively. The Unitary Plan, where details of the all-important containment mechanism will likely be clarified, is ultimately subject to the RMA and its processes, which are currently on shifting legislative sands through RMII. The situation is exacerbated by the uncertainty of decisions which remain to be made: "exactly how the RUB [will] work", "the level of weight that [the Auckland Plan] will actually carry out in the RMA processes", and "how the Unitary Plan people in the Council choose to use it – if they choose to include a RUB in the Unitary Plan, the RMA Plan, or an alternative mechanism a bit like an MUL" (Interviewee B).

¹³ Currently undergoing public consultation

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Central government, by the strength of the resources it possess, may influence local urban planning more specifically and directly. These resources include control over legislation, its provision of a large part of local finance, and its national electoral mandate (Ward, 1993). Similarly, the funding for key transport projects (such as the City Rail Link), so vital to the realisation of a quality compact city, appears less and less likely to be agreed to by senior government officials who openly oppose them on financial grounds (NZHerald, 2012). The City Rail Link is articulated in the Long-term Plan 2012-2022, and described by Mayor Len Brown as the Council's "most important transformational project", and an integral part of setting in motion the "blueprint for our future" as outlined in the Auckland Plan (AC, 2012a: 4). As respondents put it, central government can 'sabotage' the compact city if it chooses to (Interviewee C), either through its funding decisions or through further reforms to the RMA (Interviewee E). Current central government discourse appears to openly acknowledge its crucial role in policy implementation. For example, the Building Competitive Cities document produced by the MfE in 2010 identifies the Tauranga Growth Strategy as a "good example" of previous local planning initiatives, but at the same time cites its non-statutory status as a reason for it having limited weight in decision-making (MfE, 2010a: 9). What this statement appears to subtly imply is that such strategies have little real influence and they are essentially dependent on central government support for implementation.

In conclusion, the complex legislative landscape of Auckland's various plans, the on-going programme of resource management reform, and stalemates over the funding of critical project all signal looming uncertainty for not only the Auckland Council's vision of a quality compact city, but also for the future of local level decision-making around urban planning and policy. Based on this reality, Auckland will undoubtedly continue to provide a particularly interesting context within which to explore a multitude of policy change facets and dynamics, be it through a state rescaling lens or otherwise.

Appendix A. Dataset Four

Date	Author	Source	Title	URL
1/04/2012	none	Russell McVeagh	Auckland Plan, dreams are free	http://www.russellmcveagh.com/_docs/RMupdateApril2012_460.html
25/09/2012	Anne Gibson	NZ Herald online	Factions divided on why NZ housing so expensive	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10836274
27/07/2012	Press Release	Scoop.co.nz	If it Ain't Broke Don't Fix it, says Local Government NZ	http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1207/S00377/if-it-aint-broke-dont-fix-it-says-local-government-nz.htm
7/07/2012	Anthony Hubbard	Sunday Star Times	Steven Joyce the power broker	http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/7238789/Steven-Joyce-the-power-broker
11/04/2012	Press Release	Scoop.co.nz	The affordability of housing assessed	http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1204/S00126/the-affordability-of-housing-assessed.htm
30/03/2012	Brian Rudman	NZ Herald online	Warm masterplan now seems fuzzy	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/politics/news/article.cfm?c_id=280&objectid=10795513
23/01/2012	Anne Gibson	NZ Herald online	NZ houses rated 'highly unaffordable'	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10780453
19/10/2011	Brady Nixon	NZ Herald online	Land scarcity dents plan for compact Auckland	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10760016

13/10/2011	Roger Blakley	NZ Herald online	Three hot issues for Aucklanders	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=10758600
27/09/2011	Simon Collins	NZ Herald online	Clash Looms on bid to curb city's sprawl	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/politics/news/article.cfm?c_id=280&objectid=10754610
29/08/2011	Wayne Thompson	NZ Herald online	Auckland growth areas get priority	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10748082
29/08/2011	Brian Rudman	NZ Herald online	Gauntlet thrown down over urban sprawl	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/super-city/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501110&objectid=10748079
23/08/2011	Editorial	NZ Herald online	Building more homes key to affordability	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10746926
21/03/2011	Rod Oram	Stuff.co.nz	The Auckland Plan is a moment of opportunity for the super city	http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/business/4785273/Auckland-at-the-crossroads
29/11/2010	Brian Rudman	NZ Herald online	Yawning space between versions of our spatial plan	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10690829
29/11/2010	Alex Tarrant	Interest.co.nz	Super City Council should expand Auckland Metropolitan Urban Limits for more commercial, residential development, Bayleys says	http://www.interest.co.nz/news/51478/super-city-council-should-expand-auckland-metropolitan-urban-limits-more-commercial-residential-deve

28/11/2010	Steven Joyce	Sunday Star Times	Getting around in the real world	http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/business/4395254/Getting-around-in-the-real-world
Not given.	Paul Walbran	NZ Herald online	It takes time to get sort of city we want	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/environment/news/article.cfm?c_id=39&objectid=8501045
6/08/2010	Patrick Smellie	Stuff.co.nz	Government moves on urban limits could affect house prices	http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/opinion-analysis/3997874/Government-moves-on-urban-limits-could-affect-house-prices
23/12/2012	Editorial	NZ Herald online	Minister, mayor clash over Auckland transport report	http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10853867

Appendix B. Participant Information Sheets

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics

Researcher: Natalia Bogle

Participant Information Sheet *Central/Regional Government Manager*

My name is Natalia Bogle. I am a student at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, enrolled in a Master of Science program in Environmental Management. I am planning to conduct research in the development of contemporary spatial planning strategies in Auckland. An important part of this research is talking with a number of key people who have involvement in the development and implementation of spatial planning policy. I will be conducting interviews with representatives from government and non-government agencies. I will also be considering the various political processes surrounding policy development and I will be analysing the draft Auckland Plan and other policy documents to identify ways in which responses to regional growth and economic competitiveness are informed, expressed and prioritised.

I would like to invite you to participate in this project and to share your experience and expertise in efforts to develop spatial planning policy via an interview. Of particular interest are the multiple perspectives regarding metropolitan urban limits in Auckland, and the negotiation of multiple perspectives between different government entities during policy development.

I am discussing these issues with key people in local boards, council and central government, as well as NGOs, specific interest groups, and political parties. The information obtained from this research will be used for the purposes of producing a thesis, and may be used in future academic publications. An electronic copy of the thesis will be made available after the completion of the project to those who are interested in receiving one.

Interviews may be recorded by means of a digital voice recorder in order to facilitate note-taking. You are free to refuse to be recorded or to stop recording at any stage. Recordings will later be transcribed by me.

In addition to your participation, I would like the opportunity to interview appropriate and relevant members of your staff on these topics. To conduct these interviews, however, I must first have your assurance that the decision of the employees to participate or not in this research will not affect their employment status. This assurance can be given by signing the attached Consent Form.

This interview would be during work time, unless a time outside of working hours would be more convenient for you and/or your employee. I anticipate that this interview will require up to but no longer than 1 hour of your and/or your employee's time.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Participants may withdraw from the project and withdraw their authorisation for the use of information they have provided to the project up to four weeks following the completion of their interview.

Every possible effort will be made to ensure that the identity of participants remains anonymous unless you give your permission on the consent form to be identified. You or your employee may choose not to be identified by name within the research, although with specific approval, a job title may be used. Although names will not be mentioned in my research, being identified by a generic job title may nonetheless mean that individuals may become identifiable.

You and your staff can withdraw information any time up to four weeks after the interview. All information obtained from the interviewing process will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after research is completed, after which it will be destroyed. Transcribed information on hard copies will be shredded while soft copies of all recordings will be deleted from the hard drives, CDs, or flash drives.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me on 022 02 33 967.

Contact details

Researcher

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 21/09/11 for (3) years, Reference Number 7580

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics
Researcher: Natalia Bogle

Participant Information Sheet
Central/Regional Government Employee

My name is Natalia Bogle. I am a student at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, enrolled in a Master of Science program in Environmental Management. I am planning to conduct research in the development of contemporary spatial planning strategies in Auckland. An important part of this research is talking with a number of key people who have involvement in the development and implementation of spatial planning policy. I will be conducting interviews with representatives from government and non-government agencies. I will also be considering the various political processes surrounding policy development and I will be analysing the draft Auckland Plan and other policy documents to identify ways in which responses to regional growth and economic competitiveness are informed, expressed and prioritised.

I would like to invite you to participate in this project and to share your experience and expertise in efforts to develop spatial planning policy via an interview. Of particular interest are the multiple perspectives regarding metropolitan urban limits in Auckland, and the negotiation of multiple perspectives between different government entities during policy development.

I am discussing these issues with key people in local boards, council and central government, as well as NGOs, specific interest groups, and political parties. The information obtained from this research will be used for the purposes of producing a thesis, and may be used in future academic publications. An electronic copy of the thesis will be made available after the completion of the project to those who are interested in receiving one.

Interviews may be recorded by means of a digital voice recorder in order to facilitate note-taking. You are free to refuse to be recorded or to stop recording at any stage. Recordings will later be transcribed by me.

To conduct these interviews, I have first obtained assurance that your decision to participate or not in this research will not affect your employment status. This assurance has been given by your manager who has signed a Consent Form.

This interview would be during work time, unless a time outside of working hours would be more convenient for you. I anticipate that this interview will require up to but no longer than 1 hour of your time.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Participants may withdraw from the project and withdraw their authorisation for the use of information they have provided to the project up to four weeks following the completion of their interview.

Every possible effort will be made to ensure that the identity of participants remains anonymous unless you give your permission on the consent form to be identified. You may choose not to be identified by name within the research, although with specific approval, a job title may be used. Although names will not be mentioned in my research, being identified by a generic job title may nonetheless mean that individuals may become identifiable.

In order to ensure that you are comfortable with the context in which your comments are used, you will have the opportunity to view any draft text where your comments have been included, and you can modify or retract comments as you see fit before they are used in the final research document.

You can withdraw information any time up to four weeks after the interview. All information obtained from the interviewing process will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after research is completed, after which it will be destroyed. Transcribed information on hard copies will be shredded while soft copies of all recordings will be deleted from the hard drives, CDs, or flash drives.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me on 022 02 33 967.

Contact details

Researcher

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Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics
Researcher: Natalia Bogle

Participant Information Sheet
Individual

My name is Natalia Bogle. I am a student at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, enrolled in a Master of Science program in Environmental Management. I am planning to conduct research in the development of contemporary spatial planning strategies in Auckland. An important part of this research is talking with a number of key people who have involvement in the development and implementation of spatial planning policy. I will be conducting interviews with representatives from government and non-government agencies. I will also be considering the various political processes surrounding policy development and I will be analysing the draft Auckland Plan and other policy documents to identify ways in which responses to regional growth and economic competitiveness are informed, expressed and prioritised.

I would like to invite you to participate in this project and to share your experience and expertise in efforts to develop spatial planning policy. Of particular interest are the multiple perspectives regarding metropolitan urban limits in Auckland, and the negotiation of multiple perspectives between different government entities during policy development.

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Every possible effort will be made to ensure that the identity of participants remains anonymous unless you give your permission on the consent form to be identified. You may choose not to be identified by name within the research, although with specific approval, a job title may be used. Although names will not be mentioned in my research, being identified by a generic job title may nonetheless mean that individuals may become identifiable.

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Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me on 022 02 33 967.

Contact details

Researcher

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Appendix C. Consent Forms

CONSENT FORM

(Central/Regional Government Manager – Participant)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics

Researcher: Natalia Bogle

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to a four week period after the interview.
- I agree / do not agree to be identified by name within the research.
- I agree / do not agree to be identified by job title within the research.
- I understand that if I choose to only be identified by job title I may still become identifiable.
- I agree / do not agree to be recorded on a digital voice recorder.
- I understand that the duration of the interview will be approximately one hour, and occur at a time and location that is most convenient for me.
- I wish / do not wish to receive an electronic copy of the thesis.
- I understand that this research is being used to produce a thesis document for the purposes of obtaining a Master of Science in Environmental Management from the University of Auckland, and for possible subsequent academic publication.
- I understand that all data will be kept in a secure location for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 21/09/11 for (3) years, Reference Number 7580

CONSENT FORM
(Central/Regional Government Manager)
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics

Researcher: Natalia Bogle

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why my organization has been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to allow employees to take part in this research.
- I understand that participants are free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to them up to a four week period after the interview.
- I give my assurance that the decision of the employees to participate or not in this research will not affect their employment status.
- I understand that the duration of the interview will be approximately one hour, and occur at a time and location that is most convenient for the participants.
- I wish / do not wish to receive an electronic copy of the thesis.
- I understand that this research is being used to produce a thesis document for the purposes of obtaining a Master of Science in Environmental Management from the University of Auckland, and for possible subsequent academic publication.
- I understand that all data will be kept in a secure location for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON 21/09/11 for (3) years, Reference Number 7580

CONSENT FORM
(Central/Regional Government Employee)
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics

Researcher: Natalia Bogle

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to a four week period after the interview.
- I understand that I will have the opportunity to view any draft text where my comments have been used, and I am able to modify or retract comments as I see fit before they are used in the final research document.
- I agree / do not agree to be identified by name within the research.
- I agree / do not agree to be identified by job title within the research.
- I understand that if I choose to only be identified by job title I may still become identifiable.
- I agree / do not agree to be recorded on a digital voice recorder.
- I understand that the duration of the interview will be approximately one hour, and occur at a time and location that is most convenient for me.
- I wish / do not wish to receive an electronic copy of the thesis.
- I understand that this research is being used to produce a thesis document for the purposes of obtaining a Master of Science in Environmental Management from the University of Auckland, and for possible subsequent academic publication.
- I understand that all data will be kept in a secure location for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
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CONSENT FORM
(Individual)
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: (Re)shaping visions of space and growth: the Auckland plan and spatial planning discourse dynamics
Researcher: Natalia Bogle

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to a four week period after the interview.
- I agree / do not agree to be identified by name within the research.
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Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

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